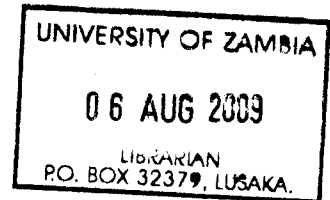


**GENDER EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION IN THE ROAD
TRAFFIC POLICE AND ZAMBIA REVENUE AUTHORITY IN LUSAKA'S
CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT: CAIRO ROAD**

BY

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THESIS

M.A

NG'ANDU

2009

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**A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN GENDER
STUDIES**

SUPERVISOR: DR FAY GADSDEN

JULY 2009



2. DECLARATION

I Jacqueline Ng'andu hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work. The sources of all materials have specifically been acknowledged and the dissertation has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signature of Researcher... Ng'andu

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3. APPROVAL

This dissertation by Jacqueline Ng'andu is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia

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2. *[Signature]*.....

Date... *17/07/09*...

3. *[Signature]*.....

Date... *17/07/09*.....

4. DEDICATION

To my dear late father Amos Nduulwa Makuuka Ng'andu. I owe all what I am today to you. Although you left too early the seed you planted in me which mum Elina Habasimbi Ng'andu continued watering is still blossoming and has now produced Jacqueline with a Master of Arts in Gender Studies.

5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is my single honor and privilege to thank the Almighty God for his providences and sustenance of my life. I also wish to thank my employers Anti-Corruption Commission for allowing me time off work to do my studies. I want to thank my supervisor Dr Fay Gadsden for her patience, support encouragement and promptness in proof reading my thesis so many times. Thank you Doctor Gadsden hope you will continue helping and guiding many more others coming behind.

I wish to thank Tobias Caesar Michelo, for his assistance and guidance on the use of the statistical package for social sciences (SPSS). I am also extending my profound thanks to my respondents along Cairo road Lusaka, the Zambia Police Road Traffic Division and Zambia Revenue Authority officers. Many thanks to watchdog institutions namely Transparency International-Zambia, Task Force on Corruption, Women in Law and Development in Africa, Millennium Challenge Threshold Account Project and the Anti-Corruption Commission for their cooperation.

I also want to thank the lecturers and staff of Gender Studies department, my relatives for their support and encouragement throughout my tenure of studies.

I also want to thank my course mates who encouraged me to undertake the study even when it sounded new to most of them. Particular and profound thanks go to Josephine Mayaka - Simwinga, Monde Matakala- Mulunga, Mbonyiwe Zulu, Petina Kabwenda and Titson Chipeta, to you ladies and gentleman I say thank you very much.

Finally, I want to thank my dear, loving and caring husband Dr. Alasford Mapulanga Ngwengwe for his moral and material support. Thanks Dad.

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ACRONYMS

ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DEC	Drug Enforcement Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IC	<i>Integrity Circles</i>
NAMAC	National Movement Against Corruption
NLC	National Liberation Council
SITET	Special Investigation Team on the Economy and Trade
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TFC	Task Force on Corruption
TI	Transparency International
TI-Z	Transparency International – Zambia
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements
ZRA	Zambia Revenue Authority
USA	United States of America
WILDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZP	Zambia Police
ZPRTD	Zambia Police Road Traffic Division

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ABSTRACT

The objectives of the study were to investigate the perceptions and experiences of corruption among men and women who trade in Lusaka's Central Business District. The other objective was to investigate whether men were more corrupt than women. The study was undertaken between May and August 2007. The data were collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection from primary sources. Primary data was collected using questionnaires and interviews. The samples were selected using purposeful sampling and convenient sampling method for questionnaire and interviews. Quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS while qualitative data were analyzed thematically.

The results for the study revealed that both women and men know what corruption is and that they demonstrated their knowledge of corruption through defining, describing and narrating incidences of corruption they either witnessed or heard about. Respondents also perceived corruption to be ranging from severe to very severe in Lusaka.

The study also established that men have a slightly higher inclination to bribery than women. On the experiences of corruption men came out to have had more encounters of demands/offers of bribery to public officials than women. Unlike women, men showed signs of corrupt practices when justifying or giving reasons as to why they give out bribes to public officers. Men came out to be more tolerant of corruption than women; and most of them said that they paid out bribes to public officers to avoid the law. More men than women also said that they voluntarily pay bribes to public officers.

The study also showed that while there is high knowledge of the prevalence of corruption among respondents (either by the individuals themselves involved or knowledge of other people involved), their reportage of cases of corruption is still very low. Only a small percentage of respondents to the tune of 5.1 percent males

and 2.8 percent females reported cases of corruption that involved them or where they witnessed or heard.

The study revealed that public officers initiated most of the exchange of bribes that respondents either witnessed or heard about and which they narrated. Public officials mainly directly solicit for bribes from members of the general public in order for them to provide services which ordinarily should have been provided for, for free.

The study re-affirmed the general public perception that ZRTPD was among the most corrupt public service providing institutions. On the contrary to the general public perception the findings of the study showed that ZRA was not as corrupt as ZPRTD. The findings of the study therefore called for education and sensitization of women and men on corruption issues. Also that women and men should be encouraged to report cases of corruption and that there should be legislation to protect whistle blowers.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Corruption has existed in all societies at all times in different manifestations and no society is immune to it, rich or poor, developed or developing. According to the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC) Act No. 42 of 1996: 5, corruption is the use of public office for private gain, "it entails asking for, receiving or obtaining, or agreeing or attempting to receive or obtain, any benefit of any kind for yourself, or any other person on account of anything done or not done, or to be afterwards done or not done, in the discharge of your duties." Corruption involves unlawful and unequal access to, and use of resources of a given society. For a long time now, corruption has been recognized as a major problem in the developing world, where it has become a cancer, reaching the dimensions of an epidemic in many nations of Africa. It is recognized that corruption is the most encompassing and amorphous of all crimes (Adeyemi 1994). The 1970s saw the recognition of corruption as one of the factors contributing to economic decline, especially in developing and transition countries.

With the growing concerns about corruption around the globe the government of Zambia under the Corrupt Practices Act No. 14 of 1980 set up the Anti-Corruption Commission whose mandate was to spearhead the fight against corruption in Zambia. The said Act was repealed by Act of Parliament No. 42 of 1996 of the Laws of Zambia, because government wanted to strengthen the Anti Corruption Commission to discharge its duties autonomously. This was meant to eliminate interferences and stipulate more stringent penalties than were in the former Act. The main functions of the ACC are to prevent and take necessary and effective measures for the prevention of corruption in Zambia and to receive and investigate complaints of alleged or suspected corrupt practices and where possible prosecute the offenders.

The fight against corruption was further supplemented by the Task Force on Corruption (TFC), which is an ad hoc administrative arrangement set up by the Mwanawasa government to investigate allegations of corruption and the plunder of

national resources between 1991 and 2001. The TFC is comprised of officers from Zambia Police, Anti-corruption Commission, Office of the President and Drug Enforcement Commission. The “New Deal” government of President Mwanawasa further embarked on the “Anti-Corruption Crusade”, and declared the principle of Zero Tolerance for Corruption.

While the ACC and TFC’s roles are to investigate cases of corruption, Transparency International Zambia’s aim is to promote integrity and good governance in Zambia; to promote constructive debate and dialogue among various actors on the situation of corruption, good governance and integrity in Zambia and to develop sustainable coalitions for the purposes of joint action and enhance information sharing among various stakeholders.

The Millennium Challenge Account Threshold Project an American program was implemented in Zambia in 2006. The project’s role in the fight against corruption was to build the capacity of the ACC to lead efforts to prevent administrative corruption and implement the National corruption Prevention Plan and to work with Zambia’s Ministry of Lands, Immigration Department and the Zambia Revenue Authority to reduce opportunities for administrative corruption.

All these changes have been made without mainstreaming gender in the fight against corruption. Little attention has been given as to how different genders perceived corruption, how gender was going to be integrated in the intensified fight against corruption. Several behavioral studies that have been conducted around the world found women to be more trustworthy and public spirited than men and that women are less corrupt than men. They suggested that women may have higher standards of ethical behavior and appear to be concerned with the common good.
www1.transparency.org/pressreleases_archive/2000/2000.03.08.womensday.html

Women are generally disadvantaged in society. They have less education and in positions the majority of them in lower income jobs which are far from decision

making where their voices could be heard. The gender roles assigned to men and women by society further disadvantage women and they rarely aspire for higher positions. Both the social and political arenas are dominated by men in most countries. Women lack access to, and control over, resources compared to their male counterparts. Economically, women lack access to capital and credit which has for decades continued to make them vulnerable and subordinate to men. Mostly, women have little access or no voice in privatization or massive resources investments in the public works; they are less likely to benefit from big construction works in terms of employment since such industries traditionally employ men and not women. Nathan Associates in the report: Gender Analysis, 2003; and www.u4.no/helpdesk/faq/faql.cfm state that women and men experience and perceive corruption differently, because they are involved in different activities and have different locations in the power hierarchies. Further, women are more vulnerable to petty corruption for example at health delivery points, in the education system, in job seeking and promotions and also when dealing with the police and customs officers.

In transition and developing countries, women are adversely affected by high levels of corruption connected to privatization fraud, tax and customs evasion and social insecurity caused by economic inefficiencies in the private and public sector. According to UNCHS (Habitat) 2000, corruption reduces public funds leading to cutbacks usually on health and social services, which support the domestic and caring roles of women. This situation is common in nations where bribery is a prerequisite for the provision of public services, for example healthcare and school enrolment; this leaves women with less income to support their families and in turn may worsen their level of poverty.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Corruption hinders development in that progress potential remains unused, public funds are wasted and processes of democratic strengthening are endangered. It has devastating effects of loss of image and prestige in nations where it is thriving. It weakens the moral fiber of the people; and it lowers the ethical standards in governance. Corruption increases social instability and insecurity due to the widening gaps between the rich and the poor (Hassan, 2004).

Since 2001 high profile cases of both petty and grand corruption involving senior government officials have been revealed in Zambia. As a result corruption has assumed prominence. In the 2004 and 2006 Transparency International (TI) Corruption Perception Index, Zambia ranked number 11 among the world's most corrupt countries. (TI year book 2004 and TI year book 2006). In many cases it is men who are involved in corrupt practices either as campaigners against it or as accused persons answering charges for committing offences of corruption.

The gap between gender and corruption information needs bridging. There is little information known about the different perceptions and experiences of corruption by gender. Many strategies and measures have been developed in both developed and developing countries in the urge to eliminate corruption; but these efforts are generally silent on how gender could be integrated into the fight against corruption. The few studies that have been conducted in other parts of the world about gender and corruption in the public sector have tended to revolve around whether or not women are less corrupt than men. In Zambia, studies that have been done by Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) 2005 and the Zambia National Governance Baseline Survey of 2004 have not categorically dealt with the problem of gender and corruption. The gender experiences and perceptions of corruption have not received attention. In Zambia, so far there is no literature on gender and corruption or information to mainstream gender into anti-corruption activities. This study is the first of its kind on the important subject of gender and corruption which has been

sidelined or ignored for a long time. This study therefore seeks to investigate and compare the experiences and perceptions of corruption of women and men.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

General Objective

The study seeks to investigate the perceptions and experiences of corruption among men and women who trade in Lusaka's Central Business District

Specific objectives are:

- i) To find out whether men and women traders engage in acts of corruption
- ii) To determine perceived levels of corruption in the Zambia Road Traffic Police Division and Zambia Revenue Authority
- iii) To examine women's and men's awareness of corruption
- iv) To investigate whether men are more corrupt than women

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i) What are men's and women's perceptions of corruption?
- ii) Do men and women often offer / give bribes to public officials and if so why?
- iii) What are men's and women's experiences of corruption?

1.4 RATIONALE

Several strategies and efforts to eliminate corruption have been developed in many parts of the world including Zambia and they have not helped reduce corruption. The non reduction of corruption in many countries (especially developing ones) has been acknowledged by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other donors who started attaching conditions to aid given to developing countries. These donors have put anti-corruption programmes on top of the agenda and a lot of funds are allocated for anti-corruption activities. The World Bank is asking African nations to mainstream gender into anti-corruption activities in the hope of reducing

corruption (World Bank, 2002). The non integration of gender into the fight against corruption in Zambia has prompted the researcher to undertake this study which is in line with the World Bank's call to African governments to mainstream gender into anti-corruption activities as a solution to combat corruption. The study is important in that it is an investigation into the field of gender and corruption in Zambia where there is no information at present. The findings of the study will be a source of literature on gender and corruption in Zambia. The findings of the study could be used to come up with measures which policy makers and implementers could use to mainstream gender in the fight against corruption in Zambia. It was envisioned that the findings of the study would also stimulate more research into the field of gender and corruption in Zambia.

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

1.5.1 Corruption

Corruption is here used to mean soliciting for, accepting, obtaining, giving, promising or offering of a gratification by way of a bribe or other personal temptation or inducement. It also entails the misuse or abuse of a public office for private advantage or benefit.

1.5.2 Gender

Gender refers to those characteristics of men and women that are socially determined, in contrast to those that are biologically determined. It is woman and man, as constructed in a certain society;

1.5.3 Grand Corruption

This form of corruption is at the national level. It occurs at the top and legislative body of government. It destroys national resources in that only a few individuals benefit from the transactions.

1.5.4 Gratification

It refers to any corrupt payment to an individual or group of people or companies, whether in cash or in kind for personal, or group gain.

1.5.5 Petty Corruption

This is a form of corruption which involves day to day quick money and small bribes. It occurs at the interface between members of the public and the state, mainly lower ranking officials. It happens to people in their every day life especially at the grassroots of society.

1.5.6 Private Body

This is a person or organization not being a public body, but a voluntary organization, charitable institution, company, partnership or a club.

1.5.7 Public Body

It entails a ministry or department of the Government, a local authority, parastatal board, council, authority, commission or other body appointed by the Government, or established by or under any written law.

1.5.8 Public Officer

This is a person who is a member of, or holds office in, or is employed in the service of a public body. Such a person may be in permanent or temporary employment.

1.5.9 Trader

Here used as any person conducting business or employed to conduct business on behalf of another person or on behalf of an institution or organization. It involves people in professional businesses, garages, cafeterias and banks.

1.5.10 Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index

Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) is a method used to provide data on general perceptions of corruption within countries. This is a means of

enhancing understanding of levels of corruption from one country to another.

1.5.11 World Values Surveys

These are a set of surveys carried out in dozens of developed and developing countries from time to time.

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The current chapter is Chapter One and it introduces the study and the problem, the objectives, the rationale, the research questions and the operational definitions of terms used in this study. Chapter Two reviews the literature related to the study. Chapter Three provides the research methodology used for the study that is, the study design, the sampling and sample size, the data collection, the data analysis and the problems encountered during fieldwork. Chapter Four presents an analysis and discussion of the findings of the study. The chapter covers the socio-economic status of respondents, awareness and knowledge of corruption, the perception of corruption and the prevalence of corruption. Lastly, Chapter Five provides general conclusions and suggestions for future actions presented in the form of recommendations. Appendices follow the last chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature on experiences and perceptions of corruption and gender issues in various parts of the world, with a focus on Africa and indeed Zambia. The literature cited are mainly the studies that have been conducted by the World Bank and other studies which have looked at gender and corruption. Another study referred to is the controversial study by Aलो of Ghana's most corrupt institutions namely the Police Service and the Education Service.

2.2 Corruption in General

Corruption is one of the major crimes that have gained prominence in the recent past. Many nations whether developed or developing are affected by the effects of the scourge. It erodes the moral fiber of an affected country and its devastating effects adversely affect women, the poor in society and children. The more people are becoming aware of corruption, the more sophisticated the perpetrators become and the more difficult it becomes to fight it. Cressey and Ward, (1969) stated that in the recent past corruption became less observable, more delicate, and therefore, more difficult to detect and assess than the corruption of the early 1900s. The available data shows that major crimes mainly flourish where public officials are corrupt. As government regulation expands into more and new areas in public and private business activities, "the power to corrupt likewise affords the corrupter more control over matters affecting the everyday life of each citizen" (ibid). This is similar to what used to happen in the President Chiluba's administration where procedures and guidelines on how to acquire various government services were put in place but in most cases these were not written down for people to see; such that it became difficult to pin down the offenders as there was nothing written down to refer to when disciplining such offenders. This was deliberately designed in this manner simply to avoid the law. This kind of corruption characterized the public service for a long time and although it started from the head of state it was more rampant among the

legislators, senior government officials and worse among the grassroots of government. The media called this type of corruption the Chiluba matrix.

Hassan (2004), stated that an estimated US\$148 billion a year was being sent from African countries to secret bank accounts in Europe and elsewhere. He says this led the African Experts Group in 2002 to recommend that corruption should be classified as a "crime against humanity and its definition broadened to include; nepotism, abuse of power, crimes of interference, influence peddling and insider trading" (ibid: 26).

Hope and Chikulo, (1999), state that many countries with distorted policies and weak institutions for controlling resources have high prevalence of corruption. This results into a few individuals in whom power is vested looking at their interests first thereby influencing the system through illegal means to take advantage of opportunities for corruption and rent-seeking. According to Tullock (1967), Krueger (1974) and Hassan (2004), rent-seeking is associated with government regulation and abuse of authority of office by public officials. Rent-seeking behaviour is caused by among others unclear and restrictive laws, high tax and customs charges that avail opportunities for those in office of authority to benefit from such transactions. It establishes contacts and network links which promote and sustain the vice. This is particularly so with public service systems that do not reward officials for honesty and competence.

