

**CONSTRUCTING CORRUPTION FROM
MINIBUS AND TAXI DRIVERS' VERBAL ACCOUNTS IN
THE CITY OF LIVINGSTONE**

BY

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia, in partial
fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of
Master of Sociology**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

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DECLARATION

I, **Saul Musukwa**, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, and that all the works of other persons used have been duly acknowledged, and that it has never been previously submitted for a degree at the University of Zambia or any other University.

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **Saul Musukwa** has been approved as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

Bribery involving traffic police officers and minibus as well as taxi drivers in Livingstone, (Zambia) is a social problem despite efforts being made to reduce corruption. Police bribing drivers and drivers bribing the police have continued to occur without being abetted. The purpose of this study was to understand motives of minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery with traffic police officers in Livingstone. Unstructured interviews were used to collect the data. In total 25 respondents who were willing to be part of the study, were enlisted using maximum variation sampling. Interpretive phenomenological analysis with some modification embracing Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis was used to analyze textual data. The findings were that both police officers and drivers were corrupt. Police officers used underhand methods like Looking for faults, mounting roadblocks charging drivers wrongly and seeking contributions. Police officers went on to solicit bribes by asking a driver to develop a plan or tell the driver that he knew what to do. Drivers solicited a bribe by offering cash, food, drinks and talk time. Drivers solicited a bribe when in the wrong or when a case was concocted. There were two main motives for drivers engaging in bribery when they faced a threat to security, survival or threats to physiological needs. The motives were the need for protection (security), physiological needs and survival. The conclusion is that both police officers, minibus and taxi drivers are living in a corrupt subculture. What are needed to mitigate corruption are indigenous based solutions including the application of wholesome and open techniques, taxi and mini bus drivers to have a say in the governance of traffic regulations through their Associations, use of participatory social accountability techniques and use the civic education strategies.

Keywords: Phenomenology, Corruption, Bribery, Police Corruption, Police officer,

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my kind and loving wife Rachel Nalucha Imasiku, and children; Mwiza, Wezi and Chilufya for the patience, moral and spiritual support they rendered to me during the entire period that I was kept busy doing this study. Their endurance gave me hope and encouragement in times when I was almost failing to complete this study.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACC	Anti-Corruption Commission
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DEC	Drug Enforcement Commission
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
NGBSR	National Governance Baseline Survey Report
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NTACU	National Traffic Ant-Corruption Unit
RTSA	Road Transport and Safety Agency
TI	Transparency International
TIZ	Transparency International Zambia
UNCAC	United Nations Convention against Corruption
UNZA	University of Zambia
ZBPI	Zambia Bribe Payers Index
ZP	Zambia Police

ZRA

Zambia Revenue Authority

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter provides, the contextual background and the setting of the study, description of the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, specific objectives, research questions, theoretical framework, significance of the study, and further operational definitions of key terms have been presented.

1.2 Background to the study

Corruption is one of the major governance problems affecting Zambia today. It is evident that its occurrence has become wide spread as shown by statistics, especially after the 1990s, when the country's economic situation dwindled. Corruption occurs in all sectors of the economy including the , including the road transport sector, where it commonly manifests itself in the form of bribes paid by people to divert procedure, quicken the process of acquiring services ,and many times avoiding prosecution in cases where road users commit road traffic offences. The enforcement of the law in the road sector in Zambia is managed by Zambia police and Road Transport and Safety Agency (RTSA). The two are mandated to regulate and enforce road traffic laws, but between the two law enforcement agencies Police are said to be the most bribed (Zambia Country Report, 2011). Transparent International Zambia (2019) stated that there was an increase in traffic bribery rate from 51 percent in 2018 to 54 percent in 2019.

