



METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR RESEARCHING CORRUPTION AND BUILDING URBAN INTEGRITY – A QUALITATIVE ACTION EXPERIMENT IN ZAMBIA

by Gilbert Siame, Laura Nkula-Wenz, and Dieter Zinnbauer





ABOUT CITIES OF INTEGRITY

This project investigates the important integrity nexus in development – urbanisation and corruption – and works with a group of pivotal stakeholders – urban planners – that is uniquely positioned to help address related corruption risks.

ABOUT THE CENTRE FOR URBAN RESEARCH & PLANNING

The Centre for Urban Research and Planning (CURP) is an interdisciplinary research initiative focusing on the dynamics of Zambia's urbanisation and spatial planning. CURP was formed to fill the information and knowledge gap that has been created over the years in Zambia due to the lack of dedicated and coordinated research on urbanisation and planning topics. It places particular emphasis on defensible and policy-relevant research to inform a sustainable human settlements development discourse in Zambia and the region.

ABOUT THE AFRICAN CENTRE FOR CITIES

The African Centre for Cities, based at the University of Cape Town, is a leading knowledge centre conducting meaningful research on how to understand, recast and address pressing urban crises, particularly on the African continent. Since most urban challenges—for example, food security, climate change adaptation, economic inclusion, cultural vitality and tolerance—are inherently interdisciplinary and spatially layered, ACC nurtures the co-production of knowledge favouring and cultivating critical Southern perspectives. Through its research ACC aims to develop imaginative policy discourses and practices to promote vibrant, just and sustainable cities. This purpose has become all the more pertinent with the adoption of Agenda 2063 at a pan-African level, which chimes with the 2030 global agenda for sustainable development.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr Gilbert Siame (Co-PI) is a lecturer and researcher at the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Zambia and the director of its Centre for Urban Research and Planning. He holds an MA and PhD in City and Regional Planning, both from the University of Cape Town.

Dr Laura Nkula-Wenz (Researcher & Project Coordinator) is a lecturer at the African Centre for Cities and the project's research coordinator. She holds an MA and a PhD in Urban Geography, both from the University of Muenster/Germany.

Dr Dieter Zinnbauer is a senior project advisor to the Cities of Integrity project. He works on emerging policy issues and innovation in the areas of governance, urbanisation and technology. He holds a PhD in Development Studies from the London School of Economics.

THE PROJECT IS PART OF THE GLOBAL INTEGRITY ANTI-CORRUPTION PROGRAMME, FUNDED WITH UK AID FROM THE UK GOVERNMENT



CONTENTS

List of figures.....	2
1. Rationale and overview.....	3
2. Qualitative Action Experiments as an effective methodological approach to researching corruption and integrity.....	3
2.1 The imperative for researching corruption, and the challenges of contemporary research methodologies.....	3
2.2 The qualitative action experiment as a complementary methodological approach to researching corruption.....	5
2.2.1. What is a qualitative action experiment?.....	5
2.2.2. The “Aha-effect”: Key for translating knowledge into action.....	5
2.2.3. Four important principles yielding the “Aha” effect in QAEs.....	6
2.3. Integrating the case study method within a QAE.....	7
2.3.1. Case types.....	7
3. QAE in action: Understanding corruption and fostering integrity among Zambian planners	8
3.1. Contextualizing corruption and urban planning in Zambia.....	8
3.2. Engaging Zambian planners through the Qualitative Action Experiment.....	9
3.3. QAE principles in practice.....	9
3.3.1. Selection of QAE participants.....	10
3.3.2. The QAE intervention format and content.....	10
3.3.3. Building a community of practice: Raising professional pride, emphasizing the public interest-orientation of planners.....	12
3.3.4. Catalysing action for behaviour change, peer involvement & institutional reforms.....	12
3.4. Assessing the QAE.....	13
3.4.1. Baseline and end-line surveying.....	13
3.4.2. Post-QAE activities.....	13
3.4.3. Responses from the first QAE check-in.....	14
4. Conclusion.....	15
5. References.....	16
6. Annex.....	17

LIST OF FIGURES

Table 1: Integrity commitments of QAE participants.....13

Figure 1: Remembering integrity pledges, QAE first survey.....14

Figure 2: Number and rate of participants sharing QAE outcomes, QAE first survey.....14

Figure 3: Asked to approve a predetermined planning outcome, QAE survey.....15

Figure 4: Punished for refusing to compromise and support corruption, QAE survey.....15

RATIONALE AND OVERVIEW

The first contribution (Zinnbauer 2019) to the Cities of Integrity¹ working paper series put forward two key messages: first, that tackling corruption in urban development is a key policy challenge of our time; and second, that activating the professional integrity of the urban planning community is a particularly promising and underexplored response to this challenge. Building on that framing, this working paper investigates the Qualitative Action Experiment (also referred to as “QAE” where expedient) as one particular methodological approach to studying corruption and integrity in urban planning. We illustrate the use and usefulness of this approach by drawing on the case of a QAE conducted with a cohort of Zambian professional planners in October 2019.

This paper begins by taking a deep dive introducing the popular imperatives for researching corruption, the common methodological approaches that ensue, and how such research usually gets translated into action. The paper argues that studies of corruption and integrity would benefit from supplementing somewhat orthodox corruption research methodologies – such as randomized control trials and large-scale perception surveys – with applied qualitative methodologies that allow for in-depth data gathering on human behaviours and more immediate translation of knowledge into action. Further, we advance the Qualitative Action Experiment (QAE) as a novel methodological approach to understanding corruption and building capacity in individual professionals as well as their institutions to champion integrity. As we show, the QAE methodology is well-suited for building integrity while studying corruption, because it occupies a middle ground between reflective observation and engaged activism, seeking practical solutions that allow for a “knowing with” instead of simply a “knowing about” participants. To illustrate the QAE methodology in practice, we draw on QAE activities conducted in Zambia, tracing the ways in which they helped us to generate applied knowledge while exploring ways of building integrity and fostering a community of integrity champions amongst practicing planners. This paper targets urban and urban planning scholars, professional institutions in the built environment, international and national donors in the field of anti-corruption, anti-corruption watchdogs, and activists in both the anti-corruption and urban development fields. Through the QAE undertakings in Zambia, the paper shows how a QAE methodology can effectively enable researchers to engage with professionals as both research participants and change agents.

2. QUALITATIVE ACTION EXPERIMENTS AS AN EFFECTIVE METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RESEARCHING CORRUPTION AND INTEGRITY

2.1 THE IMPERATIVE FOR RESEARCHING CORRUPTION, AND THE CHALLENGES OF CONTEMPORARY RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES

Making the argument that a QAE methodology constitutes a significant addition to the contemporary corruption research toolbox, we first need to take a deep dive into the question of why corruption at the city scale is a pertinent area of research, and how this research is commonly conducted and translated into action. Recapping some of the key messages from this series’ first working paper (Zinnbauer 2019), we argue that urbanisation creates winners and losers, and that the increase of urban corruption is prohibitive to building inclusive, safe, equitable, and sustainable cities. We further argue that studies of corruption and integrity at the city scale need to build on and expand traditional research methods, such as randomized control trials and large-scale quantitative surveys, which are commonly deployed in disciplines such as behavioural economics, public administration, and political science.

Urbanisation is one the major processes transforming the world today. More than half of the world’s population already lives in urban areas, a trend that is expected to continue. Concurrently, real estate is the biggest, most important global store of wealth today: “With an estimated aggregate value of more than USD 200 trillion, real estate is worth more than the combined value of all stocks, shares, and bonds, or more than eight times the global market value of all agricultural and forestry land (Zinnbauer 2019:1). At the same time, as Watson (2014) shows, urbanisation is creating clear winners and losers, the latter being the ever-expanding number of urban poor, who are often clustered in cities of the global South. This growing inequality is further exacerbated by the fact that “most urban development in sub-Saharan Africa is occurring in a completely non-planned and non-transparent manner” (Watson and Agbola 2013:3).

The policies and practices of local governments and other urban development actors are an integral determinant of the extent to which the Sustainable Development Goals as well as the key ambitions of integrated global urban development

¹ <https://www.africancentreforcities.net/programme/gi-ace/>.

articulated in the New Urban Agenda can be achieved. However, rampant corruption undermines both local and international efforts in this regard, frequently foiling plans and policies aimed at achieving more inclusive, safe, equitable, and sustainable urban spaces. Consequently, Durand-Lasserve (2015) suggests that a narrow legalistic understanding of tackling corruption is insufficient to address the urban corruption challenge. The Anti-Corruption Resources Centre² recognizes that corruption is undermining cities' efforts to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, and in turn calls for more city-focused applied research to guide practical urban policies and strategies. While this all affirms that corruption in urban development is a key challenge of our time, the topic continues to receive insufficient attention from both the policy and research communities (see Zinnbauer 2019).