Further Hope and Chikulo (1999), state that once corruption has broken the public trust and eaten away society's resources it has far-reaching external effects including the slow erosion of political powers to an extent where even the few honest officials and members of the public stop obeying laid down processes and procedures with the greatest victims being the poor, women and children.

According to Transparency International, (1997:7), "Corruption undermines good governance, essentially distorts public policy, leads to misallocation of resources, harms the private sector and public sector development, and particularly hurts the

poor". Hope and Chikulo, (1999), state that although, the incidence of corruption varies among African countries, ranging from rare (Botswana) to widespread (Ghana) to systemic (Nigeria); the majority of the countries are in the widespread to systemic category. Whether in public or in private sphere, corruption results in abuse and misuse of scarce resources that affect an entire economy through multiplier effects. Gray and Kaufmann, (1998), state that where corruption is rare, it is easy to detect and control, but where it is systemic, the likelihood of detection and control is somewhat minimal as incentives and other practices are put in place by the perpetrators to perpetuate the system.

A study based on the Corruption Perception Index (a measure of how business, political analysts, and the general public world wide perceive levels of corruption) showed that a two-fold increase in the level of corruption is equivalent to raising the marginal tax rate and reducing foreign direct investment by about 5% (Wei, 1997). Hope, (1997) argues that corruption is one of the reasons why Africa has the lowest rate of foreign direct investment in the world. Corruption among other things has a major influence in that regard.

2.3.0 Case Studies of some African Countries

2.3.1 Ghana

Hope and Chikulo, (1999), state that in Ghana corruption has been an endemic problem since 1957 and that since then it has not been reduced despite the efforts that have been done through successive governments since independence. Some of the identified root causes of corruption in Ghana include: persistence of traditional values which conflict with the requirements for a modern way of life; poverty; improper policies; disrespect for regulations or legal requirements; unqualified or unmotivated personnel; ineffective supervision and contempt for constitutional requirements.

Further, Hope and Chikulo, (1999) stated that in the urge to address the identified causes of corruption in 1969 the National Liberation Council (NLC) military rulers

announced a “National Crusade” against corruption which was supposed to eliminate all forms of corruption from Ghanaian life (Daily Graphic October 1969, in Hope and Chikulo 1999). Further efforts to combat corruption in Ghana were: the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry in 1970; deterrence and judicial actions; codes of conduct for public officers; and independent anti-corruption agencies that is the Commission of Human Rights and Administrative Justice of 1992 and the Serious Fraud Office of 1993. In trying to fight corruption Ghana has also taken other steps like designing corruption control guides, vigilance, inspection and investigation and prosecution and penalties for offenders. The government of Ghana has also realized the need to reinforce the integrity of public officers and that of the general public not to condone corruption

2.3.2 Nigeria

Hope and Chikulo, (1999), stated that corruption in Nigeria is the way of life, it is said to have reached systemic levels which makes it difficult to detect and address. Efforts to combat corruption in Nigeria include; the Code of Conduct Bureau; the Code of Conduct Tribunal; Public Complaints Commission; Public Accounts Committee; and the quasi-judicial bodies. However despite all these measures put in place corruption in Nigeria is reported to be on the increase. Hope and Chikulo demonstrated the high prevalence of corruption in Nigeria using examples from the police, customs service, judiciary and immigration, the most corrupt public service providing institutions and gave brief notes about exchange of bribes. Police officers in Nigeria demand for money for bail even when it is written everywhere including the police stations that ‘BAIL IS FREE’. Generally, after arresting someone the police will first demand for “chop money” from the suspect. At the inter-relationship between commuter drivers and police, the situation is a pathetic one. The police of all categories that is, anti-crime, mobile, or traffic wardens openly demand and take bribes even in the presence of passengers. Police would even give back change if the driver does not have the exact fee needed for a bribe. In the customs service the major form of corruption for customs officers is the extortion of money from traders crossing the national borders.

Customs officers impound wares of traders who cannot settle them effectively and sometimes they would sell such goods. They give some percentage of money made to their superiors. In the judiciary each action of filing, processing and assessing an application, or of getting a court order executed, or obtaining a copy of a ruling involves money. At immigration officials demand money to process a passport for customers entering or exiting the country. This makes it easy even for a foreigner to acquire a Nigerian passport at a small fee.

2.3.3 South Africa

Hope and Chikulo, (1999), stated that in South Africa corruption has been defined in so many ways by different scholars. For instance, Heidenheimer *et al* (1993) define corruption to include behaviour which moves away from the normal duties of a public role because of private economic or status gains. Wronsley R. P. (1994) defines corruption as “abuse by the incumbent of a public office or position of one’s statutory or regulatory authority or discretionary power whether by omission or by commission for personal gain.” Hope and Chikulo (1999), state that in South Africa there is a broad understanding of corruption which includes tender fraud, nepotism and favoritism, lack of accountability by senior management /officials, bribery and fraud, and ghosting. Commissions of inquiries have unearthed many cases where government ministers and executive directors of parastatal companies have been involved in corruption bordering on nepotism and favoritism and ghosting.

The South African government has put in place several measures in form of legislation to combat corruption of all kinds, and these include; Investigations of Serious Economic Offences Act No. 117 of 1991; Corruption Act No. 94 of 1992; Public Protector Act No. 23 of 1994; Audit Arrangement Act No. 122 of 1992; Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act No. 74 of 1996; Proceeds of Crime Act No. 76 of 1996; Auditor-General Act No. 12 of 1995; Reporting on Public Entities Act No. 93 of 1992; and the Public Service Act No. 103 of 1994. Despite all the above measures that the South African government has put in place to curb the situation,

corruption is still prevalent in the public sector of South Africa. This therefore calls for public officers to cohesively use all the measures identified above to combat corruption.

2.3.4 Zambia

Zambia too has been prone to incidences of corruption which have affected all institutions including the government, Foreign Service, parastatals, political parties and academic institutions. Although there have not been many studies done to look at issues of corruption in Zambia, a few scholars have made efforts to study incidences of corruption in Zambia. Lemba (2005), conducted a survey assessing the perceptions of the general public on the levels of corruption incidences in their daily interaction with Government operations and service delivery, with particular reference to the residents of Lusaka. The survey looked at individual perceptions in relation to their overall socio-economic and demographic characteristics. The study found that there was a general disillusionment with current corruption trends and that although the late President Mwanawasa's government was perceived to be seriously committed to fighting corruption, not much was being achieved. Further the study found that there was a persistent negative perception by most citizens against vital institutions like Zambia Police Service, Road Traffic Commission, Passport Office and Department of National Registration.

According to Chikulo and Sichone, (1997), the major forms of corruption that occurred in the Zambian economy since independence among others are: political corruption, tribalism and nepotism, abuse of office and graft, misuse and abuse of public property, procurement processes, theft and financial mismanagement and looting of commercial banks.

Hope and Chikulo, (1999), wrote that in order to enhance ethical leadership, Zambia under the one party regime had four seemingly important instruments, these were: the Leadership Code, Anti-Corruption Commission, the Ombudsman, known as the Investigation Commission; and the Special Investigation Team on the Economy and

Trade (SITET). However, despite setting up the above institutions, the levels of corruption in Zambia did not decline. Actually, according to TI report of 2005 corruption in Zambia is on the increase. They also stated that in the Fredrick Chiluba's regime corruption became not only widespread but endemic and systemic, especially among cabinet ministers and other government senior officials. The same regime abolished the SITET. The Mwanawasa regime announced the "anti-corruption crusade" and set up an adhoc institution called the Task Force on Corruption in the urge to fight corruption. Despite all these efforts, Zambia still ranked number 11 among the world's most corrupt countries in 2004. (TIZ, 2004)

2.4.0 The World Bank and Anti-corruption Measures

Alolo (2004), in *Fighting Public Sector Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa: Does Gender Matter?*, supports the above findings and stated that in many Sub-Saharan African countries efforts in fighting public sector corruption have occasioned the implementation of several strategies involving legal, political and socio-ethic reforms. Data from many countries show that these reforms have achieved only limited success in alleviating corruption. Africa Confidential, (1996) pointed out that the World Bank and IMF "have started to push for a more robust political agenda with strong attacks on corruption." Hope and Chikulo, (1999) observed that "the subject of corruption has not only been moved to the top of the political agenda but high premium has been placed on combating corruption in governments"

Alolo further stated that the failed anti-corruption approaches prompted a gradual shift towards gender mainstreaming as a sustainable anti-corruption instrument. The World Bank in particular is asking African governments to mainstream gender by increasing women's representation in public life as a precondition for development assistance (World Bank, 2002). The World Bank is imposing such measures based on the few studies put forward that women are less corrupt than men.

In a report on *Political Cleaners: How Women are the New Anti-corruption Force: Does the Evidence Wash?* Goetz (2004) raises concerns about the way the World Bank and other Donors are seeing women's reluctance for dirty dealings as a solution for problems of corruption in politics and public bureaucracies. Goetz argued that women may be demonstrating greater integrity in public life because they are generally excluded from the male-dominated patronage and power networks in political parties and public bureaucracies. Goetz further observed that the policy of having more women in public life may either produce a subset of public actors who are relatively isolated from the areas where really power is practiced; or it may mean that women make their way into these still unchanged power structures and join the male folk into bribe taking. Goetz went on to state that investing in the myth of women's incorruptible nature instead of investigation of the reason why women appear less corrupt than men will delay the institutional reform necessary for a transformation of public institutions in the interests of gender and social equity.

In agreement to Goetz's observations Alatas *et.al* (2006) argued that although there may be other valid reasons for advocating policy measures that promote women involvement, there is need to take precaution in asserting that increased women participation will reduce corruption in all countries because women are not a homogenous group.

2.5.0 Studies on Women and Corruption

Schimmel and Pech , (2004) argue that there is a lot of literature on corruption and that studies have come up with several strategies and measures of combating corruption but these studies have until recently neglected the question of the experiences and perceptions of corruption by men and women and the possible implications for anti-corruption strategies. "It is therefore not surprising that theories pointing to the young relationship of corruption and women's participation have not yet fully evolved. Even the Transparency International Year Book 2000, the most comprehensive literature on fighting corruption through the National Integrity

System has no mention of corruption correlated with gender.”(Limpongog; C the IOIACC workshops)

A World Bank report by Dollar *et al* (1999): *Are Women Really the “Fairer sex”* found a high level of raw correlation between corruption scores and relatively high numbers of women in parliaments (0.38) and found that a one standard deviation increase in levels of women in parliament from the average of 10.9% in its sample will result in a 10% decline in corruption. They found that the influence of women in parliament was large in magnitude, highly significant and strong in controlling corruption. The authors concluded that greater women participation in parliament is likely to lower the corruption levels (Dollar *et al*, 1999). Women may have higher standards of ethical behaviour and be more concerned with the common good; and would be less likely to sacrifice the public welfare for personal material benefits (ibid).

In a study on *Gender and Corruption* Swamy *et al* (2000) found that women are less involved in bribery and are less likely to condone bribe taking. Their finding was based on the three sets of evidence they gathered which support each other and put together made a strong case. Firstly they used the findings of the survey of enterprise owners or managers conducted in Georgia in 1996 on 350 firms of 4 broad categories namely trade, manufacturing, services and agriculture using the World Bank’s diagnostic tools on corruption. Based on the findings of this study they argued that “greater representation of women in government and in market work could improve average outcomes” (Swamy *et al* 2000:21). Swamy *et al* further argued that approximately 5% of firms managed or owned by women submit to bribe giving when coming into contact with a government agency, the percentage more than doubled in firms owned or managed by men, 11%.

The second set of evidence that Swamy *et al* employed was the findings of the World Values Surveys conducted in 18 countries in 1981, and forty-three countries in 1990-91 which found that women have less inclination to bribery. Basing their analysis on the

attitudes towards the acceptability of bribe taking, Swamy *et al* found out that in the data from 1981 the gender differential favoured women in all the 18 countries. In the 1991 surveys in 36 of the 43 countries, the gender differential favoured women and only seven countries had gender differential favouring men. This meant that the gender differential in the attitude to corruption seemed to be more or less a world wide phenomenon (ibid). The surveys also revealed that women were less tolerant of dishonesty and illegal conducts than men. Also, based on the correlation between the Country Risk Guide's Corruption Index and the Transparent International Corruption Perception Index, as the ratio of parliamentary seats held by women increases, corruption falls (ibid).

Thirdly, Swamy *et al* used the evidence they gathered from the study conducted by the University of Maryland which concluded that increased women's involvement more especially in decision making positions and labour leads to more honest government and that indeed a gender differential in tolerance for corruption was probable.

In consolidating this data Swamy *et al* stated that their evidence was consistent with the findings of leading criminologists, like Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), who by using the U.S Department of Justice figures showed that arrests for embezzlement for one hundred thousand white collar workers were higher for men than for women for every age group. Gottfredson and Hirschi also cited a variety of sources and made the case that across age groups, countries and types of crime, the evidence regarding higher male involvement was constant.

Swamy *et al* further cemented this view by citing the findings of the study conducted by the National Academy of Sciences of the United States which reflects the confidence with which the gender differential has been identified in the criminology literature. Concerning gender differential the pattern that comes out consistently was the level to which men participated in serious crimes at any age greatly exceeds that

of females, irrespective of the crime type, level of involvement measure of participation or the source of data (Swamy *et al*, 2000).

In line with the above studies, Nathan Associates, *Gender Analysis* (2003), state that the World Bank's call is receiving attention in that some countries were already implementing the recommendation of putting more women in strategic positions. They cited Mexico as one of such countries and stated that in response to this understanding that women are less prone to corruption, some countries have already acted, for example in Mexico City, only female traffic police officers are allowed to write tickets.

Carascuic (2000) states that the conclusions of the National Study on *Corruption and Quality Governance: The Case of Moldova* were that women's perception of corruption is relatively higher than that of men. This meant that the problem of corruption is perceived to be a more serious one by women than men. The study also revealed that 53 percent of women and 47 percent of men in households and 59.4 percent of women and 40.7 percent of men in business feel angry and humiliated by the effects of corruption; and are unlikely to offer or take bribes. In general more women than men have negative feelings about corruption and are unlikely to engage into bribery.

Roldan (1996), states that in the struggle to combat corruption, the Philippine government formed Integrity Circles (IC) in workplaces. These ICs are peer groups from the same place of work who have publicly committed themselves to live up to the ideals of honesty, simplicity and professionalism. These ICs have endured the change of political administration and have continued to develop corruption preventive measures in their workplaces. According to Arce, (2001) a scrutiny of these ICs revealed that those that were mostly headed or championed by women succeeded in implementing anti-graft projects.

All the studies cited above corroborate the global world view that women are less corrupt than men and that they may have higher ethical standards than men due to their socialization. In support of this notion, Paternoster and Simpson, (1996), suggested that women may be brought up to be more honest and risk averse, or even feel that there is a high chance of their being caught. Also as nurturers of families they are required to practice honesty in order to teach children the correct values and norms. As they are more vulnerable women may feel that laws are there to protect them and are therefore more willing to abide by them. More often than not girls are brought up and taught to have more self-control than boys and are thus more successful in resisting and refraining from criminal behavior. (ibid)

It can therefore be argued that for nations/states to develop there should be high representation of women in the public domain; that is women as parliamentarians, heads of government and other sensitive institutions, and in the non-governmental organizations. Dollar *et al* (1999) argued that women's presence can bring developmental values especially in decision making positions; and that they can impart a very important positive influence on the behavior of their male counterparts by restraining, disciplining and elevating, the latter's behavior.

Although various studies conducted in many countries revealed that women are less corrupt than men as illustrated above, a study by Alolo 2004 on *Fighting Public Sector Corruption in Sub-Saharan Africa: Does Gender Matter?* refutes the assertion. Alolo carried out the research in two of Ghana's most corrupt institutions, namely, the Police Service and the Education Service. The findings of the study were that "women and men are both likely to exhibit similar attitudinal tendencies towards corruption when exposed to opportunities and networks of corruption" (Alolo, 2004). Alolo also found that society has certain expectations which define gender roles for men and women and that these could influence both men and women's stances towards corruption. His findings entail that public sector environments, where opportunities and networks of corruption abound, are greater determinants of attitudes towards

corruption than gender.

The literature cited above contradict each other, in that studies done outside Africa show that the participation of women in public life promotes good governance and it reduces the corruption levels while the study conducted in Ghana, Africa show that there is no difference in attitudes towards corruption between men and women when exposed to opportunities and networks. This study will test these findings by investigating experiences and perceptions of corruption by men and women in Lusaka's Cairo road and whether women are less corrupt than men.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design of the study. It discusses the sources of the data and instruments that were used for data collection. The chapter also outlines the problems that the researcher encountered during data collection.

3.2 Study Design

The study was undertaken between April and June 2007. The research was designed as an exploratory research because it was intended to gain insight into the perceptions and experiences of corruption by women and men. The design was preferred because it provided basic information into the problem of corruption among traders in Lusaka. The design used direct interviews to collect qualitative data and questionnaires to collect quantitative information. According to Brewer and Hunter (1989:187), qualitative approach is helpful in defining the social process by which problems emerge and for suggesting possible interventions to deal with the problem. Patton (1990:14) states that, quantitative approach is helpful in understanding the extent and scope of specific problems, and for defining parameters within which various potential solutions may be debated. In this research qualitative and quantitative approaches were useful in defining the common ways in which corruption occurs; also in understanding its extent and scope; and for suggesting measures of combating it.

3.3 Sampling and Sample Size

The total sample targeted for the study was one hundred.

