

**Addis Ababa University**  
**College of Social Sciences**  
**Department of Social Anthropology**

**Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption?**  
(A Study of Inhabitants in Addis Ababa)



**Solomon Shumiye Mekonnen**

**June 2014**

**Addis Ababa University**  
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**Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption?**  
(A Study of Inhabitants in Addis Ababa)

**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for  
the Degree of Masters of Arts**

**in**

**Social Anthropology**

**by**

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**June 2014**

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# **Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption**

**Solomon Shumiye Mekonnen**

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I the undersigned, **student**, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and to the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where proper citation and due acknowledgement has been made. I do further affirm that this thesis has not been presented or being submitted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or publication, in English or in any other language.

This is a true copy of the thesis

\_\_\_\_\_

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**Date**

## **Certification**

I the undersigned certify that the thesis entitled "**Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption**", which is submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University to award a degree of Master of Arts in **Social Anthropology**, is the original work of **Solomon Shumiye Mekonnen** (GSR/1309/05).

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# **Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption**

## **(A Study of Inhabitants in Addis Ababa)**

**Solomon Shumiye Mekonnen**

### **Abstract**

Corruption is on the agenda of the Ethiopian societies including residents of Addis Ababa. Some people have sayings and verbal encouragements to those who changed their economic life through corruption. Some others stand against it though their number seems insignificant. It is to have the real picture of the position where the residents of Addis Ababa stood this research was initiated. So that it raised some relevant questions. How do the people of Addis understand and perceive corruption? Do they recognize it as a problem that obstacles their personal and national development? Are they fighting or adapting it? Why in either case? What is the linkage between culture and corruption?

Quantitative and qualitative methods of research were applied in the data generation procedure. 500 questionnaires were distributed to randomly selected respondents in all the ten Sub Cities of Addis Ababa with almost 83 % return. A heterogeneous Focus Group Discussion was conducted and in-depth interviews were held with six key informants.

The findings of the research showed that the people of Addis Ababa recognized corruption as a major problem that hinders their personal and national economic problem. Both the qualitative and quantitative data showed there is no social sector or institution free of corruption but the government with its constituencies plays the leading role in getting infected with and diffusing corruption. Residents of Addis have both positive and negative reactions against corruption. They have the mentality of fighting it with the old values and norms still retained but contributing to diffuse and promote it mostly out of lost hope and lack of protection by the system. The societies in Addis Ababa have values that disapprove corruption but they also have encouraging gestures and appreciating paroles be it in despair or in choice.

In general, the research showed that the residents of Addis Ababa are not just showing their thumbs only one way, i.e., up or down to corruption. Most of them are against it regardless of their demographic variation. Nevertheless, still many of them seem that they are feeling powerless and losing hope on the system to fight corruption.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 On the Topic of the Thesis**

Studying corruption is not an easy task be it in anthropology or other disciplines. The very challenge comes out of data collection process. Who could be willing and courageous to tell the right information if one even knows it? If someone is corrupt and wants to confess he would be afraid of the social and legal sanctions. If the other one has information about corrupt people, he would be afraid of being victim of their hidden reaction against him and keeps quite. Besides, it is difficult to provide concrete evidence since it is not a formal and open action. However, there has to be some kind of approach to study the problem and that has to be somewhere and sometime. "Corruption is illegal, so in virtually all cases directly observing corrupt activity is impossible. As a result the dominant approach in examining corruption is to measure not corruption per se, but rather people's perceptions of corruption (Olken 2005 :1).

The academic interest on corruption is not a long time history. It started around 1950s and anthropological contribution to study the problem is not significant as I have tried to learn. Nevertheless, corruption has great relevance to the field since it has human and/or cultural elements. Most researched political and bureaucratic corruptions are imbedded in the social and cultural setting. Therefore, it is crucial to study how the society perceives the problem and what the possible reactions are.

This research tries to construct the concept of corruption not only from the academic perspective so far but also from the social and cultural perspective of the study area. It is the researcher's everyday life observation people complaining about corruption getting rampant in Ethiopia. It is not only in public offices but everywhere including private and nongovernmental institutions having things done is getting tough without corruption. Political, religious, ethnic and other kinds of affiliation or financial involvement are becoming a requirement to get cases settled. Having

the problem in hand, the most astonishing fact is, no one gets surprised of corruption. Rather it seems most people accepted it as "normal" and they do their best to comply with the situation. It is this condition that provoked me to choose this topic to study. Thumbs up or down to corruption? In other words, is society accepting or rejecting it?

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Corruption is one of the major challenges for development in Ethiopia. Not only in government bureaucracy but also in the private businesses and nongovernmental organizations as well as civic associations, it is hindering every move of developmental effort. It would not be an overstatement if one says no socioeconomic sector in Ethiopia is free of corruption. Whether small or big position they are in, many people try to get maximum advantage abusing their power and access to resources as soon as possible before they get off the status they held. Even those who are not in a position keep on looking for their turn and "opportunity" to use for personal gains. Many people who are not active in it do not condemn or discourage corruption and the actors. They rather, tacitly though, appreciate those who achieved in a corrupt way. They do not even consider the action of corruption as abnormal or illegal way of success. They take it normal and a 'has to do' task.

This attitude of taking corruption as a normal transaction is not a newly emerging phenomenon in Ethiopia. For example, there are sayings and stories in Amharic commending the use of public offices for personal gains. Though they are in Amharic, I have observed throughout my life experience people from most of the Ethiopian societies using them. "*Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal*" /literally meaning 'one that does not take advantage of his position, will regret when he is deposed'/. This saying is one that descended from the past and is most applied in the current generation. In the past, unlike today, there were also sayings that reflect displeasures on corruption such as "*abatu dagna liju kemagna*" /that is to mean 'the child is the robber, the father is the judge'/. Though it seems in despair, this saying indicates that the society was standing against corruption. In general, the two sayings reflect the society in the past was a mixture of those who curse and those who encourage corruption. Now it seems everybody accepts corruption as normal. Some people may complain only when they do not get a chance for themselves. It is normal to hear people now a days saying "*zega*", "*amelete*", "*sera*" / meaning 'he closed a deal', 'he ran away (from poverty)', 'he did it', respectively/.

So the major questions of this research are:

- 1) How do people perceive corruption? What does corruption mean to people living in Addis? What is corrupt and what is not? This is a very crucial question to raise in the study of corruption. Answering this question tells the understanding of the people as compared to the conventional definition /if there is any/.
- 2) Do the people of Addis Ababa consider corruption as a challenging problem to their development? After getting clear on what the people mean by corruption, this is another crucial question to raise. If the people do not sense it as a problem, any of the efforts by the government or other institutions to fight corruption would not have a public/cultural ground and will definitely fail.
- 3) Are the people in Addis Ababa fighting or adapting corruption? Why in either of the cases? It is not enough to understand and/or recognize corruption as a societal problem. There has to be a decision and commitment in solving the problem. So the major issue in this question will be examining the reaction of the society towards corruption.
- 4) What is the contribution of culture to corruption? Of course the concept of culture is not static and uniform across time and places. The dynamism of culture is assumed among the Ethiopian cultures and the possible time variation even within every culture. This question will be addressing the relationship of the cultural values, norms as well as practices with corruption in the context of Addis Ababa that is a mix of all the 'local' and 'international' cultures. It tries to analyze the cultural support or disapproval to corruption.

In general, most of the literatures I reviewed so far discuss bureaucratic and political corruption focusing only on government and its constituencies (public offices). They have lack of understanding society's cultural perspective. This paper will try to have its own contribution in filling this gap and I hope it will add a meaningful value to the Ethiopian society, government, NGOs and other pertinent institutions in their effort to fight corruption.

## **1.3 Objective of the Study**

### **1.3.1 Broad Objective**

The major objective of this study is to investigate the societal perspective/position on corruption and adding some knowledge of the topic to anthropology.

### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are:

A - To find out how society understands and/or perceives corruption

B - To find out how society reacts on corruption

C - To identify if there is cultural contribution to corruption

## **1.4 Significance of the Research**

Corruption is becoming a global challenge. In its annual report of 2012 Transparency International (TI) exposed no country, out of 176 included in the report, is free of corruption. Ethiopia ranked 113<sup>th</sup> scoring 33 which is far below of the clean score 100. The problem manifests itself in everyday life not only in government bureaucracy but also in private and nongovernmental organizations. The government established The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission under its revised proclamation No. 433/2005 to combat corruption recognizing it as one of the major hindrances of social, economic and political development. However, I believe government regulations and policies against corruption are not enough to solve the problem by themselves. It is crucial to study the root cause of the problem to prescribe the proper medicament. The researcher believes corruption is deep rooted in the society. It could be pulled down if and only if the society stands against it. Therefore, any effort to fight corruption should be based on understanding of peoples' perception towards the problem. The significance of this research is related to this purpose. It helps policy makers to consider how people perceive not only corruption but also government's effort to fight it. This research has also academic significance to anthropology since there are only limited researches on corruption in Ethiopia to date.

## **1.5 Scope and Limitations**

This research mainly focuses on peoples' perception of corruption. Bureaucratic and political corruptions of the government are not direct interests of this study though they have a mirroring

impact on people's perspective. It is the individual understanding and decision making/reaction (against or in favor of corruption) of people in the selected sample *Woredas* /lowest structure in the city administration/ in Addis Ababa studied. Most definitions of corruption refer to the use of government/public power/position for personal advantage, i.e. at the expense of others. The researcher's conceptual understanding of the term broadens it to include any position be it governmental or private as long as it is assumed to serve the society as a whole or small number of people. Therefore, corruption in this research shall mean (unless it is contextually referred) misuse of any public or private position to negotiate for personal advantage that makes any third party individual or group members of the society pay the cost.

## **1.6 Conceptual Arguments and Definitions of Corruption**

Corruption has no clearly cut theory as it is, relative to other studies, a short lived area of research. Structural approach was considering it as the problem of 'others' just like underdevelopment and other problems related to their socio cultural 'backwardness'. Whereas interactional approach considered corruption as deviating behavior from formal duties of public role in order to fulfill personal gain. Both approaches trigger questions of clarity and dynamism (Haller and Shore 2005 :3-5). In this section I tried to review only some of the concepts and definitions that I believe are relevant to my research.

### **1.6.1 Definition of Corruption**

One of the most difficult areas to reach an agreement in studies of corruption is defining and conceptualizing what it is. Researchers so far tend to focus on a single component of the dichotomous classification of corruption such as: political and bureaucratic; in developing and developed countries; national and cross-national cases. Their research effort is fragmented and therefore developing a universal model or theory of corruption was not possible (Farralles 2005: 3). However, how corruption is defined matters since it affects not only how it is studied but also policies to be implemented to deal with it<sup>1</sup>.

The earliest definitional debate about corruption was between the moralists and revisionists. The moralists are those who define corruption as harmful to the society, politics and development. They are criticized for their definition relied on Western ethical values that could not be applied

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<sup>1</sup>Dragana, Bodruzic. *Vice or Coping Mechanism?* [www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2011/bodruzic.pdf](http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2011/bodruzic.pdf), accessed 13 May 2014

to every other culture. The revisionists try to be value free and define corruption as a balancing or correcting mechanism to disequilibria or defects in the formal bureaucratic, political and economic system. As opposed to moralists, revisionists do not believe corruption is harmful rather it is a byproduct of modernization and development (Farrales 2005 :p14-15).

In contemporary literature, corruption most commonly defined in broad sense as "misuse of office for personal gain" (Klitgaard, Maclean-Abaroa, and Paris 2000: 2). If one has to create linkage between this and the previous two theories, it is the moralist theory that could be found in line with the present 'office centered' definition. It seems this definition is a minimum point of agreement by many scholars in the study of corruption since most of them are inclusive of this concept. Spector (2005) misquoted this qualifying the word 'office' as 'public office' while Klitgaard et al (2000) clearly stated what they meant by office. "The office is a position of trust, be it private, public, or non profit." They also gave specific definition of corruption and enlisted its way of manifestation and consequences.

Corruption means charging an illicit aims. Corruption can entail acts of omission or commission. It can involve legal activities or illegal ones. It can be internal to organization (for example, embezzlement) or external to it (for example extortion). The effects of various kinds of corruption vary widely. Although corrupt acts sometimes may result in a net social benefit, corruption usually leads to inefficiency, injustice, and inequality (Klitgaard, Maclean-Abaroa, and Paris 2000: 2).

Taking the broader definition into account Spector (2005) argues corruption is not as abstract as Klitgaard and others suggest in the mind of an average citizen. "It rather is seen as the extralegal and often humiliating transactions required to facilitate the delivery of government services in a wide range of sectors, including education, communal housing, justice, procurement, public finance, business, and politics" (p.5). According to him, the nature and manifestation of corruption is different across sectors demanding sector specific solutions. However, he admits 'the misuse of office and private motive' are fundamental elements of corruption (Spector 2005 :5).

Independent Commission Against Corruption (1998) defines corruption as "the dishonest or partial exercise of official functions by the public official" (Selim 2009 :165). Transparency



International (2003) defines it as "the misuse of public power for private benefit". Despite the slight difference they have, many scholars of corruption adopted the minimalist definition that considers corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain (Dininio 2005 :235). This is assumed to be the result of dominating popularity of transnational institutions like the World Bank and Transparency International. Late in the 1990s these organizations adopted this definition to be their working definition and that influenced contemporary literature on the issue. However, Haller and Shore (2005) argue this definition minimizes corruption to individual level. ". . . this definition reduces corruption simply to a problem of dishonest individuals or 'rotten apples' working in the public sector. It also reduces explanations for corruption to individual greed and personal venality so that our focus - to extend the metaphor - is on the individual apples rather than the barrel that contains them." (Haller and Shore 2005 :2)

Farrales adds on why the 'office centered' theory of corruption is widely accepted. "Since the combined effect of (a) the World Bank's anti-corruption efforts and (b) the popularity of the Transparency Index were largely responsible for the "corruption explosion" of the 1990s, it is not surprising that the public office-centered approach has come to dominate the recent literature." (2005 :29).

Though most studies of corruption have been dominated by political science and economics<sup>2</sup>, recently anthropologists began to loud that the commonly accepted definition of corruption as 'misuse of public office for personal benefit' is problematic. Torsello (2011) says the private-public dichotomy derived from 'Weberian rationality of western bureaucratic machinery' is not contextual to pre-capitalist societies where the distinction between the public-private sectors is not clearly demarcated and institutions are "made up by people through their agencies, discourses and ideas". He further argues "anthropology cannot feel at home with such a definition for the practical reason that virtually all the anthropological scholarship on non-western societies proves the incongruence of this point (Torsello 2011: 3). According to Torsello, it is this ethnocentric notion and understanding of corruption one of the two reasons that kept anthropologists to be silent from theoretical involvement until 2005. The second reason

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<sup>2</sup> Dragana, Bodruzic. *Vice or Copping Mechanism?* [www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2011/bodruzic.pdf](http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2011/bodruzic.pdf), accessed 13 May 2014

that he said 'less evident' is their engagement in the study of concepts that could be considered to be inputs to corruption.

Anthropology's earlier accounts of gift exchange processes, solidarity, reciprocity, redistribution, informal economic practices and transactions, moral economy, clientelism and patronage, nepotism, cronyism, networks analyses are some of the most evident fields in which the discipline was actually the pioneer rather than the latecomer. All these fields, as has come clear today, are the lymph of corruption practices, and not only in non-western societies. (Torsello 2011: 3)

Corruption is cross cultural, cross temporal and cross systemic phenomenon that makes it difficult to develop a universal definition (Farrales 2005 :p5-15). The definition set by Klitgaard, Maclean-Aboroa, and Paris is relatively all inclusive and is used as a fundamental and working definition in this research. However, it could be found a little bit modified since there is a chance of accommodating reconstructed definition of informants. It is part of the research to learn what the people think is 'corruption'.

### **1.6.2 Distinction between Grand and Petty Corruption**

In literature there are many ways of distinguishing corruption into types. However, I chose the 'Grand-Petty' dichotomy since it is relevant to the interest and context of this research. The two laws of Ethiopia define corruption as petty and grand though they are not adequately clear on what makes it petty or grand.

Suzan Rose-Ackerman (1997) defined grand and petty corruption as follows. "Whereas the term grand corruption refers to 'high-level' corruption by elected politicians or by higher-level political appointees. The term petty corruption is usually reserved for administrative or lower-level bureaucratic corruption." According to her these two differ in their primary motivation where nearly always pecuniary gain for petty /bureaucratic/ corruption and the wish to remain in office and/or pecuniary gain for the grand/political/ corruption. They also differ in their impact. Grand corruption "often involves a substantial expenditure of funds with a major impact on a government budget and growth prospects," while petty corruption involves routine government transactions that have minor impact (1997 :27).

What makes certain type of corruption 'grand or 'petty' is difficult to define since it varies from time to time and place to place. Of the two types it is petty corruption that ethnographers could

effectively study. Grand corruption is not a common interest of anthropological research since it is difficult to apply methodologies on (Torsello 2011: 13). The Ethiopian legal context of petty and grand corruption is reviewed on section 1.7.2 of this Chapter.

## **1.7 Historical Development of Corruption**

In this section I am trying to briefly review the global and national development of corruption. In the global assessment my focus is on the historical academic interest while in the national review I try to deal more with the contemporary legal context.

### **1.7.1 Global Overview**

Corruption is said to be as old as organized human life in the form of government (Klitgaard 1988 :7). There is only little literature on the historical development of corruption that the researcher could access. The case of Judah receiving 30 pieces of silver to expose Jesus Christ for His enemies could be mentioned to show it has the age of at least more than 2000 years (Mathew 26:12-50). Farrales (2005) reviewed the works of most scholars mentioning corruption dating back to the Roman Empire and it even caused the Empire to fall (p.7). Lambsdorff, Taube and Schramm (2005) wrote that the Qin dynasty of China had penal code for corruption in 3rd century B.C. (Farrales 2005 :7).

Academic interest on corruption started in 1950s through 1960s following the then newly democratized and developing economies. Most writers were economists, sociologists and political scientists which extended their academic interest to the 1990s. The growing concern of countries for development in 1980s exposed corruption as one of the hindrances and that encouraged academic writings to continue up to present. In 1990s, cases of corrupt leaders in India, Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia were getting the attention of the world and contributed to inspire scholars writing on corruption. Another factor that contributed to scholarly interests in corruption was the explicit commitment of international monetary organizations like the World Bank and the IMF. Especially after the famous speech of James Wolfensohn "Cancer of corruption" in 1996, the idea of corruption as one of the reasons that stranded development was propagated to the academic arena. Following the World Bank's position classifying corruption as public enemy, a number of cross national studies were published relating to

corruption and poor economic growth. Paolo Mauro's article in 1995, and Ades and Di Tella's studies in 1997 are among the major works (Farrales 2005 :12,13).

### 1.7.2 Corruption in Ethiopia

There is no well recorded literature the researcher found directly discussing corruption in Ethiopia. However, some recent studies show that it was there in the social, cultural, political and bureaucratic tradition of the country (Shimeles 2005: 63-90). According to Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (2012), Ethiopia stood 113<sup>th</sup> out of 176 countries scoring 33 out of 100 where 100 is to mean perfectly clean and 0 is highly corrupt. It is one of the two-thirds of countries that scored below 50. It also scored significantly below the world average of 43 (TI 2012 :2). The trend in the past three years based on the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) seems Ethiopia is getting better just looking into the rank, i.e., 120<sup>th</sup> out of 183 in 2011 and 116<sup>th</sup> out of 178 in 2010. However, the number of countries in the 2012 index is lower than the previous two years.

According to TI's Global Corruption Barometer (2013), 44 out of 100 people in Ethiopia paid bribe to get public services such as education, judiciary, police, medical care, tax, utilities and the like (TI 2013). The government of FDRE claims to be committed to fight corruption establishing a number of implementing bodies such as the Office of Auditor General and the Federal Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission. Under its revised Federal Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission establishment proclamation No. 433/2005 the government declared what a serious corruption offence is though it says nothing about, if there is, light or not serious corruption offence. Article 2 sub article 9 of the proclamation reads as follows:

"Serious Corruption Offence" means

- a) Corruption offences involving huge amount of money committed in highly strategic Public Office and Public Enterprise; or
- b) Corruption offences involving a public official; or
- c) Corruption offences which cause or capable of causing a grave danger to the national sovereignty, economy, security or social life".

It is easy to detect problems of this definition. One, it is limited to public office and officials which definitely is aiming to safeguard government properties only. Two, the amount of money to be considered in the concept of 'serious corruption offence' is vaguely stated as 'huge'. Three,

it is not clear what 'grave danger' is and invites subjective judgment. Four, it is not still clear what 'highly strategic mean'. It provokes questions like: are the public offices and enterprises categorized as highly strategic and lowly strategic? In that case which offices and enterprises are in which category?

The Ethiopian public 'office centered' Anti-Corruption law seems to be based on articles 403 to 442 of the Criminal Code under Title III (Crimes against public office). The researcher tried to see definitional similarity and/or differences between the two laws regarding some terms. The term 'public office' is defined in the proclamation no. 433/2005 Article 2 (3) as: "'Public Office' means any office of the Federal Government the budget of which is fully or partially allocated by the Government and in which any government activities performed" (Revised Proclamation for the Establishment of The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission No. 433/2005); whereas in the Criminal Code Article 402 (2) it is defined as: "'Public office' means any office fully or partially financed by government budget, and which performs the functions of the Federal or Regional Governments" (Criminal Code of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 414 /2004). Intentionally or not the anti-corruption commission establishment proclamation does not include regional government offices in its definition.

There is similar difference in the meaning of "Public enterprise" too. Article 2 (4) of the Anti-Corruption law says: "'Public Enterprise' means any Federal Public Enterprise or Share Company the ownership of which is fully or partly owned by the Government"; while Article 402 (3) of the Criminal Code says: "'Public enterprise' means a Federal or Regional Government enterprise or share company, in which the Government has total or partial share as an owner."

In both laws there is no clear and specific definition on the meaning of the term 'corruption'. It is only the Criminal Code that deals, though not directly to define it, with specific crimes of corruption. Sub Articles 2 and 3 of Article 404 read as follows:

- (2) Any public servant who, with intent to obtain for himself or to procure for another an undue advantage or to injure the right of another, directly or indirectly, accepts or solicits an undue advantage by improperly performing his responsibility or duty; or who, in any other way, misuses the responsibility or public trust vested in him to procure an undue advantage for himself or another; or

Any person who, with intent to obtain for himself or to procure for another an undue advantage or to injure the right of another, promises, offers, gives or agrees to give an undue advantage to a public servant; or

Any person who gives, or any public servant who accepts, an undue advantage in consideration for an act of public office properly performed or to be performed, shall be deemed to have committed crimes of corruption specified in this Chapter, and be liable to the punishments prescribed in the provisions below.

- (3) In addition to the crimes specified in Chapter II Section I and Chapter III Section I of this Title the crimes of corruption also include corrupt electoral practices (Art. 468), forgery or falsification of public or military documents (Art. 479), aggravated breach of trust (Art, 676(1)), and the commission of and aiding in money laundering (Art. 684), aggravated fraudulent misrepresentation committed by a public servant (Art.696 (a)). (Criminal Code of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 414 /2004)

The very important term to understand corruption in this Article is the term "undue advantage". The Criminal Code defines "Undue advantage" to mean "an improper benefit or a benefit obtained through improper means (Criminal Code of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 414 /2004 Article 402 (5)). Here again the problem is with the word 'improper' that is left for subjective judgment since it is not clearly stated in the law.

## CHAPTER TWO

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Corruption is not a directly visible phenomenon and that makes it more difficult to study even among the social problems. It is difficult to collect data using only qualitative methods as it has been done in the tradition of anthropology. Respondents may give normative answers while the reality is different due to their curiosity about the implication of the research. They may even be afraid of being visible to the researcher. Similarly, using only quantitative methods may end up in a pile of numbers and figures that may not have feelings of respondents and the context they are in at the time they give information. Therefore I preferred to use both methods in order to get more reliable results. I believe the qualitative and quantitative methods complement each other and show better picture of the problem. Details of all the mixes of methods I used in this research are discussed as follows.

#### **2.1 Methods of primary data collection**

Since the study is dealing more on people's attitude, perception and reaction to corruption, it is crucial to use different methods that help to get first hand information. This research depends more on primary data collection method for two major reasons. One, there is no adequate secondary source on corruption in Addis Ababa /Ethiopia/ and nothing in anthropology. Two, it is my preference to collect direct and timely data from the field.

##### **2.1.1 Survey Method**

The data collection for the survey method was conducted from Monday 20<sup>th</sup> January to Thursday 27<sup>th</sup> March 2014. To check the applicability of my questionnaire I did a pilot survey on five respondents of Woreda 4 of *Yeka* Sub City from 16 to 18 January 2014. I got a great lesson from the whole process of that pilot survey. It was then I learned one *Woreda* could be composed of more than one *Kebeles* from the previous administrative structure of the city. I also learnt some of my questions were difficult to understand and did the necessary adjustment. I saw negligence in one of the returned questionnaires so that I learnt that I have to explain more verbally to every respondent in addition to the note I wrote in the beginning of the questionnaire.

In the main research I went door to door to deliver each of the questionnaires. I explained about myself including my name and where I come from, the purpose of the research, anonymity of their response even for me since they are not requested to write their name and house number, freedom to respond or not. Then every one of them took the questionnaire with their free will and informed consent. Some respondents were even willing to call on my mobile number printed on the note part of the questionnaire with my name either for clarification or to give the papers to me in person when they do not have trust on the collectors. Of the five hundred questionnaires 431 were returned and 17 disqualified since they are either incorrect or not filled out at all. Therefore, the actual sample size of this research is 414. It is rather to be said the maximum since the number of respondents varies from variable to variable. This happened because some respondents might have preferred to skip some questions and that results in missing values or it is inapplicable based on the answer they gave to a previous Q. I deliberately based my analysis on the actual number of responses to every variable to reach into a reasonable and reliable conclusion. Otherwise the total response out of the 500 questionnaires distributed is 83%.

In the beginning of this research I thought survey method could add only some complementary data to my research. That was because most, if I cannot say all, anthropological researches I came across were done based on qualitative data and I was afraid of making awkward mistake by applying quantitative (survey) method. Now, given the obscure nature of corruption, I found the results from this method more reliable and appropriate since people were free to answer my questions anonymously.

The questionnaire had a collection of 35 structured questions with rooms to allow respondents add their possible answers other than the stated choices (See Annex 1). Some of the 35 questions are independent to get answer on specific issue and some were linked to each other (answering one preconditioned by the answer given to a previous question). Questions were prepared with direct and indirect nature. Some issues that were assumed to intrude into the privacy of informants were presented indirectly. For example, instead of asking "will you accept if you are given money in exchange to favorable decision you would make?" it was put "Why do you think people accept money in exchange to favorable decision they would make?" I believe this approach made the respondent feel free to share what is in his/her mind as long as the question was not directly targeted to him/her.