This paper specifically speaks to the third workstream of the Cities of Integrity project, which proposes an exploratory action experiment that seeks to test the promise of fostering integrity by activating professional resources, values, and identities (for an overview of project workstreams see Zinnbauer 2019). The workstream involved designing, implementing, and conducting a multi-pronged qualitative assessment of a training programme on integrity for urban planning professionals in Zambia. The intervention forms an integral part of the overall research process, seeking to uncover lived corruption experiences among urban planning professionals, and explore ways to build integrity systems and structures for countering corruption in local urban development.

Corruption is a complex issue, and studying it effectively requires a mix of carefully calibrated methodological approaches. While studies on compliance-driven and legalistic means of fighting corruption have generated important baseline data that illustrate the extent of the problem, they have not yielded sufficiently effective and context-sensitive policy responses (Durand-Lasserve 2015). The challenge of tackling urban corruption in Africa is compounded by the limited number of qualified planning professionals, weak governance institutions, and the continued implementation of planning based on colonial urban planning laws and logics (Watson and Odendaal 2013; Watson and Agbola 2013). Furthermore, informality in its different guises constitutes the norm in many African cities, and is often mistakenly seen as synonymous with illegality, disorderliness, dirt, poverty, or backwardness. With all of these factors rendering urban corruption even harder to study, research intended as a basis for effective policy responses in African cities requires alternative and innovative approaches to knowledge “gathering”.

Conventional methodologies such as randomized control trials, large-scale surveys, field experiments, naturalistic observation, experience sampling techniques, and perception studies (Price et al.; Chiang 2015; Pereira and Álvaro 2013; Quesada et al. 2013), predominantly used in disciplines such as behavioural economics, social psychology, public administration, and political science, have been instructive in grasping the expanse of the problem. However, on their own, they are not necessarily transformative, meaning that additional work is required both for translating this knowledge into action³ and creating positive change agents. As a result – and also because corruption in urban planning and development constitutes an emerging research agenda (Chiodelli and Moroni 2015) – our own methodology is inspired by mixed-method social science approaches that emphasize qualitative modes of inquiry.

Meyer-Sahling et al. (2018) indicate that many anti-corruption studies and interventions link certain variables (economic, social, and institutional) with corruption in public service. However, despite the fact that “almost all corrupt exchanges involve public officials” (ibid: 276), these interventions also share a tendency to overlook the behaviour, motivations, actions, and self-perception of public officials in everyday ethical challenges. Responding to Meyer-Sahling et al.'s (2018) call to further expand studies on the role of professional groups in tackling corruption, we have focused squarely on the urban planning profession as a crucial mediator between public and private interests. We furthermore suggest that a Qualitative Action Experiment (QAE) approach can supplement existing quantitative research strategies. Allowing us to tap into the experiential “lifeworld of professionals”, the QAE approach also simultaneously fosters peer-to-peer integrity support systems amongst those professionals participating in the research. In the case study presented here, we targeted individual urban planning professionals, working with their statutory body to generate “real-life data” about how practicing planners in Zambia encounter corruption, and what community-based tools could be developed to promote professional integrity in the sector.

As explained in the following section, our research has been inspired by the vast literature on QAE methodologies, derived from an even broader tradition of context-sensitive action research. At the same time, it is important to note that ours remains a heterodox approach with different exploratory elements, developed in an ongoing dialogue with our research partners and participants.

² <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/corruption-and-the-city.pdf>.

³ That action in this regard also means more than simply advocating for institutional reform has been powerfully argued by numerous scholars (see Koechlin et al. 2016; Wren-Lewis 2013).

2.2 THE QUALITATIVE ACTION EXPERIMENT AS A COMPLEMENTARY METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO RESEARCHING CORRUPTION

2.2.1. What is a Qualitative Action Experiment?

Qualitative Action Experiments are a specific form of action research. According to Bradbury (2015:1), action research is characterized by “a democratic and participative orientation to knowledge creation”. In pursuing a middle ground between reflective observation and engaged activism, it seeks practical solutions that allow for a “knowing with” rather than a “knowing about” people (ibid: 4). From an organisational perspective, participating in action research increases one’s self-awareness about issues affecting one’s organisation, ideally building dynamic change capabilities (Coghlan and Shani, 2015). According to Ravasio et al. (2004), qualitative experiments⁴ have a long history in social science. They generally involve open-ended exploration to gain deeper and more nuanced understandings of a social subject and its encompassing social structures (Kleining 1986:1):

The qualitative experiment is the intervention through scientific rules into a (social) object for researching its structure. It is the explorative, heuristic form of experimenting (Kleining 1995:148).

QAEs have been effectively used across many social science disciplines such as psychology, social innovation, and organisational studies (Naber 2015; Robinson and Mendelson 2012; Kleining and Witt 2000; Wagoner 2015). Studies have focused on topics such as building innovation in organisations (Naber 2015); achieving mediated meaning construction of organisation behaviour and performance (Robinson and Mendelson 2012) and discovering the method of introspection for individuals in organisations (Kleining and Witt 2000).

It is important to note that “qualitative experiments” (QE) and “Qualitative Action Experiments” (QAE) differ in that QAE studies – aside from generating experiential data – are also interested in the translation of the generated knowledge into action to prompt positive change. Thus, QAE research designs and processes emphasize the notion of co-creation to discover structures, circumstances, relations, connections, and dependencies that are particular to and characteristic of the issues at hand – with a clear commitment to finding practical ways to addressing them. It is this heuristic approach that distinguishes Qualitative Action Experiments from other qualitative methodologies and social science research processes (Ravasio et al. 2004).

Qualitative experiments take place in settings where observations can be made and conclusions drawn based on facts actually witnessed and experienced by research subjects, who are also stakeholders in the process. As such, QAEs are especially beneficial for studies that seek to both enhance the understanding of social phenomena, and simultaneously devise practical responses that can translate this knowledge into effective action. They usually deploy a mix of evaluations, usage analysis, user observations, user study, field studies, and case and sub-case analyses (Naber 2015). In addition, many QAEs also make use of interviews and focus group discussions to engage with the target group as co-implementers of the practical solutions deriving from the experimental setting. QAE studies thus seek to share responsibility for the design and execution of the project to enhance co-inquiry and co-creation of practical innovations (Coghlan and Shani 2014). The goal is to achieve transformative actions at three levels of policymaking and practice namely: personal, organisational, and wider society (Coghlan and Shani 2015).

As with all methodologies, limitations exist. The primary criticisms levelled against QAEs are similar to those against action research as a whole (Bradbury 2015:2), and include:

- Many positive outcomes cannot be easily summarized quantitatively;
- If a reader is not familiar with qualitative approaches, QAE research can appear as lacking in concern for rigor and objectivity.

2.2.2. The “Aha-effect”: Key for translating knowledge into action

Research is about answering novel questions based on new insights generated from original data. When a study yields surprising results, leads to new insights (and maybe even to a breakthrough), researchers are thrilled, often expressing a sigh of equal parts excitement and relief. Duncker’s (1926) “study of productive thinking” used qualitative experiments to investigate why and how novel insights into a problem occur against backgrounds of previously non-existent evidence, which then become the contexts in which the deduction of an insight is made (what is colloquially called the “Aha-effect”).

⁴ The term “qualitative experiment” was first explicitly used by the empirio-critical philosopher Ernst Mach, in 1905 (Tortop, 2016).

A QAE focuses on making study participants understand that the focus is on their thinking, their behaviour, their trials; on whatever enters their minds after being exposed to new knowledge and different sets of possible tools. Naber (2015) says the collective “Aha-effect” embedded in QAEs can ultimately provide more practical knowledge for practitioners than conventional descriptive toolkits, which must be individually translated into daily practice. Thus, researchers using QAEs aim to be surprised by new insights and seek to uncover structures of collective problem-solving processes (Hutter et al. 2015). The Aha-effect in a QAE thus serves as an emotive bridge between knowledge and action; a commitment to engaged, participatory research, it emerges from the daily experiences of research participants, as well as their ability to generate social innovation.

Thus, QAEs allow scholars to observe practitioners in their daily life, discuss pertinent professional issues, and interact with them to gather process-generating data in real-time and in a hands-on fashion (Naber 2015). As our case study shows, for contemporary anti-corruption scholarship, especially one focused on the efficacy of ethics training, QAEs can be an innovative tool for gaining in-depth insights into corruption occurrences and experiences, while simultaneously generating context-specific ways to address issues raised.