Questionnaire A (Appendix I) was distributed to eighty persons, (40 females and 40 males). This sample was drawn from people conducting the following businesses along Cairo road in Lusaka: cafeterias, garages, professional institutions (banks, law firms and public institutions like National Pensions Scheme Authority), and trading

shops involved boutiques, clothing, household goods and kitchen ware shops. The study area (Cairo road in Lusaka) was selected due to its diversity in business ventures unlike other roads. For example most Bank outlets, professional institutions, renowned cafeterias, boutiques etc are located along Cairo road. It was also cheaper and easier for the researcher to deal with one road than two or more. The researcher made an effort to select ten females and ten males from each category of business using purposive sampling and convenient sampling.

Faced with the challenges and difficulties associated with self-administered questionnaires, the researcher decided to distribute an extra 20 more questionnaires to 10 females and 10 males. The questionnaire was distributed to 2 females and 3 males in cafeterias, 3 females and 2 males in garages, 3 females and 2 males in professional institutions and 2 females and 3 males in trading shops employing the same purposive sampling and convenient sampling methods. The sample mainly comprised of junior and middle staff because these were easily accessible and available. Most owners/managers of these institutions like garages and banks were too busy to fill in the questionnaire.

The total for questionnaire B (Appendix II) was twenty (ten females and ten males). This sample was drawn from officials in the senior and middle management in the Zambia Police Road Traffic Division (ZPRTD) and Zambia Revenue Authority (ZRA). Using the simple random sampling methods the researcher ensured that the questionnaire was distributed to five females and five males at ZPRTD and ZRA respectively. The respondents were selected using establishment registers from each institution. For ZPRTD the Commanding Officer - Lusaka Road Traffic Division availed the register of police officers in the Traffic Division. Then the names of officers in middle and senior management were numbered and put in two separate boxes. One box contained names for males and another box contained names for females. The numbers in each box though at different times were shuffled and then picked at random. The numbers that were picked were then matched with the names of the

officers. These are the officers to whom the questionnaire was distributed. The same simple random sampling was used for officers at ZRA after the Human Resource and Development Manager facilitated the identification of officers in middle and senior management.

The total sample for interviews was ten (appendix III). The sample was drawn from key informant watchdog institutions namely Transparency International Zambia, Anti-Corruption Commission, Millennium Challenge Account Threshold Project, Task Force on Corruption and Women in Law and Development. One female and one male from each institution was selected using purposive sampling method. Purposive sampling was the best because not all members in the selected institutions are knowledgeable about corruption issues. In this case the researcher ensured that she interviewed people in the rank of executive officers, program coordinators for TIZ, WILDAF and Millennium Challenge Account Threshold Project; and spokesperson for Task Force on Corruption and a senior investigations officer. For ACC one chief investigations officer and one senior investigations officer were interviewed.

3.4 Data Collection

Data was collected using two sets of self - administered questionnaires and one-to-one interviews. Self - administered questionnaire was used because it is the most effective method in reducing social interest bias. The method isolates the researcher effect from the study subjects and it assures anonymity. Interviews were selected because they help in providing detailed insiders' information. The method also provides relatively quick assessment of the study being undertaken. Questionnaire A was distributed to a sample 100 respondents along Lusaka' Cairo road while questionnaire B was distributed to a sample of 20 officials in the two public service institutions under study. Both Questionnaire A and B were used to gather information on women's and men's knowledge of corruption; their participation in corrupt practices and perception of corruption and the prevalence of corruption in Lusaka; and whether it is assumed that women and men are corrupt. Additionally,

Questionnaire B further gathered information on why ZPRTD and ZRA were perceived to be more corrupt public service providing institutions than other government institutions.

The collection of the questionnaires was as follows:- ten females and ten males from professional institutions; ten females and ten males from trading shops; eight females and ten males from cafeterias and eight females and nine males from garages. The following questionnaires were collected from the two public service providing institutions that is, five females and five males, from ZPRTD, four females and five males from ZRA.

Interviews with Transparency international – Zambia, Task Force on Corruption, Anti-Corruption Commission, Millennium Challenge Threshold Project and Women in Law and Development gathered information on the overview of corruption; perceptions and prevalence of corruption.

3.5 Data Analysis

Coding of data was done manually. Quantitative data for frequency tables and charts was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer programme while qualitative data was analyzed thematically.

3.6 Problems Encountered During Fieldwork

The questionnaire response rate was slow and low, with some respondents declining to fill in the questionnaires while others after keeping them for many weeks returned them unfilled in stating that they were out of school many years ago and did not know what to write; while others still stated that they did not have much information about corruption. Since most business owners/managers were busy, they used to refer the researcher to junior personnel; as a result the sample reflects more of employees than the employers.

Most of the women did not answer all the questions while some did not accept to fill

in the questionnaires stating that they were too busy. This delayed the commencement of data analysis and consequently the write up of the results and discussion sections of the thesis. The researcher had difficulties in collecting questionnaires from traders and only managed to collect seventy-five questionnaires, despite adding an extra twenty questionnaires to cushion the anticipated low turn over of the self-administered questionnaires. The other twenty-five were either lost or the respondents could not be found by the researcher in their places of work where they had received the questionnaires.

Limitation of the Study

The study is limited in scope and nature in that results can not be generalized to a larger population of Lusaka because the study only covered a small fraction of Lusaka town. The study was concentrated in some of the business places along Lusaka's Cairo road.

Since bribery is a sensitive and stigmatizing issue, the study was subjected to unavoidable respondent bias. There was also a self-selection bias, that is, people who have something to hide are more likely to decline responding or answering particular questions. However, the researcher managed to gather sufficient information to enable her complete her study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study which are presented in seven sections.

4.2 will deal with the socio-economic status of respondents. 4.3 will discuss the awareness and knowledge of corruption among respondents. 4.4 will deal with perception of corruption. 4.5 will discuss the prevalence of corruption as perceived by respondents.

4.2 Socio-economic Status of Respondents

4.2.1 Age

A total of 48.0% of the respondents were women while 52.0% were men. The research captured people in the age ranges of 20 to 50 years old. Of the total respondents 28.0% were aged 26 - 30; 26.7% were aged 31-35; and 16.0% were aged 36-40. The rest of the respondents were spread in the age groups as shown in table 1 below.

Table 1 Age of Respondents

Age group	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative percentage
20-25	7	9.3	9.3
26-30	21	28.0	37.3
31-35	20	26.7	64.0
36-40	12	16.0	80.0
41-45	3	4.0	84.0
46-50	9	12.0	96.0
51 and above	3	4.0	100.0
Total	75	100.0	

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Ten women which is 27.8% were in the age group 31-35 while more men, thirteen which is 33.3% were in the age group 26-30. There was one male which is 2.6% and six females which is 16.7% in the age group 20-25. In the age group 46-50 there was no female while there were three males which is 7.7%. Table 2 below shows the distribution of age by gender.

Table 2 Respondents' Age by Gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
20-25	Count	6	1	7
	% within sex	16.7%	2.6%	9.3%
26-30	Count	8	13	21
	% within Sex	22.2%	33.3%	28.0%
31-35	Count	10	10	20
	% within sex	27.8%	25.6%	26.7%
36-40	Count	5	7	12
	% within sex	13.9%	17.9%	16.0%
41-45	Count	1	2	3
	% within sex	20.8%	5.1%	4.0%
46-50	Count	6	3	9
	% within sex	16.7%	7.7%	12.0%
51 and above	Count		3	3
	% within sex		7.7%	4.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The study captured younger men 58.9% and women 50.0% in the range of 26 to 35 years old, probably because these are the ones who are mainly employed in the “front line desks.” For instance, in cafeterias, garages, and trading shops, the people in supervisory positions were few hence the study capturing those in the lower ranks who are in the majority. The structures of most of these institutions sampled are pyramidal, whereby a chunk of staff is concentrated at the base. Only a few of the staff are in managerial positions and these were difficult to find and even when found they referred the researcher to their junior staff. The same age group just finished their high school and tertiary education and is joining the workforce; so they find themselves in jobs that may not require much experience as demanded by employers especially for professional jobs.

4.2.2 Education

Almost 99% of the respondents had attained either secondary or tertiary education. 84.0% attained tertiary education while 14.7% attained secondary education, 1.3% attained primary education only. The results meant that the sample for the study was well educated; almost 85% of them had tertiary education. This advantaged the research in that the instrument used to collect data from traders was a self-administered questionnaire which works well with people who are able to read and write. The researcher did not interfere with the respondents in any way. The respondents were free and answered those questions they were able to answer voluntarily to the best of their independent knowledge. Because self-administered questionnaires gives freedom to the respondent to answer questions freely, in this study respondents included self-incriminatory information and this confirms Nkhata, (1997) who stated that self-administered questionnaires have the advantage of enabling a respondent to feel free to answer sensitive questions which could not be answered so freely in the presence of an interviewer.

The level of education attained was cross tabulated with gender. The results showed that 75.0% of the women and 92.3% of the males attended tertiary education (tertiary education here means that the respondents in this category attained college or university level of education) and 25.0% females and 5.1% males attained secondary education. Only 2.7% males attained primary education only. The results are illustrated in table 3 below.

Table 3 Level of Education Attained by Gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Primary	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Secondary	Count	9	2	11
	% within sex	25.0%	5.1%	14.7%
Tertiary	Count	27	36	63
	% within sex	75.0%	92.3%	84.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

This finding shows that although most women in the sample had tertiary education their percentage (75.0) is still far much lower than that of men (92.3).

The level of education attained by respondents was then correlated with age in order to determine whether or not one's age had any influence on their education. The results show that 58.8% of the respondents in the age group 26 and 35 attained tertiary education. All the respondents in the age groups 41-45 and 51 and above attained tertiary education confirming that older people in the sample were in senior positions. In the age group 46-50 there was only one respondent who attained primary education only.

Table: 4 Level of Education Attained by Age

Age		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
20-25	Count		3	4	7
	% within level of education attained		27.3%	6.3%	9.3%
26-30	Count		3	18	21
	% within level of education attained		27.3%	28.6%	28.0%
31-35	Count		1	19	20
	% within level of education attained		9.1%	30.2%	26.7%
36-40	Count		2	10	12
	% within level of education attained		18.2	15.9%	16.0%
41-45	Count			3	3
	% within level of education attained			4.8%	4.0%
46-50	Count	1	2	6	9
	% within level of education attained	100.0%	18.2%	9.5%	12.0%
51 and above	Count			3	3
	% within level of education attained			4.8%	4.0%
Total	Count	1	11	63	75
	% within level of education attained	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

4.2.3 Occupation

41.7% of the females and 51.3% of the males were employed in professional jobs; while 25.0% females and 23.0% males were in administrative and clerical jobs. 13.9% females and 15.4% males were providing services to members of the public. 11.1% females and 7.7% males worked in shops and 8.3% females and 2.6% males did not state their employment status. Table 5 below shows the distribution of occupation by gender.

Table 5 Occupation of Respondents by Gender

		Female	Male	Total
Working in shops	Count	4	3	7
	% within sex	11.1%	7.7%	9.3%
Administrative	Count	6	2	8
	% within sex	16.7%	5.1%	10.7%
Clerical	Count	3	7	10
	% within sex	8.3%	17.9%	13.3%
Professional	Count	15	20	35
	% within sex	41.7%	51.3%	46.7%
Services	Count	5	6	11
	% within sex	13.9%	15.4%	14.7%
Not stated	Count	3	1	4
	% within sex	8.3%	2.6%	5.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

To some extent the results above contrasts the common view that traditionally there are separate jobs for men and women only and those where both genders occupy. In the sample studied there are more men in the jobs traditionally believed to be for women for example, clerical had 17.9% compared to 8.3% women and in services 15.3% males compared to 13.9% females. The common view that traditionally there are separate jobs for men and women was to some extent supported by the administrative category which had 16.7% females and 5.1% males and the professional jobs which had more men (51.3%) than women (41.7%).

4.3 Awareness and Knowledge of Corruption

The creation of awareness of any programme is important in determining whether the programme will be a success or a failure. The Anti-Corruption Commission (government institution) and Transparency International Zambia (non-government institution) the two bodies whose core mandate is to fight corruption are conscious of the need of creating awareness of the anti-corruption campaign. (Interviews with ACC and TIZ)

Interviews at ACC and TIZ revealed that different methods of advertising were used in the bid to disseminate the anti-corruption messages to as many people as possible including those in the rural remote parts of the country. The common methods used were: drama and plays, print and electronic media and Public Discussion Forum. Print media include publications, posters, billboards, brochures, newsletters, essay writing competitions. Electronic media include radio programmes and television interviews with stakeholders including ACC and TIZ staff. The ACC conduct radio programmes in all the seven major local languages and hold monthly public discussion forums in the nine provinces of the country.

To assess respondents' awareness and understanding of corruption and whether the above programmes were meeting the intended audience they were asked to define or describe what corruption meant. 99% of all the respondents claimed that they knew that there was corruption in Zambia and that they knew what was involved in corruption. Only one percent of the responses had missing information on this question. Then respondents defined or described corruption through instances or using incidents which they heard or witnessed or experienced. Some of the responses were as follows:

"A form of paying/ giving gifts/money to another person in favour of a service/ benefit"

"An illegal activity of inducing someone in authority with material things like money to obtain a favour or a benefit"

"Asking for payment in cash or kind in order for one to deliver a service to you"

"Getting things done without following procedure and putting monetary value to the favour"

“Requesting/receiving money from a client in order to provide a public service which ordinarily would be provided for freely”

“Soliciting for, accepting, obtaining, giving, promising or offering of a gratification by way of a bribe or other personal temptation of inducement or misuse or abuse of public office for private gain”

From the answers in the questionnaires it is clear that respondents at least have an idea and some degree of understanding of what corruption means. The results meant that all respondents except one were aware of the existence of corruption and their being able to define or describe corruption through incidents signifies that corruption cases being reported in the media and the anti corruption messages by anti-corruption agencies were reaching the intended audience. The percentage for knowledge of corruption by respondents in this study is higher (99) than the one in the study by Dr. Lemba, (2004) where 80% respondents claimed to understand what corruption meant. (Dr Lemba’s survey focused on a cross – section of Lusaka residents of different socio-economic classes and gender who had virtually all attended school).

Respondents were asked to mention some of the institutions involved in fighting corruption. The study revealed that all the respondents knew that the ACC was one of the institutions that are tasked to spearhead the fight against corruption. Other institutions mentioned were: Zambia Police Service, Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC), Task Force on Corruption, Transparency International Zambia and National Movement against Corruption (NAMAC). The findings above show that respondents in the study are aware of corruption and that the anti-corruption messages are reaching them. The findings also suggest that most of them understand what corruption is.

4.4.0 Perception of Corruption in M/s Justice’s case

To assess perception of corruption, respondents were given a hypothetical question about M/s Justice who was scheduled to attend a ZCCM Annual General Meeting at Mukuba Pension House at 14:00 hours. To beat the time she was driving at one hundred and twenty kilometres per hour, consequently she was caught at the road

speed trap point set by the Road Traffic Police Division for driving above eighty kilometres per hour at ten miles on Lusaka - Ndola road. The fine fee was K276, 000; should she go and pay at Lusaka Central Police? Or should she just pay K100, 000 to the Officers on duty, so that she is not late for the meeting as she was the one scheduled to chair the meeting. 56.0% of the traders said that M/s Justice should go and pay at Lusaka Central Police Station and later go and apologize at the meeting for being late, because if she paid the police officers at the speed trap point the money would not go into the government coffers but into the pockets of the police officers and that this encouraged corruption. In support of this view respondents argued that:

Respondent X: *"She should go and pay the full penalty fee of K276, 000 at Lusaka Central Police Station because paying K100,000 to the police officers on duty will not make her observe traffic rules, hence become a danger and risky both to herself and other road users; even causing fatal accidents"*

Respondent Y: *"She has to pay K276, 000 at Lusaka Central Police Station, it is about morals and upholding the laws and she is guilty of driving above the speed limit"*

Respondent Z: *"She should go and pay K276, 000 at Lusaka Central Police Station because paying K100, 000 to the police officers is encouraging bribery; police officers are employed by government to enforce the law"*

In response to the same question 47.5% of ZRA and ZPRTD officers also said that M/s Justice should go and pay K276, 000 to Lusaka Central Police there and then.

21.7% of the traders said that the police officers should book M/s Justice and that she should go and pay at Lusaka Central Police Station later after the meeting or at least pay within seven days as provided for by the law. This statement was also echoed by 31.7% officers from ZRA and ZPRTD.

While 12.0% of the traders and 5.3% of the officers from ZRA and ZPRTD said that she should pay the police officers to save time and money. Their arguments were as

follows:

Respondent A: *"Just pay the officer K100, 000 any rational mind would go for less fee, why pay more"*

Respondent B: *"Just pay K100, 000 than paying K276, 000 and she will not be late for the meeting and she will save K176, 000"*

Respondent C: *"She should pay K100, 000 instead of being late. The fine of K276, 000 is too high; it must be made affordable so that people are not tempted to pay bribes."*

Respondent D: *"She should pay K100, 000 to save money and time and avoid inconveniences"*

Respondent E: *"She should pay K100, 000 to the police officers to supplement their poor salaries".*

Only a small group of traders to the tune of 1.3% said that she should pay the penalty fee of K276, 000 at Lusaka Central Police Station there and then. They further said that alternatively she should just pay the police officers some money ranging from K20, 000 to K100, 000 and get their names and later report at the police service headquarters or/and ACC. These suggest that they would report them to relevant authorities so that the law would take its course. This group is also concerned about good morals and values.

15.8% of the officers from ZRA and ZPRTD went on to state that M/s Justice should pay there and then or be booked and then pay later or within seven days as provided for by the law.