There has been a growing worldwide concern over corruption at the present time. Several factors are responsible for this. Firstly, a consensus has now been reached that corruption is universal. It exists in all countries, both developed and developing, in the public and private sectors, as well as in non-profit and charitable organizations. Secondly, allegations and charges of corruption now play a more central role in politics than at any other time, and reputations of well-respected organizations and business firms badly tarnished on account of it (Gray and Kauffmann, 1998).There is an assumption that

corruption can be a major obstacle in the process of economic development and in modernizing a country (United Nations, 2003). Motorists deal with traffic police officers on a daily basis. In Zambia, the operations of the traffic police are not transparent. Mass surveys in and outside the country show that contacts with traffic police officers represent a key source of corruption in Zambia. Many countries Zambia inclusive have prioritized corruption in their country's development agenda. This greater recognition that corruption can have a serious adverse negative impact on development has been a cause for concern among developing countries. Increasing public interest and concern over corruption have resulted in a large amount of scholarly research on the subject. Admittedly, there are still wide gaps in the current state of information and knowledge on the matter and much more remains to be done. According to Transparency International (TI) corruption is "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain". Corruption can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs (Transparence International, 2012). Corruption in Zambia occurs in three major forms namely political corruption, grand corruption and petty corruption which is also known as bribery (Transparency International Zambia, 2007). Political and grand corruptions involve large sums of money but are not usually reported because they tend to be less visible and involve the more influential segments in the population. Petty corruption (Bribery) on the other hand involves small amounts of money but is often more visible because it takes place in public settings and mostly affects the poorer segments of a population, who are less influential Heston & Kumar (2008). According to the National Integrity System Country Study (2007), petty corruption in Zambia mostly affects such institutions as the Police, the Courts, the Zambia Revenue Authority, the Passport Office and the Department of National Registration. According to the survey, a significant proportion of the reported incidences of petty corruption involved paying the police or any public official responsible to pass road blocks, avoid undergoing a driving test or to avoid having their motor vehicles examined for roadworthiness.

Corruption is too broad; therefore this study focused on the interaction between traffic police officers, minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone city of Zambia. According to the 2013 Global Corruption Report by Transparency International (TI), police is perceived as the most corrupt institution in Africa. Of 36 countries worldwide where police is seen as the most corrupt institution, 20 are in Africa. According to the report, police officers are the most often bribed, followed by judicial officers; 31 percent of people who came into contact with the police report having paid a bribe. Bribery rates of the police were 75 percent or higher in seven countries, including six African countries. Such negative perceptions of police integrity are damaging to the credibility and effectiveness of the agency charged with protecting the lives and property of citizens. Police bribe undermines public trust in the institution and impairs effective enforcement of the law Kumssa (2015). Though TI report is loud and clear, it looked at police corruption in its broader terms making it difficult for authorities to know the source of corruption related cases within the system. This study therefore, looked at traffic police officers corruption in the Zambia police service.

Zambia has a number of law enforcement agencies which include the Anti-corruption Commission, the Zambia Police Service, the Drug Enforcement Commission, the Immigration Department and the Task Force on Economic Plunder to assist in the fight against corruption.

The police among the law enforcers are perceived to be the most bribed and traffic police officers being the worst Zambia Country Report (2011). Zambia Bribe Payers Index (ZBPI) survey which is jointly conducted by the Anti-corruption Commission (ACC) and Transparency International Zambia (TIZ) has annually ranked the Zambia Police particularly the Traffic Department as the most bribed among the Law Enforcement Agencies in the country TIZ (2017, 2019). There has been an increase in traffic police bribery rate from 51 percent in 2018 to 54 percent in 2019 TIZ (2019). Police corruption waste

resources, undermines security, makes a mockery of justice, slows economic development, and alienates populations from their governments Bayley and Perito (2011). The existence of corruption in Zambia police traffic department was in 2008 acknowledged by the then Inspector General of Police, Ephraim Mateyo, who complained about the vice in his statement as quoted below:

“I believe we are leading in that race [corruption] that will send us into jail.....Why should you complain when I remove you from traffic section? Is it because of nicekeleko? (a local expression in Zambia meaning soliciting a bribe). You stop a vehicle and half your body is in the car. And when you remove your person from the car, you fail to wave using your right hand because the other hand is holding the bribe and the poor constable just looks on at the inspector. It’s embarrassing. Let us stop it....” *Zambian Economist* (2008).

Four traffic police officers from Lusaka’s Matero Police Station were suspended by the Inspector General of Police, Mr. Kakoma Kanganja on bribe allegations (Zambia daily mail, 2018). The police are the primary institution for implementing law in any society; police corruption stops the implementation of the rule of law in place. When police sell their services for private profit, the rule of law ceases to exist. Eliminating police corruption is required for any country that has established the rule of law as a national objective Zambia inclusive. Ignoring this imperative means that international efforts aimed at nation building would proceed at their own peril Phiri (2015). Police roles and functions are not simply law enforcement but also include tackling a huge range of community problems. There has been an increase in

the cases of police corruption in many countries across the world but corruption is more pronounced in developing countries such as Afghanistan, Nigeria, South Africa Sudan and Zambia Transparency International (2012).