2.2.3. Four important principles to yield the “Aha” effect in QAEs

According to Kleining and Witt (2001), QAEs follow four general principles that refer to (1) the situation of the researcher, (2) the topic of research, (3) the data collection process, and (4) data analysis and interpretation.

(1) The researcher(s) should be open to new concepts and change his/her/their preconceptions if the data are not in agreement with their pre-occupations (Kleining and Witt 2001:24).

The first principle asks the researcher to keep their position flexible and to be ready for surprises, both during the research process and regarding its outcomes. Researchers must be ready to deal with the emotional irritation and intellectual challenges that can come with research outcomes that do not confirm or conform to a researcher’s preconceived expectations. The value of the QAE lies in its ability to confront familiarity and unravel new insights, leading to discoveries and alternative solutions to societal problems.

(2) The topic of research is preliminary and may change during the research process. It is only fully known after being successfully explored (Kleining and Witt 2001:25).

QAEs seek practical responses to important societal problems. The research is usually explorative, however, meaning that neither the nature nor the dimensions of the topic are fully known (Ibid). Hence, the more “open” the parameters the better.

(3) Data should be collected under the paradigm of maximum structural variation of perspectives. There should be a multitude of different points of view, as different as possible: methods, respondents, data, time, situation, researchers and stakeholders (Ibid:26).

Typically, QAE research designs seek to include the greatest diversity of perspectives possible, and involve as broad a range of stakeholders as possible. Studies consider gender, age, public or private sector affiliation, religion, attitudes, experience, public opinion, among others, to understand a topic from a multitude of relevant perspectives. According to Naber (2015), using various data collection methods, QAEs can achieve greater data variation, thereby increasing the heterogeneity of data while observing differences in research conditions and its impact on research participants.

(4) The data analysis directs itself toward discovery of similarities. It looks for correspondence similarities, accordance, analogies or homologies within these most varied sets of data and ends up discovering its pattern or structure (Ibid:28).

The analysis of the data is based on the dialectical approach where effort is directed toward discovery of similarities. The analysis groups those parts of the protocols, observations, or interview data that are most similar, and continues this tentative grouping, suggesting headlines for the groups, and then headlines on top of headlines. This process allows for a progression from concrete parts to a more abstract whole without sacrificing concrete details (Naber 2015). Proceeding in this manner, the overall pattern showing the structure of the topic gradually emerges.

Given its inductive and exploratory characteristics, we suggest that a QAE is best administered where:

a) quantitative or other conventional forms of social science research cannot generate sufficient data and facilitate appropriate actions based on the generated data. Our project seeks to increase understanding of planners’ multi-pronged encounters with corruption. Thus, the study focuses on lived realities at individual, institutional, and societal levels of urban corruption. For such a study, a QAE methodology is best suited to support the construction of a knowledge framework that is otherwise only partially attainable through conventional research methodologies, such as large-scale surveys or perception studies. Using a QAE methodology, we sought to obtain a deeper understanding of how urban development professionals, especially planners, individually and collectively deal with ethical dilemmas and integrity challenges in their day-to-day practice.

b) more detailed insights into the task-specific mental model of the user are needed (e.g., in product or policy design interventions). The project seeks to apply this in-depth understanding of the subject to support systems and structures for strengthening professional integrity. QAEs aim to close the gap between knowledge and action that often remains when using conventional observational and prototyping methods (Ravasio et al. 2004). Using QAEs to study corruption and professional integrity in urban development can in turn contribute novel ideas on how to deal with these complex issues when conventional legalistic approaches and institutional reform agendas have failed to yield satisfactory progress.

To deliver on its promise of generating surprising “real-life data” to prompt positive change, QAEs are usually administered alongside other context-sensitive qualitative methods, such as case and field studies, user observations, interviews, and focus group discussions (before and/or after the QAE), among others (Kleining and Witt 2001). In the following section, we specifically discuss the case study method as a valuable complement to the QAE conducted for the Cities of Integrity project.

2.3. INTEGRATING THE CASE STUDY METHOD WITHIN A QAE

QAEs achieve better outcomes when greater attention is paid to contextual issues of the respective study participants, making case studies an appropriate supplement. Case studies allow for a micro analysis of contextual factors (Flyvbjerg 2004) that inform participants’ behaviours and actions. QAEs are related to the case study method in that both involve in-depth analysis, appreciation of context, as well as complexity and diversity in data collection (Flyvbjerg 2011; Kleining and Witt 2001:28). Case studies and QAEs also both require data analysis that pays attention to detail, creates partners, and builds narratives and themes to give “thick descriptions” about a phenomena.

Beverland and Lindgreen (2010:57) define a case study as “an exploration of a ‘bounded system’ – bounded by time and place – through in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context”. Baxter and Jack (2008) argue that case study is a contextual investigation of a phenomenon. Sandelowski (2011:158) emphasizes the importance of “maintaining ‘empirical intimacy’ with one or more temporally and spatially defined objects researchers construct and target for study”. Flyvbjerg (2011) describes a case study as a process of inquiry that is concerned with “individual units”. According to Duminy et al. (2014), the key to successfully using the case study method is the process of drawing conceptual, spatial, and temporal boundaries around a case unit, and paying attention to what happens within those boundaries. What happens outside the case boundaries forms the case context, which is also considered essential to case studies.

The case study method has been extensively discussed as an appropriate method for studying context-bound urban planning and urban development-related phenomena (Flyvbjerg 2006; Duminy et al. 2014). QAEs involve studying practitioners and their organisations, looking to foster transformative practices and provide solutions for social issues. Flyvbjerg (2006) indicates that good case studies in planning and urban development are needed to advance knowledge. “...a discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars, and that a discipline without exemplars is an ineffective one... in planning research, a greater number of good case studies could help remedy this situation” (Ibid:242).

Case studies are concerned with the need to build a detailed understanding of the various players surrounding a given process, phenomena, or context. As such, case studies are useful for investigating particular events or actions in their real-life or real-world contexts (Duminy et al. 2014). The method enables a researcher to closely examine data and information in relation to contextual players and situations. The case-based analysis focuses on players as well as structures, with the intention of showing players in relation to their context. Thus, the case study method enables the inquiry process to engage with nuanced issues and relations of a given phenomenon in real-life situations and real time. This entails the case method facilitating detailed contextual analysis of events, behaviours, and conditions, and the inter-connections between these. Yin (1994:14) defines the case study research method as “an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. As Yin (1994) notes, one should use a case study strategy because one deliberately wants to study contextual conditions. Therefore, the most important value of the case study method is “its capacity to show what has happened in a given setting and how it happened” (Duminy et al. 2014:23).

The third characteristic of case study method is that it supports an interest in developmental players or changes occurring over time. These changes constitute a case as a whole (Flyvbjerg 2011). In other words, the case study method is well-positioned to analyse dynamic processes, allowing researchers to establish and analyse links between players and events over time. This feature of the case method complements the search for practical solutions in Qualitative Action Experiments, and also supports the four principles of QAE studies previously outlined (Kleining and Witt 2000).

2.3.1. Case types

In the Cities of Integrity project, we adopted the “good patient metaphor” (Duminy et al. 2014:26) to motivate for choosing Zambia as our case study country. A particular real-world problem affecting society could be imagined as an illness that needs to be cured. A “good patient” presents an illness that provides a challenge to medical practitioners. Thus, a good case offers both a challenge and an opportunity to generate knowledge about the causes, modalities, or outcomes of a real-world problem that extends beyond the immediate boundaries of the case (ibid:27). Urban corruption is a complex real-world problem that

needs deep understanding in order to inform the careful and reflective search for corrective interventions. Thus, QAE studies can deliver important data and new solutions when deployed alongside the case study method.

There are different case types, each with unique features, that can be used to fulfil a particular study goal. Flyvbjerg (2001) identifies typical, average, or representative cases as intended to help the researcher to study a standard or typical example of a wider category of samples. The second type of cases are the “atypical or unique cases that tend to activate more players and more mechanisms in the situation studied” (ibid:78). This category of cases is appropriate for deeper insightful studies that seek to generate more nuanced knowledge on a given issue. The third type is the critical case. Such a case is chosen because it bears some degree of strategic importance in relation to the general problem being investigated (ibid). A critical case is one that tests a well-formulated theory: it can be used “to determine whether a theory’s propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of recommendations might be relevant” (Yin 2009:1201). This type of case is similar to paradigmatic cases, which “have a metaphorical and prototypical value which if well-presented can be useful for understanding very complex intersection of discourses, actions and context in the real-world” (Duminy et al. 2014:30; Flyvbjerg 2001).