The results for the first group of traders who stated that M/s justice should go and pay at Lusaka central police there and then imply that just over half of the traders believe that corruption is bad as they prefer that M/s Justice pays the fine for the offence of driving above the speed limit through the normal channel although this normal procedure entails paying more money than one would, if they decided to pay directly to the police officers. From the arguments given by some of these

respondents, it is also clear that this group is well informed of the effects of corruption for they are aware of the fact that the opportunity cost of paying the police officer is much higher. Their concern is the long term effects of corruption as well as the upholding of moral values of the nation rather than the short term benefits of conveniently paying the officer who then would go unpunished for the offence committed against the state.

The second group of traders more or less agrees with their colleagues in the above category except that these respondents are more realistic as they consider both the interest of the nation and that of the individual who has been caught committing a crime. They are awake to the human error's temptation of always looking at a most convenient way of getting out of problems. That is they suggested (felt) that she should not be forced to go and pay at the police station there and then. This group exhibits some knowledge on what the law requires of an individual who has committed a traffic offence. This category of respondents is thus less prone to corruption than the group that wanted M/s Justice to go and pay the fine there and then. They are less prone to corruption because their suggestion is the ideal way for M/s Justice to go and make her payment. Asking her to pay there and then induces pressure and urgency in her; and as such if she does not have the full amount for the penalty fee, she could easily succumb to the temptation of paying a bribe less than the actual amount in order for her not to be late for the meeting.

Traders in the third category felt that the opportunity cost of paying a K100, 000 to the police officers is much less than the hassle of paying K276, 000 at the police station and in addition go late for the meeting. This group would rather just enjoy the absolute advantage of corrupt practices than start worrying about long term benefits/results of their action. Others in this group felt that giving the police officer a K100, 000 would help the poor officers. This implies that they do not seem to be concerned about the good morals and values of society and the common good of the nation. 5.3% of public officers from ZRA and ZPRTD also supported the view that

M/s Justice should just pay K100, 000 to the officers. This could suggest their being supportive of bribery. As much as they were being honest their responses were adding to the rising number of perpetrators of corruption. As government officers they should have been in the forefront to fight corruption and setting out good example for members of the general public to follow.

4.4.1 Perception of Corruption in M/s Justice's case by Gender

Of the traders who stated that she should go and pay at Lusaka Central Police there and then, 66.7% were females while 56.4% were males. Of those who said that the officers at the speed trap point should book her particulars and address or issue her with an invoice so that she go and pay later after the meeting or any time but within seven days as provided for by the law, 23.1% were males while 19.4% were females. Of those who said that M/s Justice should just pay the officers a K100, 000 to save time and money, 15.4% were males and 8.3% were females. Only one respondent (female) stated that M/s Justice should pay the penalty fine of K276, 000 or alternatively bribe the officers then go and report them the Police service Headquarters or/and the ACC. Of those who did not answer the question 5.6% were females and 2.6% were males See table 6 below.

Table 6. Perception of Corruption in M/s Justice's situation by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
M/s Justice should go and pay the fine of K276,000 at Lusaka Central Police there and then	Count % within go and pay there and then	24 66.7%	22 56.4%	46 61.3%
Officers should book M/s Justice or give her an invoice so that she can pay after the meeting or later within seven days	Count % within she should pay after meeting or later but within seven days	7 19.4%	9 23.1%	16 21.3%
M/s Justice should just pay K100,000 to the officers	Count % within she should just pay K100,000 to the officers	3 8.3%	6 15.4%	9 12%
M/s Justice should pay K276,000 or bribe the officers and later report then to Police headquarters	Count % within pay penalty fee or bribe the officers		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
Not answered	Count % within not answered	2 5.6%	1 2.6%	3 4%
TOTAL		36 100%	39 100%	75 100%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The results suggest that men could be a little more corrupt than women because almost twice as many men stated that M/s Justice should just pay K100, 000 to the officers. This is not an official payment where she could be given a receipt. It is actually a bribe or gratification for the officers to let her go free of charge. This situation is one of the indicators of how issues of bribery are being taken and accepted. Bribery issues are taken so lightly that they are slowly becoming acceptable in society.

4.4.2 Perception of Corruption in Mr. Kubosha's Case

Another assessment question was given about a Mr. Kubosha who used to give out money ranging from K50, 000 to K200, 000 to police officers and ZRA officers manning Kafue weigh bridge point without them necessarily asking for it.

Respondents were asked to either agree or disagree that this was corruption. 56.0% of the respondents agreed that Mr. Kubosha's conduct amounted to corruption; 41.4% did not agree that his actions constituted corruption; 1.3% did not know and another 1.3% had missing responses. The responses are shown in table 7 below.

The question on Mr. Kubosha's situation was further analyzed to see how many men and women agreed and disagreed that his conduct amounted to corruption. 55.6% females and 56.4% males agreed and 41.7% females and 41.0% males did not agree. 2.8% females did not know and 2.6% male response had missing information. There is no significant difference between the percentage of women and men agreeing that Mr. Kubosha's conduct is corruption. Equally, there is no big margin between the percentage of women and men stating that it is not corruption. In this case both women and men considered his conduct as corruption. The results are illustrated in table 7 below.

Table 7 Perception of Corruption in Mr. Kubosha' s situation by Gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	Count	10	16	26
	% within Sex	27.8%	41.0%	34.7%
Agree	Count	10	6	16
	% within Sex	27.8%	15.4%	21.3%
Do not Agree	Count	10	13	23
	% within Sex	27.8%	33.3%	30.7%
Strongly do not agree	Count	5	3	8
	% within Sex	13.9%	7.7%	10.7%
Do not know	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	2.8%		1.3%
Not Answered	Count		1	1
	% Within Sex		2.6%	1.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% Within Sex	100%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

In justifying their responses, those traders who agreed that it was corruption argued that it was improper to just give money to a person who has not asked for it, especially with the economic hardships that the country was facing. Also that the

money Mr. Kubosha was giving them was corruption because one day he will be at fault, and that the officers will not charge him according to the law because of the money he has been giving them; they will feel indebted to him. Some of the arguments were as follows:

"He has intentions of corrupting the officers such that their independence of carrying out official duties is compromised."

"He is buying off the officers so that when he is found on the other side of the law, the officers will not charge him."

"He is familiarizing himself or building up a rapport with the officers as a back up for future eventualities."

The other set of traders felt that this was not corruption because there was no asking/solicitation of any thing by the officers from him and that he was not at any fault therefore the money he was giving them was not corruption. Other reasons were;

"The officers do not ask for the money, he offers them, he has a heart of giving."

"He does not commit any offences; he gives out money freely/voluntarily with no intentions of getting a favour from the officers; but merely helping the hungry officers with poor conditions of service."

"The money is just a token of appreciation to what they are doing for the society; it is just a casual gift."

One traders did not agree and stated that; "there is nothing at stake for him to pay officers although it is unethical for officers to receive such gifts as it compromises their duties."

The question on Mr. Kubosha's conduct was also asked to ZRA and ZPRTD officers. 68.4% agreed that he was practicing corruption. The reasons for agreeing were similar to those given by traders. ZRA and ZPRTD officers also maintained that:

"The money he gives to officers corrupts their minds, when he will be found with a case officers will be compromised and fail to do their job."

"ZRA and ZPRTD are too sensitive institutions and one cannot just be giving cash to

unsoliciting officers.”

“The money is meant to soften their hearts in case he finds himself on the other side of the law.”

31.6 percent of the officers did not agree that he was involved into corrupt practices and argued as follows:

“There is nothing wrong in giving someone money as long as it is not for something or as a gratification.”

“It is not corruption because someone has no offence and he gives out the money out of his own will.”

“Giving money or food to officers on duty without them necessarily asking for it is not corruption, unless you commit an offence.”

When the question on Mr Kubosha’s situation was correlated by gender of the ZRA and ZPRTD officers the responses were that more males 80.0% agreed that his conduct was amounting to corruption while barely more than half of the females 55.5% agreed that Mr. Kubosha was practicing corruption. More females 44.4% and few males 20.0% did not agree that his conduct constituted corruption. The finding that more male officials than male traders agreed that his conduct constituted corruption shows that the former understands corruption issues more than male traders. This finding is in contrast with that of the responses for females and males in the questionnaire for respondents along Cairo road (traders) where there is virtually no big margin between the two genders. The finding for public officials suggests that men in the public service understand corruption more than women in the same sector. The statistical results of this finding are presented in table 8 below.

Table 8 Public officials' Perception of Corruption in Mr. Kubosha's situation by Gender,

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Strongly agree	Count	2	5	7
	% within sex	22.2%	50.0%	36.8%
Agree	Count	3	3	6
	% within sex	33.3%	30.0%	31.6%
Do not agree	Count	4	1	5
	% within sex	44.4%	10.0%	26.3%
Strongly do not agree	Count		1	1
	% within sex		10.0%	5.3%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within sex	100.0%	100%	100.0

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

From the above results, it is evident that there is still an ongoing debate on the difference between a corrupt act and an act of appreciation. This is shown by the narrow percentage difference between the respondents who agreed that Mr. Kubosha's action constituted corruption and those that disagreed. The difference is too narrow for a group of respondents with 99% awareness of corruption. Even after factoring in gender, there was no significant variation in the percentages in terms of perception among traders. However, the results for officers from ZRA and ZPRTD showed a significant difference between those who agreed and those who did not agree that Mr. Kubosha's conduct constituted corruption. So traders and public officials under study did not understand corruption in this scenario in similar ways.

The findings also suggest that respondents understand and are able to identify corruption when it occurred in the past or when it is occurring; but they are not able to identify intent with corruption. The scenario above is an illustration of some people's capabilities to manipulate the law and law enforcement officers. This revelation shows that the anti-corruption fight has gaps and defects in that people are not fully knowledgeable about what constitutes corruption and the many facets of the vice, although almost all the respondents demonstrated that they understood what corruption meant. It also shows that respondents are not readily able to detect

manipulative corruption like the one in the scene.

4.4.3 Perception of Corruption in Mr. Given Pasindwa's Case

To further assess the variations in perceptions respondents were given another scenario about Given Pasindwa a tax officer at Livingstone border Customs Office, who reduces taxes for female traders and car dealers as he feels that their tax code is too high, in return he receives generous gifts from them. Respondents were asked to either agree or disagree that this was corruption. 93.4% agreed that Mr. Pasindwa's action constituted corruption, only 2.7% disagreed that his behaviour amounted to corruption and another 2.7% did not know whether his action entailed corruption or not and 1.3% had missing information. Table 9 below shows the percentage distribution of these responses.

The analysis of respondents' justification for agreeing that it was corruption revealed that Mr. Pasindwa was reducing taxes based on the expectation that traders and car dealers would reward him through generous gifts and presents. Also that he was using his official position of trust for dishonest gain which was abuse of authority of office. Mr. Pasindwa was perceived as not enforcing the law, but receiving generous gifts, which was gratification from the traders and car dealers. Still among those who agreed that his action was corrupt, some felt that he was replacing or changing the tax regulations which he deemed to be high. Still other respondents contended that law is prescribed by the tax authorities and that Mr. Pasindwa was only supposed to enforce the law the way it is and not to alter it. Other respondents felt that he was robbing government or converting taxes into gifts for personal gain hence he was guilty of a misdemeanor whilst benefiting from illegal procedures.

"Gifts should not be incidental to services offered; they should be worthless, not frequent"

"Although traders do not ask for favours from Mr. Pasindwa the act of reducing taxes and receiving gifts in return is bribery for the reduction"

"Reducing taxes is an offence if he was just helping them because taxes are too high he would not have been accepting generous gifts"

In order to see whether gender had any influence on one's perception of corruption the question on Mr. Pasindwa was cross tabulated with gender and the results showed that there is only a narrow difference in perception of corruption between women and men. 91% females and 94.8% males agreed that Mr. Pasindwa was committing a corrupt offence by reducing taxes for traders and car dealers. This is supporting the previous finding where 55.6% females and 56.4 % males agreed that Mr. Kubosha was bribing the officers by giving them money ranging from K50, 000 to K200, 000 without them necessarily asking for it. Both women and men perceive corruption in a similar way.

Table 9 Perception of corruption in Mr. Pasindwa's situation by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	Count	23	27	50
	% within Sex	63.9%	69.2%	66.7%
Agree	Count	10	10	20
	% within Sex	27.8%	25.6%	26.7%
Do not agree	Count	1	1	2
	% within Sex	2.8%	2.6%	2.7%
Do not know	Count	2		2
	% within Sex	5.6%		2.7%
Not answered	Count		1	1
	% within Sex		2.6%	1.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

4.4.4 Perception of Corruption in Mr. Pasindwa's case by ZRA and ZPRTD Officers

The question on Mr. Pasindwa was also asked to officers from ZRA and ZPRTD. 94.7 % agreed that his activity of reducing taxes for traders and car dealers was corruption. Some of the justifications of agreeing that he is being corrupt were that: *"His role is to implement what the law requires whether the tax code applicable is low or high"*. *"He is supposed to issue receipts as per tax code not to reduce taxes for the traders"*.

Only a minute percentage of 5.3 disagreed that he was involved into corrupt practices. The same question on Mr Pasindwa's case of reducing taxes for traders and car dealers was cross-tabulated with the gender of officers from ZPRTD and ZRA. The results were that all the males which is 100.0% and 88.9% females agreed that his conduct constituted corruption. 11.1% females said that they did not know whether his conduct amounted to corruption or not. The higher percentage of males who stated that Mr. Pasindwa's conduct amounted to corruption reinforces the previous finding and is testimony that men in the public sector have a slightly better understanding of corruption issues than women in the same sector. This shows that they know the components of corruption. Although the sample under study was small, the results to some extent suggest that men could have had more and varied encounters or experiences of corruption than women. The encounters could have been as a result of them being involved in the fight against corruption or their being involved as victims or perpetrators the vice. These results are illustrated in table 10 below.

Table 10 Public officials' Perception of corruption in Mr. Given Pasindwa's situation by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	Count	5	8	13
	% within Sex	55.6%	80.0%	68.4%
Agree	Count	3	2	5
	% within Sex	33.3%	20.0%	26.3%
Do not know	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	11.1%		5.3%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Those respondents who disagreed that Mr. Pasindwa's conduct amounted to corruption based their argument on the fact that there was no solicitation of the said gifts from the traders by him; but that the traders gave the gifts to him freely/voluntarily. Also that Mr. Pasindwa was reducing taxes and receiving gifts from traders to supplement his low salary.

Almost 94 percent respondents were able to tell that Mr. Pasindwa's conduct was tantamount to corruption because it occurred almost instantaneously; he reduces taxes for the traders and car dealers and they give him gifts. Although he would not directly solicit for the gifts from the traders, the latter rewarded him for the service of reducing their tax code. This group of traders and car dealers are in the category of people who give out bribes based on expectation and past experience. Actually, Mr. Pasindwa and Mr. Kubosha's scenes are pure cases of corruption in expectation. The former expects to receive gifts after reducing taxes while the latter expects not to be charged when he commits an offence in future.

4.4.5 Conclusion on Perception of Corruption by Gender

From the foregone it can be concluded that the majority of both women and men understand issues of corruption. They demonstrated this by giving their opinion of whether or not the people in the scenarios given were involved in corrupt practices. Respondents also gave their reasons as to why they either agreed or disagreed that the conduct of the people in the scenarios was corruption or not. However, regarding the perception of corruption by public officials by gender; men exhibited more and better understanding of corruption issues than women. Men have appeared to be a little more supportive of bribery and this suggests that they could be a little more corrupt than women.

4.4.6 Experiences of Bribery by Public Officials

In order to get the insider's point of view, ZRA and ZPRTD officers were asked as to whether anyone bribed them in the last twelve months. 78.9% agreed that someone bribed them in the last twelve months prior to the research. 15.8% said that no one bribed them in the said period and 5.3% had missing information. The confession from almost 80% of ZRA and ZPRTD officers goes to show how serious, tolerated and acceptable the corruption situation is in the public service. The study only dealt with a small number of public officials, but the result conforms to the general pronouncements that corruption is rampant in the public service with ZPRTD among

others topping the list. The finding proves to some extent the perception that ZPRTD and ZRA are some of the corrupt public service providing institution. (Refer to page 77). Table 12 below shows the distribution of responses.

When the question on whether any one has bribed ZRA and ZPRTD officers was correlated with gender the results showed that there was a narrow difference in the percent of females 77.8% and 80.0% males who responded that yes someone bribed them in the last twelve months prior to the research. More males 20.0% and slightly fewer females 11.1% denied that anyone bribed them in the same period as above. 11.1% did not answer the question. The narrow difference in the percentage of females and males who were bribed in the last twelve months prior to the research shows that corrupt practices prevail both among females and males. Both genders are not immune to bribery, they are affected by corruption; the bribers do not choose who to bribe be it male or female. It is up to a given individual to resist or accept the bribe.

Table 11 Has anyone bribed you? By gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Yes	Count	7	8	15
	% within Sex	77.8%	80.0%	78.9%
No	Count	1	2	3
	% within Sex	11.1%	20.0%	15.8%
Not answered	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	11.1%		5.3%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

4.4.7 Perception of bribery in the ZRA and ZPRTD by officers from the same institutions

ZPRTD and ZRA officers were then asked to either agree or disagree with the statement which said that "there was a perception that there are higher levels of corruption in the ZPRTD and ZRA compared to other government departments. The responses were that 80.0% of the males and 66.7% of the females did not agree with the general perception that there are high levels of corruption in the ZPRTD and the

ZRA. 33.3% females and 20.0% males agreed with the general perception. A higher percentage of females agreed and were honest enough to state that there are high levels of corruption in ZRA and ZPRTD despite their working for these institutions. More men than women did not agree to the general perception that corruption levels are high in their places of work. To some extent the finding here reinforces the common understanding where women are more honest. Although the difference between the genders is only 13.3% the researcher is of the view that men did not state the truth by disagreeing because they too work in these institutions and they know and see what goes on in the execution of duties. Besides going by the findings above men in the sample under study have demonstrated to be more knowledgeable about corruption issues than women. The responses are illustrated in table 12 below.