### **2.1.2 Focus group discussion**

I chose this method since it helps to collect critical insights and perceptions of participants on the problem I was dealing with and to assess the perspective of the society. I conducted only one FGD since it was expensive to repeat such a heterogeneous group given the time and budget limit I had. However, I believe the result was as meaningful as it would have been from several of homogeneous groups.

#### **2.1.2.1 The Setting**

The focus group discussion (FGD) was conducted on Friday 4<sup>th</sup> April 2014 from 2:30pm to 4:45pm in a four star luxurious hotel called Bole Ambassador International Hotel. The room was bright and comfortable to discuss. A big round table with executive leather chairs and six conference table microphones plus a wireless one for back up. Eight individuals numbered according to their arrival were comfortable to have eye contact to each other and see their number that is put in front of every participant in case one likes to refer the other. Each was given a writing pad and ball pen in case they would like to take notes. Bottled water, hot drinks and snack were served as much as they want while the discussion is underway. My laptop was connected to the sound mixer and all the discussion is recorded using Adobe Audition 1.5 sound software to a broadcast quality.

#### **2.1.2.2 Participants**

As the FGD was heterogeneous, participants were carefully selected based on their expertise knowledge and experience of the problem as well as exposure to the mentality of residents in Addis Ababa. However, being residents of the city could be taken as their homogeneous characteristics. They have been living in Addis Ababa for 2 to 46 years. They came from different ethnic, religious, academic, professional and institutional background. They represented government and nongovernmental organizations such as AA chamber of commerce, Ethiopian Women Lawyers Association, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority, Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission and Transparency Ethiopia. One participant came personally. The Council of Addis Ababa Islamic Affairs assigned a representative and the person confirmed to attend the discussion but he did not show up for unknown reason. The age of participants ranges from 26 to 62 with an average of 41 years old. One of them is a PhD holder, one masters, one diploma and the rest are bachelor's degree holders in their educational level. All the participants but one are male. Since the

discussants have interactional knowledge of the larger population, I believe their opinion and social critique added significant value to this research.

### ***2.1.2.3 How the FGD was conducted***

In the beginning of the discussion I introduced myself to the participants and explained about the purpose of the discussion. I confirmed them that their ideas in the discussion will be used only for the purpose of my academic research and no one but me could have access to it and they will be kept anonymous in my writing. I also informed them their discussion would be recorded and got their consent. Participants were so free and willing to share their ideas and put arguments respecting each other. All of them got chances to forward their opinions on all the three broad questions raised by the moderator, i.e. me.

The perception and understanding of people living in Addis Ababa; the reaction of the residents on corruption, i.e., whether they are fighting it or not and the reason for any of their reaction; the relationship between Ethiopian cultures (in the context of Addis Ababa) and corruption from both approving or disapproving aspects were the major issues discussed in the FGD.

### ***2.1.3 in depth/personal interviewing***

This method is selected as one of my primary data collection methods since it allows respondents freedom in time and the idea they put forward regarding the problem in the study. People talk more on settings that are friendly and allow authority to them.

#### ***2.1.3.1 The setting***

I selected six key informants with criteria of mainly sectorial representation. However, age, sex, occupational and educational backgrounds were also considered. With this method I conducted in-depth interview with each of my key informants in different arrangements of time and place. I started to establish rapport with all of them informally months before the dates of formal interview. One of my key informants chose to be interviewed at the terrace of *Wasamar* Hotel - Bole. The other five preferred office arrangements and they volunteered to come to my private office around *Sidist Kilo*. My interviewing period covers from 11 March to 12 April 2014 where I was transcribing and translating to English side by side. The settings of my interviews were friendly with services of hot drinks and comfortable sitting arrangements. I allocated half a day

to stay with each of my key informants with and without record on the dates of interview. I recorded all the 'formal' interviews using a microphone connected to my laptop with Adobe Audition 1.5 sound software. Duration of the recorded interviews ranges from 45 minutes to two hours.

#### ***2.1.3.2 The key informants***

My key informants are from diversified religious, ethnic, educational and working background. One of them is a former mayor of Addis Ababa who is still engaged in several civic service and NGO activities in the city; the second, a CEO to one of the *Woredas* who has been at different positions in the *Woreda* for the last ten years; third, well experienced service providing clerk in a government office who came through serious challenges of corruption; fourth, senior instructor in a government higher institute and board chairman to a local anti-corruption NGO; fifth, a training officer from the Federal Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission who volunteered to be interviewed unofficially; six, a private business woman who has exposure from the media to higher institutions.

#### ***2.1.3.3 How the in-depth interviews were held***

In all the arrangements of interviews with the key informants I explained the purpose of the research and confirmed their anonymity in my thesis. Therefore I used pseudonyms in using the information they gave me. I also got their consent to be recorded.

The major issues that the in-depth interviews focused on were real experiences of the informants, their views and attitudes towards corruption and corrupt individuals, and reflections on some values of people living in Addis Ababa.

#### ***2.1.4 Informal Conversation***

As the study is mainly trying to understand peoples' attitude and perception on an issue they might not be honestly responding in formal interviews and questionnaires, informal conversation was one way of investigating their reflections. I talked with many residents of Addis everywhere and every time since the day I started to think about doing research on corruption. However, I could say the time I was in the field for conducting survey research was the peak time for informal conversation with people I do not know very well but who were willing to chat on the issue. Though I was looking for randomly selected households to reply my questionnaires, some

residents were insisting that I should enter to their house and talked whatever was in their mind about corruption.

### **2.1.5 Observation**

As I am a member of the society in question, I had an opportunity to conduct both participant and non-participant observation. The observation was sometimes openly and sometimes in disguise since the case of corruption is sensitive and sometimes dangerous. Personal reflection on my past and present experiences (since I was service providing person at various government and private businesses and/or being a client to several public and private offices) is also part of this method.

### **2.1.6 Government documents**

Government proclamations and policy directives such as the revised Federal Ethics and Anti Corruption Commission establishment proclamation No. 433/2005 and Criminal Code of Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 414 /2004 are used as primary data.

## **2.2 Sampling**

This research used random and non-random sampling techniques to select sample population for the survey method. It was my plan to randomly select three of the ten Sub Cities in Addis Ababa and again randomly select two *Woredas* from each Sub City. However, I changed my mind in the process since a new way of conducting the survey came into my mind, i.e., using locals from every *Woreda* to collect filled out questionnaires. With that, I minimized the time and even cost of collection should I have done it myself. So, I covered all the ten Sub Cities in Addis and selected one *Woreda* from each by using simple random sampling method. Then I chose fifty respondents from one *Woreda* again by using randomizer software. However, there was a challenge in almost all the *Woredas* to find the randomly selected house number. That was mainly due to lack of right recording following the recent structure of *Woredas*. One *Woreda* could be formed of nine *Kebeles* and then you may find nine houses registered as 001. Likewise, the *Woreda* officials may tell you that they have 4,000 houses and you might have drawn say house number 3940 which you never find in reality. I created my own mechanism to solve this problem. I added the total number of houses (units of residence) numbered by former *Kebeles* to find out the total number of households in the *Woredas*. I chose my 50 respondents randomly

(using randomizer software online) out of the total and put them in ascending order. Then I use the first small numbers to the limit of the highest house number in the first *Kebele*. The house numbers in the second *Kebele* are known after subtracting the highest house number of the first *Kebele* from the number we found randomly. When the result starts to be negative (below zero) then the house is in the third *Kebele*, so the sum of the first two *Kebeles* should be deducted from the number we got randomly. Actually I formulated the method as:  $H_s = X_r - \sum K_{max}$ ; where  $H_s$  - the house to be included in the sample,  $X_r$  - the random (nominal) house number we got using randomizer software,  $\sum$  - sign of summation,  $K_{max}$  - highest /max/ value of house numbers in previously considered *Kebele/Kebeles*. Whatever the number of *Kebeles* in a *Woreda* and whatever the number of houses in every *Kebele*, this formula applies. Therefore, the sample population is a total of 500 informants (i.e. households) in Addis Ababa. Of the five hundred questionnaires 431 were returned and 17 disqualified since they are either incorrect or not filled out at all. Therefore, the actual and the final sample size of this research is 414. Demographic situation of the sample population processed by using SPSS software is summarized on Table 1 below.

I chose six individuals to conduct in-depth interview in a non random sampling based on their relevance to the topic either by their rich experience with and exposure to the people of Addis or expertise knowledge. However, they are from five different Sub Cities working in Sub Cities other than their residence except one informant.

Participants of the FGD were selected from pertinent governmental, nongovernmental, religious institutions as well as the chamber of commerce. It also included an ordinary resident though they all are residents of Addis. I chose heterogeneous rather than the customary homogenous group because I believed I could get balanced and diversified information that refers to the people of Addis Ababa. That is because participants are well informed about the population due to the nature of their duty and/or long time of residency in the city.

**Table 1 Demographic Situation of Sample Population**

	Yeka	Arada	Kirkos	Gulele	N. S. Lafto	A/Ketema	Bole	K/Keranyo	Ledeta	Ak/Kaliti	A.A. Total <sup>3</sup>	A.A. in %
<b>Sex</b>												
Male	24	17	11	28	21	25	15	28	26	24	219	53.9
Female	21	20	13	14	25	21	16	18	17	22	187	46.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>406</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Age</b>												
≥ 18	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	1.5
19-28	10	13	3	13	15	15	13	26	20	26	154	39.7
29-38	16	12	7	16	12	15	5	14	8	13	118	30.4
39-48	8	1	4	6	6	6	4	1	7	4	47	12.1
49-58	6	6	6	4	5	1	4	2	5	0	39	10.1
59-68	2	2	3	1	5	2	4	1	1	0	21	5.4
69-78	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Ethnicity</b>												
Oromo	12	7	2	8	9	8	2	6	9	14	77	20.2
Amhara	22	20	16	26	25	15	13	26	11	19	193	50.5
Tigre	1	5	2	2	3	1	5	4	8	4	35	9.2
Guragie	5	1	2	2	2	15	8	7	5	1	48	12.6
Other	2	2	1	2	3	4	2	2	10	1	29	7.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>382</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Religion</b>												
Orth. Christian	39	31	21	39	35	37	22	38	28	33	323	81.4
Muslim	3	1	1	0	3	7	3	6	12	4	40	10.1
Catholic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.3
Protestant	3	3	2	1	7	2	5	1	1	5	30	7.6
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0.5
No religion	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Education</b>												
Primary	11	4	2	4	1	3	2	10	6	1	44	11.3
Secondary	13	18	4	18	17	20	5	22	26	24	167	42.8
Tertiary	19	14	18	20	27	17	24	11	10	19	179	45.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>390</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Employment</b>												
Gov't	10	13	2	12	7	3	6	14	7	10	84	22.7
NGO	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	8	2.2
Pvt	12	11	4	8	14	16	6	10	12	9	102	27.6
Self	13	7	13	13	18	18	11	18	17	15	143	38.6
No Job	5	2	3	4	3	3	5	1	3	4	33	8.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>370</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>3</sup> The total number of sample population varies with every variable since some respondents chose not to answer some of the questions in this section. Otherwise, the total is 414.

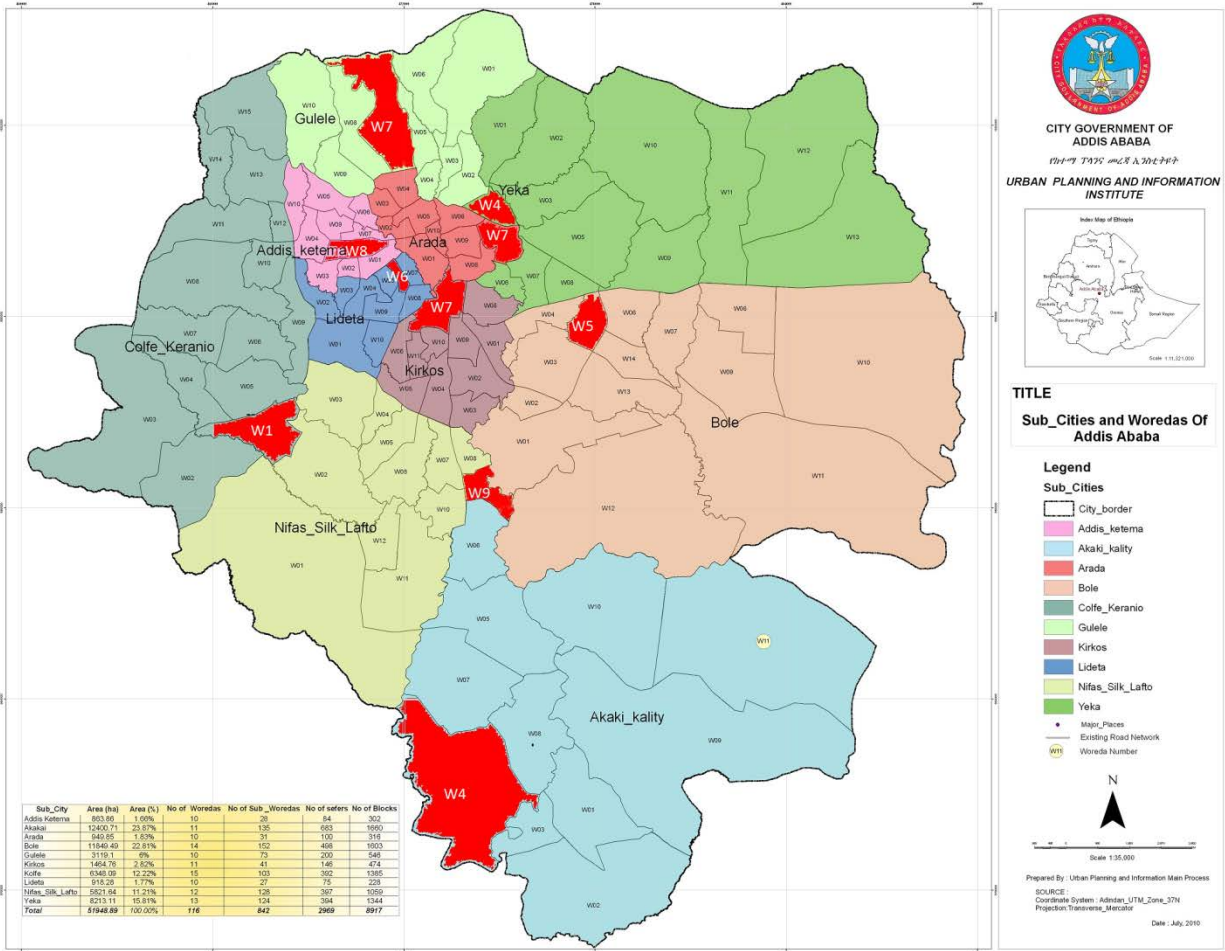
### 2.3 Methods of Secondary Data Collection

Data from secondary sources is used to support and strengthen the primary data collection process. Reports from pertinent international and national institutions; relevant books, magazines, news papers, e-books; and other publications are included.

### 2.4 Profile of the Research Location - Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa /literally meaning 'new flower'/ is the capital city of Ethiopia located at its center with a total area of 540km<sup>2</sup>. Geographically the city is positioned at 9<sup>o</sup> 1' 48" N latitude and 38<sup>o</sup> 44' 24" E longitude. The third highest city in the world after La Paz and Quito in Latin America, Addis Ababa has an altitude ranging from 2100 meters at *Akaki* in South to 3000 meters at *Entoto* hill north. Categorized in East Africa Time Zone (UTC+3), the city has subtropical highland climate with average temperature differences up to 12.2<sup>o</sup>c depending on elevation and prevailing wind patterns. The average rainfall of Addis Ababa is 1,184mm, of which about 80% falls between June and September where the months of July and August the wettest are. April and May are the hottest and driest months.

Established in 1887 by Emperor Menelik II, Addis Ababa is the largest and dominant political, economic, cultural as well as historical city of the country. It is the chartered capital city of the federal government with a status of both a state and a city. It is also considered the capital of Africa since it is the base of AU and its predecessor OAU. Regional head quarters of the UN organizations such as UNECA and other international organizations are also found in this city. Administratively Addis Ababa is divided into 10 Sub Cities that are second units of administration next to the city administration. The Sub Cities are *Yeka, Arada, Kirkos, Gulele, Ledeta, Addis Ketema, Kolfe Keranyo, Bole, Nifas-Silk Lafto* and *Akaki Kaliti*. The Sub Cities are also divided into *Woredas* /the smallest administrative units in the city/. There are 116 *Woredas* in the city.



**Figure 1 Map of Addis Ababa with the Sample Woredas in all Sub cities painted red and their number magnified**

According to the 2007 Population and Housing Census Report of Central Statistics Authority (CSA) the population of Addis Ababa is 2,738,248. Of this number 1,433,730 (52%) are female and 1,304,518 (48%) are male making the sex ratio 0.91. The population density of the city is 5,071 people per km<sup>2</sup> where *Addis Ketema* Sub City is the most densely populated with 25,560 people per km<sup>2</sup> and *Akaki Kaliti* Sub City is the least densely populated with 1,435 people per km<sup>2</sup>.

The socio-economic indicators show that there are 917 kindergartens, 736 primary schools, 56 junior secondary schools, 172 secondary schools and 145 preparatory schools in Addis Ababa. The net enrolment in primary education is 93.1% and secondary education is 43.7 %. Looking into educational facilities, class to student ratio is 1:43 in primary and 1:59 in secondary while teacher to student ratio is 1:26 in primary and 1:27 in secondary. The gender gap analysis shows



that net enrolment ratio of girls at first cycle (1-4) is 50%, primary school (1-8) 54%, secondary school (9-10) 53%, technical and vocational education (TVET) 48% and preparatory 49% in 2009.

There are 35 health posts and 36 health centers in Addis Ababa and their ratio with the population is 1:72,236 and 1:76,062, respectively. The number of clinics is 359 where 1:7,627 is the ratio with the population and there are 42 hospitals with 1:65,196 ratio. The city has 1,251 public taps and 65 public toilets. There are 51 police stations each to serve 53,691 people. There are 282 hotels and 107 gas stations. The number of market places is 67 where one market place accessed by 40,869 people. With 36 post offices in the city 76,026 people have access to one office and there are 42 telecommunication centers where one serves 65,196 people. (CSA (2008) The 2007 Population and Housing Census Report, The Ethiopian Postal Service and Telecommunications Corporation 2010 and National Bank of Ethiopia).

As of 2002 E.C. the real GDP of Addis Ababa is Birr 20,367.75 million and the per capita income is Birr 6,857.8 with annual economic growth rate of 9.2%. Considering age ten and above, in 2009 the unemployment rate of Addis Ababa was 27.9% where 18.4% is male and 38.3 female rates, respectively. Of the population above 10 years, 20.6 % are engaged in informal sector of which 21.4% are male and 19.2% are female. (CSA Analytical Report on the 2009 Urban Development Unemployment Survey). The 2014 projected dependency ratio shows 30% for the young age (<15 years) and 5% for the old age (65<sup>+</sup> years) both making a total of 35%. (CSA 1994 Population and Housing Census Analytical Report Vol.11, 1999 and CSA (2008), 2007 Census Report).

## **2.5 Data Analysis**

Data are analyzed according to their characteristics. Coding, classifying and summarizing are done on all but more on the quantitative ones. SPSS Statistics 20 software is used to process the quantitative data. Frequencies, percentages, tabulations, cross tabulations and other methods of analysis are used with precaution of their meaning to anthropological research. Most of the results from SPSS processing are summarized again and tabulated or translated into charts using excel and word processors. The qualitative data is put mainly in a descriptive format. In general, all the data are interpreted into appropriate and meaningful results as much as possible. I believe the methods applied in this research triangulate each other to validate the results.

## 2.6 Challenges

There were some challenges in the process of this research. One is that I mentioned in the sampling section of this chapter related to missing and double in number of houses that led me to deriving a formula. The other challenge was in the *Akaki Kaliti* Sub City where I first randomly chose *Woreda* 11. I called the CEO to the *Woreda* on his mobile telephone that I got after four contacts starting from the Sub City. He gave me an appointment to meet him at his office that he told me the direction in reference to *Akaki* Bridge. I was on my way around *Kaliti* when he called and changed the place of our meeting to a hotel in *Akaki* town. He was nice and friendly to arrange me a guide and collector (of course by daily allowance that I pay) for the next day.

The next day, I called Tadesse, my assistant whom I met by telephone through difficult network and he directed me where we can meet. Then I drove my little car left side off the main road to *Debre Zeit* when I arrived at *Akaki* Bridge. The road was difficult even for big cars but my ambition to finalize the survey pushed me to the new environment. I passed by the newly established Addis Ababa Science and Technology University but still *Woreda* 11 is far from where I was. I started to frustrate when I was looking farm lands and it continues to be countryside. Anyhow, Tadesse came to my way and with his help to select passages to my car I arrived at *Woreda* 11. We had to walk on foot /since there was no road/ about two kilometers to arrive at the first village of the *Woreda*.

Most of the villagers speak only *Oromifa* so that Tadesse helped me in translation. The houses are not numbered like the city houses so that I chose five of the households systematically. Out of around 50 households in the area I checked three of them and no one was able even to read the questionnaires. My assistant told me almost all the households do not have anyone capable of filling out the papers. I tried to fill out the questionnaires myself interviewing the heads of the households wherever I found them be it in the field or their home. It took me almost four hours to convince and conduct the structured interview with only two residents. Besides, I learned that the *Woreda* is almost detached from the city since it is not getting any infrastructural or administrative services. Even those I interviewed formally and informally have no idea about corruption or the type of administration they are under. Then I decided to quit my research there

and left the area. The next day I redrew for another *Woreda* in *Akaki Kaliti* Sub City excluding the three rural *Woredas*, i.e. *Woreda* 9, 10, 11.

The other challenge was when the randomly selected houses were closed. I gave the next neighbor to give it to the selected house head or to substitute. In the case of demolished houses either redrew or randomly assigned to condominium houses. Some respondents were so suspicious to establish rapport with and deliver the questionnaire. One of the main reasons was lack of trust on the collectors I employed since they know each other. In the first *Woreda*, the administration gave me a young man who I did not know works with the *Woreda* officials. So people were too suspicious and I saw their face not welcoming. We gave only 10 questionnaires almost in a day because it took us long time to make everyone understand the purpose of my visit. My assistant told me why they were afraid of him. It is because the residents know him with *Woreda* officials when they check for illegal expansion of government houses. I changed my assistant the next day and worked smoothly and fast. The same happened in the next *Woreda* because my assistant was known by the residents for his bad behavior. In another *Woreda* too I also had a problem because of a girl assistant who was known by the residents as a political worker.

## CHAPTER THREE

### CORRUPTION: PEOPLES' UNDERSTANDING AND PERCEPTION

One of the objectives of this research is to find out how the people of Addis Ababa understand and/or perceive corruption. Understanding refers to what they think corruption is and perception is related to where they think corruption exists. Whether the residents consider corruption as a problem or not and their experience in or exposure to it are also issues to be addressed in this chapter. Perceived reasons to get involved in corruption are discussed from receiver and giver sides. First let us look at how the people of Addis Ababa understand corruption.

#### 3.1 Understanding Corruption

In one of the restaurants in *Mercato* /the biggest market place in the city/ there is a food nicknamed as '*Musena*' /equivalent term in Amharic to 'corruption'/. The food is a mix of '*Kitfo*' /traditional food made of chopped raw meat/ and '*Tibes*' /fried meat/ and officially named in the menu as '*kilikil*' /literally meaning mixed/. A friend of mine told me the story of '*musena*' food as follows. Once, there was a female cook in that restaurant who had a boy friend eating his lunch there every day. So he orders less expensive foods like '*key wot*' /traditional food made of peppered meat sausage/ and sometimes '*tibes*'. Then the girl in the kitchen sends him '*kitfo*' covered by his order, say '*key wot*'. He enjoys '*kitfo*' but pays for '*key wot*'. One day, the food that was meant for the boyfriend went to another customer by mistake and the secret was uncovered. The owner was smart and included that food in the menu.

The story impressed me and went to visit the restaurant on 22 April 2014. The restaurant is located at *Gojam Berenda* and it is popular around that area not only for the '*musena*' food but also for the quality of all the foods it serves. I went there with someone I know who works at *Mercato* and knows the restaurant very well. We ordered one '*musena*' to check on, for me, how it looks like. We were provided a mix of '*kitfo*' and '*tibes*' but not as I heard in the story, i.e., the *kitfo* covered by *enjera* /staple food to most Ethiopian societies/ and the *tibes* above the *enjera*. This one is the *kitfo* and *tibes* side by side together with cheese and boiled chopped cabbage. I called the waiter and asked why it is called '*musena*'. He repeated to me the story I heard from my friend. My next question was why the food he delivered us is not the same as it is in the story. He had no satisfactory answer and proposed us to talk to the owner.

We ate one more '*musena*' and meanwhile I was observing other customers ordering the famous food by its nick name. No one was using the name given to the food in the menu. The owner was willing to talk to me after we ate and guided me towards his small office as well as store. He seems suspicious about why I wanted to know and he stood at the entrance of his office when I was expecting him to let me in. Standing next to him I explained the purpose of my informal conversation with him after I introduced myself including my name, where I am studying and what my research was about. Then asked him how and why the '*musena*' food started to be in the menu. The owner said it is the customers who called it '*musena*' but they know it as '*kilikil*' and was there since long time ago. I was confused and asked him about the story I heard. He said he knows nothing about the story people tell and it never happened in that restaurant. However, he admitted that people called the mixed food '*musena*' and he accepted the nick name. As he explained it, customers considered the mixing of *kitfo* and *tibes* as unfair so that they called it '*musena*.' I had no more questions since the guy seems he did not believe the story I told him about myself and he made me feel like a police officer interrogating a suspect in corruption. So I thanked him and left with the person who was with me.

What interested me is not the story of how and why that food came into existence but people's understanding of corruption. In either way the story indicates that people understand corruption to be hidden and unfair. In Addis Ababa, you may also hear assistant to the driver of a taxi calling '*musena sefer*' /meaning 'corruption neighborhood' or a place where corrupt people live/. In Mekele too, there is a neighborhood called '*musena sefer*'. This again is an indication of people's perception as well as reaction to the problem. It shows people believe corruption is not normal and they have their way of sanctioning those who are involved in it at least by humiliating them publicly. The term "*musena*" is not only familiar to residents of Addis Ababa but also the most frequent weapon to attack unfair treatments in their everyday life. They say "*musena new*" /literally 'it is corruption' or "*musena alebet*" /'There is corruption in it'/. The question is what do people call corruption? Is it exactly in accordance to Klitgaardian or other academically stated definitions and concepts?

In the survey questionnaire two of the 35 questions (i.e., Q1 and Q27) were meant to learn about this. Q1 asks what the respondent believes is corruption and gives five choices where the respondent can choose more than one answer. Table - 2 below summarizes the SPSS result of Q1.