In Zambia corruption is perceived by nationals as being rampant especially in relation to police officers when dealing with traffic offences Africa Legal Network (2019). The police provide the requisite enabling environment for citizens to live and work towards social economic and political development of the society according to Groenewald and Peake in Ibrahim, (2015). The significance of peace, safety and security to mankind cannot be over emphasized as the socio-economic and political development of any society depends on the security system available in such society Ibid).

According to Punch (2000) police corruption is committed when police officials knowingly do or not do something that is against their duty for personal gain. Police corruption involves various acts by police officials, placing their personal gain ahead of duty Scaramella, Cox and Mc Camey (2011). The authors further pronounced that, it may result in the violation of police procedures, criminal law or both. Every member of a police department must understand that he or she represents the entire agency that personal conduct is his or her own responsibility, and that he or she will be held accountable for all conduct, whether positive or negative Police integrity (1997). Zambia as a sovereign state has put up measures to fight corruption in all its public and private institutions in the recent past, and the Zambia Police Service has been one of the targeted institutions.

The police are mandated with the noble duty of protecting life, and property, preserving peace and maintaining law and order, to ensure the security of the people, to detect and prevent crime and uphold the bill of rights as enshrined in the constitution of the republic of Zambia Cap 1 Sec193 (2016). This state is not limited to Lusaka alone.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Bribery involving traffic police officers, minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone, (Zambia) is a social problem despite efforts being made to reduce corruption. Livingstone is ranked fourth in Zambia according to the corruption indices. The National Governance Baseline Survey of 2004 shows that traffic police are more corrupt than expected among all categories of police officers. TIZ (2019) reported that there has been an increase in the rate of police corruption from 51 percent in 2018 to 54 percent in 2019. The existence of corruption in Zambia police traffic department was in 2008 acknowledged by the then Inspector General of Police Mr. Ephraim Mateyo. Four traffic police officers from Matero Police station were suspended by the Inspector General of Police Mr. Kakoma Kanganja on corruption charges.

While statistics show Livingstone to be embroiled in corruption, the dearth of research implies that the ways traffic police officers, taxi drivers and minibus drivers demonstrate bribery, will remain unknown. Recognizing that every subculture has its own language of day to day life events, it will be research prudent to render what the meaning of paying bribes is like in Livingstone and to further understand the motives for taxi drivers, minibus drivers and police officers engaging in bribery. It is feared that corruption may impact negatively on the image of Zambia police if its nature remains unknown and measures are not advanced.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand motives of minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery with traffic police officers in Livingstone.

1.4 Objectives

The objectives of this study were to:

- 1) Describe from the point of view of taxi drivers and minibus drivers the ways in which bribery occurs.
- 2) Understand the meaning that minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone attach to paying bribes to traffic police officers.
- 3) Understand the motives of minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone for their involvement in bribery with traffic police.

1.5 Research Questions

In order to achieve the objectives stated above, the study attempted to answer the following specific research questions:

- 1) In what ways do traffic police officers, taxi drivers and minibus drivers demonstrate bribery?
- 2) What was the meaning of paying bribes?
- 3) Why do taxi drivers, minibus drives and police officers engage in bribery?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework consists of theories which act as a background and guide the investigation in question (Orodho (2005). LeCompte and Preissle (1993) define a theoretical framework as a collection of interrelated concepts that can be used to direct research with the purpose of predicting and explaining the results of the research. Further, Caliendo & Kyle (1996) points

out that; a theoretical framework is used to provide the rationale for conducting the research.