Table 12 Perception of high levels of corruption in ZRA and ZPRTD than other government departments

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Strongly Agree	Count	3	1	4
	% within Sex	33.3%	10.0%	21.1%
Agree	Count		1	1
	% within Sex		10.0%	5.3%
Do not agree	Count	5	6	11
	% within Sex	55.6%	60.0%	57.9%
Strongly do not agree	Count	1	2	3
	% within Sex	11.1%	20.0%	15.8%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The officers from the two public service providing institutions were also asked to give reasons why they agreed or disagreed that there were high corruption levels in ZRA and ZPRTD. The analysis of their justification revealed that 53.8% females and 46.2% males stated that ZRA and ZPRTD were perceived to be highly corrupt because these two institutions were in regular and direct contact with members of the public through the collection of government revenue and ensuring that road traffic regulations are maintained and adhered to. Other responses in support of this were that:-

"Corruption is everywhere; the two institutions seem to lead because they deal with the common man, while other departments deal with high profile people who cover their corrupt practices."

"It is true because these are the departments that deal with cases concerning money on a daily basis."

"ZPRTD and ZRA's corruption is more out in the open than it is with other government departments."

"ZPRTD and ZRA are in constant contact with people who have to meet certain obligations hence always being exposed to corruption compared to other government departments."

One male officer argued the perception that ZPRTD and ZRA were more corrupt than other government department was based on the auditor-general's reports which appear in the media. Another male officer denied this and stated that the information in the media did not say that ZPRTD and ZRA were more corrupt than other government departments. Yet another male officer stated that the perception that they were more corrupt was wrong because *"drivers are the ones who are corrupt, instead of paying the full amount of money they solicit for a reduction."* Lastly, one female officer and one male officer stated that they were perceived to be more corrupt than other government departments because *"their working conditions were pathetic, the economy was poor and poor salaries above anything else, so officers engaged into corrupt activities to make ends meet."*

From the responses given as justifications/reasons for their institutions being more corrupt than other government institutions it is clear that most officers are aware that ZRA and ZPRTD officers are perceived to be more corrupt than other government departments; although ironically most of them 73.6% stated that they did not agree with the general perception that they were more corrupt than other public officers. Further analysis of the justification for not agreeing revealed that actually they are aware and acknowledge the fact that their institutions are viewed as being more corrupt than other government institutions. The reasons they gave in justification confirms that the officers themselves know that they ask or receive more bribes than

other public workers because they are in regular contact with people and that it is the members of the general public who entice them and bribe them. In fact majority of them accepted bribes. To the researcher this meant acceptance of being corrupt on the part of ZRA and ZPRTD officers except they felt they were not to be blamed for the situation they find themselves in.

4.5.0 PERCEPTION OF PREVALENCE OF CORRUPTION

4.5.1 Watchdog Institutions

Interviews with watchdog institutions revealed that corruption was a widespread problem and that in President Chiluba's government (1991-2001) it was becoming endemic, public services were difficult to get. According to Mr. X of the Task Force on Corruption "corruption was more or less the way of life. It was almost acceptable." Mr. X went on to state that the situation was like this because corruption started from the top government officials; that is the head of the state downwards to the legislators. This assertion was in line with the finding of the questionnaire for traders, where 28.0% stated that public officials demanded and accepted bribes because they follow what their superiors do and that corruption has become acceptable in Zambia. M/s. Y of TFC stated that, "corruption was a complex crime which if left unchecked could ruin Zambia." In a separate interview M/s. Z of WILDAF observed that corruption existed in all levels of society and that the grassroots are badly hit, because it takes place among and between people of the same levels as long as one is assured, promised or given a service. She went on to state that corruption was rampant in the public service. This finding supports Chikulo and Sichone, (1996a), and Mauro, (1997) who stated that in the President Chiluba's government corruption became more or less the way of life; the normal way of conducting business in the public service.

Mr. Chushi from WILDAF gladly noted that President Mwanawasa's government came out in the open, and announced the 'zero tolerance' on corruption in Zambia and publicly condemned corruption and all its vices. He said that the government of President Mwanawasa further set up the Task Force on Corruption to investigate

cases of plunder of national resources during the last regime of President Chiluba. Mr. X reinforced Mr. Chushi's statement by stating that the mandate of the TFC was to "attack corruption from the top, to investigate and make accountable those people with influence in society, so that people down the hierarchy will know that corruption is bad and that its consequences do not choose." Mr. X further stated that the focus of the TFC was to investigate high profile cases of corruption. For once the ACC was given teeth to bite. In agreement; Mr Mailo of TIZ said that people were now aware about corruption and that they are able to single out corrupt institutions like the traffic section of the Zambia Police Service, ZRA - clearing of motor vehicles and other goods, the Passport and Citizens Office and the Road Traffic and Safety Agency.

According to four male and two female interviewees, in Zambia, corruption exists at three different levels, petty corruption, grand corruption and electoral corruption.

They said that petty corruption is the every day corruption that takes place at the implementation end of government, where the public officials meet the members of the public. It is the most visible and widespread type of corruption. It is rampant at the grassroots where monitoring is absent.

They observed that petty corruption is rampant both in the private and public sectors of our economy. Their argument for this was based on the common view that the public sector was more corrupt than the private sector. They maintained that the public sector is deemed to be more corrupt because it is "bigger" and a more noticeable sector than the private sector; also that it is the "driving body of the economy" and that most of the transactions in the public sector are open to public scrutiny of checks and balances. On the other hand the private sector is closed up and that it takes the swindled or grieved or disgruntled to come out in the open and report corruption cases. Issues or transactions in the private sector are done in privacy and "nobody" would bother about them especially where both parties to the transactions are satisfied with the deal.

4.5.2 Perception of Prevalence of Corruption by Traders

The finding of the questionnaire for traders too showed that there was high prevalence of corruption in Lusaka's Cairo road. This was revealed after respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they were asked for bribes but refused to give a bribe to either ZPRTD or ZRA officers. 46.7% of the traders stated that they either refused once or twice to give a bribe to ZPRTD in the last twelve months prior to the study. 53.8 % of the females and 41.0% of the male refused to give bribes to ZPRTD officers. 43.6% of the males and 38.9% of the females indicated that the question was not applicable; while 15.4% of the males and 8.3% of the females did not answer the question. These findings are also present in table 13 below.

Table 13 Respondents' number of times they refused to give bribes to ZPRTD officers by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Once	Count	10	10	20
	% within Sex	27.8%	25.6%	26.7%
Twice	Count	9	6	15
	%within Sex	25.0%	15.4%	20.0%
Not Applicable	Count	14	17	31
	%within Sex	38.9%	43.6%	41.3%
Not Answered	Count	3	6	9
	%within Sex	8.3%	15.4%	12.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	%within Sex	100%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

When traders were asked the same question except this time in regard to ZRA, the results were the same as for ZPRTD. Coincidentally, 46.7% of the respondents stated that they either refused once or twice to give a bribe to ZRA in the last twelve months prior to the study. 52.8% of the females and 41.1% of the males refused to give bribes to ZRA officers. 43.6% males and 38.9% females indicated that the question was not applicable; while 15.4% males and 8.3% females did not answer the question.

Table 14 Respondents' number of times they refused to give bribes to ZRA officers by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Once	Count	10	10	20
	% within Sex	27.8%	25.6%	26.7%
Twice	Count	9	6	15
	% within Sex	25.0%	15.4%	20.0%
Not Applicable	Count	14	17	31
	% within Sex	38.9%	43.6%	41.3%
Not Answered	Count	3	6	9
	% within Sex	8.3%	15.4%	12.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The results for those who declined to bribe officers from ZPRTD and ZRA are basically the same. This in a way shows people's attitude towards the issue of corruption; besides these were the same people asked to comment on the said two public institutions. However the researcher is of the opinion that respondents did not give a true reflection of the number of times they refused to give a bribe to either ZPRTD or ZRA; because it is unlikely that there could be an exact number of times refused to give bribes to officers in these institutions considering that the dates and periods could have been different. In reality there could have been more cases of refusing to give a bribe to one institution than the other.

Then respondents were asked as to whether they give out bribes in order for public officers to provide them with service(s). 33.3% males and 11.1% females said they give out bribes sometimes. 77.8% females and 61.5% stated that they never give out bribes; and 5.6% females and 2.6% males said that they could not disclose while another 5.6% females and 2.6% males said that the question was not applicable. Although those who took bribes are in a minority, the admittance that they do give bribes is enough to confirm the existence and prevalence of corruption. It is also possible that those who did not answer this question may have given out bribes even once but did not want to state so. The not answering the question reinforces the difficulties associated with



corruption studies. This supports the observation made by TIZ (2005), and Alolo (2004) who stated that it was difficult to conduct corruption studies as corruption was self reporting by either the victim or the perpetrator. So if one has something to hide they may just keep quiet and not say anything. In this case they did not answer the question. Below is table 15 to show the results statistically.

Table 15 Do you give bribes to public officers in order to get services by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Sometimes	Count	4	13	17
	% within Sex	11.1%	33.3%	22.7%
Never	Count	28	24	52
	% within Sex	77.8%	61.5%	69.3%
Can not disclose	Count	2	1	3
	% within Sex	5.6%	2.6%	4.0%
Not applicable	Count	2	1	3
	% within Sex	5.6%	2.6%	4.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

More males (33.3%) than females (11.1%) indicated that they sometimes pay bribes to get services. The fact that more males stated that they sometimes pay bribes to get services reinforces the above findings where more men have been seen to be in support of corrupt activities than women. This is evidenced by the lower percent of males who indicated that they never give out bribes. However the difference between females (77.8%) and males (61.5%) who never pay bribes is small. This suggests that men are to some degree more corrupt than women. Even after adding the percentage of women who said that they could not disclose (as to whether they give bribes to public officers or not) to the percentage of women who said that they sometimes do give bribes to public officers; the total percentage of women is lower than that of men who said that they sometime give out bribes.

In order to test respondents' stance on the question above where they were asked as to whether they give bribes to public officers in order to get service(s); they were asked to state why they paid bribes to public officers. To answer this question they were expected to tick only one response from a list of choices. The choices were as follows: in order to get a service at all; to facilitate the receipt of a service; to reduce the cost of obtaining the service; to avoid the law. 11.1% females and 5.1% males said they paid bribes in order to get a service at all. 7.7% males and 5.6% said to facilitate the receipt of a service. 8.3% females and 7.7% males said to reduce the cost of obtaining the service. 12.8% males and 2.8% said to simply avoid the law. 52.8% females and 43.6% males said the question was not applicable to them. 23.1% males and 19.4% females did not answer the question. A closer look at the figures revealed that actually there is a small difference between men (33.3%) and females (27.8%) who acknowledged paying out bribes to public officers in the last twelve months prior to the research.

Table 16 Why do you think you paid out a bribe? by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
In order to get a service at all	Count	4	2	6
	% within Sex	11.1%	5.1%	8.0%
To facilitate the receipt of a service	Count	2	3	5
	% within Sex	5.6%	7.7%	6.7%
To reduce my cost of obtaining the service	Count	3	3	6
	% within Sex	8.3%	7.7%	8.0%
To avoid the law	Count	1	5	6
	% within Sex	2.8%	12.8%	8.0%
Not applicable	Count	19	17	36
	% within Sex	52.8%	43.6%	48.0%
Not answered	Count	7	9	16
	% within sex	19.4%	23.1%	21.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The results show that petty corruption is almost an everyday event and the figures of where members of the public are approached or asked for bribes by public officials are testimony to the high levels of corruption in Lusaka. As much as corruption is a very sensitive issue the study still scored 30.6% respondents stating that they gave out *bribes to public officers for them to get services or to simply avoid the law*. More males (12.8%) than females (2.8%) indicated that they pay out bribes to public officers just to avoid the law. This is in contrast with the higher percentage (11.1) of females who indicated that they pay bribes to public officers get services at all. Although respondents did not indicate the kind of services they get which could be education or health; men simply indicated that they pay bribes to avoid the law. The difference in areas of bribery could suggest that men do not mind breaking the law while women engage into bribery to get services needed for their families.

The researcher is of the view that indeed members of the public pay out bribes because some of the public service processes and procedures are too bureaucratic, slow and tedious making members of the public to pay something to public service officers in order for them to receive quick services at all; which ordinarily would have been provided for free. However, some people would just want to avoid the red tape and get services quickly.

4.5.3 Respondents' Actions after Refusing to Give out Bribes to Public Officers

Respondents were then asked as to what they did after they refused to give out bribes to either ZPRTD or ZRA. 41.0% of the males and 36.1% females said the question was not applicable to them, 20.5% males and 16.7% females did not answer the question, 27.8% females and 20.5% males said they complained to others, 16.7% females and 12.8% males said they just kept quiet while 5.1% males and 2.8% females said they reported to authorities. The answers to this question give a true picture of what people do when faced with cases of corruption. Most people find it much easier to just complain to others without taking matters to relevant authorities as they earlier on indicated that they knew the institutions tasked to fight corruption.

Table 17 Action taken by respondents' after refusing to give a bribe by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Report to authorities	Count	1	2	3
	% within Sex	2.8%	5.1%	4.0%
Complained to others	Count	10	8	18
	% within Sex	27.8%	20.5%	24.0%
Kept quiet	Count	6	5	11
	% within Sex	16.7%	12.8%	14.7%
Not applicable	Count	13	16	29
	% within Sex	36.1%	41.0%	38.7%
Not answered	Count	6	8	14
	% within sex	16.7%	20.5%	18.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Although more men than women indicated that they reported to anti-corruption agencies after refusing to give out bribes to public officers; many of them either did not answer the question or stated that the question was not applicable. Fewer men than women complained to others or just kept quiet after refusing to give out bribes to public officers. Although the percentage for women who complained to others or just kept quiet after encountering solicitation of bribes is not too high it could still suggest that maybe they did not see the need of reporting their encounters to anti-corruption agencies since they did not give any bribes to public officers.

4.5.4 Respondents' Action after Giving out Bribes to Public Officers

Respondents were also asked to state what they did after giving out bribes to public officers (if at all they gave), 61.1% females and 48.7% males said the question was not applicable to them, 20.5% males and 13.9% females did not answer the question, 20.5% males and 16.7% females said they complained to others, 10.3% males and 5.6% females said they just kept quiet and 2.8% females and none of the males that bribed reported to authorities. An analysis of the results here and those for respondents who said they sometimes give bribes to public officers in order for them to get services revealed that the percentages do not correspond in that 25.1% females and 30.8%

males either reported to authorities or complained to others or kept quiet after giving out bribes to public officers; compared to 33.3% males and 11.1% females who stated earlier on that they sometimes give bribes to public officers in order for them to get services. The percentage for those who said that they sometimes give out bribes to public officers in order to get services is slightly higher than those who said that after encountering cases of corruption they reported to anti-corruption agencies. This point shows that some respondents engage into bribe giving but do not report the incidences to anti-corruption agencies. The lower percentage of women who said that they sometimes give out bribes in order to get services could also suggest that women are too ashamed to admit or they have lesser encounters of corruption activities than men.

Table 18 Action taken by respondents' after giving out a bribe by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Report to authorities	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	2.8%		1.3%
Complained to others	Count	6	8	14
	% within	16.7%	20.5%	18.7%
Kept quiet	Count	2	4	6
	% within Sex	5.6%	10.3%	8.0%
Not applicable	Count	22	19	41
	% within Sex	61.1%	48.7%	54.7%
Not answered	Count	5	8	13
	% within	13.9%	20.5%	17.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The finding for corruption cases not being reported to relevant authorities give a lot of homework to anti-corruption agencies and the entire country. The results suggest that members of the public who fall prey to corrupt practices prefer complaining about their ordeals to people like relatives, friends, workmates etc. Others just keep quiet without taking any action probably because they are satisfied customers or they have other reasons for being silent. Only a minute percentage (4.0) both men and women said that after encountering the cases of corruption they reported to relevant

authorities. As pointed out earlier on that corruption is self reporting, these respondents here went and reported their own corrupt activities probably they were not satisfied with the outcome of the transactions. Currently the law in Zambia treats the person(s) who go to report to Anti-Corruption Agencies as witnesses and not accomplices.

To reinforce the point above the findings for respondents who stated that they refused to give bribes and those who stated that they gave out bribes to public officers were compared and the results revealed that more respondents (4.0%) reported cases of corrupt solicitation after refusing to give out bribes than after giving out bribes (1.3%). Also that more respondents (24.0%) complained to others after refusing to give out bribes than after giving out bribes to public officers (18.7%). More respondents (14.7) kept quiet after refusing to give out bribes than those respondents who kept quiet after giving out bribes to public officers (8.0%). More respondents (54.7%) stated that the question was not applicable compared to (38.7%) in the same category.