**Table 2 What Corruption is - Respondents' Understanding**

Q1. What do you think is corruption?	Responses				Total	
	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	No. of Respondents	% out of the sample total
a. using public responsibility for personal (self and family) benefit	352	89.1	43	10.9	395	95
b. receiving money or other benefits to provide others inappropriate service	327	82.8	68	17.2	395	95
c. omitting act of responsibility so as to negotiate for personal benefit	289	73.2	106	26.8	395	95
d. serving relatives and/or friends prior to others	261	66.1	134	33.9	395	95
e. other than specified	5	1.3	390	98.7	395	95

Of the total 414 respondents to the survey questionnaire, 395 (95.4%) gave answer to this question. Of them 352 (89.1%) believe corruption is using public responsibility for personal (self and family) benefit while 43 (10.9%) do not accept this idea. On the choice 'corruption is receiving money or other benefits to provide others inappropriate service' 327 (82.8%) respondents agreed while 68 (17.2%) did not. It is 289 (73.2%) of them who believe omitting act of responsibility so as to negotiate for personal benefit is corruption while 106 of them (26.8%) do not. Serving relatives and/or friends prior to others is corruption for 261 (66.1%) of the respondents while it is not for 134 (33.9%) of them. Only 5 (1.3%) of the respondents to this question checked on the choice that corruption is other than the above mentioned choices.

This survey result shows most people in Addis believe that corruption is more than just abusing public responsibility for personal gain. They are also aware of other implicit and explicit features of corruption. Briefly stated, most people know any action or inaction with the intent of satisfying personal interest at the cost of others is corrupt. However, some of the discussants in the FGD question the level of knowledge and understanding people have.

Discussant No.5 argues the people of Addis Ababa do not refer corruption by its type but degree of offense. For instance, she said, most people do not consider petty corruption as a problem. It is normal and expected to tip a civil servant to make him/her do his/her job. "That adds up to the

negative impact of corruption." she said. "I don't believe in saying 'petty' and 'grand'. Both should be treated equally because it is the smaller that finally develops into bigger." She referred to her experience with people she gave training who believe only the grand offences to be corruption. According to her, people lack sufficient knowledge on what is corrupt and what is not.

Discussant No.2 tried to see the understanding of the people of Addis diachronically from the era of Emperor Haileselassie to the current EPRDF regime. He said, the values of the society that were concerned with the well-being of others and the communal living culture are falling down through time especially since the 'Derg' regime. Otherwise, he argues, in spite of their poverty, most people of Addis, especially the ordinary citizens; perceive corruption as an offensive act and this is because of their religious backgrounds. He also argues the concept of corruption is not only related to money and other benefits but including respect to social order, legality and worth of people. "I associate the concept of corruption with striving to good reputation in a society. For instance, there are minimum values to co-habit with others. We do not respect and care about our environment but personal advantage. We are developing ignorance." He accuses the 'so called' educated to have a deliberate misunderstanding and confusion to accept corruption as normal or not.

Discussant No.1 believes the misunderstanding is among all walks of the society be it educated or not. Then he argues that it is difficult to put the attitude of all the people in Addis in one category but he concurs with the idea that there is misunderstanding in the concept of corruption. "There is a misnomer of the concept." he said. "For example, a theft in *Mercato* cannot be classified as corruption because it ends as soon as the thief is caught. Corruption is institutionalized. First, it is organized. Second, it is power protected. Third, it is a modern phenomenon." He concluded that the people of Addis do not have similar and qualified understanding about corruption.

Discussant No.3 thinks the people of Addis take corruption as normal and even shaping people who come from out of Addis in their way of thinking. "As the saying goes, '*Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal*' / literally, 'one that does not take advantage of his position, will regret when he is deposed'"/ he said. "You may not like to take part in it but you accept others closer to you doing it."

Discussant No.4 argues inversely to the diachronic assessment of Discussant No.2. He said people's understanding of corruption in the present is better than that was in the past and should be interpreted with the systems that evolved in the history of Ethiopia. In his view, the Haileselassie and Derg regimes used to accept corruption as part of their system. He said that now is not like before since the society has better understanding and awareness of corruption. He also argued against the idea of Discussant No.3 backed by an Amharic saying. "Of course there are people who still believe in '*Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal*' but it is not the dominant idea now. At least people think it is not normal and the criminal could be liable one day if the law could be enforced."

Discussant No.7 began with the definition of the term '*Musena*' /the Amharic equivalent for Corruption/. He said the term '*Musena*' is adapted to Amharic from Geez and it means '*Tifat*' /literally meaning 'harm'/. He said corruption is harmful, hindrance of development that positions individualistic against united efforts. He also forwarded his view about the understanding of corruption by the people of Addis. "They know it is there and it is harmful" he said, and explained how the society believes it is shameful and out of the norm. "It is a sin in religion and shameful in our culture. Residents of Addis would be evacuating had they know there is a place free of corruption. They wouldn't spend a day here."

Discussant No.6 said now is not the same as what was in the past. He does not think residents of Addis take corruption as normal. He said he also does not think they are practicing what they have in their mind. Therefore he believes that they are in a paradoxical situation of not appreciating and not fighting. "When there is a thief they follow him to catch and work with the police. It is not the same for the people engaged in corruption. Even though they are against corruption, they do not consider it as a crime and fight it."

Almost all the participants of the FGD do not have a disagreement on the idea that the people of Addis know what corruption is though they have different arguments on the depth of that understanding and chronological manifestation of the problem. Since peoples' position and reaction is a topic spared to Chapter IV, let us look at more of their understanding to the problem.



Question 27 deliberately dealt with specific acts of corruption. It asks the respondent to choose acts of corruption from the list where he/she can choose more than one answer.

**Table 3 Acts of Corruption: Respondents' Perspective**

Q27. Which of the following do you think is act of corruption?	Responses				Total	
	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	No. of Respondents	% Out of the Tot. sample
a. receiving or giving money to get service done	338	87.1	50	12.9	388	93.7
b. employing member of a family or other relative without competition in an office which is not personal property of the incumbent	271	69.8	117	30.2	388	93.7
c. using properties of duty for personal use	278	71.6	110	28.4	388	93.7
d. sexual relationship between a client and service provider	212	54.6	176	45.4	388	93.7
e. to change the content of documents in favor of a client in exchange for personal benefits	281	72.4	107	27.6	388	93.7
f. changing the content of documents against a client to gain personal benefits	245	63.1	143	36.9	388	93.7
g. omitting act of responsibility with expectation of some benefit	260	67	128	33	388	93.7
h. accepting a gift of gratitude from a client at the end of service knowing that he may come again for another service	148	38.1	240	61.9	388	93.7
i. accepting gift from a client before his case is closed	196	50.5	192	49.5	388	93.7
j. serving a person of acquaintance prior to others	226	58.2	162	41.8	388	93.7
k. delaying the case of a client who one has personal outrage at	173	44.6	215	55.4	388	93.7

It is 388 (93.7%) of the 414 total sample population who gave response to this question. As it is shown in Table 3 above, 338 (87.1%) of the respondents think that receiving /giving/ money to get service done is an act of corruption. Employing a member of a family or other relatives without competition in an office which is not personal property to the incumbent is an act of corruption for 271 (69.8%) of the respondents. Using properties of duty for personal benefit is considered as an act of corruption by 278 (71.6%) of the respondents. It is 212 (54.6%) of them who think that having sexual relationship between a client and a service provider is an act of corruption. Changing the content of documents in favor of a client in exchange of personal benefit is act of corruption for 281 (72.4%) of the respondents. In the case of changing the content of documents against a client to gain personal benefits, 245 (63.1%) agree it is an act of corruption. Omitting act of responsibility to get some benefit is an act of corruption for 260 (67%) respondents. Accepting gift of gratitude from a client in the end of service knowing that he/she may come again for another service is taken as an act of corruption by only 148 (38.1%) of them. Almost half of the respondents, i.e., 192 (49.5%) consider that accepting gift from a client before his case is closed is not an act of corruption. Serving a person of acquaintance prior to others is corrupt for 226 (58.2%) of respondents. Only 173 (44.6%) of respondents believe that delaying the case of a client who one have personal outrage on is corrupt.

Some of the responses to Q27 are remarkable. Of the eleven variables under this question that are assumed to be acts of corruption, it is receiving or giving money to get service done that is the most recognized one by the people. Almost 9 out of 10 residents in Addis have the understanding of exchanging money to service is corrupt. Of ten people in Addis 7 understand using properties of duty for personal benefit and changing the content of documents in favor of a client in exchange of personal benefits are acts of corruption. However, more than 5 out of ten people think delaying the case of a client who they have an outrage on is normal. Again people with similar number have the understanding of receiving gift from their client before the end of their service is normal. The number grows to 6 out of 10 if the gift is received at the end of the service though they know that the client is coming back sometime later. Sexual relationship between a client and a service provider is normal for more than 4 people out of 10.

Wondemu<sup>4</sup>, 49, one of my key informants who is a senior consultant at the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, thinks the very meaning and acts of corruption are not clearly understood by the people of Addis. "They mix two concepts: the problems of good governance and corruption. So they have high expectation. If you ask any of the residents they may tell you the nation is devastated by corruption. All good governance problems are not corruption though sometimes one contributes to the other." He said inefficiency in executing public services could be taken as an example of people's confusion with corruption when their case takes longer time in the process. Whereas, he argues, that could be due to capacity problem or nature of the bureaucracy.

I probed what corruption is for him and he said that corruption is mental poverty. "Mankind lacking wisdom, love of art and passion is in corruption. That's how I think. So corruption is a moral degradation or mental poverty." Reflecting more on the understanding of the people the law and philosophy graduate expert said people believe the bureaucracy is corrupt from higher to lower positions so that they do not want to take risk since there would be no change. He argues that perception of the people may not be based on reality since every failure of the bureaucracy to meet expected efficiency level of service cannot be considered as corruption. However, he also admitted that there are good governance problems to be taken as corruption when they are clearly stated how they should be performed. "Violation to the stated procedure will entail legal responsibility. Otherwise, inefficiency of manpower could only be solved through training or replacement of staff. There are also some people in the civil service who disguise their corrupt behavior in inefficiency. Sometimes it is difficult to demarcate between good governance problems and corruption."

The question is, are these two (good governance and corruption) two different animals that we should not relate at all? I do not think so. Rather the absence of either one is an indicator to the presence of the other. Lack of good governance could be characterized by lack of accountability that clearly cultivates corruption. If we flip the other side of the coin to see corruption, we find it to be one of the major reasons for the absence of good governance. One of my interviewees, Ayalew, 84 who used to be a Mayor of Addis and now leading Addis residents' forum, believes lack of good governance and corruption are directly related. Ayalew is also a founding member

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<sup>4</sup> All the names of informants in this paper are pseudonyms.

of a local NGO to fight corruption and he told me that they teach people that good governance should be promoted to fight corruption. However, he does not believe only teaching helps to achieve good governance.

"Good governance comes out of good child rearing. It does not come out of the blue. I am the leader of residents' forum in Addis. The government took measures to manage corruption. Some are expelled from their position. Several of them are detained but the problem is still there. In the past, it was an act of few individuals but now many people are involved. I tried to know why the new generation is more corrupt. One person told me that the parents from the past have seen what happened to their brothers and sisters because they were concerned with national affairs. So they warn their children not to be involved in such matters but their individual interests. Of course it could be true many youth were victims of the '*Derg*' regime and it could be true that parents advise their children to be concerned only with their individual affairs. It is a mass reaction that is reflected in the new generation. We were taught everything we do is for the country and for the Kingdom. We still hold on that belief. It is irrevocable idea imprinted in our heart. If we get order to guard a mountain of gold, we don't touch a particle even if we get starved. So it is related with how you are raised. I always say good governance is the result of good child rearing. It is difficult to bend a stiffly grown wood. We have to work on children to raise them with good values," said Ayalew.

Briefly stated, the data collected through all the three methods show people of Addis Ababa understand corruption is against the norm. However, looking into the variation of their response to the different kinds and acts of corruption, it can be guessed their understanding varies based on their previous experience and knowledge.

### **3.2 Places where corruption is rampant**

One can say there is no service in Addis Ababa that people do not complain about in connection with corruption. Utilities, tax office, licensing, residence services like issuance of ID cards, land administration, security, etc, are perceived to be corrupt by most members of the society. This research tried to quantify these complaints by collecting data using survey questionnaire. Q2 and Q3 of the survey document dealt with the issue of where the respondents believe there is corruption and to what extent. Q2 asks where the respondent believes there is corruption. It gives five choices where four of them are specific and the fifth one gives space if he/she has responses other than those specified. Since religious institutions are frequently mentioned on the fifth choice of Q2, it is taken as one variable in the process of analysis, which makes the actual choices six instead of five. The responses are summarized in Table 4 below.

**Table 4 Social Sectors in which there is Corruption: Respondents' Perception**

Q2. There is corruption	Responses				Total	
	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. in government organizations and civil service agencies	397	97.8	9	2.2	406	98
b. in private organizations	295	72.5	112	27.5	407	98
c. in nongovernmental organizations /NGOs/	315	77.8	90	22.2	405	98
d. in professional and civic associations	271	67.6	130	32.4	401	97
e. in religious institutions	30	7.4	377	92.6	407	98
f. institutions other than specified	7	1.7	400	98.3	407	98

The total number of respondents to this question varies with the choices given. Of the 406 respondents 397 (97.8%) said there is corruption in government organizations and civil service agencies. Out of 407 respondents, 295 (72.5%) said that there is corruption in private organizations. Existence of corruption in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) is perceived by 315 (77.8%) of 405 respondents. It is 271 (67.6%) who believe there is corruption in professional and civic associations. Only 30 (7.4%) out of 407 respondents perceived corruption exists in religious institutions. Other institutions mentioned as *Edir* and *Ekub* are thought to be places of corruption by only 7 (1.3%) of 407 respondents.

The data show that there is no social sector free of corruption. Though the government bureaucracy takes the lead, NGOs and the private sector are also significantly infected. This result of the survey is in accordance with what the researcher found through formal and informal interviews with some residents of Addis Ababa. Meron, 35, a film producer and an all-rounded artist who is engaged in private business complains about the rampant corruption in private businesses and NGOs. She told me she had a chance to contact many of big private companies to work on their commercial ads. According to Meron most public relation and marketing managers want her to give them commission if she wants to get their approval on her production. She emphasized that it is also difficult to work with most of the private cinema managers, especially for women. She said most of them asked her to pay money in tens of thousands or partial income of the show if she wanted her movie to be watched in their cinema. One of the managers even

asked her to lay down with him though he knows she is married. However, she is thankful for her present situation with her own business as compared to when she had nothing and was just an actress.

She remembers her experience when she started to work on commercials with a private company. She was told to come after office hour given the information that everybody was called. When she went there, it was only her who showed up and understood it was arranged deliberately. "The guy proposed for sex and he promised, if I agree, he will always give me the chance to be casted with a better payment. He also promised to send me abroad. I was so young but curious. So I was talking to him standing around the exit because I was afraid of being raped. I left his office feeling so mad."

Meron has another experience with one of the famous TV show producers who always had sexual interest to her when she was his assistant. "One day he tried to kiss me while I was on duty. I slapped him on his face and run away. I was not paid my salary for three months. I was crying on my way home. I went to church in between and cried a lot." Then she said after three months she decided to start her own business because she could not see the difference between her and her 'so called' employers. She still remembers with anger the day she left that office desperately. "I hoped to be famous. That's why I was crying when I left. I thought I could do nothing if that was the way I should pass through. Nevertheless, there are other girls who are ready to have sex with him in order to get the chance. They even try to seduce him by their style of dressing. That's why he said to me 'What makes you different?'" The researcher knows many women especially young ones who have similar experience. Some private employers sexually abuse their female employees and the women give in not to lose their job.

I asked her why she is complaining on NGOs as well. Meron told me she has similar experiences with NGOs since she produces audio-visual messages for them in her promotion company. She also told me the experience of her husband with some NGOs. Her husband, an ACCA certified accountant resigned from his higher position in one of the NGOs since he did not want to agree with the director to abuse resources of the organization. He applied to another NGO for the position of Finance Director to which he was selected. However, he lost it because he refused to give his one month salary to the Director as a bribe.

I have similar experience with Meron both in private businesses and NGOs regarding bribe requests in money. In 2011, I produced a feature film for commercial purpose in addition to its thematic value to the society. It was rated first grade by the city tourism and culture office and all the private as well as the government cinemas in Addis accepted it evaluating with their own criteria. Every process was fine until it was premiered and that day it was in every cinema in Addis to hit a good sum of money. I already invested more than Birr 200 thousand for promotion in addition to the production budget of 1.1 million, expecting good return if it goes according to the marketing plan. I did not know that there is another way to stay on the screen but having a good film and promoting it.

However, only two private cinemas were willing to give me limited regular shows though they were not in their prime times. As I learnt later, I was allowed even those limited shows since the managers of the two cinemas were afraid of the owners of the cinemas who I know. I had to ask the manager of the cinema that I was expecting to make more money why he did not give me the prime times. He promised to change the time and add more shows if the movie has a good financial return in the first month. Wow! That was reasonable if he was afraid of losing profit and I agreed. With only three shows in a week (Monday night at 8pm, Wednesday afternoon at 2 pm and Saturday afternoon at 4pm) the movie became the second in income generation to the cinema next to another film with eight prime time shows. There were eight films to be shown in a week. Then I was so confident to have at least four shows in the next month but he gave me only one. I could not believe it and asked why. He had no convincing reply and still tried to be friendly and appreciated the movie. Meanwhile, other film producers were asking me how much I paid to him and they did not believe when I said nothing.

One of the film makers who had similar experience with his first production sympathized and advised me to give him bribe. He told me the way I was doing was not the right approach and I should figure out how the system works. First, I refused but became convinced when he volunteered to create contact and give the money himself since they have confidence on him. I had no choice but to learn how the movie market works. He told me he was a mechanic with his own garage and sold it to produce a film which he himself admits was not a good one. All the cinemas rejected him but he got the chance when he gave Birr 30 thousand bribe to one of the cinema managers. Then he made Birr 120 thousand in two months though the viewers were

complaining at the end of almost every show. Later, he produced two movies with low cost and made a big sum of money using the bribery line. He started to negotiate for me and the manager agreed to take the first ten thousand and add more shows in the third month. Unfortunately, my contact could not arrive to their appointment since he was out of Addis for his personal problem. So he told me by telephone to meet the manager waiting in his office and give the ten thousand.

I went with my ten thousand birr after calling him. He was there waiting for me but there were other people too including his secretary that shares the same room with him. The cinema manager had every reason to dismiss all the people who were there in almost three minutes and we were left alone. I was so nervous and we started talking about other affairs. He seemed gentle and genuine and I was afraid of raising the issue of giving money to him. I never had such an experience and I could not have the courage to do it then. Besides, my principles of honest business and personal pride challenged me. When he was talking this and that I was struggling with my own consciousness to violate my life time principles or not. My contact called me to check if I was there and what is going on. I told him the guy does not seem corrupt and I was afraid of giving the money. He told me they already had a deal so that I should just give him the money without saying anything.

I could not do it that simple since my ethical questions were hammering my head to remind me that is not the right way. I stayed there for almost an hour talking issues not related to my problem as if I did not come by appointment. Finally I decided to stay clean and stood up to shake his hands and left the office. I felt relieved of my guilt had I done it against my principles. So I planned another way of showing my movie.

I prepared a proposal to show the movie in 20 of the universities in Ethiopia for the students freely and visited one of the pertinent NGOs funded by USAID. They liked the proposal but they said their professionals should watch the movie first. They assigned a program officer and she came to watch it in one of the cinemas while it was on show. She congratulated me for I did such a good cinema they had to sponsor it had they known about it in advance and gave her recommendation to her organization. They said they do not have the budget and I should wait until they propose to USAID and get the fund.



The fund was released and then the head of the public relation department called me to discuss on how to proceed. I went and he told me to produce cost breakdown of the tour to 15 universities with only birr 80 thousand budget. I told him that I proposed birr 25 thousand per university and USAID already approved USD 25 thousand. I thought he was not informed by his colleagues from other departments who were in the process and did my best to explain what the process was. He emphasized that he is the one to decide because he is the head of the public relations department and even his boss whom I had been talking to from the beginning cannot reverse what he was telling me to do. I left the office so disappointed but telling him I will sleep on it.

Showing in 15 universities with only birr 80 thousand is unthinkable. It does not even cover traveling cost. I recalled the conversation I had in detail and understood why he tried to corner me. After all I was surprised to see him in an expensive private four wheel drive car since I knew him four years back while he was working as a reporter to a government media. So I called him on his mobile with one of my phones, recording with another. I was so calm and in a friendly tone that seems recognizing his power. He was still telling me that he is the only one to decide and I should agree to his proposal and he allowed me to add car rental. I promised to call him again after calculating it and to meet him again. Though he became suspicious of being recorded at the end of our conversation it was so clear that he wanted to negotiate his share from what I was going to take.

I could not make it up to his interest and he proposed to his office that there had to be a bid among all the movie producers. Though I believed it was not fair since they got the budget with my proposal, I did not care because I was quite sure it was only my movie that meets their thematic criteria. I submitted my technical and financial proposal to compete with 12 other film producers. The technical committee that was led by the public relation head watched all other movies for evaluation but not mine. I was following up the process and the procurement department gave me a letter and the minute of the decision by the committee that explains they watched all the movies of the candidates and none of them were according to the interest of the organization. I called the country director who is an American and told her what is going on in her organization. She told me to write a letter and I gave her in her hands with all the evidences and the process in detail. She said she would call me after investigating the case but she never

did so. I tried to call her so many times but never answered. I sent her text messages but she never replied. After months of trial to know her measure I gave up.

The point here is, corruption is not only a public office phenomenon in Addis Ababa. It is also a disease of private businesses and NGOs. Even religious services are not for free as they were before. I remember when I was a kid the priest of our family used to come to our home at least once in a week to pray for us and spray Holy Water on all the family members and the house for free. Just considering that is his spiritual commitment. Now the same priest never comes to your house if you do not give at least birr one hundred or fifty per every visit. He does not ask you to pay but he avoids you and goes to others who treat him financially very well. Even the funeral ceremony and prayer is not the same for those who have and those who have not.

In Question 3 respondents were asked to grade the severity of corruption in a given social, political and economic institution from 1 to 5, where 1 stands for never corrupt and 5 for the worst corrupt. As summarized in Table 5 below, the *Woreda* administrations are perceived to be the worst in corruption by 166 (43.9 %) of 378 respondents followed by civil service offices in the government hierarchy which 118 (34.1%) of 346 respondents gave the rank of the worst. Third in the rank of the worst is the judiciary with 113 (30.2%) of 374 respondents. The fourth in the worst ranking is the police with 108 (29.3%) of 369 respondents. The highest of never corrupt grade goes to religious institutions by 130 (37.8%) of 344 respondents followed by educational system that 77 (22.3%) of 345 respondents perceive as never corrupt. Though the government in its constituencies is perceived to be the most corrupt, no service or institution in Addis Ababa is free of the infection. Even religious institutions are perceived to be corrupt no matter the degree they are given.

**Table 5 Services and/or Institutions Infected by Corruption: Respondents' Perception**

Q3. Service/Institution	Responses by Degree of Corruption										Total	
	Never Corrupt		A little bit Corrupt		Moderately Corrupt		Mostly Corrupt		The Worst Corrupt			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Court System	28	7.5	57	15.2	108	28.9	68	18.2	<b>113</b>	<b>30.2</b>	374	90.3
b. Health Service	36	10.1	148	41.6	101	28.4	45	12.6	26	7.3	356	86
c. Education	77	22.3	121	35.1	93	27	30	8.7	24	7	345	83.3
d. Police	22	6	44	11.9	110	29.8	85	23	<b>108</b>	<b>29.3</b>	369	89.1
e. Private Businesses	61	17.8	98	28.6	82	23.9	41	12	61	17.8	343	82.9
f. Religious Institutions	130	37.8	99	28.8	58	16.9	19	5.5	38	11	344	83.1
g. Nongovernmental Organizations	25	7.3	75	21.8	123	35.8	64	18.6	57	16.6	344	83.1
h. Mass Media	57	16.7	89	26	115	33.6	41	12	40	11.7	342	82.6
i. Woreda Administrations	19	5	32	8.5	81	21.4	80	21.2	<b>166</b>	<b>43.9</b>	378	91.3
j. Civil Service Offices in the Government Hierarchy	19	5.5	44	12.7	87	25.1	78	22.5	<b>118</b>	<b>34.1</b>	346	83.6

The ex mayor Ayalew argues that the government is the main source of corruption. "Corruption is related with giving and receiving. It starts when you have the capacity to give. It is the government that gives you the capacity to give. Corruption is using that capacity for your personal gain." Ayalew remembers land to be the main source of corruption when he was the mayor of Addis. At the time there were only two criteria to get land: one, to legally confirm that the resident has no house; two, to justify that the resident has financial capacity to build a house. "The second criterion was vulnerable to corruption. Some in the municipal bureaucracy manipulated this to their personal benefit. Some of them were even taking land in the name of their old mothers who had no money." said the ex mayor. According to him it is the transition period, i.e., before the new city administration starts working after the previous one left that those bureaucrats take advantage of counterfeiting documents. "For instance, if there was a land given temporarily by the previous administration, they change the documents to permanent before the new starts working. Important documents could be lost in between or could be substituted by new ones or they could be forged. This is an all time corruption. It takes a long time to investigate even if the new administrators know about it. We learnt about it long after we left the office."

Almost all of the discussants in the FGD agree with the idea of the government taking the lead in being corrupt. "Legs walk based on the thought that comes out of mind" said discussant No.7 in his metaphoric expression. "If I am corrupt, there is no reason why my subordinates couldn't be corrupt. We can't force people to stop it. It's normal if they want to do it watching us doing it."

A case from an interview with one of my key informants illustrates the result from the survey data, i.e., *Woredas* are the most corrupt structures of government. The law graduate Derebie, 33 and now a CEO in one of the *Woredas* in Addis Ababa, served there for more than ten years with different capacities. As he said, first he was in the social court where he had a chance to observe malpractices in the *Woreda* administration. Later he decided to join the administration so as to challenge some corrupt practices and serve the society properly. He became a General Manager and had the first experience immediately. The then head of Justice Bureau was always suspected to be corrupt and a lot of rumors were going on about him. Derebie started to confront him but had no concrete evidence. Meanwhile the official applied to be released before the truth was uncovered.

Derebie continues narrating a case that came into his hand against the suspected official.

"One day a certain girl came to me to talk in private. She told me the person promised her a government house that he claimed was under his authority. He took birr 5000 in advance. The girl didn't have evidence in her hand because he did it hidden. I asked her where they had been meeting and she told me once at Lion's Cage and another time around Menilik hospital where she gave him the money. She was even willing to sleep with him in addition to the money but he couldn't make it after they set the date. She told me everything openly. She was forced by the serious problem she had. It's not about the money she lost but I wanted to challenge the idea that colonized the society. By the way, the girl was a waitress. You feel pity how her face was damaged due to misery. It's unfair to snatch from such a destitute girl. Besides, her life is miserable because many people abused her physically and mentally. I couldn't help her because she had no evidence. I had to find a way to know the truth and get concrete evidence."