This research was guided by the DBO (Desires, beliefs and opportunities) theory of action proposed by the analytical sociologists, aims to provide an action-theoretical basis for building explanatory theories in sociology. The DBO theory is not intended as an entirely new approach to human action, but it rather aims to provide a systematic account of the action theoretical views which are already presupposed in many theoretical and empirical studies associated to analytical sociology Kaidesoja (2012). The DBO theory stems from the rational choice theory, though it is intended to be more comprehensive and realistic than the latter Hedstrom (2005). Peter Hedstrom claims that DBO theory is realistic because it does not make assumptions that are known to be false or seriously incompatible with the current scientific understanding about the nature of human action and cognition. According to Hedstrom, P & Bearman, P (2009) points out that, micro events are explained as outcomes of individual actions these actions in turn are influenced by desires, beliefs and opportunities. Therefore the study will relate the actions resulting from the interaction between police officers and minibuses and taxi drivers, as to whether they are influenced by the desires, beliefs and opportunities. Further, Ego-centered mechanisms are mechanisms that may directly or indirectly explain individual action; this simply means showing why an actor with such and such opportunities for action chose one course over all others that is why one believed this course of action could better fulfil their desires. Hence the most fundamental ego-centered mechanisms are those that may explain individual action by affecting individual desires, beliefs, or opportunities ('DBO theory'). Therefore corruption between police officers, minibuses and taxi drivers will be explained in line with the desire (DBO theory), this will enable the study to look at how police officers, minibuses and taxi drivers actions are affected by desires, beliefs and opportunities in the course of their interaction, and later on how it affects the system. According to Police Integrity (1997) every member of a police department must

understand that he or she represents the entire agency, that personal conduct is his or her own responsibility, and that he or she will be held accountable for all conduct, whether positive or negative.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Obtain sub cultural specific information about opinions taxi and mini bus drivers have as well as the bribing behaviors with police traffic officers within the social contexts they operate. This study is also likely to serve as a reservoir of knowledge in the academic discipline of sociology for both scholars and researchers who may be interested to stimulate further studies on traffic police bribes in future. This study was restricted to Livingstone City and was conducted within selected sites where Minibus and taxis drivers operate from, and other areas where participants were likely to be found within the City of Livingstone. It was further delimited to exploring the motives of the minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery with traffic police officers.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

The following terms were taken to have the following meanings:

Corruption: Corruption as defined by Kunaka & Matsheza (2001) is the misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement.

Petty Corruption/Bribery: Petty Corruption is defined by Jancsics (2014) as the illicit exchange of cash, favors, or gifts, to influencing official decisions through illicit means, manipulating technology or documentation, speeding up or slowing down bureaucratic processes, and leaking insider information.

Police Corruption: Somadiyono (2019) defined police corruption as the abuse of police authority for personal or organizational gain by a police officer acting officially.

Governance: Governance is defined by Fukuyama (2013) as a government's ability to make and enforce rules, and to deliver services, regardless of whether that government is democratic or not.

Law Enforcement: Goldberg (2007) defined Law enforcement as the act of obtaining compliance with the established rules, regulations, and laws of a particular Society.

1.9 Organization of the dissertation

In Chapter One the contextual background to the setting of the study, brief description of the statement of the problem, purpose of the study, specific objectives, research questions, theoretical framework, significance of the study and definitions of the key terms has been presented.

In Chapter Two, literature related to the study which was reviewed from both foreign and local studies will be presented by giving a general overview of traffic police corruption.

Further, in Chapter Three, the researcher described the methodology that was used, including the research design, study site, target population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, trustworthiness, data collection procedure and analysis as well as ethical considerations. In Chapter Four, the findings of the study were presented according to the themes drawn from the research questions.

Lastly in Chapter Five, the findings of the study were discussed according to the themes emerging from the findings of the study objectives, in relation to

the literature that was reviewed in the study, a conclusion and recommendations based on the findings of the study were made.

1.10. Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has presented the background of the study which has shown among other things the magnitude of the phenomenon corruption. Thereafter, a description of the statement of the problem has been given. Furthermore, the researcher has explained the aim of the study, objectives and research questions. Lastly, a theoretical framework, significance of the study, and operational definition of terms has been given. In chapter two, the researcher focused on reviewing literature that is related to this study as a way of identifying the gap.

CHAPTER TWO- LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

The review of literature is one of the most significant aspects of any research. It does continue throughout the research process. It is necessary in the sense that it helps in clarifying underlying relationships as well as identifying gaps in knowledge and methods for the study. Furthermore, literature review allows for past research to be reviewed hence adding more knowledge to the research. In this chapter, the different sources of literature have been presented. Kombo and Tromp (2006) defined literature review as the written materials that a researcher has consulted so as to understand and investigate the research problem at hand. Furthermore, a discussion on the ways in which traffic police demonstrate bribe, the meaning of paying a bribe by minibus and taxi drivers and the motives for minibus and taxi drivers involvement in bribes with traffic police officers. However, wide research has been done in relation to corruption and bribe in police institutions.