In the next section, we discuss the status of planning in Zambia and – with regard to the case categorization laid out above – tackle the question of why the country constitutes a unique case that is well-positioned for using a QAE approach to study corruption and integrity challenges in urban development.

3. QAE IN ACTION: UNDERSTANDING CORRUPTION AND FOSTERING INTEGRITY AMONGST ZAMBIAN PLANNERS

3.1. CONTEXTUALIZING CORRUPTION AND URBAN PLANNING IN ZAMBIA

Zambia records both high rates of urbanisation and high numbers of alleged cases of corruption in urban development. The country ranked a lowly 150th in the world for effectiveness in registering property, and enforcing one’s property rights through the courts is an often cumbersome and uncertain process (US Department of State: Investment Climate Statement 2017). There are numerous past and ongoing urban development projects that have been investigated by Transparency International Zambia⁵, other civil society organisations, and public authorities for alleged corruption, fraud, and financial mismanagement. Moreover, the media is replete with reports that implicate the planning profession in compromised urban development and land administration processes⁶. Thus, planners in Zambia are increasingly exposed and sometimes also party to corruption in local urban development.

At the same time, the country is a signatory of the three most important global anti-corruption conventions – the UN Convention Against Corruption, the AU Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, and the OECD Convention Against Foreign Bribery – and has identified corruption as one of the major impediments to local growth and development⁷. Choosing Zambia as the location for our QAE research intervention was not primarily spurred by the mere prevalence of corruption in urban development, however, but also – and perhaps more importantly – by the variety of local efforts to create an enabling environment for planners to make a positive contribution to national development. Taken together, these conditions created an exciting window of opportunity for administering a QAE.

The practice of urban and regional planning in Zambia is regulated by the Urban and Regional Planners Act of 2011. The Act provides for the establishment of the Zambia Institute of Planners (ZIP), whose mandate is to provide for the registration of planners and planning firms, to regulate their professional conduct, and to provide for matters connected with or incidental to town planning. Thus, every planner in Zambia is required by law to be registered and regulated, but also is entitled to be professionally supported, by ZIP.

Until recently, ZIP failed to perform in accordance with its national goals, objectives, and vision. Poorly organised and lacking funding, the profession was performing very poorly (Taylor and Thole 2015), and practicing as a planner in Zambia was not sanctioned by any formal accreditation. In 2011 only 60 accredited planners were registered as members. After the enactment of the Urban and Regional Planners Act of 2011, further reforms were taken, including the Urban and Regional Planning Act in 2015, and the introduction of a capacity building-focused Masters programme in Spatial Planning at the University of Zambia and its support research centre, the Centre for Urban Research and Planning (CURP). As a result, urban planning has recorded remarkable growth and assumed an important voice on matters of urban development in Zambia. As of 2019, the Institute records show over 800 accredited practicing planners (Personal Communication, Treasurer ZIP, December 2019).

Following these reforms, ZIP has achieved a powerful position from which to influence the collective development and socio-political positioning of the profession. Through its mandate to formally register planners, it regulates access to the profession, thus holding the opportunity to control quality, sanction irregular planning practice, and promote integrity in the profession. From 2017 onwards, ZIP has promulgated a Code of Ethics as a reference document for ethical and professional conduct of planners in Zambia⁸. Further, ZIP is currently working to formulate the Planners’ Practice Guide to operationalise

⁷ <http://www.oecd.org/corruption/oecdantibriberyconvention.htm>.

the Code of Ethics. Used together with the provisions in the Urban and Regional Planners Act of 2011 and the Urban and Regional Planning Act of 2015, ZIP is a key stakeholder in developing and enforcing professional accountability mechanisms and proactively promoting integrity as a shared collective for planners in Zambia.

Unlike in the past, only qualified planners with full accreditation can now work as planners in both the public and private sector in Zambia. ZIP has also recorded an increase in the number of private planning firms, with numbers currently standing at one international and seven national firms. There are now accredited planning firms offering planning services from consultancy and education to community empowerment and civic development in the urban land and urban development sectors. Other reform efforts include the launch of an innovative forward-looking Association of African Planning Schools⁹ (AAPS) model planning programme at the University of Zambia. This seeks to support the implementation of the new national efforts to reform and enhance the role of planning in Zambia, and serve as a model for other planning schools in Africa to reform their planning curricular and pedagogy. Watson and Agbola (2013:7) characterize this programme as “embodying content”, to foster a pedagogy needed to respond to current and future urbanisation challenges and to promote transparency in urban planning and urban development in Africa. Thus, the outlook for planning in Zambia presents an opportunity to embed integrity both in the growth of the planning profession, as well as in the profession’s role in influencing the nature of urban development in Zambia. Presenting itself as a case with numerous opportunities for interventions to transform and enhance the role of planners in national development, Zambia struck the research team as a unique case that warranted the implementation of a QAE-driven research agenda.

3.2. ENGAGING ZAMBIAN PLANNERS THROUGH THE QUALITATIVE ACTION EXPERIMENT

The status of planning in Zambia clearly illustrates the need to both increase the number of qualified planners on the continent, and to equip them with the soft power skills to deal with complex issues in planning and urban development. The current status of planning in Zambia – characterized by a growing number of professionals working in at times severely ethically compromised contexts – begs the question of how to equip professionals with adequate skills and values that champion transparency and ensure greater accountability. Similarly, measures to increase the number of qualified practicing planners must be matched by efforts to strengthen their professional integrity. The QAE intervention in Lusaka sought to leverage professional pride and collective acumen, channelling it towards countering potentially corrupt practices and presenting an opportunity to empower Zambian planners to detect, report, and avoid corrupt practices.

Taking the form of an intensive 2.5-day training workshop, the aim of the intervention was to provide a safe space for local planners from across the country to discuss their day-to-day encounters with corruption, share personal responses, think through possible collective support strategies together with the professional body, and build a community of practice around the positive notion of integrity.

As the QAE is complemented by a number of follow-up research and assessment activities, namely quarterly online check-ins, focus groups, individual interviews, and an evaluative workshop with participants scheduled for October 2020¹⁰, the empirical and methodological findings presented in this paper are preliminary. Nonetheless, we believe they can be instructive for better understanding some of the main challenges of practicing planners in Zambia when it comes to maintaining their professional integrity in the face of widespread corruption.

3.3. QAE PRINCIPLES IN PRACTICE

The development of the Cities of Integrity QAE has been inspired and informed by the need to develop a deep understanding of the professional integrity landscape for practising planners in Zambia, while also coming up with practical responses to widespread corruption in the local urban development and land administration sector¹¹. Recapping Kleining and Witt’s (2000) analysis of the principles of QAE studies, their design and execution requires open-minded researchers, a flexible topic, multiple data sources and types, and comprehensive data analysis to tell a full and nuanced story of the whole. Consequently,

⁸ The implementation of this Code of Ethics has been slow, hence our project is also engaged in finding ways to speed this up.

⁹ <https://www.africanplanningschools.org.za/>.

¹⁰ This workshop date is tentative and subject to local and global developments in response to the Covid-19 pandemic.

¹¹ The course syllabus for our QAE in Zambia was based on a context-specific adaptation of the CPD course ‘Corruption and Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa’, first delivered in February 2017 at the University of Cape Town. A second rendition was also delivered as part of a Master Class on Land Governance in 2018 at the NELGA Southern Africa Hub in Windhoek.

the design of the intervention focused on active learning techniques, embracing a set of guiding principles that have been found to underpin impactful ethics training exercises elsewhere¹². In addition to the guiding QAE principles, the specific QAE design for Zambia embodied the following principles¹³:

- a strong focus on very practical, pragmatic mechanisms and dynamics of lived professional integrity, rather than a narrow focus on anti-corruption compliance, abstract ethical reasoning, and universal normative standards¹⁴;
- a systemic approach that moves beyond individual strategies for integrity to embrace levers for attitudinal and behavioural changes that result from collective identities, social norms, and resources in organisational cultures¹⁵;
- allowing for the discussion of multiple, sometimes controversial perspectives in a participatory and non-judgemental manner.