So he trained her on how to record her telephone conversation with him and told her to use it when they call each other. First time was not clearly indicating what the head did. The next three recordings were helpful.

"In the three recordings he was promising to give her the house soon. He even admitted that he took the money but asking excuses since he was in Debre Berhan and to finalize it as soon as he was back in Addis. At the same time he was asking her not to urge him. She reminded him that he didn't show up to their dating. He said sorry for that too and promised to have quality time with her one day. Everything was on the record. I advised the girl to show up only whenever I called her."

Then, he continued the story, in the evening meeting of the *Woreda* executives he raised the agenda on corruption and advised all to clean themselves. The suspect started to 'roar' as usual.

"I told him he is a thief and everybody in the meeting was shocked. 'You are a thief. I show you four evidences for your theft today. The rest will follow some other time.' By the way, I also had evidence on him. He changed a profile of one resident from *Amhara* /Ethiopian/ to Eritrean for birr 10,000 that I learnt he had a chain up to court. I used all political words I know to support my evidences at hand and I told him to resign. 'Now it is not you who should apply for resignation but it is the administration to force you resign and that will not be free release. You may end up to jail.' He was shocked and lost his confidence when I disclosed all the evidence in my hand. I told the executive members that rumors were enough to get him off his position since people had been complaining on him."

To make the long story short, a committee was formed to investigate the case and confirmed all the evidences were right. The head confessed and signed affirmation. He was so humiliated and insulted in the executive meeting and kicked out of his position. He was also sued and punished for his crime. "I had this experience," said Derebie who openly admits most officials in *Woredas* of Addis Ababa are corrupt. He also tipped me that the expelled official of the *Woreda* has several private businesses which are the results of his corruption when he was in power.

### 3.3 Corruption perceived to be a problem

Some people argue that the residents of Addis Ababa do not consider corruption as a problem. They say most residents do not even feel it. Others argue in opposition to this view that the people of Addis sense corruption as a problem. These opposing arguments were even reflected in the FGD. The data from the field survey represents the position of the people.

Question 4 of the survey document directly asks if corruption is a problem with a 'yes' or 'no' answers. As shown in Table 6 below 398 (96.4%) of the 413 respondents that answered this question consider corruption as a problem. We can say almost all the people believe corruption is a problem. The question is whose problem is that?

**Table 6 Respondents Believing Corruption is a Problem or not**

Q4	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid no	15	3.6	3.6	3.6
Valid yes	398	96.1	96.4	100.0
Total	413	99.8	100.0	
Missing missing value	1	.2		
Total	414	100.0		

Respondents, who responded affirmatively to Question No. 4, were further asked whose problem they think corruption was. They are expected to put the six choices given in a ranking order. The number of respondents to this question is variable for every choice. Table 7 below summarizes ranking of the population by degree of concern. It is only the results in the first rank taken for comparative analysis.

The highest in the first rank is the government where 221 (65%) of 349 respondents believe corruption is the problem of the government. Those who consider it as their problem are 184 (57%) of 333 respondents. This result shows almost half of the people in Addis do not consider corruption to be their problem. It seems most people push it to the government since they gave the highest ranking to it.

**Table 7 Ranking of Concern to Corruption**

Q5.	Responses by Ranking order												Total	
	First		Second		Third		Forth		Fifth		Sixth			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. My concern	184	57	63	19	17	5	5	2	17	5	39	12	325	79
b. My family's Concern	66	21	121	39	53	17	4	1	49	16	16	5	309	75
c. The concern of Woreda residents	69	22	42	14	97	31	81	26	7	2	14	5	310	75
d. The concern of Sub City residents	68	22	51	17	79	26	60	19	46	15	4	1	308	74
e. The concern of residents in Addis Ababa	87	28	85	27	32	10	28	9	53	17	31	10	316	76
f. The concern of the government	221	65	27	8	32	9	9	3	5	1	47	14	341	82

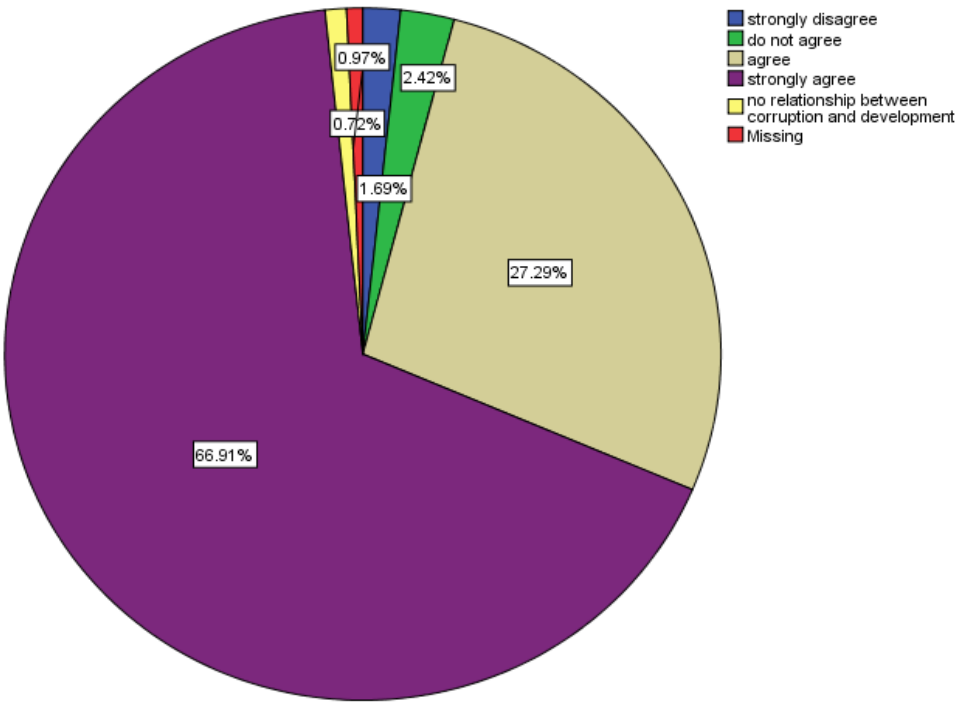
One of my interviewees Wondemu who believes a government is a mirror image of the society believes that corruption is the concern of every individual. He is worried about the 'mental corruption' that is becoming customary in the society. He said, "The economic one is second generation since it follows the mind set up. Some who have no competence in the academics or those who have no knowledge are getting rich. Free riders are multiplied. The mental corruption is dangerous because it leads you to colonized mentality. Lack of responsibility is potential danger of this society."

However, Wondemu also believes this lack of concern and responsibility by individual residents of the city is not by choice but because they lost hope on the government system. "They are reluctant to give information to the government because they do not trust the system. They believe the bureaucracy is corrupt from lower to higher positions. So that they don't want to take risk for they think there would be no change." he said.

Whether corruption affects development negatively or positively is an ongoing debate among the academics since the time of the moralist versus revisionist theoretical argument era. Some consider corruption as a chronic disease that retards development while others argue it accelerates development in a way the normal bureaucratic system could not facilitate. Which one of these two arguments dominates the mentality of residents in Addis is one of the concerns in this research. Question 6 of the survey document dealt with it and Figure 3 below shows the direct result from SPSS processed data.

Of the 411 respondents to this question, 390 (94.9%) either agreed or strongly agreed to the idea that corruption is impediment to development. Those who fall in any degree of disagreement are 17 (4.1%) while the remaining 4 (1%) believe there is no relationship between corruption and development. As the result shows, it is only few people who do not believe corruption negatively affects development. This negative impact could be seen from individual as well as national perspectives.





**Figure 2 Percentage of Respondents with Degree of Agreement/Disagreement to the Saying 'Corruption Hinders Development'**

The survey tried to see how respondents perceive corruption as compared to their other personal as well as national problems of development. Corruption is the highest in the first rank to be the cause of respondents' personal economic under development where 194 (62.2%) of 312 put it first in Question 28. It is on top of lack of education and inconvenient government policy where both were equally ranked first by 112 (41.5%) respondents. The result is summarized in Table 8 below.

**Table 8 Reasons for Personal Economic Under Development - In Ranking Order**

Q28.	Responses by Ranking order												Total	
	First		Second		Third		Forth		Fifth		Other Ranks			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respo ndents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Lack of Education	<b>113</b>	<b>42</b>	68	25	48	18	16	6	14	5	12	4	271	66
b. Not having any talent	26	13	27	14	62	32	21	11	31	16	29	15	196	47
c. The rampant corruption	<b>194</b>	<b>62</b>	71	23	23	7	10	3	11	4	2	1	311	75
d. Lack of good health conditions	29	16	31	17	47	26	22	12	25	14	29	16	183	44
e. Inconvenient government policy	<b>112</b>	<b>42</b>	76	28	43	16	14	5	13	5	11	4	269	65
f. My personal addiction problem	50	25	32	16	39	20	23	12	25	13	28	14	197	48
g. High burden of family	38	18	41	19	60	28	22	10	22	10	30	14	213	51
h. Other reasons	6	86	-	-	1	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	2

One of my informants Wondemu told me he lost many opportunities due to his stand against corruption though he said he never regrets it. "I never surrendered to corruption. As a result I feel heroic and preserved my self esteem. I am not philosophically poor. It is only economic if there was something I lost. I never regret it." Wondemu seems to have pride on himself to be in a position that is against corruption. However I learnt from our informal conversation over tea and coffee after the formal /recorded/ interview that he lost hope on the system to change his life to a better condition. He told me a man like him who is well educated and honestly serving the society should have been rewarded economically. He lives with his wife and two children in a rented small house owned by an individual at a peripheral area of the city where he can get it for low cost. He sends his children to a low cost and low quality education school since he cannot afford to pay for the better ones. He believes all this is the cost of his position against corruption. Otherwise, he said, he would have been better off economically at least if the system was better in rewarding honestly serving citizens.

My other informant Tariku has similar attitude with Wondemu. He blames on the existing corrupt system for his personal economic underdevelopment. He believes he would be rewarded for his genuine public service performance had there not been corruption. He said no one around him that appreciates his anti-corruption stand to live under poverty since others with similar status changed not only their own life but also those around them. He remembers one incident when he was in short of money. "I went to one of my friends to borrow birr 500. He said to me, 'You are amazing! God gave you the chance to make a hell of money but you are not using it. It was not for you to borrow but you should have been the one to lend it.' He discouraged me because I didn't use my position for personal benefit. I was so offended by his words and told him to leave my request. I left without his money." Tariku emphasized on the sacrifice a person could pay due to the position one takes against corruption.

The other informant Meron said corruption retarded the development of her private business by distorting the competition process. "I know some people in the promotion businesses who always win bids by having contact with those in a position of public relation and marketing. They get awards of bid continuously not because they are competent but because they are willing to share the income with their contacts. I know some buildings in the city who the people talk about because they belong to some of the government officials. You may be surprised how they could

acquire such big properties when they are just government employees. Residents of Addis know everyone of them. I was advised to rent in one of those buildings because electricity never gets down since it belongs to a higher official of the government."

The *Woreda* official Derebie said he never lost anything in his life due to his stand against corruption. However, he thinks he could have been at higher position had the system not been corrupted. "I am not wanted at higher positions because of my anti-corruption stand" he said.

The point all the four informants wanted to make is corruption is the number one reason for their economic under development since it undermines their genuine effort and empowers those in the illegal line of business and assignment. As a result they frustrated and lost hope on the formal and normal system of personal achievement. Many people, whom I discussed with informally, told me corruption is not only in a client and service provider relationship but also within the institutions themselves. They say promotion to higher professional positions is impossible only by one's competence. One may need to have ethnic and/or political affiliation to be assigned in key positions. So those who are not in accordance to the corrupt system remain at lower levels of position with lower levels of living standard.

Table 9 below shows people's perception of possible factors impeding the national economic development. Corruption is still the highest in the first ranking to cause failure (Q29). Of the 371 respondents, 204 (55%) perceive corruption is the first factor to hinder national economic development. It is closely followed by weak system of government execution where 188 (54%) of 348 put it first. Third in the first rank is inappropriate economic policy perceived to be first by 111 (36.9%) of 301 respondents.

One of my interviewees, Meron, made a point that corruption is the number one problem to hinder national development. She said, "To see how corruption is negatively affecting the nation,

**Table 9 Impediments to National Economic Development - Respondents' Perception**

Q29.	Responses by Ranking order												Total	
	First		Second		Third		Forth		Fifth		Sixth			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respo ndents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Wrong Economic Policy	111	37	61	20	72	24	38	13	18	6	1	.3	301	73
b. Weak System of Government Execution	188	54	96	28	40	12	16	5	7	2	1	.3	348	84
c. Rampant Corruption	204	55	80	22	67	18	16	4	4	1	-	-	371	90
d. Lack of Educated Manpower	85	27	58	19	76	24	64	21	27	9	1	.3	311	75
e. Population Pressure	49	17	47	16	68	23	39	13	75	26	12	4	290	70
f. Low Number of Population	5	3	18	11	44	26	6	4	34	20	61	36	168	41
g. Reasons Other than Specified	2	67	-	-	1	33	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1

it is enough to see the damaged roads immediately after they are constructed and defects on the buildings. The nation is not developing to the level it can achieve."

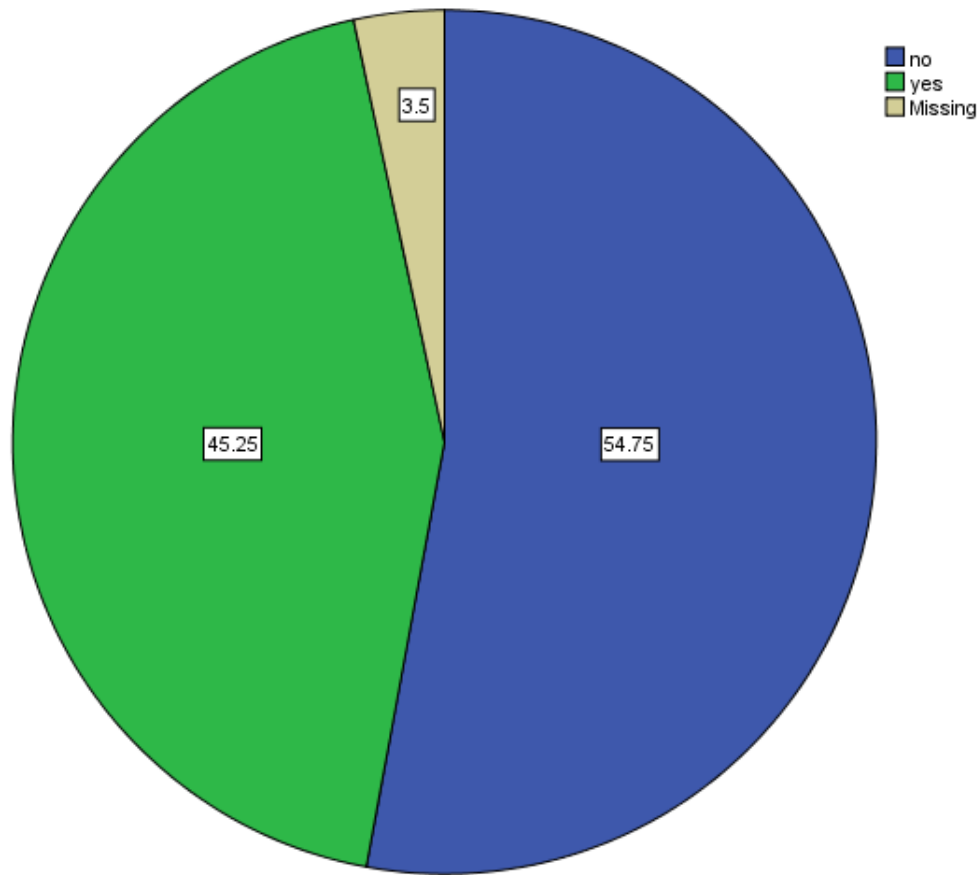
For Tariku corruption is a major problem that jeopardizes the future of the nation since it is killing the generation. He said the most valuable asset to the nation is the population. "In the past the country was built by those religious and anti-corruption fathers. Even in the Italian invasion, they gave priority to their country though some were in the other side. They believed their country is first but not their personal benefit. Corruption dismisses this patriotic feeling." Tariku raised the question why and answered it. "The current generation started to say 'it's none of my business', 'who cares'. If they don't care they may sell the nation's secret. They may cause a lot of damage in the property of their organization. It's very dangerous and corruption is a big cause to retard the nation's development." said Tariku.

Derebie said corruption is not just like a theft but highly organized and networked to be dangerous enough not only to hinder development but also to dismantle the nation. "Most people are afraid of ethnicity and religion to be causes of destruction to our unity but for me it is corruption that endangers our unity. It is because there is ethnic interest and religious extremism behind corruption. The corruptors use these two as their instruments."

In my time of field survey, many people told me how corruption is challenging the development of the nation. Failure of electricity, telephone network, water supply and road construction services were the most frequently mentioned indicators of corruption against development. Many of those who talked to me believe the failures are caused by low quality materials purchased by incumbents in the pertinent government offices negotiating for their own personal benefit with 'selfish' local and international suppliers.

### **3.4 Experience in and exposure to corruption**

Some questions of the survey material were designed to know the experience in and vulnerability of respondents to corruption. Question 14 directly asks if the respondent or member of the respondent's family or someone he/she knows closely was asked to pay money or other kind of bribe in the last one year period. Figure 3 below shows the result. Of the 400 who responded to this question, 219 (55%) said 'no' while 181 (45%) said 'yes'.



**Figure 3 Percentage of people who were asked to pay bribe in the last one year period of time**

Just looking into the results from the survey, one may conclude the frequency of bribe request is less than 50 percent incident but that is not the case. Respondents are picked randomly of those who had cases or not in the last one year period. Just like throwing a stone in the middle of a marketplace to hit the grey headed one. Would one call it small number if 45 percent of the people in the marketplace were grey headed? That is to say the number is still big even if it was from those who had cases in the given period.

Question 15 is for those who said 'yes' to question 14 to explain the type of bribe they were asked. The number of respondents who were asked to pay in money were 164 (93%) while 26 (15%) were asked for sexual relationship and 13 (7.2%) were asked for employment opportunity in exchange to the service they wanted. Summary of the responses is shown in Table 10 below.

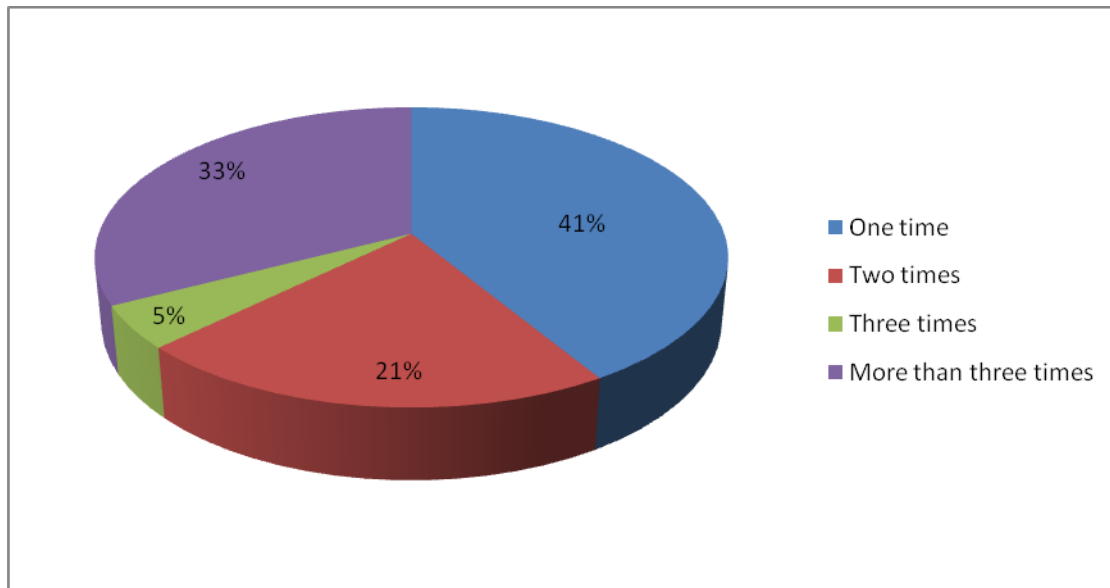
**Table 10 Kinds of Bribe Respondents were asked in Exchange of Service they wanted in the Last One Year**

Q15.	Responses				Total	
	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Money	164	93	13	7	177	43
b. Sexual Relationship	26	15	151	85	177	43
c. Employment Opportunity	13	7	164	93	177	43
d. other than specified	3	2	173	98	176	43

As shown in Table 10 above the sum of the number of respondents (percentages) to Question 15 is greater than the number of 'yes' responses (100%) to Question 14 since some of the respondents experienced more than one type of request.

Question 16 is still referring to those who said 'yes' to Question 14 and designed to learn how frequently they were asked to pay bribe in the one year period. Figure 4 below shows the result where 172 (95%) of them gave response to this question and 71 (41.3%) of them were asked only once. Those who were asked twice are 37 (21.5%) while 8 (4.7%) were asked three times. It is 56 (32.6%) of the respondents to this question who were asked to pay bribe more than three times.





**Figure 4 Percentage of Bribe Request Frequency in the Last One Year Period**

Question 21 is designed to know if the respondent has ever been requested to pay money or other kind of bribe in his/her entire life. Of the 398 respondents who answered this question, 209 (52.5%) were asked to pay bribe while 189 (47.5%) never had such incident.

The data from all these questions show that the number of people with exposure to corrupt requests is more in the case of life time experience than in the last one year. Money is the most frequent medium of exchange in corruption followed by sexual request though the gap between the two is very wide. When we look at frequency of occurrence, most people were asked only one time in the last one year period. The next most frequent times are more than three times and two times. Almost 6 out of 10 people who said they were asked bribery were asked more than two times in the last one year period.

Corrupt requests are not proposed only from those in service providing positions but also from the clients' side. One of my key informants, Tariku told me his experience in this regard. Tariku, 48 and 12<sup>th</sup> grade complete, works in one of the ministries as client information authentication and organizing clerk. As he told me his office is highly vulnerable to corruption since they register construction consultants and contractors. "Most of the people produce ownership documents without really having the trucks. Some who dropped out of school at elementary level or even had never enrolled in formal schooling deliver us a graduate degree. Forgery is everywhere in the city. Rumors about how our office is corrupt are common," said Tariku. Then

he wanted to solve this problem though he was appointed to be just a clerk in that department. He insisted to investigate cases either by establishing online communication with pertinent institutions or by physically taking the documents to the claimed issuers. His proposal was accepted but no one in that department could be willing to take that responsibility. "I volunteered when everybody was afraid of taking the risk", said Tariku.

Then he took 28 title deeds documents to 5 Sub Cities of Addis Ababa and 24 of them were found to be fraud. The owners were sued at Lideta High Court and the follow up of the cases was still left to him. Then unknown people started to intimidate him everywhere he goes. They call on the office line to insult and warn him to quit the cases. In one of the days it was different.

"I took taxi from my office to Piassa on my way home. A motorbike blocked me immediately I got off the taxi. I saw that motorbike around when I left my office. They were two and called me by my name. They said they want to talk to me. I asked the purpose and they told me it is related to my job. I still asked how they knew what my job is. They told me where I work and what they wanted to talk about was the title deeds issue I was investigating. I asked what related them with that. I also advised them to come to my office next day at 8:30am for whatever they wanted to talk with me. They insisted to talk on having tea-coffee and I still refused. I told them to talk to my bosses on the next day. They said they are informed I am the one who insisted to investigate the documents and took the assignment. I said 'so what?' They proposed to negotiate and work together. I was not still willing and they said 'You better get rich soon instead of suffering in poverty with the low government salary you have.' I thanked them for their advice but told them I live by the will of my God. So I believe in waiting whatever He offers me. Until then, it is enough if I fulfill my basic necessities. They left advising me to sleep on it," said Tariku.

However, that was not the end of the story. Two months later again on his way home, he got off a bus at Piassa. He heard his name called from the backside and turned to see two men coming towards him. They told him that they wanted to talk to him and he asked why. They referred to the previous guys who talked to him though he refused. They tried to convince him to change his mind. He asked them why they wanted to talk to him personally. They told him that it is because his institution has confidence in him. They proposed to give him birr 10,000 per title deed since the process would be easier for them as long as his confirmation is trusted by his office. They advised him to get rich soon and start his own business within short period of time. "I refused and told them I want to have a peaceful sleep. My upbringing through an Orthodox family with ethics and honest behavior does not allow me to do so. I seriously told them to never try me again on this issue. They said they are exhausting their patience and would use any means necessary to eliminate me, 'You stood on our throat. So we have to get rid of you'. I was so mad

and told them to do it then and there. They disappeared after threatening my life if I do not change my mind," said Tariku.

As he told me he reported the case to Lideta Sub City police. They advised him to bring supporting letter from his office so they would arm him with a pistol. "I was so surprised. Mind you, should I shoot to anyone staring at me suspecting he could be one of them?" Tariku does not think those who were following him are the owners or the ones who prepare fraud documents but the brokers who facilitate between the two ends.

Though the survey result showed high frequency of bribe requests, the initiative is not always from the side of the recipients. As the story from Tariku's experience showed there are also clients who would like to get unfair treatments and services with their money. Such incidents are more frequent in *Woredas* and the civil service hierarchy. One of my key informants who is the Chief Executive Officer in one of the *Woredas* said his position is highly exposed to corruption. Of the several stories he told me about his experience, I chose one for illustration purpose. It is to be noted both the *Woreda* and the ministry Tariku works in are in the government structure that are perceived as most exposed to corruption areas in the survey result. Derebie, who was grown up in Harrar told me the story as follows.

Once, his *Woreda* wanted to expand the public health center to the neighboring government compound. They negotiated with the agency of government houses and paid a compensation of birr 840,000. However, the lady who was living in the house as a tenant refused to hand over. The normal procedure was to settle the case between the *Woreda* and the housing agency. The Sub City got involved but could not take appropriate measure. When Derebie tried to take measure the lady took the case to court where Derebie himself represented the *Woreda*. Then the attorney of the lady came to his office to negotiate bribery.

"I said, 'you may give me a good sum of money out of one of your pockets but you will take my dignity with your other pocket.' I advised him to think professionally and tell the woman the truth be it loosing or winning the case. Otherwise, the money he gets unethically is like robbery. I also said to him 'I am struggling for the poor mass but you are struggling for a single rich person. It is to save the life of mothers who could lose their life on birth due to lack of proper health care. It's shameful you are trying to bribe me knowing this truth.' He was so ashamed and left my office."

Derebie told me he won the case and after everything was over the same people came to give him money in the name of reward that he still refused.