Respondents were asked to give reasons as to why they did not report cases of being asked for a bribe to authorities but just complained to others or kept quiet. To answer this question respondents were given eight options and were expected to tick only one response they thought was most appropriate. 25.0% females and 23.1% males said they did not report cases of corruption due to the fear of personal inconveniences. 19.4% females and 12.8% males said due to ignorance of procedures and where to report. 13.9% females and 12.8% males said due to fear of being turned into witness. 13.9% females and 10.3% males said due to lack of confidence in the anti-corruption system. 10.3% males and 8.3% females said due to fear of victimization by corrupt people. 10.3% males and 5.6% females said that they did not report corruption due to supporting corruption as a way to survive. 5.6% females and 5.1% males said due to being related to those involved in bribery. 2.6% males said that due to lack of money to go and report or use reporting facilities. Table 19 below is the distribution of the reasons given by gender.

Table 19 Reasons why people do not report cases of corruption by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Being related to those involved in bribe giving.	Count	2	2	4
	% within Sex	5.6%	5.1%	5.3%
Lack of money to go and report or reporting facilities.	Count		1	1
	% within Sex		2.6%	1.3%
Fear of personal inconveniences	Count	9	9	18
	% within Sex	25.0%	23.1%	24.0%
Ignorance of procedures and where to report to.	Count	7	5	12
	% within Sex	19.4%	12.8%	16.0%
Lack of confidence in the Anti-Corruption systems (Agencies)	Count	5	4	9
	% within Sex	13.9%	10.3%	12.0%
Fear of being turned into a witness	Count	5	5	10
	% within Sex	13.9%	12.8%	13.3%
Support for corruption as he only way to survive	Count	2	4	6
	% within Sex	5.6%	10.3%	8.0%
Fear of victimization by Corrupt people.	Count	3	4	7
	% within Sex	8.3%	10.3%	9.3%
Not answered	Count	3	5	8
	% within Sex	8.3%	12.8%	10.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

One of the main reasons given for not reporting corruption was fear of personal inconveniences. This implies that people are too busy to report cases of corruption or they view it as a waste of time. Victims of corruption prefer finding solutions to problems there and then at the expense of the public good. The second reason was ignorance of procedures and where to report corruption. There problem of ignorance of procedures extends even to issues of obtaining public services. Genuinely there are people who do not know the correct procedures for them to obtain certain services from public service institutions like National Registration Card Office, the Road Traffic and Safety Agency, the Zambia Police Service, Immigration Department, ZRA etc. Such people are likely to pay money even for services that should be obtained for free.

Reason number three was fear of being turned into a witness. Like any other criminal offence corruption cases require that the person(s) taking the matter before the courts of law for trial proves their case beyond any reasonable doubt. To achieve this, the prosecutions team need to have real (first hand) evidence from witnesses. These witnesses should be willing to testify against the offenders, now if they are not willing to give testimonies then this disadvantages the anti-corruption fight. However, if the potential witness(s) are not in a position to testify against the offenders before the courts of law; they could still report such cases to the anti-corruption agencies and opt to remain anonymous as provided for by the law. This would help in capturing the incidences of corruption and at times such cases end up before the courts of law and convictions have been secured.

The other reason advanced was the lack of confidence in the anti-corruption systems (agencies). Often times the press has reported people's dissatisfaction with the operations of the anti-corruption agencies stating that they were not performing according to the general public's expectations. Sunday Times of July 8, 2007 stated that, usually the main complaint is that investigations take too long to be disposed off. In line with the Sunday Times, Mr. Mailo of TIZ stated that often times the anti-corruption agencies were not meeting people's expectations due to the low quality type of evidence presented before the courts of law, low conviction rates, high rate of suspended sentences given to offenders found guilty by the courts of law, sentences given by the courts of law are not punitive enough to deter the would be offenders from engaging into the vice.

Fear of victimization by corrupt people was another reason for people not reporting cases of corruption. It is unfortunate that the current legislation does not provide any security or protection to those reporting corruption cases (whistleblower). It is true some whistleblowers have either lost their jobs or have been transferred to rural areas or have simply been demoted to very junior positions just to frustrate them. For instance former Commissioner for Drug Enforcement Commission Ryan Chitoba

wrote letters to either transfer or demote or fire those officers whom he suspected to be the ones who reported him to the ACC (Times of Zambia, July 30, 2007). Equally the anti-corruption agencies cannot do anything to protect such people from victimization because there is no legislation that protects whistleblowers. This instills fear in most people who may have real evidence of corruption. When this answer was correlated with gender the result was that 10.3 % men and 8.3 women indicated that they do not report cases of corruption for fear of victimization by corrupt people. Being related to those involved in bribe giving and support for corruption as the only way to survive were other reasons given for people not reporting corrupt practices.

Another reason why people do not report cases of corruption is that usually members of the general public are accomplices to the cases of bribery with public officials. To every corrupt public official(s) there is a corrupt member(s) of the public involved.

The finding on the main reason why people do not report cases of corruption were further analyzed by factoring in gender to see which gender reported cases of corruption more often than the other. The results showed that there was no big difference in reporting of cases of corruption to anti-corruption agencies between men and women. Both genders have not yet realized the importance of reporting corruption cases.

When officers from ZPRTD and ZRA were asked the same question as to why people do not report cases of corruption to relevant authorities, 33.3% females and 20.0% males indicated lack of confidence in the anti-corruption systems, 22.2% females and 10.0% males indicated fear of personal inconveniences and fear of being turned into witness, 30.0% males indicated being related to those involved into corrupt activities; 20.0% males and 11.1% females indicated ignorance of procedures on how to get certain services and where to report cases of corruption. 11.1% females did not answer the question while 10.0% males indicated that people did not report cases of corruption because support for corruption was the only way to survive.

Table 20 ZRA and ZPRTD officers' opinion as to why people do not report cases of corruption by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Being related to those involved In bribe giving.	Count % within Sex		3 30.0%	3 15.8%
Fear of personal inconveniences	Count % within Sex	2 22.2%	1 10.0%	3 15.8%
Ignorance of procedures and where to report to.	Count % within Sex	1 11.1%	2 20.0%	3 15.8%
Lack of confidence in the Anti-Corruption systems (Agencies)	Count % within Sex	3 33.3%	2 20.0%	5 26.3%
Fear of being turned into a witness	Count % within Sex	2 22.2%	1 10.0%	3 15.8%
Support for corruption as he only way to survive	Count % within Sex		1 10.0%	1 5.3%
Not answered	Count % within Sex	1 11.1%		1 5.3%
Total	Count % within Sex	9 100.0%	10 100.0%	19 100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

A closer look at the ranking by public officials revealed that they opted for lack of confidence in the anti corruption system as the main reason why people do not report cases of corruption. The other reasons advanced were almost the same in percentage of both male and female. Although the sample used in this study is very small for the results to be generalized the researcher is of the view that what public officials ticked as reason number one as to why people did not report corruption case is valid. They said that people did not report cases of corruption due to lack of confidence in the anti-corruption systems. This view was echoed by President Mwanawasa when he stated that the ACC was not performing according to the expectations of the Zambian people. Also that they were taking too long to conclude their investigations, their prosecutions and later on disposing off cases that are before the courts of law.

4.5.5 Respondents' Encounters and Experiences in the Exchange of Bribes

The traders were then asked to give their encounters and experiences in the exchange of bribes. 38.9% females and 41.0% males stated that indirectly an official does not

provide a service until induced. This is a common practice among public servants as observed by respondent J who stated that *“the business bottlenecks are more prevalent in the public sector than in the private sector. In short, public sector employees tend to deliberately create corruption conditions to supplement their meager or delayed monthly incomes. As a result of this it is the private sector which has to pay the price for public sector corruption in order for them to acquire service.”* 19.4% females and 5.1% males stated that an official directly requested for a bribe. 5.1% males and 2.8% females said that they voluntarily offer a bribe. 5.1% males said they paid a bribe based on the past experiences. 22.2% females and 15.4% males said the question was not applicable. 20.5% males and 11.1% females did not answer the question and 7.7% males and 5.6% females paid bribes due to other reasons which they did not specify. The results suggest that public officials either deliberately do not provide services to members of the public as required and expected to. They create delaying tactics and an unnecessary anxiety in people wanting to get services so that one gets impatient and bribes them to avoid waiting and long queues.

Table 21 Respondents' experience of corruption encounters by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
The official directly requests for a bribe.	Count	7	2	9
	% within Sex	19.4%	5.1%	12.0%
Indirectly, the official does not provide a service until induced.	Count	14	16	30
	% within Sex	38.9%	41.0%	40.0%
I voluntarily offer a bribe.	Count	1	2	3
	% within Sex	2.8%	5.1%	4.0%
I pay a bribe based on past experiences	Count		2	2
	% within Sex		5.1%	2.7%
Other.	Count	2	3	5
	% within Sex	5.6%	7.7%	6.7%
Not applicable	Count	8	6	14
	% within Sex	22.2%	15.4%	18.7%
Not answered	Count	4	8	12
	% within Sex	11.1%	20.5%	16.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

An analysis of the findings on the above table revealed that more females 16.7% and fewer males 5.1% stated that the experience that they have encountered most in the exchange of bribes was that the official directly requests for a bribe. The higher percentage of females experiencing direct requests of bribes could suggest that public officials find it easy to intimidate women and tell them directly that they want a bribe in order for them to provide a service to them. The result could also mean that women do not easily read or understand the language of corruption such that the public officials have to be clear enough by directly requesting for bribes.

The point above is further reinforced by 5.1% males and no females who said they paid out bribes based on past experience. This finding suggests that men are slightly more involved in corrupt practices than women.

The higher percentage (5.1) of men than (2.8) women who indicated that they offered bribes voluntarily reinforce the foregoing point. The small percentage of women offering bribes voluntarily could suggest women's moral behaviours and conduct in public life. On the other hand the voluntarily offering of bribes to public officers by male respondents could suggest men's nature of being risk taking. A man would dare give out a bribe to someone he does not know, and not sure as to how that official would react and the consequences of the action.

Respondents were asked to state as to whether they had to pay bribes due to any personal circumstances like one's gender or one's disability. The responses showed that most traders knew that they should not have to pay a bribe because of any personal circumstances in order for them to get a service. Of those who said no 82.1% were males and 52.8% were females. 22.2% females and 2.6% said they were not sure as to whether they had to pay a bribe for any personal circumstances.

**Table 22 Respondents' opinion on paying of bribes for any personal circumstances?
by gender**

		Female	Male	Total
Yes	Count	7	6	13
	% within sex	19.4%	15.4%	17.3%
No	Count	18	32	50
	% within sex	50.0%	82.1%	66.7%
Not sure	Count	8	1	9
	% within sex	22.2%	2.6%	12.0%
Not applicable	Count	1		1
	% within sex	2.8%		1.3%
Not answered	Count	2		2
	% within sex	5.6%		2.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Of the 17.3% who said yes they have to pay a bribe due to other reasons; 16.7% females and 2.6% males said due to lack of information while 2.6% males said due to one's gender. Yet 10.3% males and 2.8% females went on to state that they have to pay a bribe due to other reasons. Although respondents for the study were literate some of them still felt that they had to pay bribes due to lack of information. This is so because one may be educated quite well but may not know all the information pertaining to obtaining a range of given services. So such a one may find themselves in a situation where they could be thinking that that is what the law requires them to do. Lack of information in this case becomes critical. More females 16.7% and fewer males 2.6% said that they have to pay bribes due to lack of information. The finding here points to women's lack of information even in other areas of life. In this case they do not have as much information on corruption as their male counterparts do. This is reinforced by the fewer number of men who stated that they gave out bribes due to lack of information.

It is also interesting that more men (10.3%) than women (2.8%) said that they have to pay bribes due to other reasons which they specified as to save time and money, also that due to certain special circumstances vis-à-vis poverty and when desperately in

need. Although the percentage is not high the finding too maybe pointing to men's slightly greater corrupt practices and indulgences in corrupt activities. This point here is reinforcing the earlier point on the scenario about Ms Justice who was caught at the speed trap for driving above the speed limit along Lusaka-Kabwe road. As already observed earlier on in this scenario of those who stated that M/s Justice should just pay K100, 000 to the officers to save time and money instead of going to central police to pay the full penalty fee of K276, 000 which was too high and then be late for the meeting, 15.4% were men and 8.3% were women.

Table 23 If your answer above was yes, what are these circumstances? by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Gender	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Lack of information	Count	6	1	7
	% within sex	16.7%	2.6%	9.3%
Other	Count	1	4	5
	% within sex	2.8%	10.3%	6.7%
Not applicable	Count	22	16	38
	% within sex	61.1%	41.0%	50.7%
Not answered	Count	7	17	24
	% within sex	19.4%	43.6%	32.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Some respondents said due to other reasons and specified them as due to; certain special circumstances; 2.8% females said if there is no way out of the problem; 2.6% males said to save money and time; 2.6% males said that they paid bribes when desperately in need of a service; another 2.6% males stated that they paid bribe due to poverty and yet another 2.6% males said that they paid bribes due to certain special circumstances (which they did not specify further). These are some of the reasons that people out there give to justify their corrupt practices. The money paid out in bribes ranged from less than K20, 000 to over K2, 000, 000. Table 24 below illustrates these results.

Table 24 Specific circumstances by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Those who did not say other	Count	35	35	70
	% within sex	97.2%	89.7%	93.3%
If there is no way out of the problem	Count	1		1
	% within sex	2.8%		1.3%
To save time and money	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Certain special circumstances	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Poverty	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
When desperately in need	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Respondents were then asked to give the most important reason as to why public officials demanded and accepted bribes. 60.0% said that they do so to supplement their low incomes; 17.3% said that corruption has become acceptable in Zambia; 10.7% said that public officials follow what their superiors do; 6.7% said that public officials were not afraid of their superiors or punishment; 1.3% of the respondents said that it is expected of them. 4.0% gave other reasons and specified them as: greed, lack of knowledge, weak regulations and selfishness. Table 25 below illustrates the perception of demand of bribes by percentage.

Table 25 Perception of why public officers demand for bribes

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
To supplement their low incomes	45	60.0	60.0
They are not afraid of superiors or punishment	5	6.7	66.7
They follow what their superiors do	8	10.7	77.3
It has become acceptable in Zambia	13	17.3	94.7
It is expected of them.	1	1.3	96.0
Other reasons	3	4.0	100.0
Total	75	100.0	

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Of those who said that public officials demanded and accept bribes to supplement their low income, 61.5% were males and 58.3% were females. Of those who said public officers demand and receive bribes because corruption has become acceptable in Zambia, 19.4% were females and 15.4% were males. Those who said they follow what their superiors do, 11.1% were females and 10.3% were males. 11.1% females and 2.6% males said public officials demand and accept bribes because they are not afraid of their superiors or punishment. 7.7% males said that due to other reasons. They specified the reasons as due to greed and selfishness, due to lack of knowledge and due to weak regulations.

Table 26 Perception of reasons why public officials demand/accept bribes by gender

		Female	Male	Total
To supplement their low income	Count	21	24	45
	% within sex	58.3%	61.5%	60.0%
They are not afraid of their superiors or punishment	Count	4	1	5
	% within sex	11.1%	2.6%	6.7%
They follow what their superiors do	Count	4	4	8
	% within sex	11.1%	10.3%	10.7%
It has become acceptable in Zambia	Count	7	6	13
	% within sex	19.4%	15.4%	17.3%
It is expected of them	Count		1	1
	% within sex		2.6%	1.3%
Other reasons	Count		3	3
	% within sex		7.7%	4.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

4.5.6 ZRA and ZRTPD officers' perception of why public officials demand and accept bribes

The same question was asked to ZRA and ZPRTD officers. 60.0% of the males and 55.6% of the females said that public officials demanded and accepted bribes to supplement their low incomes. 33.3% of the females and 20.0% of the males said that it has become acceptable in Zambia. 11.1% of the females and 10.0% of the males said public officers follow what their superiors do.

More females 33.3% than males 20.0% stated that public officials demand and accept bribes because it has become acceptable in Zambia. The results here reinforces the point observed earlier on where more (16.7%) females than males (5.1%) said that in the exchange of bribes the experience they encountered more often was that the public officials directly requests for a bribe. So if more women are directly asked for bribes then they have some reasons to believe that in order to get public services they have to bribe the officials responsible for offering such services. The fewer number of males saying that public officials demand and accept bribes because it has become acceptable in Zambia is supported by the lesser number of males who said that public officers directly request for a bribe. The finding here is similar to that found in the responses from traders. This therefore suggests that both groups viewed corruption in the similar way. The table below shows that all public officers in the sample accept that officers ask for bribes. This could suggest the acceptability and widespread of corrupt practices in the civil service. Also that people engage into corrupt practices because they are not afraid of the law or punishment. The results are statistically presented in table 27 below.

Table 27 ZRA and ZPRTD officers' opinion of why public officials demand and accept bribes by gender

		Female	Male	Total
To supplement their low income	Count	5	6	11
	% within sex	55.6%	60.0%	57.9%
They are not afraid of their superiors or punishment	Count	1	1	2
	% within sex	11.1%	10.0%	10.5%
It has become acceptable in Zambia	Count	3	2	5
	% within sex	33.3%	20.0%	26.3%
It is expected of them	Count		1	1
	% within sex		10.0%	5.3%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The claim that public officials demand and accept bribes to supplement their low incomes is reinforced by the recommendation given by most respondents who stated that government should improve salaries and conditions of services for its workers,

particularly those in sensitive institutions like ZRA, ZP, Immigration and National Registration Office etc. They stated that there was rampant corruption in the public service because the incomes given to public workers were insufficient to sustain them from one month end to another. This raises the concern of whether or not public officers would practice corruption if given “good salaries and conditions of service”. Although the issue of low income came out as reason number one as to why public officers engage into corruption, the researcher is of the view that there are other eminent reasons that prompt people to be corrupt. For instance the Chiluba cases that are not a secret; but for public consumption and are before the courts of law. The highly respected former republican president did not have a low income; but highly abused the power of his office to his gain and those of a clique of officers he closely worked with. Low income could be one of the reasons but definitely not the major reason for one to be corrupt. Issues of weak regulations, greed and selfishness also play an important role in someone being corrupt.