3.3.1. Selection of QAE participants

Chosen and approached through a range of mechanisms, 38 registered and practicing professional planners from both the public and private sectors in Zambia participated in the Cities of Integrity QAE. In close consultation with the rest of the project team, ZIP and CURP staff drove the selection of participants, some of whom responded to a call placed on various digital platforms¹⁶. The Zambian research team also deliberately invited certain individuals considered to be in positions of influence, who are subjected to intense corruption pressures, and also invited others to ensure equal representation in terms of age, gender, seniority, and size of the administrative unit worked in (municipal, rural, or urban centres).

3.3.2. The QAE intervention format and content

The following section presents the intervention's key methodological and content features. The training agenda was structured around four modules with inputs and exercises alternating between short presentations, group work, interactive scenarios, a role play, and reflection sessions (see Annex 1). The principle aim of all modules was to raise awareness about corruption in urban development and share context-specific information that could trigger transformative thinking and help to foster a community of practice for urban integrity in Zambia. The following presents a lateral flow of the main design choices and sessions, discussing them according to the specific action objectives they were meant to support.

3.3.2.1. *Raising Awareness about the scale, scope, and consequences of corruption, and debunking corruption myths*

As an initial input and to kickstart discussion, the facilitators presented material to exemplify the multiple detriments of corruption, and debunk common myths around its causes and effects. A lot of material specifically focused on corruption in the Zambian planning and land administration sector to make it immediately relatable for participants. The introductory session provided a “big picture” overview of the substantive empirical scale, scope, and impact of corruption, and was coupled with multimedia inputs in the form of two documentaries¹⁷ that presented the challenge of corruption in a narrative format, demonstrating its systemic, ubiquitous, and consequential nature in urban development. Intended as an icebreaker to open participants to the topic, the module was followed by a lively debate, during which participants shared personal insights on the myths and consequences of corruption for Zambian cities and society as a whole.

Planners asked both diligent and at times controversial questions, debating routine integrity challenges and professional ethics concerns in their day-to-day practice. Specific issues raised included the receiving of tips disguised as “service facilitation fees”, the public perception that Zambian public sector planners are corrupt, as well as conflicts of interests in making decisions about land allocations and planning outcomes. The group work session provided further empirical evidence that directly and comprehensively dispelled some popular corruption myths (e.g., corruption is a petty issue, or simply the

12 For an overview see Warren, D.E., Gaspar, J.P., & Laufer, W.S. (2014). Is formal ethics training merely cosmetic? A study of ethics training and ethical organizational culture. *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 24(1), 85-117.

13 Jakobsen, M., Jacobsen, C.B., & Serritzlew, S. (2018). Managing the Behavior of Public Frontline Employees through Change-Oriented Training: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*; for some notable exception in the area of planning see Howe, E. (1990). Normative ethics in planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 5(2), 123-150.

14 For a grounding of this principle in contemporary ethics education and training see for example the “Giving voice to values approach” <http://www.babson.edu/Academics/teaching-research/gvv/Pages/curriculum.aspx>; “The Moral Minimum Approach as discussed in Englehardt, E.E., & Pritchard, M.S. (Eds.) (2018). *Ethics Across the Curriculum- Pedagogical Perspectives*. Springer.

15 See the prominent Ethical Systems Approach by Jonathan Haidt et al. at <https://www.ethicalsystems.org>.

16 These included the ZIP website and its social media platforms, the Centre for Urban Research and Planning (CURP) social media platforms, as well as direct email to ZIP members and other urban development professionals and academics.

17 Living with Corruption (2008): <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt2174091/> and Hands of our Playground (2016): <https://landportal.org/blog-post/2016/12/hands-our-playground-securing-land-rights-kenyan-schools>

necessary greasing of squeaky administrative wheels to help urban development along). Delivered in an interactive format, the module emphasized the fact that corruption has become a major obstacle to reaching inclusive and sustainable urban development goals in Africa and beyond.

3.3.2.2. Sharing context-specific information about corruption risks for urban development, planning and planners in Zambia

Throughout the workshop, real-world urban corruption examples from Zambia and other countries were used to highlight both the immediate and longer-term consequences of corruption in urban development. These manifest in the form of skewed, dysfunctional urban infrastructures and settlement patterns that hardwire discrimination, environmental damage, exclusion, and corruption into the fabric of the city for decades to come (Zinnbauer 2019; 2020). Some prominent alleged urban corruption incidents were referenced, specifically drawing attention to the decisive roles urban planners played in each. Drawing on illustrative examples of urban corruption from across the globe, we levelled the playing field, showing that urban corruption is neither confined to nor most prevalent on the African continent. This invited participants to freely compare and contrast their own experiences and to start reflecting on the urban corruption risk profile of Zambia. Discussions and debates circled around the empirics of Zambia's corruption risk profile, its key urban governance and urban development issues, as well as important urban policy frameworks that breed or curb corruption. The input drew on print and digital media stories¹⁸, as well as reports documenting rising corruption in Zambia. The multimedia inputs also served as a reference for evocatively illustrating the socio-material consequences of often seemingly abstract corrupt urban planning decisions. Taken together, the material allowed for deeper individual introspection and group reflection to challenge common myths about corruption, rendering a bigger picture of how corruption in planning compromises efforts to create liveable and just cities for all.

3.3.2.3. Creating awareness about the practical challenges to ethical agency

Two sessions on days one and two, as well as a short animated video on some of the key findings from Dan Ariely's (2012) seminal social psychology book *The (Honest) Truth About Dishonesty*¹⁹ were used to convey how corruption is typically not just about a small number of "bad apples". The point of these interventions was to show how corruption comprises a whole host of very subtle psycho-social mechanisms that can thwart ethical agency and lead perfectly well-intentioned people down a slippery slope of escalating corrupt behaviour. As this message was identified as one of the central takeaways for the course, it was tailored to specific planning situations, and repeatedly referenced in course discussions and illustrated through simple visual memes²⁰ that provided memorable illustrations for complex psycho-social mechanisms that could be easily remembered and referenced in discussions.

To tie these general messages closer to the everyday experience of urban planners, another interactive session used specific urban corruption scenarios to prompt participants to "make the call" on common moral challenges in the workplace. The session was prefaced by a reminder about the profession's shared values; that is, a commitment to conduct that is truthful, professional, legal, and positively affects public confidence. Scenarios were specifically tailored to urban planning and asked participants how they would respond to a given situation; for example, how they deal with the profession's "revolving door"²¹, or cases of political interference in planning decisions. This session allowed participants to bring their own thoughts and experiences to the table, and even spurred some participants to submit their own context-specific scenarios for debate in the forum. Providing safe platforms to contribute and candidly share personal experiences with peers was a central ambition of the overall training, and the majority of participants actively took advantage of this feature.

3.3.2.4. Equipping participants with the right tools: discussing support mechanisms and resources for asserting integrity

To ensure a high level of contextual engagement and practical relevance, we dedicated another course component to expert input from an esteemed anti-corruption practitioner, who provided context-specific insights into the locally applicable legal frameworks (e.g., regarding conflicts of interest, professional duties, corruption case law, whistle-blower protection, etc.). A respected anti-corruption and integrity expert from within the intervention country is best positioned to convey relevant legal and policy settings alongside poignant and evocative examples of local corruption cases. As such, the presence of eminent anti-corruption practitioner Rueben Lifuka²² spurred excitement and hope among course participants, and his session yielded a vivid and lively discussion on topics such as the legal provisions of the latest Whistle-Blower Act, and current conflict of interest challenges in the local planning community. Issues concerning private planning jobs (also referred to as "PJs" by participants) for public servants raised intense discussion on the meaning of conflict of interests, and how planners deal with such emotive issues.

18 <https://www.pressreader.com/zambia/daily-nation-newspaper/20180903/281556586703768>.

19 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XBmJay_qdNc.

20 "The boiling frog", "the baiting of fish" and "the elephant and the rider" were three popular social psychology metaphors used during the training to exemplify complex processes of moral reasoning.

21 This metaphor is often used to describe planners moving between public and private sector appointments

22 <https://www.ptfund.org/team/rueben-lifuka/>.

To further support the objective of inspiring and equipping planners with both hope and practical tools for change, participants worked in small groups to: a) compile a catalogue of existing and desirable support mechanisms and resources (e.g., existing complaints channels or support hotlines that enable a speak-up culture); and b) devise a set of practical micro-tactics for resisting corruption and asserting professional integrity in practical day-to-day planning work. Finally, a prompt to think about micro-strategies to resist corruption and envision possible integrity support mechanisms was also built into a role-play session, as well as the previously mentioned “you make the call” exercise.