Derebie said the same attorney came to his office recently to request a letter of support to his client that is her right. "It seems he was afraid that I wouldn't provide him and tried to give me birr 300 for lunch. I told him that he shouldn't buy his right with money. 'What a lawyer are you! Why should you buy your right with money? You have to command it in a legal manner'." Derebie finished the story but continued to summarize his observation to me. "I think this attitude is dominating every member of the society be it educated or not. The denouncement is only verbal. The people are not opposing it in a full length." All the informants in the interviews I conducted told me money is the most common medium of exchange in corruption.

### **3.5 Perceived reasons for people to get involved in corruption**

It is difficult to get direct answer from the people who are involved in corruption why they get into it. One, no one introduces himself as corrupt. Two, even those who are caught have a story to tell that they are not in it. So this study tries to learn the reason why people get involved in corruption using indirect approaches, i.e., raising questions that need respondents to tell about 'others' rather than themselves. So the results are based on perceptions of the respondents about other individuals who they think are involved in corruption.

Wondemu associates the reason with the nature of free market economy that orients people to maximize their own benefit. "You will be left behind if you don't involve in corruption. People laugh at you if you shout to tell corruption is underway. No one accepts your genuine complaint," he said. So he generalized that people get involved in corruption when they lose hope on the system to protect them. "People get involved in corruption when the legal options are difficult or closed to fulfill their interests. They will be forced by the situation. Most of the givers are forced by their problems. Otherwise they like to have it for free. You may be trapped but not forced to receive. The push factor could be poverty. If you assign someone to guard birr one billion when his salary is not sufficient even to cover for his food, it will be difficult for him to be honest" said Wondemu.

He remembers what his trainee of corruption once said in one of the sessions openly. The trainee said "My salary is birr 800. I have two children. Do you think I would accept if you tell me corruption is diabolic? I am not worried about myself. My kids, either I shouldn't have brought them into existence or I have to let them survive. What can I do with birr 800? Pay my house rent? Pay their school fee? So corruption is none of my concern. I have to survive." Wondemu said he had many incidents like that.

Derebie has somewhat similar idea with Wondemu regarding protection by the system. He said nobody wants to spend his/her money in no reason unless the situation forced him/her. "It is because illegal procedures override the legal ones. I don't give you a penny unless I know that I am not getting the service free of corruption. For instance, if the government improves its service to be efficient and fast, no one would give money to the bureaucrats in exchange of services. Procedures should be transparent and that enables to alleviate corruption" said Derebie.

Question 13 of the survey document allows respondents to grade possible reasons for people to get involved in corruption taking it from the receiver's side. According to the result shown in Table 11 below, the weak system of accountability is the highest from the first grade reasons to encourage people (receivers) engage in corruption. Of the 356 respondents who checked this choice, 183 (51.4%) marked it first in the rank. The second first in the rank reason is poverty that 146 (45.8%) out of 319 respondents put it first. The desire to win social respect and acceptance as a result of economic achievement marked as the third reason in the ranking. Out of 325 respondents 148 (45.5%) marked it first. Here it is to be noted that the analytical grading is based on percentages not the numbers. Besides, the sum of either number of respondents or percentages does not give the sample total or 100 % due to equal grading of some respondents to different choices (respondents put first more than one reason). The data show almost all the reasons equally compete from the receiver's side though the weak system of accountability seems more significant.

**Table 11 Perceived Reasons for People (Receiver Side) to involve in Corruption by Ranking Order**

Q13.	Responses by Ranking order										Total	
	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respo Ndents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Poverty /Economic Deprivation	146	46	59	19	43	13	32	10	39	12	319	77
b. Bad Habit	54	18	61	21	81	27	43	14	58	20	297	72
c. Ambition to get Social Respect and Acceptance as a Result of Financial Gain	148	46	89	27	56	17	10	3	22	7	325	79
d. Encouraged by the Weak System of Accountability	183	51	72	20	62	17	17	5	22	6	356	86
e. Other than Specified	-	-	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-	1	.2

Question 23 tried to see the same issue from the giver's side and Table 12 below shows the result. The highest in the first ranked reasons is that people get into corruption when it is difficult to obtain the service they want through normal procedures. Out of 348 respondents, 244 (70.1%) put this first reason. The second reason ranked first by 175 (57%) of 307 respondents was that givers get into corruption in order to gain benefits that are impossible in legal procedures. Getting services prior to others is the third perceived reason to involve in corruption that is ranked first by 188 (55%) out of 342 respondents.

In the FGD, Discussant No.3 made his point on why people are involved in corruption through historical, economic and cultural analyses. In his historical analysis, he said there was corruption during Haileselassie's era but the society was strongly ethical and religious. That enabled the violators to be limited in number. In the Derg regime, he continued his critical analysis, the previous common goods of the society were broken that led to lack of reference for the people. He put the difference between the 'white' and 'red' terrors as evidence to indicate how corrupt that society was since they fought and killed each other when they did not have ideological difference. In the current EPRDF era, he said, the killing is over but being selfish and self centeredness is more promoted so there is no way and effort to solve the problem. "You may see religious institutions struggling to reclaim their capacity to be models but they are not seen as models by the society because they themselves are not clean from corruption. So at this time models are few. People with moral authority are none or they are very limited in number. There is no critical mass to influence the society."

Discussant No.3 put economic reason, i.e., poverty second for the people of Addis to get involved in corruption. It is the second first reason in the survey result from the receiver side. He said most of the people are living below subsistence level since the nation's productivity is not matching population growth and this forces people to struggle for survival. "Those who have a better power could snatch from anyone because they want to survive. It is sufficient to analyze how much is enough for a person to survive and how much is paid to him to look into the right picture."

**Table 12 Reasons to be involved in Corruption (Giver Side) by Ranking Order - Respondents' Perception**

Q23.	Responses by Ranking order										Total	
	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Difficulty to Settle their Case in Time	244	70	37	11	23	7	22	6	22	6	348	84
b. To be Served Prior to Other Clients	188	55	61	18	35	10	22	6	36	11	342	83
c. To Escape from Legal Commitments	142	38	46	16	53	18	27	9	58	20	296	72
d. To Get Benefits that are Impossible Legally	175	57	34	11	39	13	24	8	35	11	307	74
e. Other than Specified	1										1	.2



The third reason that Discussant No.3 believes pushing people to be corrupt is status given by the society to blue and white collar workers. He said that the society came through its history admiring orators more than those who work sweating. "Land was given to the 'so called' elites. Those who were engaged in handicrafts were undermined. We use their products but we had the culture to degrade them. That created layers in the society. It is difficult to dismantle ideas accepted by the elite."

Discussant No.7 tried to see it from the giver's side and said that the main reason for the people to get involved in corruption is lack of efficient and timely provision of public services. His argument is in accordance with the survey result to Q23. "If someone can't get service in time, he has no choice but to get it using corrupt ways. Cases take longer than reasonable time. So people are involving in corruption at the expense of their family's life. It is not because they don't know it is harmful." He also explained about '*hige libona*' /meaning law of conscience/ that used to govern people's acting without any legal code and enforcement in the good old days. He said '*hige libona*' is no more there in the society. "Now corruption is perceived as if it is supported by the law though it is not officially declared."

When we see Discussant No.3's in-depth analysis, we find that he tried to see the reasons from the recipients' side and it more or less goes with the second and third reasons perceived by respondents to Q13 of the survey document. Though it is difficult to closely study recipients of corruption since no one could expose himself/herself in the process, it could be guessed by evaluating their economic life before and after corruption. The giver side is more observable since people share each other's experience during and after their case processing. I would like to discuss two of my observations in response to the fact that the survey result showed in Q23, i.e., reasons from the giver's side also elaborated by Discussant No.7 of the FGD. Both my experiences are in my living area and they happened during my research period, 2013/2014.

The first observation is related to power supply service. Approximately 80 to 100 households in the neighborhood (including me) had no electricity for more than eight days in September 2013. Every one of us was calling to EEPCO Gulele branch and operators were telling us they have registered our problem and maintenance crew will come soon. The same routine information whenever someone from the neighborhood called. Personally I had no choice but to extend a 50 meter cable to the nearest neighborhood that had power at least to make my computers work.

Though I was suffering from the problem I had no time to go to the said branch office of EEPCO to complaint.

One day, when I got home in the evening, one of my neighbors who is a member of the police, came to me to collect contribution. I had to ask what the purpose of that money was. He told me that they were contributing money to give to the maintenance workers of EEPCO. I refused and told him that they were promoting corruption. I was surprised of seeing a member of the police coordinating people to give bribe in exchange of the service they should have got as a right. He was disappointed by my position and tried to convince me that it is normal. He said that if we do not give them money we will stay in the dark since they were saying they do not have the material in the stock to change that is burnt. "So where do they get it if we give the money?" that was my question and he told me they could pull it out from somewhere whose people did not give them money. I could not figure out when it ends. That day, they would do it for us and the other day for others. Everywhere in turn gets electricity or not depending on the amount of the bribe people could offer. I told him to hold the contribution until I go and apply in person the next day. He agreed though he felt I was doing what is impossible since he thought the easiest way was tipping the technicians.

The next day, I went to Gulele branch of EEPCO to learn what has happened to the power in our area. The head of the maintenance department asked me if it was registered by telephone. I told him that only I called three times and the operators told me it is registered. He checked their register book but none of our calls were written there. I was so annoyed and told him for how long we were in dark. I also told him people are contributing money to bribe their technicians. The head was surprised and said there could be some people who wanted to robe people's money in the name of their employees. So he advised me to fight them. I accepted his proposal with a condition that he shows us they are free of corruption by solving our problem as soon as possible. It is either my luck or they always do the same for others, our problem of electricity was fixed the same day in the afternoon. They even called on my mobile to verify if the problem was fixed.

The reason for the people in my neighborhood could at the same time be related or not to the survey result under Q23. Was it difficult to get the service normally? Was it impossible through the legal procedure? Yes and no for both questions. Yes because the people were calling the

office everyday to get maintenance service and that is the customary way of the institution but their problem was not fixed in time. No because they did not contact the heads or applied in person to the office before deciding to use the corrupt way. At least the effort they exerted to collect the money could be applied to collect petition on their problem. My neighbors told me it is one of the members in the maintenance crew living around who advised them to do so. Besides, the information they had prior to that incident is similar story about other areas. However, one can easily observe the good governance problem of the institution. One, there is no mechanism to control if the operators assigned to register power problems ignore calls from customers. For that matter their numbers are either busy or not answering most of the times. Two, frequent reasons of power blackout due to similar material damage indicates either low quality of equipments or inefficient stock management. Both reasons are associated with lack of transparency and accountability that are the pillars of good governance, which still lead to corruption.

My second observation is again related to my living area since it allowed me first hand information as a member of the community. The residents in our sub *Woreda* have been suffering from an old and never maintained road for almost 30 years. The people together with the *Woreda* developmental committees have been applying to the Addis Ababa Roads Authority almost every year for the past 12 years. I personally went to the authority three times representing the community for no result but only measurement of the road length and width. Everybody lost hope and we were discussing coble stone to be an option.

On one bright Sunday morning, we saw road construction machineries deployed in our area to maintain the road with asphalt. Every member of the community was surprised and showed their bright face with praise to the authority. The project was not budgeted but using remnants of another big project, as one of the *Woreda* officials told me. So it was not based on standards of road construction but layering asphalt material and flattening with a roller. Just to minimize people's long lasted complaint. It did not even have ditches. The project covered more than 50% of the road half in a day and the men in the project left the area.

Everybody thought that it will be finalized next day but never until almost a week. The machineries were there blocking other cars not to pass and their operators come every day but the road maintenance was stuck. Few residents who have car /including me/ were not allowed

bringing our cars home since both the maintained and unmaintained sides of the road were closed either by big rocks or piles of crushed stones. I remember the second day I drove out of my compound and went through the unmaintained side of the road opening the rock blockage since there was nothing to be spoilt. When I came back in the evening, crushed stone was piled exactly on my entrance so that it was impossible to access my home with a car. I understood why because they were watching me when I picked the rocks to pass my car that morning. I had to leave my car somewhere since that day.

One morning five members of the community came to me to collect a contribution. They told me some of them are in the committee to follow up the road project and then they are collecting money from the residents to tip the workers in the road construction. I was amazed by the proposal and asked why we should give them money since they are paid by the authority for what they are doing. The neighbors explained it is normal to tip them for tea/coffee otherwise, the maintenance could be delayed. They justified their fear by comparing the time it took to maintain more than half the length of the road with the time to finish the rest. I said no to their request because it is against my principle and tried to convince them not to contribute. They told me that my decision is against the norm and moved on to the next household.

I believe this illustrates how the society takes corruption as normal. It was a silent communication between the workers of road construction and the residents. Even the *Woreda* administrators know what was happening but were silent too. The workers delay the road maintenance. The residents sensed why that was and reacted positively to the interest of the workers. What would happen if they did not collect and give the money? I believe nothing but delay in the project. Waiting for few more days would not matter as compared to the tens of years without that road maintained. It is their personal and collective experience and knowledge from similar situations in the past that led them to pay for the service they have to get as a right. Otherwise, there was no forcing or convincing reason to be engaged in corruption. After all they do not call it corruption but '*yeshay*' /tip that buys snack/ and consider that it is their moral obligation to give.

What Discussant No.5 said in the FGD is relevant here. "I train people on how to fight corruption. The trainees argue giving '*yeshay*' to maintenance workers from Telecommunications and Electric Corporation is normal. They say that they feel ashamed if they are not giving some

money to the workers. Whereas they know the guys have salary for what they do and come to their house with a government car. Anywhere in the service area people are expected to tip those who are providing the service." This was what happened in my neighborhood. People took it their moral obligation to give the money as if the workers were doing them favor. I believe this is still the result of long stayed nontransparent and unaccountable system of the service provider, i.e. government.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PEOPLES' REACTION TO CORRUPTION

How do people of Addis react to corruption? This study tries to answer this question, based on the data in hand, from four aspects: One, looking into their attitude towards corrupt individuals around them; two, their response to the incidents of corrupt request; three, willingness to take responsibility in the fight against corruption; and four, their tendency towards corruption.

#### 4.1 Attitude towards Corrupt Individuals

Questions 18 to 20 of the survey document were designed to address this issue. Q18 asks if the respondent knows someone around his living area or somewhere else who became accidentally rich and rumors tell he made it out of corruption.

**Table 13 People Who Know Someone that Became Accidentally Rich but Suspected in Corruption**

Q18		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no	181	43.7	45.9	45.9
	yes	213	51.4	54.1	100.0
	Total	394	95.2	100.0	
Missing	missing value	20	4.8		
Total		414	100.0		

Table 13 above shows out of 394 respondents to this question 213 (54%) said they know. Almost all my interviewees know such individuals around their living and working areas. Derebie told me he used to know someone in disguise of a real estate business. "He took license for real estate in the name of his relatives. All the twenty relatives were not around but he had documents. He left the country after selling the land and transferred one by one to others. He became millionaire in no effort. There are lots of people who became rich in similar ways." said Derebie.

Tariku told me he knows someone who used to be a messenger in a government office and was detained in relation to corruption. "He owned two minibuses and a boutique as soon as he was

released. He also bought a big house. He is just twelve grades complete not to say he is educated. He didn't do business step by step not to say he profited. He just got rich all of a sudden." Tariku said he also observes people at his office who are not well educated or had business background but better off materially. "If you take their salary, they are even below birr 2000. Everybody questions their riches but no clear answer. This is typical indicator of corruption. You know it but you don't have evidence. You cannot challenge people in corruption officially. The system is weak to detect them. There are indicators but no tangible evidence," said Tariku.

Question 19 tried to assess the attitude of those who said they know a person they believe is corrupt. As shown in Table 14 below almost 70% (144) of them responded 'I hate him' while 8% (17) of them have admiration. Twenty two percent (45) consider him as a normal member of the society while 3.2% (7) said nothing.

**Table 14 People's attitude towards a person who accidentally became rich by way of corruption**

Q29		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I admire him	17	4	8	8
	I hate him	144	35	70	78
	I see him like anyone else	45	11	22	100
	Total	206	50	100	
Missing	missing value	7	2		
	Not Applicable	201	48		
Total		414	100.0		

In Question 20 those who said they know corrupt individual were asked their evaluation of the person's acceptance by the community around him. It is only 156 of them who answered this question and almost 45 % (70) believe that his acceptance increased very much after his riches. Those who believe his acceptance decreased very much and those who think his acceptance increased a little bit took equal share of 21% (33), while 7% (11) said decreased a little bit and 5.8% (9) said no difference before and after his riches (Annex 2).

Some points from this finding are remarkable though it is difficult to generalize that they are true for the whole residents in Addis. The first point if we have to stick to the data is that most people in Addis are not appreciating corrupt individuals rather they get mad at them. It is only 1 out of 10 people who have admiration. However, this point is in contrast to societal view about same individuals, again based on the data. Those who believe acceptance of corrupt individuals by the community either highly or a little bit increased are as high as 66 %. Discussant No.5 in the FGD believes this reality in the society is more dominant. "It is not those who take long distance" she said, "but those who are using short cuts to success that the society is respecting no matter how corrupt they are."

One of my key informants Tariku has different observation from that of Discussant No.5. He said people who are suspected to get their wealth out of corruption are not really respected by the society.

"I know a person in my neighborhood that became accidentally rich. The society knows how he made it though he created his own story as if he was in jail because of his political opposition to *Derg* regime. The truth was that he embezzled government's money and served few years in prison. Then he changed his family's life and became the richest person in the neighborhood with several businesses. Some people may pretend to show him respect when they need something from him but disrespect him at the back. I remember some humiliating him publicly by telling they know how he made it when they have dispute on money," said Tariku.

The ex mayor Ayalew has a balancing opinion between Discussant No.5 and Tariku. He said it depends up on the individual way of thinking.

"There are people who consider corruption as business. They say '*sera*' to mean he made a good deal of business. When you know somebody got rich through corruption, the perception you have for him depends on your own personality. If you think that is not right, the value you give him is less. If you think that is the right way to get rich, the value you give him is high. So it depends on your attitude. Most people do not have respect for such individuals. They don't even care when they defame them. They say 'we know who he was before'. They may pretend respecting if they have cases with him, to maximize their advantage. Otherwise I never observed such personalities respected publicly." said the ex mayor.

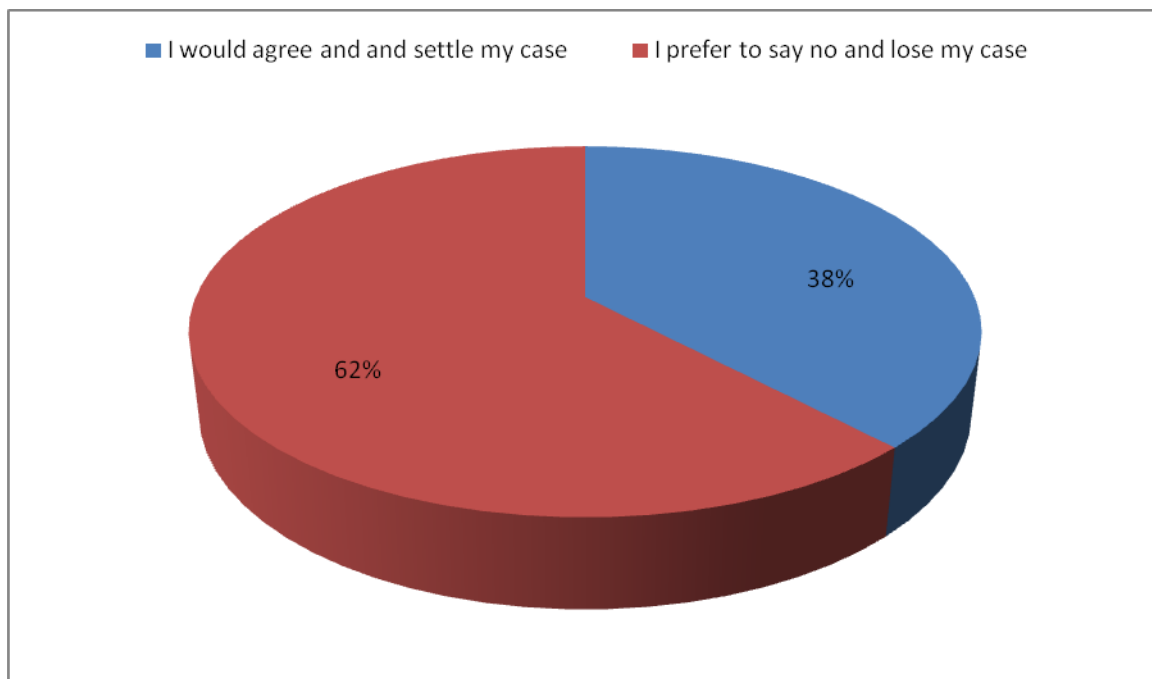
## 4.2 Reaction to Corrupt Requests

This section will attempt to investigate how individuals decide when they are faced with incidents that impose corruption. We may hear people curse and denounce corruption publicly. Will that really be their position if they have to face it individually? Will they stand against it



especially when they are trapped in between their problem and corruption? All my interviewees except Wondemu said they would stand against corruption no matter the situation they are in. Wondemu said he would be in ethical dilemma if he was asked to pay money in exchange to something very important to his life. "I won't do it if it affects third party but if it is a life or death situation to me and I think no one gets hurt following my decision, of course I pay."

Question 7 of the survey instrument asks what the respondent would do if he/she is asked to pay money or other kind of favor in exchange to a service that he/she wanted in a condition where no one is observing. The result is shown in Figure 5 below.

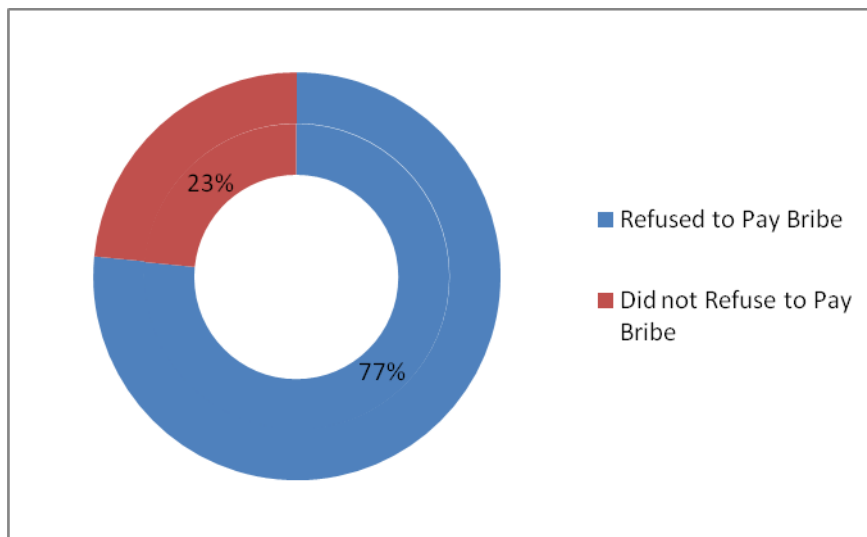


**Figure 5 Decisions of People to Agree or Disagree on Incidents of Corrupt Requests**

Out of 411 respondents 255 (62%) said that they would disagree and loose the service they wanted while 156 (38%) said they would agree and get the service done. Of those who said they would agree to pay, 81 (52%) take that decision because they believe they would not get the service they want if they disagree while 32 (21%) do not like their case to take long time and the other 40 (26%) think it is a common practice that cannot be avoided (Q8) (Annex 3).

Question 9 dealt with those who said they would disagree to pay. It is 248 of them who responded to this question. The majority 135 (54%) said they take this decision because they do not believe in giving a chance to corrupt practices. Of the remaining proportion, 77 (31%) said their religion does not support such thing while 31 (13%) are afraid of the law. Only 4 (2%) said that because it is against their culture values.

Question 22 of the survey document is also designed to learn about the decision of respondents when they are faced with forcing conditions. Based on their response to Q21 related to their life time experience to pay bribe (the response to this question is discussed in the experience section of the previous chapter) those who said 'yes' were asked if they have ever refused. As depicted in figure 6 below, of the 209 who responded to this question, 160 (77%) refused while 49 (23%) agreed to pay bribe.



**Figure 6 People Who Experienced Bribe Request in Their Entire Life and the Decision They Made**

### **4.3 Responsibility in the fight against corruption**

This section tries to investigate how the residents of Addis think about, whose responsibility is fighting against corruption; whether they consider that they have to take part in the fight or not. The civil service professional Wondemu believes corruption is mainly the responsibility of the government since the people transferred their power to it. However, he said, it is difficult for the government to be more serious since its measure could be shocking to actors in the free market.

"They say corruption is the necessary evil of capitalism. It is the nature of the system that you can't avoid corruption. You may alleviate but you can't eliminate it. Though the major role in the fight against corruption goes to the government, the people also should participate and stand against corruption by saying 'no'. Otherwise, the effort can't be successful," said Wondemu.

For Derebie, it is the society that should be more responsible to fight corruption as it is parenting it. "If I have to say the government, it is the reflection of the society. Those in the office are behaving the way the society is. The educated and uneducated, the powerful and the powerless, the elders and the youth, they are all in the society. So the society changes if these all advocate one another." said Derebie. However, he named some institutions to take the leading role such as religious institutions by teaching their followers and educational institutions by incorporating ethics in their curricula.

Question 24 of the survey document asks the respondent to put in a ranking order whose responsibility is fighting corruption. Of the 384 respondents to this question, 285 (74%) put themselves in the first rank while 219 (58%) of 380 respondents put the government in the first rank. The sum of numbers (percentages) here is more than the total sample (percentage) and this indicates that some respondents put both the government and themselves or others in the first ranking at the same time. Table 15 below summarizes all the results from the survey.

The data shows that most people think it is their responsibility to fight corruption standing at the front of the battle field. This is not acceptable idea to Tariku who believes that their denouncement is only verbal but the real situation is encouragement. He shared me his experience that he meant to illustrate the position of the people in Addis.

"We were in a taxi listening on radio news about people caught of corruption. Most of the passengers were emotionally cursing the people who tipped the information to the legal system. 'It was a nice closing had there not been some jealous informant!' That was what they were saying. This shows to me people denounce corruption only because they don't get the chance for themselves, it is not because they really hate it. When I was a child we used to be told by our families that it is a sin wishing to have someone else's money even if it is a penny. It was shameful to steal and robe. Now it is considered as a good deed. 'Mr. so and so closed a nice deal.' 'Oh! He changed his life ' and so on is what we are hearing in our everyday life."

Tariku generalized that though people seem against corruption in public forums, they are not really fighting against it and they are not committed.