The claim that corruption was acceptable in Zambia was second for responses from the traders and those from ZRA and ZPRTD officers. Both groups felt that it is normal to engage into corrupt practices because that was the routine activity and that most people were practicing it.

4.5.7 Perception of Severity of Corruption in Lusaka by Traders

To get respondents’ views on the seriousness of corruption in Lusaka, they were asked as to how they perceived it. To answer this question they were expected to tick either very severe, severe or not severe. The responses as shown in the table below were that a total of 62.7% said that corruption in Lusaka was very severe, 25.3% stated that corruption was severe. 12.0% said that it was not severe. The ranking of corruption by traders is in line with the finding of TIZ’s Bribe Payers Index of 2005 which also showed that 55.5% of the people viewed the problem of corruption as very severe and 36.9% of the people viewed it to be severe.

The question of the problem of public officers demanding/accepting bribes was factored in with gender to see how the two genders viewed the severity of corruption. 66.7% females and 59.0% males said corruption was very severe. 19.4% females and 30.8% males said corruption was severe. 13.9% females and 10.3% males said that corruption was not severe.

Table 28 Perception of the seriousness of corruption by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Not severe	Count	5	4	9
	% within sex	13.9%	10.3%	12.0%
Severe	Count	7	12	19
	% within sex	19.4%	30.8%	25.3%
Very severe	Count	24	23	47
	% within sex	66.7%	59.0%	62.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

After factoring in gender the results showed that there was no big difference in the way women and men viewed the severity of corruption among public officers. The higher percentages of both women and men perceiving the problem of corruption as severe in Lusaka could suggest the rampant and widespread levels of corruption. A comparison of this finding was made with the actual experiences of corruption where respondents were either asked/offered, or heard about bribe demand/accepting of bribes among public officers. The results show that more than 60% of males and females experienced corruption either by directly being involved or through witnessing or through a third party. This suggests that corruption is a big and serious problem in Lusaka and that it affects a wide range of people. It does not choose who to fall on be it male or female.

After factoring in education the results showed that 65.1% respondents with tertiary education and 45.5% respondents with secondary education ranked the problem of public officers demanding/accepting bribes as very severe, and that 27.3% respondents with secondary education and 25.4% respondents with tertiary education ranked the problem of bribery among public officers as severe. The finding here

shows that more people with tertiary education rated corruption to be very severe. Probably this could suggest that more educated people are more awake to corruption issues than the less educated ones. Table 29 below shows the spread of the perceived seriousness of corruption in Lusaka by education.

Table 29 Perception of seriousness of corruption by education

		Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
Not severe	Count		3	6	9
	% within level of education		27.3%	9.5%	12.0%
Severe	Count		3	16	19
	% within level of education		27.3%	25.4%	25.3%
Very severe	Count	1	5	41	47
	% within level of education	100.0%	45.5%	65.1%	62.7%
Total	Count	1	11	63	75
	% within level of education	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The question on the seriousness of the problem of demands for bribes in public offices was asked to officers from ZPRTD and ZRA. 80.0% of the males and 44.4% of the females ranked the problem as severe. 33.3% females and 20.0% males ranked the problem as very severe. 22.2% females ranked the problem as not severe. The ranking of corruption as severe to very severe by public officers (although from a small sample) shows that the problem of bribery in public offices is real and it requires combined efforts to fight the scourge. The findings are illustrated in table 30 below.

Table 30 Public officials' perception of demands of bribery in public offices by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Not severe	Count	2		2
	% within sex	22.2%		10.5%
Severe	Count	4	8	12
	% within sex	44.4%	80.0%	63.2%
Very severe	Count	3	2	5
	% within sex	33.3%	20.0%	26.3%
Total	Count	9	10	19
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The table above shows that more males (80.0%) than females (44.4%) stated that the problem of corruption was severe. This may suggest that males see the issue of corruption as a greater problem than women do. This is in contrast with the earlier finding where it was found that more men than women offered bribes voluntarily and that men have other reason for giving out bribes to public officers which women did not allude to.

4.5.8 Traders' Witnessing or Hearing of Bribe Giving or Taking by Public Officers

Respondents were also asked as to whether they witnessed or heard about bribe giving or taking in which they were not personally involved in the last twelve months in the ZPRTD. 66.7% females and 64.1% males said they witnessed or heard about bribe giving in which they were not personally involved in the last twelve months prior to the research. 7.7% males and 5.6% females said they did not witness any bribe giving. 13.9% females and 23.1% males did not answer the question. 13.9% females and 5.1% said the question was not applicable. Table 31 below shows the results statistically.

Table 31 Incidences of corruption where respondent witnessed (or heard about) bribe giving in ZPRTD by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Yes	Count	24	25	49
	% within sex	66.7%	64.1%	65.3%
No	Count	2	3	5
	% within sex	5.6%	7.7%	6.7%
Not applicable	Count	5	2	7
	% within sex	13.9%	5.1%	9.3%
Not answered	Count	5	9	14
	% within sex	13.9%	23.1%	18.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The results show that over 60.0% females and males witnessed incidences of bribery in the last twelve months prior to the research. The high percentage reinforces the finding which showed that corruption levels in Lusaka are high. This point reinforces

the earlier one where it was discussed that some people (though few) found it much easier to just complain to others after encountering cases of corruption. Besides the media carries stories of corruption scandals from time to time; this too makes members of the general public get to hear about cases of corrupt practices.

The same question was again asked to the respondents regarding witnessing and/or hearing of bribe giving in the ZRA. 36.1% females and 35.9% denied witnessing and or hearing of any bribe giving. 35.9% males and 33.3% females said yes they witnessed or heard about bribe giving in the ZRA in the last twelve months prior to the research being conducted. 23.1% males and 16.7% females did not answer the question. 13.9% females and 5.1% said that the question was not applicable.

Table 32 Incidences of corruption where respondent witnessed (or heard about) bribe giving in ZRA by gender

		Female	Male	Total
Yes	Count	12	14	26
	% within sex	33.3%	35.9%	34.7%
No	Count	13	14	27
	% within sex	36.1%	35.9%	36.0%
Not applicable	Count	5	2	7
	% within sex	13.9%	5.1%	9.3%
Not answered	Count	6	9	15
	% within sex	16.7%	23.1%	20.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The responses above are a testimony to the occurrences of corruption in the public offices. Both women and men witnessed or heard about bribe giving in the ZPRTD and in the ZRA. A total of 65.3% and 34.7% male and female respectively said yes they witnessed or heard about bribe giving in the ZPRTD and ZRA respectively. These percentages are reasonable enough to suggest prevalence of bribery especially that corruption as already discussed above is self-reporting. This could also point to one of the responses where respondents stated that corruption was becoming acceptable in Zambia; to some high degree people no longer hide issues of corruption. This is also

reinforcing the statement by some respondents who earlier on said that after having encounters of corruption they did not report to the relevant authorities for a redress but instead just complained to other people. The fact that most people just complain to others make issues of corruption to be known by other people.

4.5.9 Respondents' Narrations of Encounters of Corruption

Respondents' understanding and encounters of bribery (corruption) was further still assessed by asking them to narrate one experience where they were either actively involved or witnessed a corrupt activity. The finding was that 33.3% of the narrations by females and 25.6% of the narrations by males involved the ZPRTD; 7.7% of the narrations by males and 5.6% narrations by females involving the Zambia Police Service in general. 8.3% of the narrations by females and 5.1% of the narrations by males involved ZRA; 5.6% of the narrations by females and 2.6% of the narrations by males involved Passports and Citizens Office and private individuals respectively. RTSA, Pensions Board and Schools (teachers) had each 5.1% narration by males only. The rest of the institutions had only one narration each either from a female or male.

Table 33 Respondents' narration of experience of corruption by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Not Applicable	Count % within Sex	3 8.3%		3 4.0%
Bursaries Committee	Count % within Sex		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
DEC	Count % within Sex		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
Judiciary	Count % within Sex		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
Lecturer	Count % within Sex		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
Ministry of Lands	Count % within Sex	1 2.8%		1 1.3%
NRC	Count % within Sex	1 2.8%	1 2.6%	2 2.7%
Not answered	Count % within Sex	10 27.8%	11 28.2%	21 28%
Passport Office	Count % within Sex	2 5.6%	1 2.6%	3 4.0%
Pensions Board	Count % within Sex		2 5.1%	2 2.7%
Police in general	Count % within Sex		3 7.7%	3 4.0%
Private	Count % within Sex		1 2.6%	1 1.3%
RTSA	Count % within Sex		2 5.1%	2 2.7%
Teacher	Count % within Sex		2 5.1%	2 2.7%
Traffic Police	Count % within Sex	12 33.3%	10 25.6%	22 29.3%
ZRA	Count % within Sex	3 8.3%	2 5.1%	5 6.7%
Total	Count % within Sex	36 100.0%	39 100.0%	75 100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Looking at the narrations from men and women it is clear that both genders experience corruption in public offices especially those institutions with regular contact with members of the public. Zambia Police Service as a department has the

highest percentage (53.6% by males and 52.2% by females) of narrations; this is confirming the general perception that they are among the most corrupt service providing institutions of the government. To further confirm the perception that the two institutions under study are indeed among the most corrupt institutions, ZRA was second from Zambia Police Service. This finding reinforces the view that there are high corruption levels in the public service which need to be fought at all costs if the economy is to improve.

Then respondents were asked to state who initiated the bribe, how was the bribe initiated, was it directly or indirectly.

- i) Who initiated the bribe - To answer this question respondents had to indicate whether public officer(s) or private individual(s). 35.9% males and 33.3% females indicated that the bribe giving they narrated was initiated by public officials. 25.6% males and 16.7% females indicated that the experiences they narrated were initiated by private individuals. 38.9% females and 33.3% males did not answer the question. The slightly higher percentage of female respondents who did not answer this question could suggest that women are not as much informed as their male counterparts on corruption issues.

Table 34 In the incidence you witnessed or heard who initiated the bribe by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Not Applicable	Count	4	2	6
	% within Sex	11.1%	5.1%	8.0%
Not Answered	Count	14	13	27
	% within Sex	38.9%	33.3%	36.0%
Private	Count	6	10	16
	% within Sex	16.7%	25.6%	21.3%
Public	Count	12	14	26
	% within Sex	33.3%	35.9%	34.7%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

ii) How was the bribe initiated – in most of the cases narrated, it was public officers who either directly or indirectly asked for a bribe in terms of money, talk time or something from offenders or simply telling them ‘to know what to do’. In a few cases narrated members of the public offered the bribes. Out of the 30 narrations; 13 females and 11 males said the solicitations were made directly. 2 narration by females and 4 narrations by males had indirectly solicitations of bribes.

Cases narrated showed that money was the medium that was regularly used in the exchange of bribes. 64.0% said money which ranged from K10, 000 to K100, 000,000; 25.3% did not answered the question; 6.7% indicated that the question was not applicable; 1.3% gave cell phones and 2.6 % had amount not stated.

4.5.10 Perception of the most corrupt gender

Both the questionnaires and the interviewees revealed the perception that men were more corrupt than women. Some of the reasons given for this view were that mostly men hold higher and more important and influential positions in society than women did. This gave men more chances to abuse their official powers thereby engaging more into corrupt activities than women. The few women who were found in public life or in the formal sector mainly held administrative positions of human resources managers, clerical, nursing and other care giving jobs where they were not part of the decision making bodies of their institutions. Few women were in decision making position and that even then, the male powers still dominated and influenced their decisions. Some of the responses from interviews were as follows:

Male respondent one: “More than 90% of corruption offenders are men and less than 10 percent are women”.

This response was in line with the responses from the questionnaire where 89.3% of the respondents said that men were more corrupt than women. 6.7% said that women were more corrupt than men and that 4.0% did not answer the question.

The question on which gender is more corrupt than the other was factored in with gender to determine how many women and men said what. The results were that 91.7% females and 87.2% males said men were more corrupt than women. 7.7% males and 5.6% females said that women were more corrupt than men. This shows that even men themselves think that they are more corrupt than women. The findings above have to some extent demonstrated men’s tolerance and propensity to engage into corrupt practices more than women. The slightly higher percentages of men stating that M/s Justice should just pay a K100, 000 to officers so that she is not late for the meeting and those who indicated that they voluntarily offered bribes to public officers reinforces this point. The foregone points portray levels of corruptness by men although the differences between men and women’s corruptness are quite small.

Table 35 Which gender do you think is more corrupt than the other by gender?

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Female	Count	2	3	5
	% within Sex	5.6%	7.7%	6.7%
Male	Count	33	34	67
	% within Sex	91.7%	87.2%	89.3%
Not Answered	Count	1	2	3
	% within Sex	2.8%	5.1%	4.0%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The finding above is in line with the observation made by one of the interviewees. *Male respondent two: “Although I don’t have first hand information about corruption prevalence between men and women in Lusaka, I tend to feel that men would be more likely benefit from the process of corruption whilst women folk pay the price. From my standpoint, by virtue of the fact that men occupy more work slots both in the informal and the formal sectors, they are more likely to engage in corrupt acts as compared to womenfolk who, at the most are confined to household chores”.*

Male respondent three: “By their very nature, men tend to cheat in their domestic environments more than women and therefore extend their dishonest/corrupt traits into the

business arena either in the private or public sector”.

Other reasons advanced for men being more corrupt than women, or women being less corrupt than men were that:

“Women were generally perceived to be more honest than men”,

“Women have higher levels of patience than men. Men were perceived to be quick and easily taken in action while women were not”,

“Women fear consequences of their actions while men were viewed to be risk takers and take even serious issues lightly”,

“Women as mothers are naturally more caring and generally more considerate even when dealing with issues than men. They work for the common good of society they live in and the nation at large”.

4.5.11 Reporting of Corruption by Gender

ZRA and ZPRTD officers were asked as to which gender was more likely to report cases of corruption between men and women. The responses were that 66.7% males and 33.3% females indicated that women were more likely to report cases of corruption than men. 33.3% males and 22.2% females indicated that men were more likely to report cases of corruption than women. 11.1% said that both gender were likely to report cases of corruption. Some females did not answer the question while others indicated not applicable. The claim that women are more likely to report cases of corruption than men is at variance with the earlier finding where only 2.8% females and 5.1% males stated that after refusing a request for a bribe they reported the matter to the relevant authorities. However the finding on the question on what respondents did after giving out bribes to public officers reinforces the claim that women are more likely to report corruption than men because only 2.8% females and no males report to relevant authorities after giving out bribes. These results are illustrated in table 36 below

Table 36 Who is likely to report corruption, women or men? by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Women	Count	3	6	9
	% within Sex	33.3%	66.7%	50.0%
Men	Count	2	3	5
	% within Sex	22.2%	33.3%	27.8%
Both	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	11.1%		5.6%
Not applicable	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	11.1%		5.6%
Not answered	Count	2		2
	% within Sex	22.2%		11.1%
Total	Count	9	9	18
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

Interviewees were then asked as to whether increased representation of women in decision making positions would not create similar chances and opportunities for women to engage into corrupt activities as those being enjoyed by men currently. While one male argued that the chances of females being corrupt were high, four male and four female interviewees maintained that increased women representation would greatly reduce corruption. Women would still not engage into corrupt activities because of their nature. As mothers they are caring, not risk takers and that even the few women that have surfaced as being corrupt have been corrupt due to influence from men.

“Put women in decision making positions. Women tend to be caring unlike men; they are unlikely to abuse their powers to jeopardize their position for personal gain. If we were to have more women then we would have few people to abuse their powers hence a reduction in corruption” Female respondent p

The argument here is supported by Dollar *et al* (1999), and Swamy *et al* (2000), whose studies found out that increased female representation in public life would reduce corruption and based on their findings the World Bank (2001) has since called on member countries to increase the numbers of females in public life as a way of reducing corruption.

Responses from the questionnaires however showed that both men and women engage into corruption (though at different degrees and types) for personal gain. 35.9% males and 30.6% females said that both genders engaged into corruption for monetary gain, materials gain, gifts, properties like land etc in exchange for a service provided for to members of the public. Both genders get and/or offer bribes in exchange for favors.

However some respondents felt that as much as both genders engaged into corruption, they still differed in the activities involved in. 18.4% females and 12.2% males said that men ask for bribes in form of money, while women offer bribes in form of sexual favours to male public officers. For instance, cross border business women offer sexual favors to ZRA customs officials; in order for them to pay less for the goods or not to pay at all.

Table 37 Mention some of the corrupt activities that men and women engage into by gender

		Sex		Total
		Female	Male	
Not answered	Count	13	14	27
	% within Sex	36.1%	35.9%	36.0%
Both Sexes engage into corruption monetary gain	Count	11	14	25
	% within Sex	30.6%	35.9%	33.3%
Men ask for money women offer sexual favors	Count	7	5	12
	% within Sex	18.4%	12.8%	16.0%
Mostly its men who drive and engage in corruption	Count	1		1
	% within Sex	2.8%		1.3%
Women use their bodies	Count	4	6	10
	% within Sex	11.1%	15.4%	13.3%
Total	Count	36	39	75
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Data from questionnaires 2007

The perception that both women and men do engage into corruption is a signal to say that actually women too could be as corrupt as men are if exposed to opportunities and networks. An analysis of the popular findings of the World Value Surveys done in Georgia used by Swamy *et al* (2000), show that there has been an increase in female

participation in corrupt practices. The evidence shows that in 1983 only one country out of eighteen had corrupt females but in the 1990 survey seven out of forty-three had females participating into corrupt practices. This shows that women were and/or are becoming corrupt probably due to their exposure and involvement in the public life; that is venturing into the male domain where opportunities and networks abound.