3.3.3. Building a community of practice: Raising professional pride, emphasizing the public interest-orientation of planners

In line with a growing body of scholarship in law, psychology, political science, and sociology our intervention aimed to move beyond narrow anti-corruption and compliance measures to try and directly activate a sense of professional pride, public service motivation, and broader professional responsibility. In addition, several activities were designed to raise the feeling of being part of a solidarity-oriented community of “integrity champions”, bolstering network formation within and beyond the participant cohort. The overall intervention was planned so as to allow for progression among course participants from deep appreciation and understanding of the multiple faces of corruption in the urban sector to creating change agents and becoming integrity champions.

Our QAE sought to ignite behavioural change through the following activities and design choices (see work programme in Annex 1):

- A public panel discussion was an integral part of the workshop, and included a diverse set of stakeholders, including urban planning practitioners, slum dweller representatives, anti-corruption activists, and a participant representing all mayors and council chairpersons in Zambia. The diversity of panellists and audience members ensured exposure to different viewpoints early on, and encouraged the types of perspective-giving and perspective-taking that help to develop a balanced self-perception and sensibility around the complex notion of public interest. Referencing many dubious urban development activities, past and present, the panel event sought to raise the profile of the planning profession and highlight its key role in shaping Zambia’s urban future. An interactive discussion with the audience encouraged further reflection on the many expectations and demands that stakeholders hold regarding urban planning in Zambia, and audience members were able to pose pertinent questions to the planning community, and also remind them of their fiduciary duties to safeguard the public interest in their practice. To give the panel discussion additional visibility, we also invited local media, a choice that additionally communicated to course participants the public’s attention on and expectations of the planning community.
- Paying special attention to the selection of participants through targeted outreach. Bringing together a diverse cross-section of the Zambian planning community was paramount, and our research partnership with CURP and ZIP ensured that we could convene a very diverse cohort of participants, including even those from the country’s far-flung regions. Different levels of seniority ensured that a broad range of experiences, challenges, and responses to integrity challenges could be shared. A wide geographic spread also meant that the 38 course participants came from large cities, medium-size municipalities, and small-town councils alike. The diversity – in terms of age, gender, and geography – in the room allowed for deeper connection among planners who often work alone or in very small teams at their outposts. These planners are likely to benefit in particular from the support linkages created during the QAE workshop, and maintained thereafter through different communication channels.
- Connected to the above point, it was also beneficial that all participants were housed together at the workshop venue for the entire duration of the training. Though it may initially seem trivial, this proximity not only allowed for a networking reception on the first day, but also created room for casual encounters and exchanges outside of the formal workshop schedule, ultimately advancing our aim of building and strengthening a peer network.
- Finally, participants received an official “Certificate of Participation”, jointly issued and signed by CURP, ZIP, and the University of Cape Town. Awarded in a small closing ceremony to reinforce a sense of accomplishment and community, certificates of extracurricular training issued by a prestigious higher education institution are highly coveted in the local profession, as they help planners stand out when applying for promotions or jobs in the private sector. The certificate is also recognized by ZIP as proof for Continuous Professional Development (CPD) points, a requirement for access to certain privileges such as a “Seal of Practice”. To incentivise continuous participation in follow-up activities, this certificate will be upgraded to an even more valuable “Certificate of Completion” after full participation in the upcoming activities.

3.3.4. Catalysing action for behaviour change, peer involvement and institutional reforms

As the course drew to a close, facilitators sought to gain a light-touch commitment from participants. This was introduced in order to encourage micro-level behaviour change at the individual level, and to inspire course participants to promote and support professional integrity measures more broadly. On the final day, all participants were thus invited to commit to one or

several specific activities that would promote integrity amongst themselves and their professional community more broadly.

For inspiration, participants were offered a list of exemplary pledges of increasing commitment intensity – ranging from telling three colleagues back home about the course to displaying a visible “integrity pledge” on one’s desk, or from updating the office service charter to organizing regular reflective sessions at work. These exemplary commitments were derived from some of the micro-tactics and broader strategies for integrity promotion brought forward by participants over the course of the workshop, and were further informed by a growing empirical literature on the efficacy of nudges (Thaler and Sunstein 2009) and commitment devices for behaviour change (Bryan et al. 2010). To fully retain the voluntary aspect and avoid undue public pressure, participants made commitments to themselves in writing, sharing them with the course convenors in anonymous form. The list of collected commitments will be shared with participants during the planned follow-up research encounters, to remind them of their individual promises and commitments, to make them aware of the collective promises of the group, and to invite them to reflect on potential challenges and progress made (Centola and Macy 2007). The table below shows the summary of key immediate commitments from the course participants (participants were able to commit to more than one action).

Table 1: Integrity commitments of QAE participants

- Meet with colleagues/mentees/subordinates to share the results of the workshop (24)
- Draft/develop service charter (9)
- Make service charter and procedures more publicly accessible/visible (9)
- Draft/develop checklists (7)
- Improve personal efforts and practices to be a person of integrity (7)
- Strengthen integrity of colleagues/workplace (6)
- Put sign up with integrity-focused message in office or visible public place of work/vehicle (4)
- Take steps to educate clients regarding processes/procedures (4)
- Be a resource on or champion for integrity and anti-corruption (4)
- Call out the corruption of others (2)
- Praise/reward demonstrations of integrity by others (2)
- Introduce regular work meetings to reflect on integrity (2)

3.4. ASSESSING THE QAE

3.4.1. Baseline and end-line surveying

In order to assess the immediate direct impact of the course on attitudes, beliefs, level of awareness, and knowledge about key issues, both a baseline and an end-line survey were administered. The focus in these surveys was not the retention of facts and figures, but potential changes in attitudes towards corruption, perceived personal efficacy of acting with integrity, and markers of public service motivation. The short surveys also contained a set of demographic questions to allow for a more differentiated analysis. It should be emphasized, however, that the action experiment was primarily of a qualitative nature, and the small number in this partly self-selected, partly purposive sample population does not allow for broader statistical inferences in the first place. In addition, a standard course evaluation questionnaire was administered at the end of the workshop to gauge the view of participants on which modules worked best, and whether the level of teaching was adequate.

3.4.2. Post-QAE activities

The direct pre- and post-workshop surveys are being complemented by a set of follow-up activities that include personal interviews, focus group discussions, and participant observations over a 12-month period to track the longer-term impact of the course, support capabilities afforded by the peer network, and develop a deeper understanding of the integrity landscape in Zambia’s planning community²³. The post-QAE activities are expected to further specify the strategies that planners deploy to deal with integrity challenges in their daily planning practice. The activities are expected to equally unravel what does not work, and how else corruption can be addressed, and integrity asserted in urban planning and development. These activities include:

²³ These follow-up activities are largely carried out virtually due to the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020. The results will be presented in our third working paper, planned for publication in December 2020.

²⁴ See footnote 10. This is a tentative date and might need to be moved back.

- Quarterly online check-ins in the form of a short survey that also doubles as a reminder of the individual integrity pledges made by the course participants.
- A set of focus groups and in-depth interviews with course participants to explore what parts of the course have proven useful (if at all) for their day-to-day planning practice.
- A follow-up workshop for all QAE participants in October 2020²⁴. This will allow for monitoring of the changes in both the profession and individual planners, thereby helping us to determine the impact of our QAE tool and approaches

3.4.3. Responses from the first QAE check-in

The first online check-in was completed in April 2020. Summarized in this section, the results provide a first glimpse into our empirical data. As shown in Figure 1, of the 24 participants who responded, the majority (87.5%) remembered their personal pledges. Figure 2 shows that all of the respondents shared the training outcomes with colleagues, workmates, family, and friends. The high response rate and the number of those who remembered and shared their experiences, commitments, and pledges signal that the training was taken seriously.