**Table 15 Responsibility to Fight Corruption by Ranking Order - Respondents' Perception**

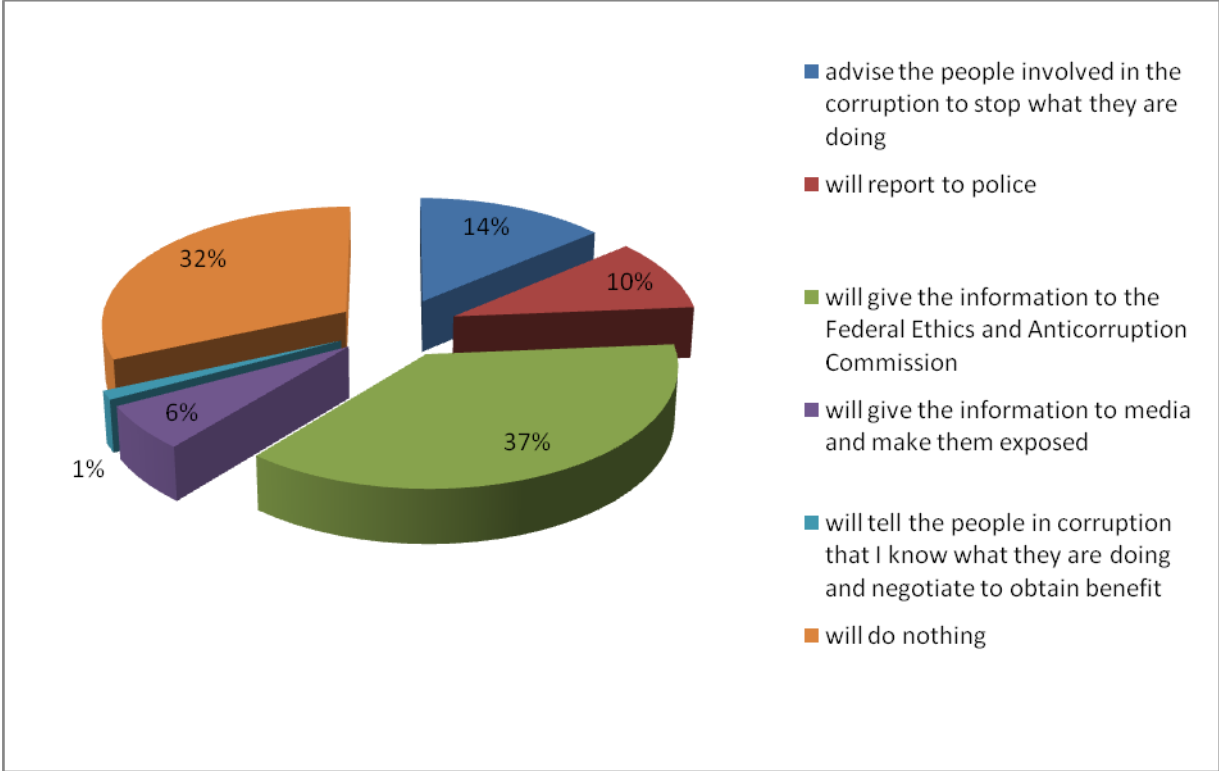
Q24.	Responses by Ranking order												Total	
	First		Second		Third		Fourth		Fifth		Sixth			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Myself	285	<b>74</b>	52	14	24	6	4	1	13	3	6	2	384	93
b. Other People	84	25	111	33	64	19	29	9	21	6	23	7	332	80
c. The Government	219	<b>58</b>	74	20	59	16	15	4	8	2	5	1	380	92
d. Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)	90	28	50	15	54	17	55	17	48	15	28	9	325	79
e. Professional and Labor Unions	98	29	46	14	65	20	49	15	57	17	19	6	334	81
f. Religious Institutions	129	<b>38</b>	47	14	49	15	30	9	27	8	55	16	337	81
g. Bodies Other than Specified	8	100											8	2

I asked Tariku why he thinks that the people of Addis are not fighting corruptions. He said that the society reached at the mentality of cases in government office cannot be settled without giving money to the public servant. He also blames on the service provider that expects what one does not deserve. He said that he is concerned about the future not to let corruption be legal since it is now old fashioned not to want other people's belongings. "Though it is not in the legal system, people will take it as if it is legal as long as there is no legal protection." The other reason Tariku mentioned on why the people of Addis are not fighting is that those getting reach out of nothing are growing in number.

"When others notice those owning big buildings in the city and driving luxurious cars, they get discouraged and feel they are left behind. I always encounter people who say that they need their share of citizenship. They do not say that he has to be accounted for what he had stolen from the public money, rather they say 'He got his share of citizenship and me too, I have to get my share.' I believe this has its own contribution since the corruption is becoming visible. If one didn't win lottery or inherited wealth or saved remittance from relatives for long time or awarded '*equb*' /traditional credit and saving mechanism/ money where could the money come from? Just out of nothing some people get rich. When people watch that, they feel powerless to fight it," said Tariku

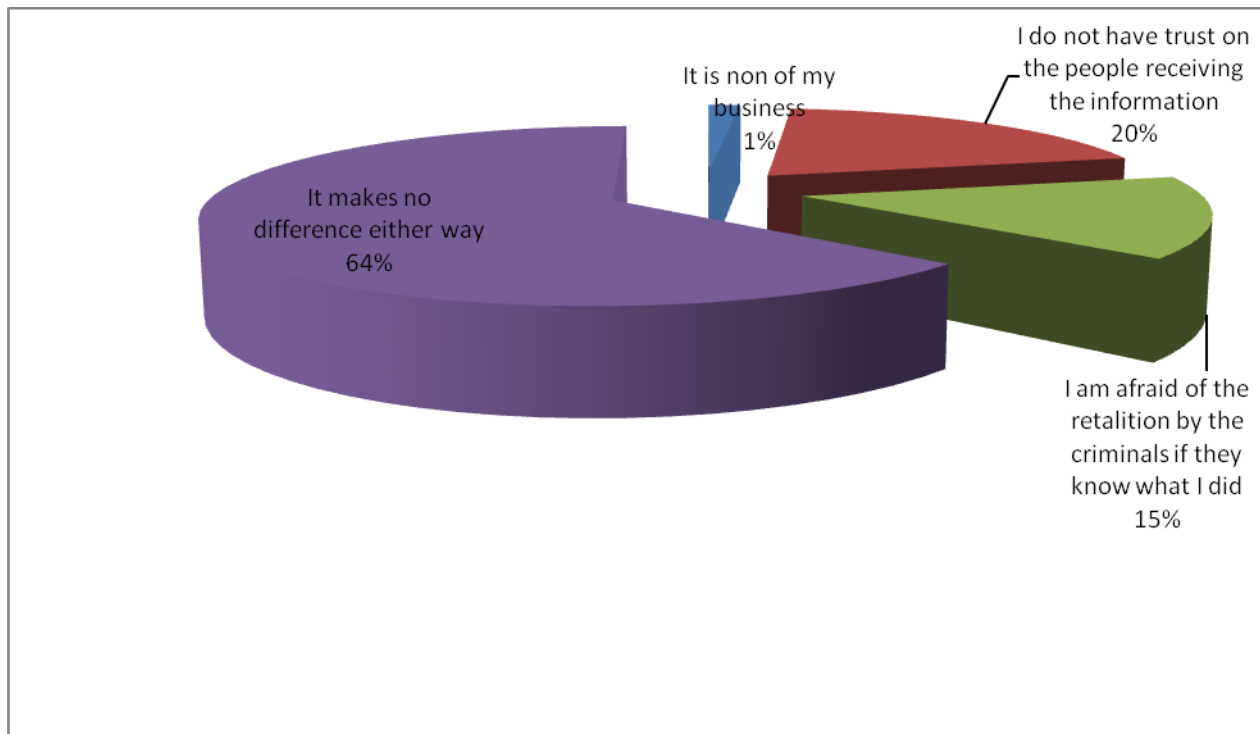
The other reason Tariku mentioned for the people not to fight corruption is that the law not being that serious. He said that sometimes it gets hot in the agenda and people get caught of corruption but the other time neglected. Besides, he added, those who served in prison for some years due to corruption stay rich when they are released since their property, that is, the result of their corruption is not nationalized. "So people are saying 'so what? It is nothing as long as I changed the life of my family and I can run my own business after jail.' They say 'it's ok!' This is also another reason." Tariku concluded.

In Question No. 25, respondents were asked what they would do if they had to take only one measure given that they know, with evidence, corruption is underway. The result is depicted in Figure 7 below. Out of 405 respondents to this question 151 (37%) said they would give the information to The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, 56 (14%) said they would advise the people to stop getting involved in corruption, 40 (10%) would report to the police, 25(6%) would give the information to the media and make the people exposed. It is 128 (32%) of them who said they would do nothing while only 5 (1%) said they would blackmail the people in corruption and negotiate for money.



**Figure 7 Actions to be taken if People Know with Evidence that Corruption is Underway**

Those who said they would do nothing were asked why and all but one answered this question and the result is shown in Figure 8 below. Of the 127 respondents 81 (64%) believe it makes no difference whether they report or not while 25 (20%) do not have trust in the people who receive the information. Those who are afraid of retaliation from the criminals in case they know their action are 19 (15%) while the remaining 2 (2%) believe it is none of their business.



**Figure 8 Why People Do Nothing Knowing with Evidence that Corruption is Underway**

It is clear to learn from these results that most people think it is their responsibility to fight corruption standing at the forefront even before the government. However, their number decreases when it comes to taking practical measures. Though almost 4 out of 10 people said they would report to The FEACC, the number of people who would do nothing had they had information about corruption underway is also significant since they are more than 3 out of 10. Most of these (84%) said they do nothing either because they believe it makes no difference if they report or not, or because they do not have trust in the people whom they report to. The result from the FGD shows the same reality.

Discussant No. 2 tried to view this case from normative aspect and believes the people of Addis accept and at the same time reject corruption that puts them in a mid position of tolerance since they are not sure on how to react. He said referring to corruption related to public service that society has not been certain about the commitment of the governments in the last three regimes including the incumbent. He described the social system in Ethiopia as regulated through government institutions that dictate ways of life starting from property right. "So there is a

possibility of rejection and acceptance of corruption depending on conditions. Its harm is visible in a perfect system and most of the society rejects it. In a distorted and inefficient system most people want to benefit out of the problem and accept it. These are the two conditions either to accept or reject corruption."

Specifying his argument to the people of Addis, he said that they accept corruption because they do not have other options to get services they want since there is no system to enable normal procedure or it is costly.

"No one wants to spend a penny inappropriately or to act in a wrong way. There is no religion that allows such acts of evil. People divert to illegal options when they are deprived of their interest by the legal procedure. If the normal process is clear and simple, people reject the other option, i.e. corrupt way of doing things. To be more concrete, if someone gets detained illegally and has to give money to be out of jail, he gives it. This is because the normal system blocked him from getting justice. Otherwise, no one would be willing to give his hard-earned money to anyone for nothing."

He reminded other discussants how useful a corruption was during the Derg regime to shield people from brutal actions of that government. He emphasized the usefulness of corruption when the system works against the society. "When the social system and the cultural norm do not allow justice, people are forced to buy it with their money." Commenting directly on the current situation he gave his estimation that 90% of cases related to licensing, land leasing, document authentication and the like are impossible without corruption. He generalized that there is no transparent, fast and efficient governmental service with proper payment so people opt for a corrupt way of getting them as a result of lost hope.

Discussant No.3 concurs with Discussant No.2 that people know corruption is an enemy but it is an enemy they cannot confront. He brought up the case of the higher education institution where he is working at as an example. "It is only few instructors who work being morally authoritative." he said and questioned their relationship with their students and subordinates. "Any position they take is converted to serve personal benefit. These are the ones you found everywhere be it in a village or somewhere else. We are institutionally endangered."

Discussant No.5 said that it is better to see it individually rather than generalizing. In her view there are people struggling against corruption; those who take the risk no matter what. Even those who are accepting it are because they lost hope in making differences. "They feel that their



individual effort is insignificant 'If I struggle alone what would I profit?' Most cases with petty corruption are not reported or forwarded to courts. It is only the grand ones that we hear about in the media. The petty ones are solved administratively and that leads to negligence," said Discussant No.5. She supported her argument with an example from the traffic police that is becoming 'normal' for most of them to take money from taxi drivers who violate traffic rules. "The passengers /including myself/ never say a word though we observe the exchange between the police and the taxi drivers. It is not because every one of us accepted it but we keep quiet when others are also silent. Anyhow I do not think it is right to dichotomize between acceptance and rejection," said Discussant No.5.

Discussant No.8 challenged other discussants mentioned above for they narrowly referred to corruption as a bribe which is just one element of it. "How about other elements of corruption?" he questioned and continued to explain.

"The people of Addis need to get clean water, quality road, shelter, health care and other social services. These are not fulfilled up to the demand of the society. The executive body or the bureaucracy could not facilitate these. Therefore, it is just like asking if the society needs all of these problems. No way! The society needs all of them fulfilled. Therefore, the shortage of social services is the result of malpractices. The society never accepted neither these problems nor corruption. It might have accepted bribery and even that is because it is imposed on it."

He concluded his argument by stressing that his position is different since he believes corruption has many features.

Discussant No.1 argued the society is not fighting but getting accustomed to corruption. He urged the participants to differentiate between what is being said and what is being done. He said he believes nature and people are always real and just. "However, they are dictated by the system. As long as the system is there, it is not up to the individual's decision to be corrupt or not. One acts according to the demand of the system to survive or raise one's children." He further discussed on how individuals could be oriented by the system looking how other people acquire wealth. Otherwise, he stressed again that nature and people are just; and they do not accept corruption. "If you do not act according to the system others consider you as one that is left behind. People advise you to play by the rule of the corrupt system in order for you to survive."

Discussant No.4 challenged the idea that most discussants dwelt on. He said that he does not agree with the argument that people opt to corruption because they do not have a choice. "It is not because people do not have other options but it is because they are not using them." He said that corruption takes two parties: the giver and the receiver. Besides, it is not only those in power who are corrupt but there are also those clients preferring to pay money instead of wasting their time to fight corruption. "I believe people get accustomed to the problem. Of course those who challenge may end up getting hurt. Anyhow, we better see it from two angles. On the one hand, those who have power and can influence people towards corruption. On the other hand, those clients who would like to get illegal services and use their money to mislead those in power. We better see both sides. Otherwise, both parties are in the same society." He agreed with the idea that people are always right and most of them want to get out of the problem but stressed on their contribution not to get out of it. "It could be by negligence like saying 'it's none of my business' or it could be by hoping to get similar chance for themselves one day and be benefited or other reasons." He said he knows some people from his civil service experience who demand abnormal services in exchange for solving his individual problems such as paying school fee for his children. He also mentioned the experience of young officers in his office who consider birr 10,000 a big deal to do whatever they are asked. He blamed on some clients who lobby those in a position. He concluded his argument underlining on the idea that the society is not fighting corruption. "The reason could be lack of confidence in solving it or fear of serious repercussions to oneself or loss of hope or other. Anyhow, the society is not fighting it. To complain is one thing, but transforming that into objective struggle is another," said Discussant No.4.

Discussant No.6 is on the same line of argument with Discussant No.4 that the people in Addis are not fighting corruption not because they do not have choice but they hope for a chance to benefit out of it. He shared his observation in Addis where people do not consider working hard to be successful as an option but short cuts no matter what they have to do. "I think the reason is in the concept of fighting. It is not only 'to kill' but there is also 'to die' in a fight. Besides, it takes long time which some people do not like to pass through.", he said and mentioned an example from taxi usage experience where he observed all the passengers were against him because he said no to pay more than the regular tariff. Then he concluded by taking position that people of Addis are not fighting corruption.

Discussant No.7 had no different idea from those who said both parties, i.e., the giver and the receiver are equally responsible. He mentioned a case from his experience that one client was asked to pay Birr 1 million and negotiated for Birr 500,000. However, the incumbents were transferred in between and the new official formally decided to settle it without payment. The client could not believe the decision by the official and insisted to do him favor either to buy a house or a car but the official said no to the last minute. "What I wanted to say is that the society at the giving side is not fighting corruption though it is not accepting it. Both sides are the same since they are engaged in corruption."

#### 4.4 Tendency towards corruption

This section attempts to study peoples' tendency towards corruption. The survey document uses two types of questions where some of them are linked with one or two other derived questions. The first type of question is based on hypothetical situations and is composed of two major questions (Q17 and Q30). The second type (Q34) is based on the respondent's actual experience. The purpose of the two types of questions is the same but the method differs, i.e., indirect and direct, respectively. Question 17 asks what the respondent would do if someone who has a case with him/her gives him/her a gift before the case is handled. As shown in Table 16, of the 386 respondents, 216 (56%) said they would not accept it while 35 (9%) said they would take it. Those who said it depends accounted for 135 (35%).

**Table 16 the Decision People Make if a client gives a gift before his/her case is settled**

Q17	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
yes I accept	35	8.5	9.1	9.1
it depends	135	32.6	35.0	44.0
Valid no, I do not accept	216	52.2	56.0	100.0
Total	386	93.2	100.0	
Missing missing value	28	6.8		
Total	414	100.0		

Question 30 on the other hand asks whether or not the respondent takes a 100,000 Birr cash gift from someone who is not familiar to him and has come to his/her working place for the first

time. Out of 391 respondents to this question, 283 (72%) said they would not take it while the rest 108 (28%) said they would take it. The result is shown in Table 17 below.

**Table 17 The Decision People Make If Someone They Do not Know Comes to Their Working Place and Gives Them Birr One Hundred Thousand as a Gift without Asking Any Return**

Q30		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	no, I do not take it	283	68.4	72.4	72.4
	Yes, I take it	108	26.1	27.6	100.0
	Total	391	94.4	100.0	
Missing	missing value	23	5.6		
Total		414	100.0		

Both who said they would take and they would not were asked for their reasons in Questions 31 and 32, respectively. Of those who said they would take it, 106 explained their reasons, summarized in Table 18 below.

**Table 18 Reasons why people take the birr 100 thousand gift**

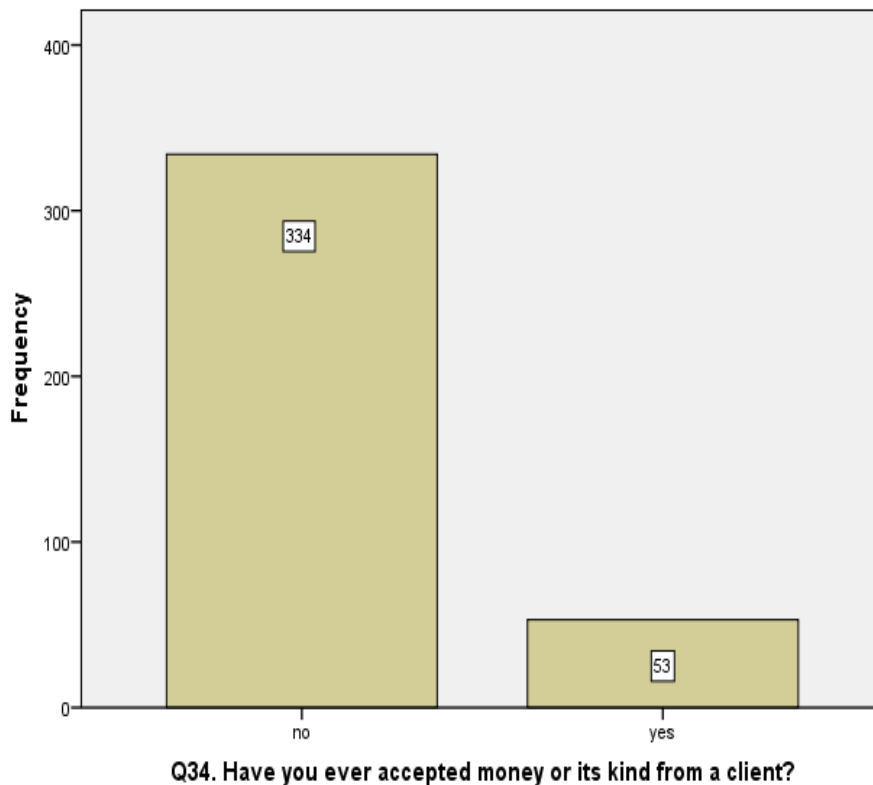
Q31		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	What is wrong with it if the giver is expecting nothing of me	62	15.0	15.9	15.9
	the money alleviates my economic problems	40	9.7	10.3	26.2
	other reason than specified	4	1.0	1.0	27.2
	not applicable	284	68.6	72.8	100.0
	Total	390	94.2	100.0	
Missing	missing values	24	5.8		
Total		414	100.0		

Those who believe there is nothing wrong as long as the giver expects nothing in return from them are 62 (58%) while 40 (38%) take the money because it alleviates their economic problem. Only 4 (4%) had other reasons that were not specified. Of those who said they would not take it 273 were willing to describe their reason. The result is shown in Table 19 below. Those who said that it is because they do not know what interest follows next constitute 85% (232) while 14% (38) said that they do not like such kind of a gift.

**Table 19 Reasons why people do not take the birr 100 thousand gift**

Q32		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	I do not know what interest would he have later	232	56.0	61.2	61.2
	I do not like such kind of gift	38	9.2	10.0	71.2
	Other reason than specified	3	.7	.8	72.0
	Not applicable	106	25.6	28.0	100.0
Total		379	91.5	100.0	
Missing	missing values	35	8.5		
Total		414	100.0		

Question 34 asks if the respondent ever accepted money or other kind of gift from any of his/her client. Of the 387 respondents, 334 (86%) said they never accepted while 53 (14%) said they accepted.



**Figure 9 Number of People that ever accepted money or other kind of gift from a client**

Out of the 53 who said they accepted a gift 51 responded to Question No. 35 that assesses their reason for accepting the gift. Those who believe they deserve it because they properly served the giver are 19 (37%) and those who think there is nothing in it are 13 (26%). Those who think refusing a gift is not normal summed up to be 12 (24%). For 5 (10%) of the respondents the gift was useful so that they could not refuse taking it.

In general, reaction of residents in Addis Ababa could be seen from the giver and receiver side. As it is shown in the quantitative as well as qualitative data both sides have mixed reaction, i.e., positive and negative, towards corruption. In their attitude, they have more hatred than admiration to those who are corrupt and corruption itself. In their reaction, most of them are against corruption and even prudent not to get involved in it in the name of gift. They consider their role is significant in the fight against corruption though they have high expectation of the government to solve the problem.

## CHAPTER FIVE CULTURE AND CORRUPTION

The survey document does not directly deal with this issue since the concept of culture is not clearly shared among the respondents. What do we mean by culture? Which one of the Ethiopian cultures are we talking about? Cognizant of these basic questions, the research assumes the concept of culture which every respondent constructively imagined at the moment he/she was responding to the questions. Question 11 tried to learn whether culture has any contribution to encourage corruption. It asks the respondent to grade societal elements and structures including culture as per the degree of their contribution. Religion, culture, government, private businesses and nongovernmental organizations were on the choice list (Annex 4). Of 352 respondents who graded the degree of culture's contribution to corruption, 104 (30%) said it has little contribution while 97 (28%) believe it has. Those who think culture contributes highly or extra ordinarily are 65 (19%) while 86 (24%) said culture never contributes to encourage corruption. In the extra ordinary degree of contribution to corruption, culture takes the least position, i.e., 34 (10%) followed by religion 54 (16%). As usual the government leads it with 201 (54%).

Question 12 is designed for those who believe culture contributes to promote corruption. Disregarding the degree of contribution they graded on Question 11, the number of respondents who believe culture contributes is 266 or 76% of the total 352.

**Table 20 Ways of Culture to Promote corruption**

Q12.	Responses				Total	
	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	No. of Respondents	% out of the Tot. Sample
a. Using encouraging folklores	151	63	89	37	240	58
b. Using appreciating words and paroles	93	39	146	61	239	58
c. With artistic and literary works	74	31	168	69	242	58
e. By showing respect to those who changed their life through corruption	74	31	165	69	239	58

However, the number of respondents varies with each of the variables under question 12. In this question, respondents were given choices of possible answers on how culture contributes to promote corruption and they can also choose more than one answer. Table 20 below summarizes the result.

Those who believe culture contributes to promote corruption by using encouraging folklores such as proverbs and stories accounted for 151 (63%) of 240 respondents who checked on this variable while the remaining 89 (37%) do not buy this idea. The contribution of culture by using appreciative words and paroles is recognized as one way of promoting corruption by only 93 (39%) of 239 respondents, while most, i.e., 146 (61%) do not agree with this. The contribution of culture to corruption by using artistic and literary works is what only 74 (31%) of 239 respondents believe. The majority, 168 (69%) are against this proposal. The idea that culture contributes to corruption by showing respect to those who changed their life through acts of corruption got 31% yes and 69% no.

This topic, of whether Ethiopian cultures contribute to alleviate or promote corruption, was thoroughly discussed in the FGD. Discussant No.4 took the first chance and began by admitting that the values of the society are deteriorating from time to time. He said, even religious institutions are falling to be victims of corruption. He continued on his remark contrasting the people of Addis with the rural communities. "We don't see the problem of corruption in rural areas. At least, not to the level we see it in Addis. Farmers are not that much trying to benefit without any effort. They collect your lost money to give you back. We do not see this in cities like Addis. Old values are not retained by the young generation. It is the same with religious institutions though they preach about ethics. It could either be in their financial management or in their service to the believers; they have a problem." He concluded his argument by underscoring the idea that religious and cultural values are deteriorating due to unhealthy competition to survive in the ongoing economic development that made corruption a necessary evil.

Discussant No.2 recalled the presence of different sayings in the society that praise theft and corruption such as the famous "*Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal*". However, he said, it is hard to say the society endorses them. He compared the value of the society given to 'great men' with those who got wealth out of corruption. "I can say in all Ethiopian cultures there is a concept of



'respected man' or 'great man'. This is cross cultural value in Ethiopia. All the societies have common criteria to assign these great men. It could be due to their fairness in judgment. It could be due to their attachment with the community. It could be due to their patriotic or heroic achievement or family management. It's like a myth but they exist in every community in Ethiopia. They are never known in corruption." He said the society never gives this status to those who are giants by their wealth or position. Those society's 'great men' may not be perfect but their good personality overrides their weakness. He concluded, "Given this culture that respects 'great men', I can say the society never accepts men of corruption. It's almost similar in all the cultures of Ethiopia."

Discussant No.3 discussed the contribution of culture to promote corruption from five aspects: one, the customary way of handling cases through '*amalaj*' (using acquaintances); two, social status given to different jobs and the extended family structure; three, child rearing; four, the way society treats independent thoughts and philosophies; five, wrong modeling. In the first aspect he dealt with the society's way of handling cases through '*amalaj*' rather than using direct approaches. He said people try to find a short cut though they know it is their right; a way that minimizes their effort. According to him, this is a deep-rooted problem and he said that he found the root in religion. "I do not mean the religion orders that, but it is misinterpreted. I believe all humans should work hard to survive. Most of the time, laziness, earning or getting rewards without doing anything are encouraged in two or three religions I observed. This is related with the spirit of '*amalaj*'."

In the second aspect he associated social ranking to the extended family structure. He appreciated the existence of extended family since it is one way of supporting one another. The problem is, according to him, people do not choose to be engaged in blue collar or labor demanding jobs, like black smith and farmer that are given low status by the society, as long as they are in the extended family. "Of course extended family strengthens social well being. However, it creates people who don't want to work but live on the share from the income of other members in the family. They are dependent on elders too. This is the environment to inculcate those who prefer easy way to survive and this has its own contribution."