Alolo (2004)'s argument that both women and men were corrupt when you factor in opportunities and networks could be supported by some of the findings of this study where both genders are perceived to be corrupt (although men are perceived to be more corrupt than women) and have stated that they are corrupt. The most interesting thing is the responses from females too; for instance one female stated that *"both men and women engage into corruption for money, in land issues and they both try to earn a living by making people pay bribes/gifts."*

Alolo's point of view is corroborated by Goetz (2004) who argued that women may be exhibiting greater integrity in public dealings because they are generally excluded from male-dominated patronage and power networks in political parties and public bureaucracies. Goetz further observed that the call of creating more access for women to public offices may either generate a sub-set of public actors who are relatively isolated from the areas in which real power is practiced; or it may mean that women make their way into these still unchanged power structures and join the male folk into bribe taking.

Alatas *et al* (2006) argued that although there may be other valid reasons for advocating policy measures that promote female political involvement, there is need to take precaution in asserting that increased women participation will lower corruption in all countries because women are not a homogeneous group.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations that draw from the findings of the study. The conclusions are presented first and then followed by the recommendations.

In this study the researcher had an overall objective of investigating the perceptions and experiences of corruption among men and women who trade in Lusaka's Central Business District. The other objectives included finding out whether men and women traders engage in acts of corruption. The study aimed at determining perceived levels of corruption in the ZPRTD and ZRA. It sought to examine women's and men's awareness of corruption. The study also attempted to investigate whether men are more corrupt than women.

5.2.0 Conclusions

5.2.1 The findings of the study indicate that both women and men are knowledgeable and understand corruption issues. 99% of the respondents claimed that they knew that there was corruption in Zambia and that they knew what corrupt practices entailed. This awareness was demonstrated through descriptions and narrations of corruption cases where they were personally involved or where they were indirectly involved or where they just heard about corruption cases from friends and relatives. This awareness also made them to be able to point out public service providing institutions they perceive to be more corrupt than the others.

5.2.2 The study also revealed however that, female officers from ZPRTD and ZRA had a lesser understanding/knowledge of corruption than their male counterparts. In the scenario given about Mr. Kubosha 80.0% of the male officers and 55.5% of the female officers stated that Mr. Kubosha's conduct was amounting to corruption.

Recommendation

There is need for the anti-corruption agencies especially the ACC to educate female employees in government departments on what constitutes corruption. They should be taught how to detect corruption before and after it has happened.

5.2.3 The study also revealed that traders sometimes pay bribes to public officers in order for them to get services which ordinarily they would have got for free. They stated that they bribe public officers to either get a service at all or to facilitate the receipt of a service or to reduce the cost of obtaining a service or to simply just avoid the law. One of the interviewees stated that some members of the public pay bribes to cut on the bureaucratic processes associated with government departments. Ordinarily the claim would have been that probably these traders engaged into corrupt activities due to illiteracy and not understanding corruption issues; but the findings show that 98.7% of the respondents for the study had all attained secondary education except for one male who had primary education. The results show that the private sector like the public sector is equally corrupt.

Recommendation

There is need to make known and clear to members of the general public all the processes and procedures as well as the rules and guidelines involved in obtaining public services and where there are payments to be made it should be clearly spelt out. This can be done through corruption education, sensitization and writing and putting up such in strategic places where such services are provided from.

5.2.4 It was also determined that there were high levels of corruption in ZPRTD and the ZRA. 46.7% of the respondents had been asked for and refused to give out bribes to either ZPRTD or ZRA officers in the last twelve months prior to the research. 29.3% admitted giving out bribes to either ZPRPD or ZRA in the same period. It was also revealed that most cases of corruption that occur are not reported to relevant authorities. 2.8% females and 5.1% males reported cases of corruption to relevant authorities after they refused to give bribes to public officers. Only 2.8% females and

no males reported to relevant authorities after giving out bribes to public officers. Victims of situations just keep quiet or complain to friends or relatives. Further people do not report cases of corruption due to fear of personal inconveniences, ignorance of procedures and where to report.

Recommendation

Women and men should be encouraged to report incidences of corruption. Processes and procedures on how and where to report incidences of corruption should be made known to every Zambian and the reporting of such cases should be made easy.

5.2.5 Other reasons why people do not report corruption incidences to relevant authorities were due to fear of being turned into witnesses, lack of confidence in the anti-corruption agencies, fear of victimization by corrupt people and support for corruption as the only way to survive.

Recommendation

Government should protect whistle blowers. There is need to come up with a legislation that protects whistle blowers. This will encourage people to report their encounters with corrupt officials and other members of the public.

5.2.6 Traders also perceived that public officials demand for bribes to supplement their low incomes and they said that corruption has become acceptable in Zambia. Also they follow what their superiors do hence do not fear them or punishment. When narrating of their encounters of corruption, the highest encounter was recorded in the ZPRTD where more than half of them narrated their experiences or encounters of corruption with the police. Probably this was so because some of the employees in the sample do not deal with ZRA, but their superiors do.

Recommendation

There is need to put up control measures in government departments. Government and the anti-corruption agencies should develop systems for continuous and sustained monitoring of public officers especially those that are in regular contact with members of the public at the point of service delivery.

Recommendation

There is also need to challenge the acceptance of corruption in society by putting up laws that makes the offence of corruption severely punitive. The current laws are not punitive enough to deter would be offenders.

5.2.7 The study observed that there is a conflict in findings between the studies conducted by the World Bank and the study conducted by Alolo (2004). The World Bank studies vis-à-vis the study by Dollar *et al* (1999) and Swamy *et al* (2000), found that women were less corrupt than men while Alolo's (2004) study revealed that both men and women are corrupt when exposed to opportunities and networks. She argued that women seem not to be as corrupt as men because currently there are few women holding public offices and that if they could be put into positions of power and influence they could be as corrupt as men are. The findings of this study revealed that although both women and men engage in corrupt practices men are a little bit more corrupt than women. 91.7 % females and 87.2% men stated that men were more corrupt than women. The finding that men were slightly more corrupt than women reinforces the studies conducted by the World Bank. The said studies found that women were less corrupt than men. On the other hand the finding that both genders engage into corrupt practices, (though at different levels and magnitude) supports Alolo's finding that both men and women are corrupt. The study revealed high levels of corrupt practices by both men and women traders and public officials in the ZPRTD and ZRA. The study established that both men and women understand what corruption is. More men than women ranked the problem of corruption as severe. In general the study established that men were marginally more corrupt than women.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello,

My name is Jacqueline Ng'andu, I am doing a study on experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector as partial-fulfilment for my master's degree at the University of Zambia. The purpose of the survey is to learn about experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector and you were randomly selected. I would also wish to identify any differences in experiences and perceptions of corruption between women and men. The response will be confidential, and will only be used for the purpose of this study I would greatly appreciate your participation in this survey, so please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and as honest as possible.

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire No.	
Date	

Part A: PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. How old are you? (age at last birthday) -----

2.

Female

Male

3. What level of education did you attain?

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary (College/University)

4. What is your employment status?

Employed:

a) Private

b) Public

Self-employed

5. For how long have you been employed or self-employed?

Less than 1 year

1 - 3 years

3 - 5 years

More than 5 years

6. What is your occupation? (What do you do?)

Working in shop

Administrative

Clerical

Professional

Services

Not stated

7. How much money do you earn per month? (What is your income?)

Less than K500,000

K500,000 - K1,000,000

K1,000,000 - K2,000,000

K2,000,000 - K4,000,000

Part B: Respondent's perception of corruption

8. What do you understand by the term Corruption (ninchekeleko)?

9. Do you know the organisations that are involved in fighting (dealing with) cases of corruption in Zambia.

Yes -----No -----

10. If your answer to (9) is Yes, mention some of the institutions involved in fighting corruption

- 1. -----
- 2. -----
- 3. -----
- 4. -----

11. Based on your own experience and understanding, can you describe a case of corruption.

12. M/s Justice is scheduled to attend a ZCCM Annual General Meeting at Mukuba Pension House at 14:00 hours. To beat the time she is driving at 120km/hour, consequently she is caught by the Road Traffic Police driving above 80km/hour at ten miles on Lusaka - Ndola road. The fine fee is K276,000, should she go and pay at Lusaka Central Police or she should just pay K100,000 to the Officers on duty, so that she is not late, as she is the one scheduled to chair the meeting. (Give and explain your opinion)

13. Mr Kubosha is a regular and careful user of the Lusaka – Livingstone road. His vehicle is always road worthy and he is a law abiding citizen. During his trips he sometimes gives money ranging from K50, 000 to K200, 000 to Police and ZRA officers at Kafue weigh bridge without them necessarily asking (soliciting) for cash. Do you agree that this is corruption?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Do not agree
- d) Strongly do not agree
- e) Do not know

14. Give reason (s) for your answer to (13) above

15. Given Pasindwa is a tax officer with ZRA at Livingstone border post. Usually this officer reduces taxes for female traders and Car dealers as he feels that their tax code is too high, in return, he receives generous “gifts” from the traders and car dealers. Do you agree that this is corruption?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Do not agree
- d) Strongly do not agree
- e) Do not know

16. Give reason (s) for your answer to (15) above

17. Have you ever been charged by:-

Zambia Police	-Police in general -Road traffic police
Zambia Revenue Authority	-Customs -Income tax -others specify

18. Do you give bribes in order for the officer (s) to provide you with a service?

Always	
Sometimes	
Never	
Can not disclose	

19. In the last twelve months how many times have you refused to give a bribe to:-

Road Traffic Police -----

ZRA -----

20. When you refused giving a bribe (s), how many times did you:

Report to the authorities	
Complained to others	
Kept quite	

21. When you gave out a bribe (s), how many times did you:

Report to the authorities	
Complained to others	
Kept quite	

22. Why do you think you paid the bribe (s)?

In order to get a service at all	
To facilitate the receipt of a service	
To reduce my cost of obtaining the service	
To avoid the law	

23. In the exchange of bribes, which experiences have you encountered more often

The official directly requests for a bribe	
The official indirectly makes it	

impossible to provide the service without inducement	
I voluntarily offer a bribe	
I pay a bribe based on past experience	
I pay bribes on the basis of expectation	
Other	

24. Do you personally think you have to pay a bribe because of any personal circumstances?

Yes----- No ----- Not sure-----

25. If the answer is yes, what are these circumstances?

Age	
Gender	
Literacy	
Lack of information	
Or any other (Name it)	

26. How much money or money equivalent have you paid in bribes in the past twelve months?

Less than K20,000	
K21,000 - K49,000	
K50,000 - K100,000	
K101,000 - K499,000	
K500,000 - K999,000	
K1,000,000 - K2,000,000	
Over K2,000,000	

27. Why do you think public officials demand and accept bribes?

To supplement their low incomes	
They are not afraid of superiors or punishment	
They follow what their superiors do	
It has become acceptable in Zambia	
It is expected of them	
Other	

28. How severe do you rank the problem of demands for bribery in public offices?

-
- b) Where did this case of corruption occur? -----
- c) What were the benefit (s) involved in the case of corruption? (e.g. Gifts, Money) -----
-
- d) How much money was paid? Or if other forms of payment were involved, what was their value? (Preferably in kwacha)
- e) What is the profession or rank of the person (s) involved in the corruption case?
- i) Receiver (s)-----
- ii) Giver (s)-----

31. How do you rank the following reason as to why people do not report cases of corruption? (Write 1 against highest ranked, 2 against the second highest ranked and so on.)

	Being related to those involved in bribe giving
	Lack of money to go and report or use reporting facilities e.g. telephones
	Fear of personal inconveniences
	Ignorance of procedures and where to report
	Lack of confidence in the anti-corruption system (agencies)
	Fear of being turned into a witness
	Support for corruption as the only way to survive
	Fear of victimisation by corrupt people
	Other reasons (specify)

Gender perception of corruption

32. In your opinion and experience which gender is more corrupt than the other?

Female	
Male	

33. Are men and women involved in the same way in corruption?

Yes----- No-----

34. Do women engage in different types of corruption than men?

Yes----- No-----

a) Justify your answer by mentioning some of the corrupt activities that men and women engage into -----

QUESTIONNAIRE

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My name is Jacqueline Ng'andu, I am doing a study on experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector as partial-fulfilment for my master's degree at the University of Zambia. The purpose of the survey is to learn about experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector and your department was randomly selected. I would also wish to identify any differences in experiences and perceptions of corruption between women and men. The response will be confidential, and will only be used for the purpose of this study I would greatly appreciate your participation in this survey, so please answer all the questions to the best of your knowledge and as honest as possible.

SELF-ADMINISTERED QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire No.	
Date of Interview	

Part A: PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1.

Female
Male

2. How old are you? (age at last birthday) -----

3. What level of education did you attain?

Primary
Secondary
Tertiary

4. What is your occupation? (What do you do?)-----

5. For how long have you been employed?

Less than 1 year
1 - 3 years
3 - 5 years
More than 5 years

6. How much money do you earn per month? (What is your income?) Gross

Less than K1000,000
K1,000,000 - K2,000,000
K2,000,000 - K4,000,000
Above K4,000,000

Part B: Respondent's perception of corruption

7. What do you understand by the term Corruption (ninchekeleko)?

8. Do you know the organisations that are involved in fighting (dealing with) cases of corruption in Zambia

13. Mr Kubosha is a regular and careful user of the Lusaka - Livingstone road. His vehicle is always road worthy and he is a law abiding citizen. During his trips he sometimes gives money ranging from K50, 000 to K200, 000 to Police and ZRA officers at Kafue weigh bridge without them necessarily asking (soliciting) for cash. Do you agree that this is corruption?

- f) Strongly agree
- g) Agree
- h) Do not agree
- i) Strongly do not agree
- j) Do not know

14. Give reason (s) for your answer to (13) above

15. Mr Given Pasindwa is a tax officer with ZRA at Livingstone border post. Usually this officer reduces taxes for female traders and Car dealers as he feels that their tax code is too high, in return, he receives generous "gifts" from the traders and car dealers. Do you agree that this is corruption?

- f) Strongly agree
- g) Agree
- h) Do not agree
- i) Strongly do not agree
- j) Do not know

16. Give reason (s) for your answer to (15) above

17. There is the perception that there are high corruption levels in the Traffic Police Department and Zambia Revenue Authority compared to other government departments. Do you agree?

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) Do not agree
- d) Strongly do not agree
- e) Do not know

18. Explain your answer to 16 in detail -----

19. Why do you think some public officials demand or accept bribes?

To supplement their low incomes	
They are not afraid of superiors or punishment	
They follow what their superiors do	
It has become acceptable in Zambia	
It is expected of them	
Other	

20. How severe do you rank the problem of demands for bribery in public offices?

Not severe	
Severe	
Very severe	

21. How do you rank the following reason as to why people do not report cases of corruption? (Write 1 against highest ranked, 2 against the second highest ranked and so on.)

	Being related to those involved in bribe giving (corruption)
	Lack of money to go and report or use reporting facilities e.g. telephones
	Fear of personal inconveniences
	Ignorance of procedures and where to report
	Lack of confidence in the anti-corruption system (agencies)
	Fear of being turned into a witness

	Support for corruption as the only way to survive
	Fear of victimisation by corrupt people
	Other reasons (specify)

Gender perception of corruption

22. In your opinion and experience which gender is more corrupt than the other

Female	
Male	

23. Do you think men and women engage into similar types/ nature of corruption

Yes----- No-----

a) Justify your answer by mentioning them -----

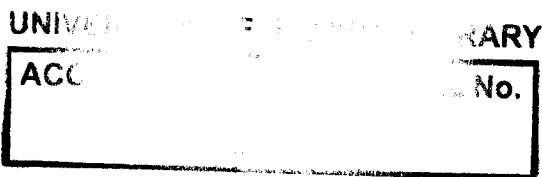
24. Who is more likely to report corruption?

a) Women

b) Men

Interview Guide

Good Morning/ Afternoon, My name is Jacqueline Ng'andu. I am a candidate for a Master of Arts in the department of Gender Studies at the University of Zambia. I am doing a study on experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector. The purpose of the study is to learn about experiences and perceptions of corruption in the public sector and; to identify if there are any differences in experiences and perceptions of corruption between women and men. I would appreciate if you could spare some time to answer some questions and please



Personal Details

1. How old are you? (age at last birthday) -----

2. Gender
- a) Female
 - b) Male

3. What level of education did you attain?

Primary

Secondary

Tertiary (College/University)

4. What is your employment status?

Employed:

- a) Private
- b) Public

5. For how long have you been employed

Less than 1 year

1 - 3 years

3 - 5 years

More than 5 years

6. What is your occupation? (What do you do?)

.....

Understanding of corruption

7. Give a brief understanding or description of corruption situation in general, starting with the globe, Africa, Southern Africa and Zambia

8. How is the prevalence of corruption in Lusaka? Explain your answer in detail

9. Which sector is more corrupt than the other?

- a) Public
- b) Private

10. Explain your answer to (3) above in detail

11. What effort is your organization making to mainstream gender in the fight against corruption?

12. In your opinion which gender is more corrupt than the other?

a) Female

b) Male

13. Give reasons why you think females or males are more corrupt than the other

14. What are your suggestions on how to involve women participation in the fight against corruption?