Figure 1: Remembering integrity pledges, QAE first survey

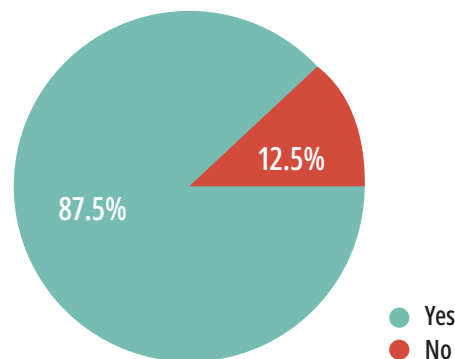
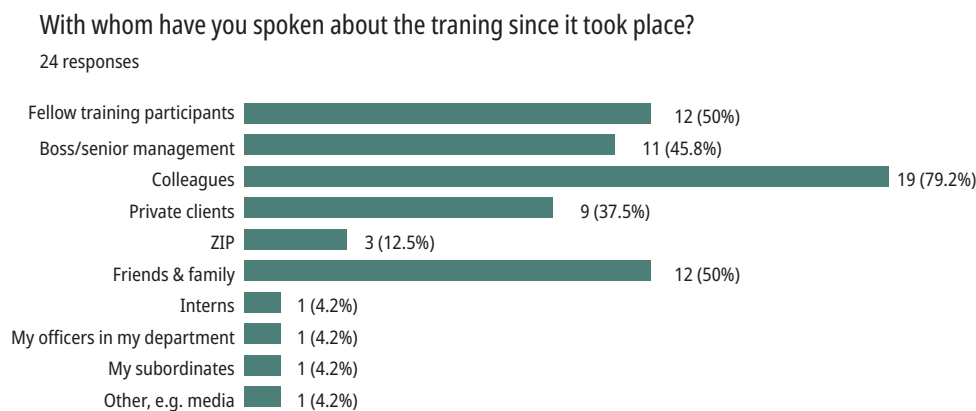


Figure 2: Number and rate of participants sharing QAE outcomes, QAE survey



My department is currently in the process of formulating the service charter for the department and overall institution, code of conduct at the workplace was given to each officer and a proposal to the Council will be made to have an integrity committee even if the local authority is small and new. (QAE check-in respondent, March 2020)

Other respondents specified that the training increased their sense of positive feeling and hope that they will make a difference at their places of work. A number of respondents revealed a commitment to cease engaging in “private jobs” during working hours (an issue that was repeatedly raised and hotly debated during the QAE, see above). To demonstrate commitments to building professional integrity, some participants developed checklists for planning decisions, and shared these checklists with clients.

I have contributed to the development of some checklists to make clients understand procedures though there is more to be done in this area. As for records of what to do, I have always lost track and hence still forget some pending issues. Still trying to work on this one. (QAE responded, March 2020)

I openly share training aspects on integrity and means to avert professional engagements in corrupt activities

(QAE responded, March 2020)

Further, the responses from the first check-in show that planners are under pressure and remain vulnerable to corruption. Figure 3 shows 66.7% of the planners have been asked to approve a predetermined planning outcome since taking part in the QAE, while Figure 4 shows that 37.5% have suffered punishments for refusing to compromise their professional integrity.

Figure 3: Asked to approve a predetermined planning outcome, QAE survey

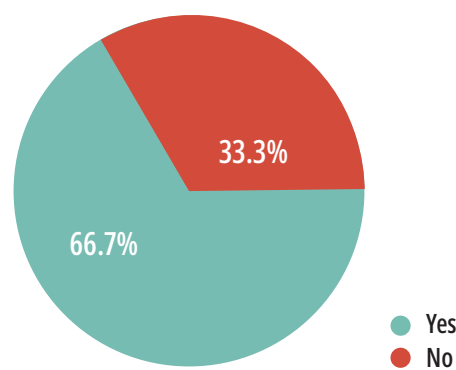
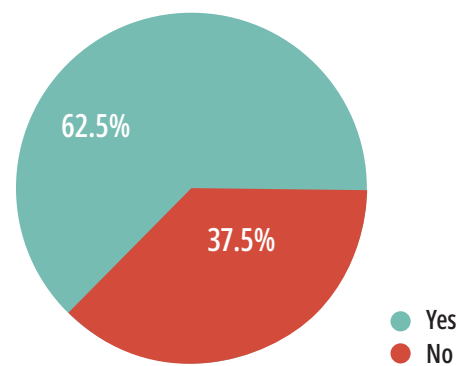


Figure 4: Punished for refusing to compromise and support corruption, QAE survey



4. CONCLUSION

Departing from the first working paper (Zinnbauer 2019), which outlined the impacts of corruption in urban development, this second edition zones in on the QAE methodology as one of the key empirical capstones of the Cities of Integrity project. This paper argued that a Qualitative Action Experiment enables researchers to discover the structure of problem-solving processes by observing the actions of the practitioners that join the intervention. From the perspective of the researcher, success is achieved if the practitioners break out of their routine and “leave their beaten path” (Rammert, 2010: 11). With its commitment to linking research and action more closely, the QAE process helped us to make more explicit the implicit individual and collective strategies of searching for and finding responses to urban corruption in Zambia. The exploratory ambit of our QAE helped us to relate to and better understand the various perspectives of planning practitioners, as well as the complex issues they face in their professional day-to-day when it comes to the safeguarding of their fiduciary duties.

While we are still in the process of producing further empirical data that will hopefully tell us more about the efficacies and shortcomings of our approach, the first round of evidence suggests some positive change in participants when it comes to championing integrity in the workplace. Ultimately, we hope that our ongoing research activities can contribute some fresh methodological thinking around the use and usefulness of ethics training, especially when it comes to the pertinent challenge of urban corruption.

5. REFERENCES

- Ariely, D. (2012). *The (honest) truth about dishonesty*. New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The qualitative report*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 544-559.
- Beverland, M., & Lindgreen, A. (2010). What makes a good case study? A positivist review of qualitative case research published in *Industrial Marketing Management*, 1971–2006. *Industrial Marketing Management*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 56-63.
- Bradbury, H. (Ed.). (2015). *The Sage Handbook of Action Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA, USA: Sage.
- Bryan, G., Karlan, D., & Nelson, S. (2010). Commitment devices. Palo Alto, USA: *Annual Review of Economics*, Vol. 2, No. 1., 671-698.
- Centola, D., & Macy, M. (2007). Complex contagions and the weakness of long ties. *American journal of Sociology*, Vol. 113, No. 3, 702-734.
- Chiodelli, F., & Moroni, S. (2015). Corruption in land-use issues: a crucial challenge for planning theory and practice. *Town Planning Review*, Vol. 86, No. 4, 437-455.
- Coghlan, D., & Shani, A. B. (2015). Developing the practice of leading change through insider action research: A dynamic capability perspective. *The SAGE Handbook of Action Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 47-54.
- Duminy, J., Andreasen, J., & Lerise, F. (2014). *Planning and the case study method in Africa: The planner in dirty shoes*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan
- Duncker, K. (1926). A qualitative (experimental and theoretical) study of productive thinking (solving of comprehensible problems). *The Pedagogical Seminary and Journal of Genetic Psychology*, Vol. 33, No. 4, 642-708.
- Durand-Lasserve, A. (2015). Tenure Security and Exclusion Processes in Peri-urban Areas and Rural Hinterlands of West African Cities. In Pistor, K. & De Schutter, O. eds., *Governing Access to Essential Resources*, New York, USA: Columbia University Press. 156
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2001). *Making social science matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2004). Phronetic planning research: Theoretical and methodological reflections. *Planning Theory & Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 283-306.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2006). Five misunderstandings about case-study research. *Qualitative inquiry*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 219-245.
- Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case Study. In Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4th Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 301-316.
- Hutter, M., Knoblauch, H., Rammert, W., & Windeler, A. (2015). Innovation society today. The reflexive creation of novelty. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, Vol. 40, No. 153, 30-47.
- Kleinig, G. (1986). Das qualitative experiment [the qualitative experiment]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* Vol. 38, No. 4, 724–750.
- Kleinig, G. (1995). *Qualitativ-heuristische Sozialforschung: Schriften zur Theorie und Praxis*, 2nd Edition. Hamburg-Harvestehude: Fechner.
- Kleinig, G. (1986). Das qualitative experiment [the qualitative experiment]. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* Vol. 38, No. 4, 724–750.
- Kleinig, G., & Witt, H. (2000). The qualitative heuristic approach: A methodology for discovery in psychology and the social sciences. Rediscovering the method of introspection as an example. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Art. 13
- Kleinig, G., & Witt, H. (2001). Discovery as basic methodology of qualitative and quantitative research. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Art. 16