In the third aspect, Discussant No.3 continued to enumerate the contribution of culture to corruption related to Ethiopian way of child rearing. "We raise our children by cheating instead of

telling them the truth. We buy candies or bread just to make them not cry. When a mother wants to go to market, she has to promise to bring him something. Over years, the kid develops it in his sub consciousness and becomes a cheater." He also mentioned how Ethiopian mothers treat their kids for hours in their hands either to stop them crying or to make them sleep. He narrated how he learnt from a mother and child relationship that he observed in Europe. As he said it, in snow weather a mother was walking while her kid was running behind her. The kid fell and cried. The mother heard and saw him just to say few encouraging words. She kept walking though the kid was still crying but doing his best to follow his mom. "I learnt how they grow up to be independent. I compared it with our culture. If it was Ethiopian mom, she would carry him on her back and treat him not to cry. We do not have a good raising culture for kids to struggle independently. This implies to the case we are dealing with."

The fourth aspect he dealt with is that lack of encouragement to independent thoughts and philosophies in the social system. "One has to be dependent on others to be successful. You must say that 'As Mr. so and so said it...'. This is the mind set up we are forced to develop. Even if you do not believe in him, it is a must to depend on someone else to succeed. You need to use corrupt approach to be famous or accepted." The fifth aspect he discussed may sometimes be associated to the fourth one and that is using wrong models in the society. According to him, the role models of the society are either war heroes or wealthy individuals. "The problem is that we do not question how they have accumulated wealth. Just we value their riches. These are the results of our culture."

Discussant No.6 briefly argued that any of Ethiopian cultures do not have contribution to promote corruption. "Based on the cultures where I am raised or others I know in my life experience, I don't believe we have cultures that encourage corruption. The major problem is that not retaining our cultures." He said the main problem is with those who live in cities like Addis claiming to be modern and considering those in the rural area as traditional. "We wouldn't be endangered by corruption had we preserved our cultures."

Discussant No.8 disagrees with the idea of Discussant No.3 that corrupt mentality is rooted into religion. He said most of Ethiopian religions teach about ethics, and corruption is when that ethics gets spoiled. "Beliefs are components of culture that have the role of enhancing the ethics of their followers. Had there not been for their moral teaching, corruption would be worse than

that we are observing now." He added that most Ethiopian beliefs preach achievements to be based on one's own effort and they condemn illegal wealth or the desire to own the wealth of others. "I believe this is a positive contribution of our cultures." He also admitted cultural encouragements through proverbs and sayings such as "*Sishom yalbela ...*" and "*Yeshin lij below, yeshin lij degmo feraw*" /meaning, 'cheat money from the son of the rich but have fear to the son of a major'/. Otherwise, he said, the problem is associated with the consciousness of the society. "They do not differentiate between favor and obligation. Providing service is an obligation of a civil servant. He is paid by the government for the service he provides. But the client takes it as if he got favor and tries to compensate the civil servant. They don't take it as their right to be served."

Discussant No.5 dealt with the contribution of respect for others which she said is a shared value of all Ethiopian cultures to promote corruption. "It is good to have respect as a culture but ours is exaggerated to fear. When the respected ones notice that fear, they take advantage over those who have fear. For instance, if those who are feared advise to act in abnormal ways, the one who has respect may not refuse." She mentioned her experience around courts that some judges are exaggeratedly respected by the society and that gives them power to abuse the legal procedure.

Discussant No.1 argued that culture does not stand alone but relative to the current political and economic situation. He said it is also dictated by the process of the system. Dynamism of culture especially due to influences by 'globalization' was his major concern for discussion. "In the past, our culture was not intervened by others. Where I was brought up there was a term '*newir*' /meaning 'out of the norm' or 'shameful'/. It could be taken as social norm. When we ask what the social norm is at present, it is different. I am a father of many children but my children are not mine. Their impression about life is different." He continued his discussion about how this generation is careless about family relationship, especially like uncles and aunts that were close and respected in the past. "It was different when I grew up. I had a big social role. We used to respect and sit with elders. What we listen from their discussion used to enrich our mind," he said.

He further argued Ethiopian cultures are changing in every respect. He mentioned marriage system as an example that the consent of parents has no value at present which had great importance in the past. He said, "In the past parents would study who their child is getting

married with including family background. As the saying goes '*Enatuan ayiteh lijituan agba*' /it could be taken as an equivalent of the English 'like the mother, like the daughter'/. If the mother is drunk who does not work anything, the daughter is assumed to be the same. Even to choose a Godfather or mother people have had criteria in our culture. The society rejects those who lie and do not work or steal." He said this culture is not there at present and added the *Eder* /a traditional institution that deals with mourning and funeral affairs/ experience as another example. "When leaders of *Eder* are elected everybody shouts 'no' if the nominee is known for his bad behavior. They unanimously shout for approval if the nominee is the right person. The community knows who the right person is;" he said and questioned to what extent these cultures are used to fight corruption. "We, the so called educated, use only computer and books for reference. I think that put us into disadvantage. None of Ethiopian society likes corruption. It was '*newir*' but now it is different. People encourage you to do 'business'."

He narrated a story of his child who is a sophomore student at Addis Ababa University who wanted him to buy a mobile apparatus. He said he took him to the market and tried to buy the low cost ones but the boy refused and insisted to have the expensive one with several applications. "He is influenced by his peer group and has to show a material beyond his capacity. It is clear he would steal when he gets employed after graduation to acquire a big house and expensive car. He would lie too. So where is our culture? It is not to say this is right or that is wrong but I don't think it is there. Our children are not with us. They betrayed us. Then, when we say culture, we have to see it in the bigger picture that is the system." He concluded that corruption was cursed in the previous culture when people used to work for good reputation and corrupt people were out casted to the extent of marriage refusal. Now, he said, good reputation has no value and getting money and position matters. "*Yetem fechiw duketun amchiw*' /literally, 'it doesn't matter where you grind it as long as you produce the flour'/ is the timely motto. If someone constructs a building, people appreciate the result. They don't care even if they know he is corrupt."

The result of the interview with my key informants is not that different from the FGD. Most of them mentioned sayings and proverbs as indicators of cultural encouragements and discouragements to corruption. The Amharic *sishom yalbela sishar yikocheval* is the most commonly mentioned but there are others too. *Yeshum fezaza, yebuna kezkaza* /meaning 'a

passive official and a cold coffee are the same'/, *yizo megegnet new* /meaning 'what matters is to have'/, *yetem fechiw duketun amchiw*; these are among the encouraging ones. There are also discouragements: *serko kemaseb ejin mesebseb* /meaning 'better holding one's hand back instead of getting tensed after stealing'/, *fes yalebet zelay ayichilm* /meaning 'jumping is difficult to one who has a wind in the stomach'/.

Wondemu said the ancient culture of gift giving contributed to the existing situation of corruption. "There was a culture of gift giving in the era of the Emperor and that was called '*getse bereket*' /meaning 'gift'/. There was an office to show gesture in ancient time, *ej mensha*. It is also related with our belief systems, begging and giving, where giving is considered as virtuousness.

Derebie has a different view about the relationship between Ethiopian cultures and corruption. "The communal life style in most of our cultures is not a fertile ground to corruption," he said and proposed to develop the open discussion and working culture since corruption needs an environment convenient to be hidden. He mentioned *Jige* and *Debo* /both are group working methods in rural areas/ among the working cultures to be cultivated in fighting corruption.

The ex mayor Ayalew is among the ones who said culture contributes to alleviate corruption. He blames on the Derg led revolution that eliminated cultural values of the Ethiopian societies.

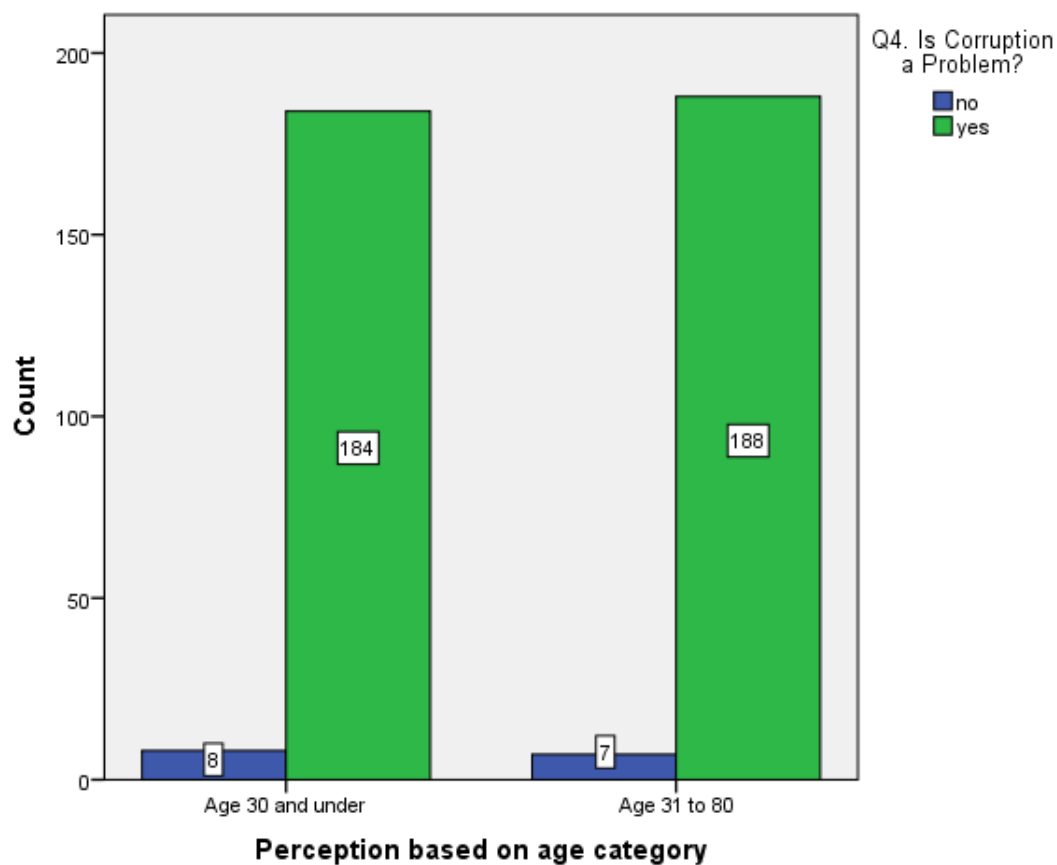
"Taking what you don't deserve is not different from stealing. I do not have a researched knowledge but from my experience, and I am talking about the bigger significant cultures that have been assimilated to each other, all the cultures in Ethiopia are against corruption. It is the revolution that abolished our respect to our cultures. It abolished our culture of respecting elders, dismantled the social cultural hierarchy. Earlier, when we were kids, it was everybody's responsibility to correct us from bad behaviors. We used to behave when we see elders around us. This is evaded by the revolution,"

Ayalew accuses both the Derg and the incumbent government for not preserving what was done in the past but demolishing it.

"We have seen them wrapping all the system in the past with mud as if it was nothing. Any system has some good things at least for its own sake. I have seen this situation two times in my life, with the Derg and the EPRDF. They conclude as if there was nothing in the past but darkness. It's generalized insult. Any system cannot be bad all in all and cannot be good all in all as well. This generalization spoils our culture. If one says one is beginning everything from the scratch, where would one stand on? In other aspects they say 'our fathers' and 'our people,'" said Ayalew.

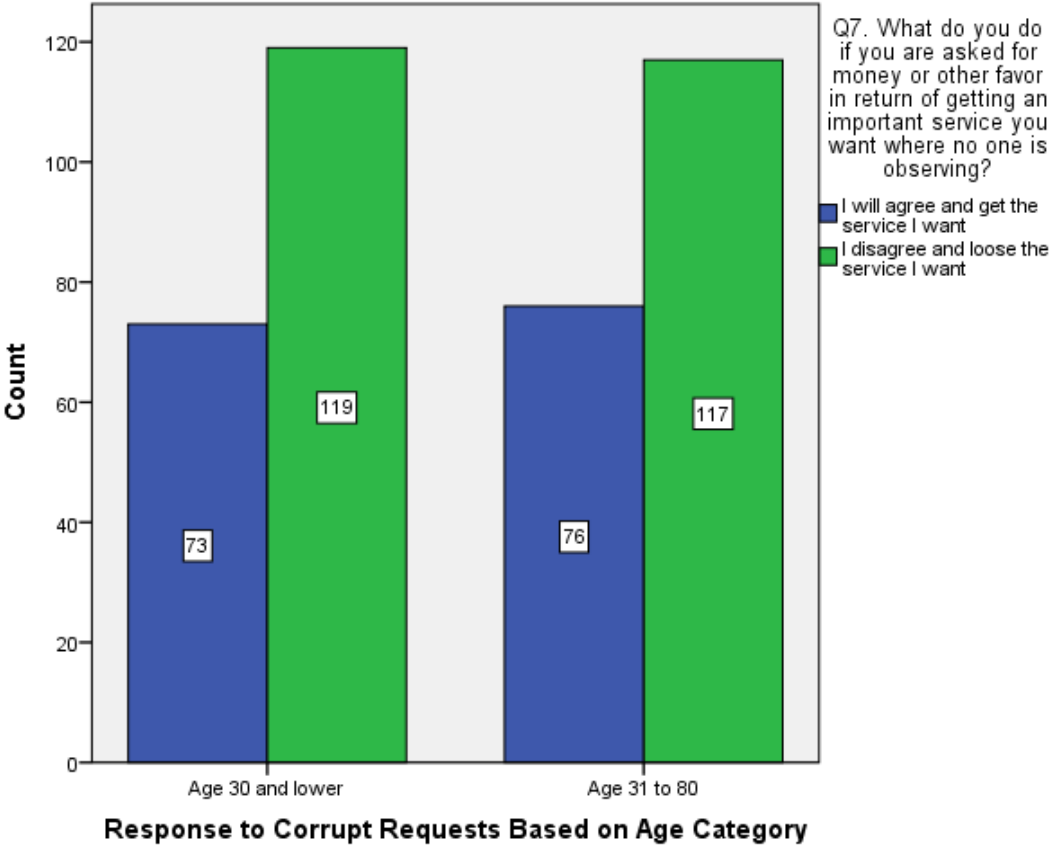
I would like to discuss more on some issues emphasized either on the FGD or the interviews based on the quantitative data. Some argued corruption in the past was not as severe as it is now. I tried to classify the respondents in two generations, those under age 30 and those over 30. The justification behind this categorization of age is the system they lived in as it was frequently mentioned to be affecting cultural values and then the situation of corruption. The under 30 group were under 7 years old or were not even born when the incumbent government came into power with a capitalist economic orientation. Those above 30 are assumed at least to know the previous 'socialist' Derg regime with central command economic orientation for certain period of time, though for some it was in their childhood.

As shown in Figure 10 below, 95.8 % of the 192 under age 30 respondents believe corruption is a problem while 96.4 % of the 195 above age 30 believe the same.



**Figure 10 Perception of Respondents about Corruption based on Age Variation**

The data showed the two generations have almost similar perception in recognizing corruption as a problem. What about their reaction to incidents of corruption? Which generation or age category is resisting corruption by deciding not to get involved in it? Assessing the reaction of the respondents in the two age categories to a request of payment in money or other favor in return to an important service they want, given the situation that no one is observing, the data still shows almost similar result for both categories. Figure 11 below shows 62% (119) of the 192 under 30s will disagree and loose the service they want while 61% (117) of the 193 above age 30 respondents answered the same.



**Figure 11 Responses to Corrupt Requests Based on Age Category**

In the case of accepting gift from a client before the end of service providing, the responses of the two categories were different as shown in Table 21 below. Of the 181 respondents under age 30, 7.7% said they would accept the gift, 37.6% said it depends up on the situation and 54.7 they

would not accept it. 11.7% of the 179 respondents above age 30 said they would accept the gift, 32.4% said that it depends up on the situation and 55.9% they would not accept.

**Table 21 under and above age 30 \* Q17. Do you accept if your client gives you gift before the end of the service that you have to provide? Cross tabulation**

		Q17. Do you accept if your client gives you gift before the end of the service you have to provide?			Total
		yes I accept	it depends	no, I do not accept	
Age category	Age 30 & above	14	68	99	181
	Age 31 to 80	21	58	100	179
Total		35	126	199	360

Comparing the results for the two age categories, it is more of the above age 30 generation that would accept a gift from a client before the case is settled. The percentage of those who said it depends on the situation is more on the younger ones while the percentage of those who would not accept is more on the older ones. Again the summation of these three reactions does not show significant inter-generational difference.

The other issue debated on the FGD and stressed by most of the interviewees is the difference between the values of those who live in Addis Ababa and those living in other regions especially in the rural areas. I tried to analyze the data hoping to get some clue on the assumption that those who came from other regions are more resistant to corruption than those who were brought up in Addis Ababa. Therefore the respondents were divided into two categories, i.e., those who were grown up in Addis Ababa and those who were grown up in other regions up to age 18.

Of 276 respondents who were grown up in Addis Ababa 96% (265) and 98% (99) of 101 who were grown up out of Addis Ababa recognized corruption as a problem (Annex 5A). In the case of payment request in money or other favor as a return to an important service they want, given the situation that no one is observing, 61.6% (170) of 276 respondents who were grown up in Addis Ababa and 62.6% of 99 respondents who were grown up out of Addis Ababa said that they would disagree and loose the service they wanted (Annex 5B). On the issue of whether to



accept or not a gift from a client before the end of service providing, 8.2% (21) of 257 respondents who were grown up in Addis said they would accept, 35% (90) said it depends up on the situation, 56.8% (146) said they would not accept it. Out of 96 respondents who were grown up out of Addis 13.5% (13) said they would accept, 34.4% (33) said it depends up on the situation and 52% (50) they would not accept the gift (Annex 5C). As we have seen, the data is not in favor of those who argue that the values of the people living out of Addis Ababa are better than those living in Addis Ababa.

In general, I tried to study the linkage between culture and corruption based on three basic assumptions: One, plurality of culture in Addis Ababa, i.e., derivation of nations and nationalities in Ethiopia; two, cultural setting of residents in Addis Ababa is unique; three, inter-temporal and cross cultural dynamism of culture. The result showed the culture of Addis Ababa contributes both to encourage and discourage corruption. This is reflected in the everyday discourses and acts of the people. Most residents have a common value of appreciating honesty and integrity. Some promote and encourage corruption especially when there is a need to action by themselves or people closer to them. In my research, I observed people in their values and people in their acts are different. Most of the times they are against corruption in their values but sometimes they fail to maintain those values in their acts. However, if I have to generalize into one of the two extremes, I can say the contribution of culture in Addis Ababa is more on discouragement of corruption than encouragement.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

I was provoked by my personal experience and observation of residents in Addis Ababa to study about corruption. I do not think it is exaggerated if it is said corruption is a present and eminent danger in Ethiopia. However, due to time and budget constraint, I had to limit my research only in Addis Ababa. With the topic 'Thumbs Up or Down to Corruption?' the study was designed to meet a broad objective of investigating the societal perspective/position on corruption and adding some knowledge of the topic to anthropology. I tried to address four basic research questions interpreted into three specific objectives.

The first objective of the research was to find out how the society in Addis Ababa understands and/or perceives corruption. The findings discussed in five sections of chapter three showed most residents clearly understand what corruption is. However, their understanding is more associated with money related corruptions such as bribery. According to the perception of respondents to the quantitative survey sampled from all the ten Sub Cities and the FGD as well as the in-depth interviews, there is no social sector or institution free of corruption including religious institutions and civic associations. The government with its bureaucratic and administrative structures is perceived to be the leading actor in diffusing or lacking control of corruption. *Woreda* administrations, civil service offices and the court system are perceived to be the first, second and third most corrupt organs of the government, respectively. The private sector and private business institutions also have significant role in the expansion of corrupt practices.

The residents of Addis Ababa, based on the data collected in every method of this research, recognize corruption as a problem. They consider that it is a problem not only causing under development of the country but also their individual economic retardation. It is their first cause of underdevelopment as compared to other national and personal problems. The residents know corruption with high frequency in their daily life. Almost four out of ten respondents experienced bribery in the past one year, before the survey.

I did not find the definitional understanding of residents in Addis Ababa is different from that we have seen in the contemporary 'public office centered' theory. They relate the concept of

corruption with 'office' be it private or government but with more emphasis on public offices. This leads me to conclude that the arguments of some anthropologists against this definition as if it is not applicable to non Western societies is not reasonable and convincing at least in the case of my research area. Almost all of the residents in Addis Ababa have no idea about how corruption is defined by the scholars and they never heard the definitional argument. However, their knowledge about corruption fits to the 'office centered' definition. They know corruption is 'charging an illicit aim'. They know it is related with acts of omission or commission. They know it involves legal and illegal activities. They also believe the consequence of corruption is injustice, inefficiency and inequality.

Reasons for involvement in corruption vary from the receivers' and givers' perspective. Weak system of accountability is perceived to be the number one reason to encourage receivers followed by poverty and ambition to get prestige as well as acceptance by the society as a result of financial gain. From the givers perspective, the number one reason to be involved in corruption is the inefficient and time taking process of cases followed by the interest to get benefits that are not allowed legally.

The second objective of the study was to find out how society reacts on corruption. The findings discussed in chapter four showed that the society is in a mixed position. Though it is based on only those respondents who know someone in their neighborhood suspected of corruption, most respondents in the quantitative survey have negative reaction to the person. However, most of the same respondents believe the person known for getting rich through corruption is respected more as compared to his/her riches. This divide of perception was also reflected in the FGD and in-depth interviews. Some believe that the society respects those who made it by way of corruption while others argue that the society disrespects corrupt individuals at their back and that could even sometimes be by humiliating them publicly.

Regarding their personal decision when they face incidents of corrupt requests, most of the respondents would prefer to say no and lose their cases. Even many of those who would agree, said they would take that decision only because they are afraid of losing their case. More than three quarters of the respondents who were faced with bribe requests in their entire life refused to pay. This result coincides with the understanding of almost three quarter of the respondents who consider that they are responsible in the fight against corruption. However, most participants of

the FGD and in-depth interview believe the government should have a leading role. If they have information with evidence, more than one third of the respondents would report to The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission while the other still significant number of respondents, i.e., almost one third, would do nothing. More than 6 out of those who said they would do nothing believe that it makes no difference whether they report or not while two out of ten do not have trust on the people receiving the information.

Almost 6 out of 10 respondents would not accept a gift from their client before his/her case with them is closed while three would fall in a dilemma whether to take it or not based on conditions. Nearly three quarters of respondents said that they would not take a birr one thousand gift from someone they do not know though he never asks anything in return while the remaining more than a quarter said they would take the money. More than eight out of ten respondents who said they would not accept the gift were afraid of what interest would the giver have later. Summing up the tendency of respondents towards corruption, most of them seem prudent and trying not to get involved in it knowingly or unknowingly.

The third objective of this research was to identify if there was contribution of culture either to encourage or discourage corruption. Most of the respondents in the quantitative data believe that the contribution of culture to encourage corruption is minimal. However, most participants in the FGD and many of the informants in the in-depth interview emphasized on the contribution of culture to encourage or discourage corruption. The contribution of culture was investigated from four different aspects. One, through the folklores of the society such as proverbs and stories; two, using words of appreciation and paroles; three, with artistic and literary works; four, by showing respect to those who changed their life through corruption. Cultural encouragement using folklores is the most frequent way of promoting corruption followed by words of approval and appreciation. Sayings like '*sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal*', '*yetem fechiw duketun amchiw*' and words such as '*zega*', '*sera*' are among the examples from the two.

In the FGD there was a debate on the idea that the values and norms of Ethiopian societies are deteriorating from generation to generation and there is a difference between the societies in and out of Addis. So that most of the participants argued the current generation and the society in Addis Ababa are more corrupt than the generation in the past and the society living out of Addis Ababa. Results from the in-depth interview showed the same divide. However the quantitative

data did not support both the arguments since it showed no significant difference between the under and over age thirties or between those who were grown up in and out of Addis.

In general, the research showed the residents of Addis Ababa are not just showing their thumbs only one way, i.e., up or down to corruption. When it comes to the values and norms they still hold in their mentality, I can say they are showing their thumbs down to corruption. Most residents of Addis Ababa are against acts of corruption regardless of their age, sex, level of education, ethnicity, and religion and wherever they were grown up. When we look at their actual reactions on the ground, still we find many of them showing their thumbs up to corruption. Some of the residents in Addis Ababa seem that they are feeling powerless and lost hope on the system to fight corruption. No surprise if the abnormal is taken to be normal when the normal is getting difficult to achieve.

The findings in this research could imply the national picture of corruption, at least in urban areas. Addis Ababa is the federal capital as well as an independent state that has every feature of the country. Traditionally, I can even say historically, ways of peoples' life and administrative styles in Ethiopia are dictated by Addis Ababa. I observed that everything from Addis Ababa is taken as modern and best way by those who live in the rest of the country. Addis Ababa is the model. If it gets sick, the entire nation is sick. If it is well, the same is assumed to be true for the country. That is why we have to take the implication of this research to be significant.

This research used quantitative and qualitative methods complementing one another. I believe this approach helped me to reveal the hidden act of corruption from different angles. However, I believe in the idea that 'there is always a better way of doing things'. The attitude, perception and reaction of residents in Addis Ababa should further be studied in depth. I also believe that the results of this research will serve as a basis to other anthropological studies on corruption that may be conducted in the future. The contribution of anthropological researches in the fight to alleviate corruption at any level of the country has to be recognized since it would be difficult to policy and legal instruments to be effective without incorporating people's perspective. End of the never ending research.

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Annexes

Annex -1

የሶሻል አንትሮፖሎጂ ዲፓርትመንት

ሶሻል ሳይንስ ኮሌጅ

አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ

በሙስና ላይ ለሚደረግ የመመረቂያ ጥናት የሚያገለግል በተማሪ የተዘጋጀ መጠይቅ

ማስታወሻ:- «ሙስናን ማበረታታት ወይስ ማውገዝ» በሚል ርዕስ የሚካሄደው ይህ በአ.አ. ዩኒቨርሲቲ የሶሻል አንትሮፖሎጂ ዲፓርትመንት የማስተርስ ዲግሪ የመመረቂያ ጥናት ዓላማው የአዲስ አበባ ነዋሪዎች በጉዳዩ ላይ ያላቸውን አመለካከት መዳሰስ ነው። በዚህ መጠይቅ ላይ የሚሰጡ ምላሾች በሙሉ በሚስጥር የሚጠበቁ ሲሆን የመላሹን ስም መግለፅና ፊርማ አያስፈልግም። ግልጽ ያልሆነልዎ ጉዳይ ካለ እባክዎ በ 0911224741 ስሎፎን ሹምዬ በማለት የግኙኝ። እባክዎ ሁሉንም ጥያቄዎች በሚገባ ካነበቡ በኋላ ለራስዎ ትክክለኛ የሚሉትን ምላሽ በነፃነት ይስጡ።

ክፍል 1 መጠይቁን የሚሞላው ሰው የግል መረጃ

ክ/ከተማ \_\_\_\_\_ ወረዳ \_\_\_\_\_ ጾታ \_\_\_\_\_ ዕድሜ \_\_\_\_\_

የትምህርት ደረጃ \_\_\_\_\_ ሙያ /የተማሩት/ \_\_\_\_\_

ስራ /አሁን የሚሰሩት/ \_\_\_\_\_ የስራ ቦታ ኃላፊነት \_\_\_\_\_

የሥራዎ ሁኔታ:- የራስ ሥራ  በግል ቅጥር  የመንግስት ቅጥር

ሃይማኖት \_\_\_\_\_ ብሔር \_\_\_\_\_

እስከ 18 ዓመት ዕድሜ ያደጉበት ስፍራ \_\_\_\_\_

በቤቱ ውስጥ ያለዎት ሃላፊነት /የዝምድና ደረጃ/ - ከአንድ በላይ ሃላፊነት ካለዎት ሁለቱንም ይምረጡ። ለምሳሌ የቤተሰብ አስተዳዳሪ እና ባል ወይም ሚስት ወይም ልጅ ...