- Meyer-Sahling, J. H., Mikkelsen, K. S., & Schuster, C. (2018). Civil service management and corruption: What we know and what we don't. *Public Administration*, Vol. 96, No. 2, 276-285.
- Naber, A. (2015). Qualitative experiment as a participating method in innovation research. *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 233-257.
- Pereira, M. E., & Álvaro, J. L. (2013). Social Psychology: research methods and techniques. *Estudos de Psicologia*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 37-45.
- Price, P. C., Jhangiani, R., & Chiang, I. C. A. (2015). *Research methods in psychology*. British Columbia, Canada: BC Campus.
- Quesada, M. G., Jiménez-Sánchez, F., & Villoria, M. (2013). Building Local Integrity Systems in Southern Europe: the case of urban local corruption in Spain. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 79, No. 4, 618-637.
- Rammert, W. (2010). Die innovationen der gesellschaft. In Soziale innovation, PP 21-51 (pp. 21-51). VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Ravasio, P. A., Guttormsen-Schar, S., & Tscherte, V. (2004). The qualitative experiment in HCI: Definition, occurrences, value and use. *Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction*, Vol. 5, 1-24.
- Robinson, S., & Mendelson, A. L. (2012). A qualitative experiment: Research on mediated meaning construction using a hybrid approach. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 332-347.
- Sandelowski, M. (2011). "Casing" the research case study. *Research in nursing & health*, Vol. 34, Issue 2, 153-159.
- Taylor, T. K., & Thole, C. B. (2015). Re-thinking town and country planning practice in Zambia. *Developing Country Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 10, 34-43.
- Thaler, R. H., & Sunstein, C. R. (2009). *Nudge: Improving decisions about health, wealth, and happiness*. New York, USA: Penguin.
- Tortop, H. S. (2016). Why Thought Experiments Should Be Used as an Educational Tool to Develop Problem-Solving Skills and Creativity of the Gifted Students? *Üstün Zekalılar Eğitimi ve Yaratıcılık Dergisi*, Vol. 3, No. 3, 35-48.
- Wagoner, B. (2015). Qualitative experiments in psychology: The case of Frederic Bartlett's methodology. In *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, Vol. 16, No. 3.
- Watson, V. (2014). African urban fantasies: dreams or nightmares? *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 215-231.
- Watson, V., & Agbola, B. (2013). Counterpoints: Who Will Plan Africa's Cities? *Africa Research Institute*.
- Watson, V., & Odendaal, N. (2013). Changing planning education in Africa: The role of the association of African planning schools. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 96-107.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). Discovering the future of the case study. Method in evaluation research. *Evaluation practice*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 283-290.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*, 4th Edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Zinnbauer, D. (2019). *Leveraging the Role of the Urban Planning Profession for One of the Central Policy Challenges of Our Times*. Cities of Integrity: Working Paper 1.
- Zinnbauer, D. (2020) Urbanisation, informality, and corruption: designing policies for integrity in the city. *U4 Issue* 2020:6.

6. ANNEX 1



Qualitative Action Experiment 8th-10th October 2019

Program

Venue: Golden Peacock Hotel in Lusaka, Zambia

<i>Time</i>	<i>Activity</i>
08/10/19	<i>Introduction to the basics of urban corruption and why it matters</i>
07:45-8:15	<i>Registration</i>
08:15	<i>Welcome remarks and introductions</i>
08:30	<i>Learning objectives and course overview</i>
09:15	<i>Input 1: 'The basics of (urban) corruption'</i>
10:30	<i>Coffee Break</i>
10:50	<i>Media input</i>
12:00	<i>Groupwork session #1</i>

6. ANNEX 1 CONT.



13:00	Lunch
14:00	Opening remarks 'Cities of Integrity'
14:30	<p>Public Panel Discussion on 'Building Cities of Integrity in Zambia', moderated by Dr. Gilbert Siame</p> <p>Speakers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transparency International Zambia President, Mr. Reuben Lifuka - The Vice President – Local Government Association of Zambia - Deputy Country Coordinator – Peoples Process on Housing and Poverty in Zambia (PPHPZ), Mrs. Melanie Chirwa - ZIP President, Mr. Cooper Chibomba
16:30- 19:30	Cocktail reception
09/10/19	Day 2: The Urban Corruption Landscape in Zambia
08:30	Intro to Day 2
09:00	Learnings and reflections from the panel discussion
09:30	Input 2: 'Unpacking major issues and dynamics of urban corruption in Zambia'
10:30	Coffee break

6. ANNEX 1 CONT.

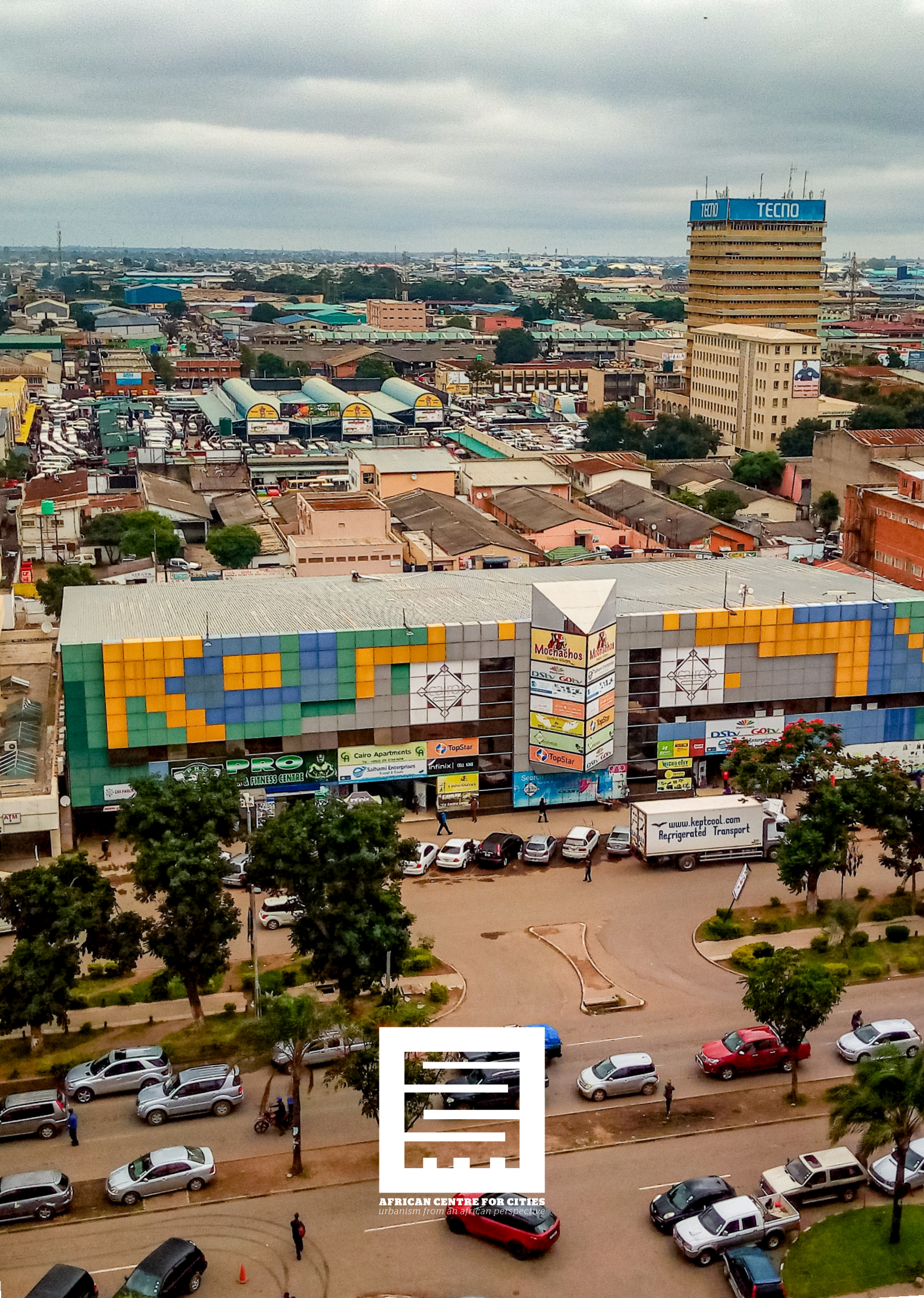


10:45	<i>Reflecting on ethical dilemmas, personal and professional compromises for Zambian planners</i>
11:00	<i>Groupwork session #2</i>
12:30	<i>Lunch</i>
13:30	<i>Input 3: 'Personal morals and professional ethics'</i>
14:15	<i>Role play 'Wonder Lake'</i>
17:00	<i>Where to from here? Looking forward to the tools and skills to mitigate corruption and promote integrity</i>
10/10/19	<i>Day 3: Practical tools, skills and strategies to mitigate urban corruption</i>
08:30	<i>Intro to Day 3</i>
09:00	<i>Input 4: 'Tactics and strategies for addressing urban corruption'</i>

6. ANNEX 1 CONT.



09:30	Group work session #3
10:30	Tea Break
10:45	Final reflection session
12:15	Closing remarks: Charting the way ahead – building cities of integrity in Zambia
12:30	Course evaluation
13:00	Lunch
From 13:15	Final logistics and departure



AFRICAN CENTRE FOR CITIES
urbanism from an african perspective