የቤተሰብ አስተዳዳሪ  ሚስት  ባል  ልጅ  ሌላ ዘመድ

ክፍል 2 ጥያቄዎች

1. በርስዎ አመለካከት ሙስና ምንድን ነው? ከአንድ በላይ መምረጥ ይቻላል

ሀ/ በመንግስት የተሰጠን ሃላፊነት ለግል /ለራስና ቤተሰብ/ ጥቅም ማዋል

ለ/ ለሌሎች ተገቢ ያልሆነ አገልግሎት ለመስጠት ገንዘብ ወይም ሌላ ጥቅም መቀበል

መ/ ለግል ጥቅም ለመደራደር ሲባል ኃላፊነት የሚጠይቀውን ተግባር በጊዜው ያለመፈፀም

ረ/ ዘመድ እና ወይንም ጓደኛን አስቀድሞ አገልግሎት መስጠት

ሰ/ ከተዘረዘሩት ውጪ ነው

ሸ/ መልስዎ «ሰ» ብቻ ከሆነ እርስዎ ነው የሚሉትን ይግለጹ

2. ሙስና አለ ብለው የሚያምኑት የት ነው? ከፊትለፊቱ «አለ» ወይም «ያለም» በማለት ይግለፁ::

ሀ/ በመንግስት መስሪያ ቤቶችና ድርጅቶች \_\_\_\_\_

ለ/ በግል ድርጅቶች \_\_\_\_\_

መ/ መንግስታዊ ባልሆኑ ድርጅቶች \_\_\_\_\_

ረ/ በሙያና ህዝባዊ ማህበራት \_\_\_\_\_

ሰ/ ሌሎች ተቋማት /ለይተው ይዘርዝሩ/ \_\_\_\_\_

3. የሚከተሉት አገልግሎቶች /ተቋማት/ ምን ያክል በሙስና የተጠቁ ይመስልዎታል? እባክዎን እያንዳንዱን ከ 1 እስከ 5 በደረጃ ለይተው ያስቀምጡ:: ይኸውም 1. በፍፁም ሙስና የለበትም 2. ትንሽ ትንሽ ሙስና አለበት 3. ሙስና አለበት 4. ባብዛኛው ሙስና አለበት 5. እጅግ የከፋ ሙስና አለበት - ለማለት ይጠቀሙ::

ሀ/ የፍትህ አገልግሎት /የፍርድ ስርአት/

ለ/ የሕክምና እና የጤና አገልግሎት

መ/ የትምህርት ስርአቱ

ረ/ ፖሊስ

ሰ/ የግሉ ንግድ ዘርፍ

ሸ/ የሃይማኖት ተቋማት

ቀ/ መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ተቋማት

በ/ መገናኛ ብዙሃን

ተ/ የቀበሌ/ወረዳ መስተዳድር

ቸ/ በየደረጃው ያሉ አገልግሎት ሰጪ የመንግስት መስሪያ ቤቶች /የሲቪል ሰርቪስ ተቋማት/

4. ሙስና ችግር ነው ብለው ያምናሉ?

ሀ/ አዎ  ለ/ አይደለም

5. ለ ጥያቄ 4 መልስዎ «ሀ» / አዎ ከሆነ ማንን የሚመለከት ችግር ነው? ከታች የተዘረዘሩትን በደረጃ ያስቀምጡ። ይኸውም 1ኛ. በበለጠ ለሚመለከተው ሰጥተው ቀጥሎ የሚመለከታቸውን በደረጃ 2ኛ, 3ኛ, ... እያሉ ያስቀምጡ

ሀ/ ራስዎን

ለ/ ቤተሰብዎን

መ/ የወረዳውን ነዋሪዎች

ረ/ የክፍለከተማውን ነዋሪዎች

ሰ/ የአዲስ አበባን ነዋሪዎች

ሸ/ መንግስትን

6. «ሙስና ለእድገት እንቅፋት ነው» በሚለው አባባል ይስማማሉ?

ሀ/ በፍፁም አልስማማም

ለ/ አልስማማም

ሐ/ እስማማለሁ

መ/ አጥብቄ እስማማለሁ

ረ/ እድገት ከሙስና ጋር ግንኙነት የለውም

7. አንድን አስፈላጊ ጉዳይ ለመፈፀም ገንዘብ ወይንም ሌላ አይነት ውለታ ታዛቢ በሌለበት ቢጠየቁ ምን ያደርጋሉ?

ሀ/ ተስማምቼ ጉዳዩን አስፈፅማለሁ

ለ/ ተቃውሜ ጉዳዩ ባይፈፀም እመርጣለሁ

8. ለጥያቄ 7 የመለሱት «ሀ» ከሆነ ለምን?

ሀ/ ባልስማማ ጉዳዩ ስለማይፈፀም

ለ/ መጉላላት ስለማልፈልግ

መ/ የተለመደ ጉዳይ በመሆኑ

ረ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይገለፅ/ \_\_\_\_\_

9. ለጥያቄ 7 የመለሱት «ለ» ከሆነ ለምን?

ሀ/ ለሙስና ዕድል በመስጠት ስለማላምን

ለ/ ሃይማኖቴ ስለማይፈቅድ

መ/ ህግ ስለምፈራ

ረ/ በባህላችን ነውር ስለሆነ  /ይህን ከመረጡ አሁን ያለብት አዲስ አበባ ወይንም ወደ አ.አ. ከመምጣትዎ በፊት የሚያውቁትን የህብረተሰብ ባህል የትኛውን ማለትዎ እንደሆነ በስም ለይተው ይገለፁ/ \_\_\_\_\_

ሰ/ ሌላ ምክንያት  /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

10. እርስዎ አሁን ያለብት ህብረተሰብ በሙስና ላይ ያለው አቋም የትኛው ነው?

ሀ/ ያበረታታል

ለ/ አያበረታታም

መ/ ይቃወማል

ረ/ እኔ አላውቅም

11. የሚከተሉት የህብረተሰብ መዋቅሮች ለሙስና መስፋፋት ያላቸውን አስተዋፅኦ ከ 1 እስከ 5 ቁጥሮችን ተጠቅመው በደረጃ ይገለፁ። ይኸውም 1. እጅግ ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው 2. ከፍተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው 3. አስተዋፅኦ አለው 4. ዝቅተኛ አስተዋፅኦ አለው 5. በጭራሽ አስተዋፅኦ የለውም ለማለት

ሀ/ ሃይማኖት

ለ/ ባህል

መ/ መንግስት

ረ/ የግሉ ቢዝነስ ዘርፍ

ሰ/ መንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ድርጅቶች

ሸ/ ሌሎች /በዝርዝር ተገልፀው ደረጃ ይሰጣቸው/ \_\_\_\_\_

12. ለጥያቄ 11 «ለ» የሰጡት መልስ ከ1 እስከ 4 ከሆነ አስተዋፅኦው እንዴት ይገለጻል? በምሳሌ ያስደግፉ።/ ከአንድ በላይ መልስ መስጠት ይቻላል/

ሀ/ በአበረታች ስነ-ቃል /ለምሳሌ በተረት፣ በምሳሌ፣ በአባባል፣ .../

ለ/ በአድናቆት ቃላትና ንግግሮች

መ/ በዘፈን በስነ-ጽሁፍ እና ሌሎች የስነ-ጥበብ ስራዎች

ረ/ በአክብሮት

13. በርስዎ አመለካከት /ከተቀባይ አንጻር ሲያስቡት/ ሰዎች ወደሙስና የሚገቡት ለምንድን ነው? ከአንድ በላይ መልስ መምረጥ ይቻላል፤ ሆኖም በደረጃ ያስቀምጧቸው። ይኸውም ከሁሉም የበለጠ ምክንያት ለሆነው 1 ሰጥተው 2, 3, እያሉ ከሁሉም ያነሰ ምክንያት ለሆነው 5

ሀ/ በችግር /ድህነት/ ምክንያት

ለ/ አመል ሆኖባቸው

መ/ የሀብት እና ዝና ምንጭ በመሆኑ በህብረተሰቡ ዘንድ የሚያገኙት ከበሬታና ተቀባይነት ስለሚያጓጓቸው

ረ/ የተጠያቂነት ስርዓቱ ልል መሆን ስለሚያበረታታቸው

ሰ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይገለፅ/ \_\_\_\_\_

14. ባለፈው አንድ አመት ውስጥ እርስዎ ወይም ሌላ የቤተሰብዎ አባል ወይም በቅርብ የሚያውቁት ሰው ጉዳይ ለማስፈፀም የገንዘብ ወይንም የአይነት ገብ የተጠየቃችሁበት አጋጣሚ አለ?

ሀ/ አለ       ለ/ የለም

15. ለጥያቄ 14 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ ገብው እንዲከፈል የተጠየቀው በምን መልኩ ነበር? /ከአንድ በላይ መምረጥ ይቻላል/

ሀ/ በገንዘብ

ለ/ በጾታዊ ግንኙነት

መ/ ለተቀባዩ ወይም ቤተሰቡ የስራ እድል በመስጠት

ረ/ በሌላ መንገድ /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

16. ለጥያቄ 14 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ እርስዎ ወይም የቤተሰብዎ አባል በአጠቃላይ ባለፈው አንድ አመት ጊዜ የገብ ጥያቄ ያጋጠማችሁ ሰዎች ጊዜ ነው?

ሀ/ አንድ ጊዜ

ለ ሁለት ጊዜ

መ/ ሶስት ጊዜ

ረ/ ከሶስት ጊዜ በላይ

17. እርስዎ ጋ ጉዳይ ያለው ሰው አስቀድሞ ስጦታ ቢሰጥዎ ይቀበላሉ?

ሀ/ አዎ እቀበላለሁ

ለ/ እንደሁኔታው

መ/ የለም አልቀበልም

18. በአካባቢዎ ወይም ሌላ ቦታ የሚኖር በቅርብ የሚያውቁት በሙስና የሚታማና ድንገት ሃብታም የሆነ ሰው አለ?

ሀ/ አለ      ለ/ የለም

19. ለጥያቄ 18 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ እርስዎ ለዚያ ሰው ያለዎት አመለካከት እንዴት ነው?

ሀ/ አደንቀዋለሁ

ለ/ ያናድደኛል

መ/ ከሌላ ሰው ለይቼ አላየውም

ረ/ ሌላ አመለካከት ካለዎ ይግለጹት \_\_\_\_\_

20. ለጥያቄ 18 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ ያ ሰው በአካባቢው ነዋሪዎች ዘንድ ያለው ተቀባይነት ሀብት ከማግኘቱ በፊት ከነበረው ጋር ሲነፃፀር እንዴት ነው?

ሀ/ ተቀባይነቱ እጅግ ጨምሯል

ለ/ ተቀባይነቱ በመጠኑ ጨምሯል

መ/ ተቀባይነቱ እንደበፊቱ ነው

ረ/ ተቀባይነቱ በመጠኑ ቀንሷል

ሰ/ ተቀባይነቱ እጅግ ቀንሷል

21. በሀይወትዎ የገንዘብ ወይም ሌላ ዓይነት ጉቦ ተጠይቀው ያውቃሉ?

ሀ/ አዎ      ለ/ የለም

22. ለጥያቄ 21 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ የተጠየቁትን ጉቦ ለመክፈል እምቢ ብለው ያውቃሉ?

ሀ/ አዎ      ለ/ አላውቅም



23. በርስዎ አመለካከት/ከሰጪ አንጻር ሲያስቡት/ ሰዎች ወደሙስና የሚገቡት ለምንድን ነው?  
- ከአንድ በላይ መልስ መምረጥ ይቻላል፤ ሆኖም በደረጃ ያስቀምጧቸው። ይኸውም  
ከሁሉም የበለጠ ምክንያት ለሆነው 1 ከሁሉም ያነሰ ምክንያት ለሆነው 5

ሀ/ ጉዳያቸው ሳይፈጸም ሲቀር

ለ/ ጉዳያቸው ከተለመደው ፈጥኖ እንዲፈጸም /ከሌሎች ቅድሚያ ለማግኘት/

መ/ በህግ ከተጣለባቸው ግዴታ ለማምለጥ

ረ/ በህጋዊ መንገድ የማይገኙ ጥቅሞችን ለማግኘት

ሰ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

24. ሙስናን መዋጋት የማን ኃላፊነት ነው? ከሁሉም የበለጠ ኃላፊነት ላለበት 1 ሰጥተው 2, 3, ... በማለት በተዋረድ ያስቀምጧቸው።

ሀ/ የእርስዎ

ለ/ የሌሎች ሰዎች

መ/ የመንግስት

ረ/ የመንግስታዊ ያልሆኑ ድርጅቶች

ሰ/ የሙያና ሰራተኛ ማህበራት

ሸ/ የሃይማኖት ተቋማት

ቀ/ የሌሎች አካላት /ይጠቀሱ/ \_\_\_\_\_

25. የሙስና ተግባር እየተፈጸመ እንደሆነ የሚያረጋግጥ መረጃ ቢኖርዎ እና አንድ እርምጃ ብቻ መውሰድ ቢኖርብዎ ምን ያደርጋሉ?

ሀ/ ሙስኞቹ ከድርጊታቸው እንዲቆጠቡ እመክራለሁ

ለ/ ለፖሊስ አመለክታለሁ

መ/ ለስነ-ምግባርና ፀረ ሙስና ኮሚሽን እጠቁማለሁ

ረ/ በመገናኛ ብዙሃን እንዲጋለጡ መረጃ እሰጣለሁ

ሰ/ ለሙሰኞቹ መረጃ እንዳለኝ ገልጬ ገንዘብ ወይም ሌላ ጥቅም ለማግኘት እደራደራለሁ  
ሸ/ ምንም አላደርግም

26. ለጥያቄ 25 መልስዎ «ሸ» ከሆነ - ለምን? ከሁሉም የበለጠ ምክንያቶችን ብቻ ይምረጡ  
ሀ/ ስለማያገባኝ

ለ/ ጥቆማ ተቀባዮቹን ስለማላምናቸው

መ/ ወንጀለኞቹ ካወቁ ጥቃት ይደርስብኛል ብዬ ስለምፈራ

ረ/ ብጠቁምም ባልጠቁምም ለውጥ ስለማያመጣ

ሰ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ካለ ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

27. በርስዎ አመለካከት ከሚከተሉት ሙሰና የትኛው ነው? ከአንድ በላይ መልስ መስጠት  
ይቻላል

ሀ/ ጉዳይ ለመፈጸም ገንዘብ መቀበል /መስጠት/

ለ/ የቀጣሪው የግል ንብረት ባልሆነ ተቋም የቤተሰብ አባል ወይም ዘመድን ሳያወዳድሩ መቅጠር

መ/ በኃላፊነት የተሰጠን ንብረት ለግል ጉዳይ መጠቀም

ረ/ በባለጉዳይና ጉዳይ ፈፃሚ መካከል የሚመሰረት ያታወቁ ግንኙነት

ሰ/ ባለጉዳይን ጠቅሞ በምላሹ ጥቅም ለማግኘት የሰነዶችን ይዘት መቀየር

ሸ/ ባለጉዳይን ኅድቶ በውጤቱ ጥቅም ለማግኘት የሰነዶችን ይዘት መቀየር

ቀ/ ጥቅም ለማግኘት ሲባል በኃላፊነት የተሰጠን ተግባር ያለመፈጸም /አይቶ እንዳላዩ ማለፍ/

በ/ ደግሞ እንደሚመጣ ከሚታሰብ ባለጉዳይ ጉዳዩ ሲያልቅ የምስጋና ስጦታ መቀበል

ተ/ ጉዳዩ ካላለቀ ባለጉዳይ ስጦታ መቀበል

ቸ/ የሚያውቁትን ሰው ቅድሚያ ሰጥቶ ማስተናገድ

ነ/ የተጣላንን ሰው ጉዳይ ማዘጋጀት

28. ከሚከተሉት እንደግለሰብ ለኢኮኖሚያዊ እድገት እንቅፋት ሆነውብኛል የሚሏቸውን በደረጃ ያስቀምጡ። ይኸውም ከሁሉም በላይ እንቅፋት ለሆነበት 1ኛ ሰጥተው ለቀጣዮቹ 2ኛ, 3ኛ, ... እያሉ ይቀጥሉ

ሀ/ በበቂ ሁኔታ ያለመማር

ለ/ ምንም ዓይነት ተስጥኦ ያለመኖር

መ/ የሙስና መንስራፋት

ረ/ የተሟላ ጤና ያለመኖር

ሰ/ የመንግስት ፖሊሲ አለመመቻት

ሸ/ በተለያዩ ሱስ መጠመድ

ቀ/ የቤተሰብ ኃላፊነት መብዛት

በ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

29. ከሚከተሉት እንደ አገር ለኢኮኖሚያዊ እድገት እንቅፋት ናቸው የሚሏቸውን በደረጃ /ቅደም ተከተል/ ያስቀምጡ። ይኸውም ከሁሉም በላይ እንቅፋት ለሆነው 1ኛ ሰጥተው ለቀጣዮቹ 2ኛ, 3ኛ, ... እያሉ ይቀጥሉ

ሀ/ የተሳሳተ ኢኮኖሚያዊ ፖሊሲ

ለ/ ደካማ የመንግስት የአፈፃፀም ስርአት

መ/ የሙስና መንስራፋት

ረ/ የተማሪ የሰው ኃይል እጥረት

ሰ/ የህዝብ ቁጥር መብዛት

ሸ/ የህዝብ ቁጥር ማነስ

ቀ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

30. በቅርብ የሚያውቁት ሰው ድንገት ስራ ቦታዎ መጥቶ በምላሹ ምንም እንዲያደርጉለት ሳይጠይቅ የመቶ ሺ ብር የገንዘብ ስጦታ ቢያበረክትልዎ ይቀበላሉ?

ሀ/ እቀበላለሁ ለ/ አልቀበልም

31. ለጥያቄ 30 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ ለምን?

ሀ/ ከኔ የሚጠበቀው ነገር ከሌለ ምን ችግር አለው

ለ/ ገንዘቡ የኢኮኖሚ ችግሮቼን ለመቀነስ ስለሚጠቅመኝ

መ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

32. ለጥያቄ 30 መልስዎ «ለ» ከሆነ ለምን?

ሀ/ ቆይቶ ምን እንደሚያስከትል ስለማላውቅ

ለ/ እንዲህ ያለ ስጦታ ስለማልወድ

መ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

33. እርስዎ ላሉበት ህብረተሰብ ከሚከተሉት ማህበራዊ፣ ኢኮኖሚያዊና ፖለቲካዊ ሁኔታዎች ዋነኛ ችግር ብለው የሚያምኑትን በደረጃ ያስቀምጡ። ይኸውም 1ኛ. ቀዳሚ ወይም አንደኛ ችግር ለሆነው በመስጠት 2ኛ, 3ኛ... እያሉ ቀጣይ ችግር ለሆኑት ይስጡ።

ሀ/ ኤች አይ ቪ ኤድስ \_\_\_\_\_

ለ/ በራስ ቋንቋ የመጠቀም ነፃነት ያለመኖር \_\_\_\_\_

መ/ ስራ አጥነት \_\_\_\_\_

ረ/ ሙስና \_\_\_\_\_

ሰ/ ሃሳብን በነፃነት መግለጽ ያለመቻል \_\_\_\_\_

ሸ/ የኑሮ ውድነት \_\_\_\_\_

ቀ/ የመረጡትን የፖለቲካ አስተሳሰብ ለመከተል ያለመቻል \_\_\_\_\_

በ/ የቤተሰብ ምጣኔ ያለመኖር \_\_\_\_\_

ተ/ የሃይማኖት ነፃነት ያለመኖር \_\_\_\_\_

ቸ/ የጾታ እኩልነት ያለመኖር \_\_\_\_\_

34. እርስዎ ጋ ጉዳይ ካለው ሰው የገንዘብ ወይም ሌላ የአይነት ስጦታ ተቀብለው ያውቃሉ?

ሀ/ አዎ                    ለ/ አላውቅም

35. ለጥያቄ 34 መልስዎ «ሀ» ከሆነ ለምን?

ሀ/ ምንም ችግር ስለሌለው

ለ/ ጉዳዩን በአግባቡ ስለፈጸምኩለት ይገባኛል

መ/ ስጦታ እምቢ ስለማይባል

ረ/ ስጦታው ጠቃሚ ስለነበር

ሰ/ ሌላ ምክንያት /ይጠቀስ/ \_\_\_\_\_

ሸ/ ምክንያቱን መግለጽ አልፈልግም

### ስለትብብርዎ አመሰግናለሁ

**Annex 2**

**Q20. How do you compare the acceptance of the person who got rich out of corruption by the neighboring community?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	His acceptance increased very much	70	16.9	20.7	20.7
	His acceptance increased a little bit	33	8.0	9.8	30.5
	No difference	9	2.2	2.7	33.1
	his acceptance decreased a little bit	11	2.7	3.3	36.4
	His acceptance decreased very much	33	8.0	9.8	46.2
	not applicable	182	44.0	53.8	100.0
	Total	338	81.6	100.0	
Missing	missing value	75	18.1		
	System	1	.2		
	Total	76	18.4		
Total		414	100.0		

**Annex 3**

**Q8. Why do you agree to pay money or other favor in return to the service you want?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid I do not get the service if i do not agree	81	19.6	19.8	19.8
I do not like my case takes long time	32	7.7	7.8	27.6
It is a common practice	40	9.7	9.8	37.4
other reason	2	.5	.5	37.9
not applicable	254	61.4	62.1	100.0
Total	409	98.8	100.0	
Missing missing value	5	1.2		
Total	414	100.0		

## Annex 4

### Q11a. Contribution of Religion to promote corruption

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	54	13.0	15.8	15.8
	highly contributes	17	4.1	5.0	20.8
	contributes	35	8.5	10.3	31.1
	lower contribution	59	14.3	17.3	48.4
	never contributes	176	42.5	51.6	100.0
	Total	341	82.4	100.0	
Missing	99	73	17.6		
Total		414	100.0		

### Q11b. Contribution of Culture to promote corruption

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	34	8.2	9.7	9.7
	highly contributes	31	7.5	8.8	18.5
	contributes	97	23.4	27.6	46.0
	lower contribution	104	25.1	29.5	75.6
	never contributes	86	20.8	24.4	100.0
	Total	352	85.0	100.0	
Missing	99	62	15.0		
Total		414	100.0		

### Q11c. Contribution of Government to promote corruption

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	201	48.6	53.6	53.6
	highly contributes	47	11.4	12.5	66.1
	contributes	69	16.7	18.4	84.5
	lower contribution	23	5.6	6.1	90.7
	never contributes	35	8.5	9.3	100.0
	Total	375	90.6	100.0	
Missing	99	39	9.4		
Total		414	100.0		



**Annex 4 (continued)**

**Q11d. Contribution of Private Business Sector to promote corruption**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	96	23.2	27.0	27.0
	highly contributes	96	23.2	27.0	53.9
	contributes	88	21.3	24.7	78.7
	lower contribution	52	12.6	14.6	93.3
	never contributes	24	5.8	6.7	100.0
	Total	356	86.0	100.0	
Missing	99	58	14.0		
Total		414	100.0		

**Q11e. Contribution of Non Governmental Organizations**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	77	18.6	22.4	22.4
	highly contributes	86	20.8	25.1	47.5
	contributes	104	25.1	30.3	77.8
	lower contribution	53	12.8	15.5	93.3
	never contributes	23	5.6	6.7	100.0
	Total	343	82.9	100.0	
Missing	99	71	17.1		
Total		414	100.0		

**Q11f. Contribution of Other Societal Institutions**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	extra ordinarily contributes	2	.5	66.7	66.7
	lower contribution	1	.2	33.3	100.0
	Total	3	.7	100.0	
Missing	System	411	99.3		
Total		414	100.0		

**Annex 5**

**A. Where the respondent was grown up \* Q4. Is Corruption a Problem? Cross tabulation**

		Q4. Is Corruption a Problem?		Total
		No	yes	
where the respondent was grown up	Addis Ababa	11	265	276
	Out of Addis Ababa	2	99	101
Total		13	364	377

**B. Where the respondent was grown up \* Q7. What do you do if you are asked for money or other favor in return of getting an important service you obtain where no one is observing?**

Crosstab

Count

		Q7. What do you do if you are asked for money or other favor in return of getting an important service you wanted where no one is observing?		Total
		I will agree and get the service I want	I disagree and loose the service I want	
where the respondent was grown up	Addis Ababa	106	170	276
	Out of Addis Ababa	37	62	99
Total		143	232	375

**C. Where the respondent was grown up \* Q17. Do you accept if your client gives you gift before you provide him service? Cross tabulation**

		Q17. Do you accept if your client gives you gift before you provide him service?			Total
		yes I accept	it depends	no, I do not accept	
where the respondent was grown up	Addis Ababa	21	90	146	257
	Out of Addis Ababa	13	33	50	96
Total		34	123	196	353

## Field Pictures



*Yeka Sub City Woreda 4 – Korea Sefer*



*Arada Sub City Woreda 7 – Kebena area*



*Kirkos Sub City Woreda 7 - Iagar area*



*Gulele Sub City Woreda 7 – Addisu Gebeya*



*Lideta Sub City Woreda 6 - Teklehaimanot*



**Kolfe Keranyo Sub City – Ayer Tena**



**Addis Ketema Sub City Woreda 8 - Mesalemia**



**Addis Ketema Sub City Woreda 8 - Merkato**



Addis Ketema Sub City *Woreda* 8 - Sebategna



Akaki Kaliti Sub City *Woreda* 11 – 5 km. after Kilinto





Nefas Silk Lafto Sub City Woreda 9 – Saris Addis Sefer

Akaki Kality Sub City Woreda 4 – Kality



**Bole Sub City Woreda 5 – Bole 24**



**FGD setting – Bole Ambassador International Hotel**



**Musena food**