2.2 Social Action and Motives

According to Max Weber interpretive sociology sought to understand and causally explain meaningful social action via a typological approach, that is, through the use of rationally constructed ideal types. Weber himself noted that the meaning of social action is 'most immediately accessible to "understanding"' if that action is 'subjectively, strictly rationally oriented towards means (subjectively) deemed to be unambiguously adequate for attaining (subjectively) unambiguous and clearly comprehended ends' Weber (2012). In other words, social action is most intelligible to the sociologist when it is treated as an instance of what Weber called 'purposively' rational action, although Weber affirmed that we also can understand other courses of action, including 'the typical course of effects and their typical

consequences for behavior' Weber (2012). Human action could not only be understood as 'possible' in relation to general laws, but was also accessible to understanding 'verstehen', that is establishing a concrete 'motive' or a complex of motives that can be internally re-experienced and that we can attribute to it with more or less certainty depending on the source material.

Weber "Science as a Vocation," in Gerth and Mills (1946) the individual has a psychological need for ethical orientation and a practical need for orientation to the world of objects.

Orientation is necessary because a person must act in the world. But action is not random. The individual acts as a result of motives. A motive provides the "meaning" or "significance" for our actions. As Weber suggested, we can describe the actions of a person writing a numerical equation on a piece of paper, but to have an explanatory understanding of such behavior we need to imply, or know, what motivated that particular action. Weber (1978) Weber suggested that material and ideal interests provide the motivation to action. An "ideal interest" is the ethical orientation we have toward the world. Pursuit of material interests takes place through a manipulation of the external environment. Therefore this study wanted to understand the motives of minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone for engaging in bribery with traffic police officers.

2.3 Understanding Corruption

According to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (2003), Corruption is an insidious plague that has a wide range of corrosive effects on societies. It undermines democracy and the rule of law, leads to violations of human rights, distorts markets, erodes the quality of life and allows organized crime, terrorism and other threats to human security to flourish. This evil phenomenon is found in all countries big and small, rich and poor, but it is in the developing world that its effects are most destructive. Corruption hurts the poor disproportionately by diverting funds intended for

development, undermining a Government's ability to provide basic services, feeding inequality and injustice and discouraging foreign aid and investment. Corruption is a key element in economic underperformance and a major obstacle to poverty alleviation and development.

According to the Anti-Corruption Commission Act chapter 91 of the laws of Zambia "corrupt" means the soliciting, accepting, obtaining, giving, promising or offering of a gratification by way of a bribe or other personal temptation or inducement, or the misuse or abuse of a public office for private advantage or benefit, "

In support, transparency International Zambia TIZ (2007) defines corruption as the misuse of public office with a corrupt intent, and may include any crime. In addition, Joubert (2010) mentions that corruption is a social phenomenon with negative impact on any society. On the other hand, Faull (2007) argues that for any act to be corrupt it must involve an abuse of entrusted power for personal gain. Kunaka & Matsheza (2001) posits that, corruption is the misuse of public power, office or authority for private benefit through bribery, extortion, influence peddling, nepotism, fraud, speed money or embezzlement. This may be a true reflection on our traffic police officers' actions and behavior.

Active corruption is the unlawful and intentional offering of a benefit to a person who has been charged with some duty Snyman (2002). He further claims that the intention is to influence the latter to commit or omit to do some act.

Amundsen (1999) postulated that, Corruption is a disease, a cancer that eats into the cultural, political and economic fabric of society, and destroys the functioning of vital organs. In the words of Transparency International,

“Corruption is one of the greatest challenges of the contemporary world. It undermines good government, fundamentally distorts public policy, leads to the misallocation of resources, harms the private sector and private sector development and particularly hurts the poor” TI (1998).

Corruption is found almost everywhere, but it is stubbornly entrenched in the poor countries of Sub-Saharan Africa, Zambia is not an exception, it is widespread in Latin America, it is deep rooted in many of the newly industrialized countries, and it is reaching alarming proportions in several of the post-communist countries.

In another study by Tanzi (1998) a working paper for the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on causes, consequences and scope of corruption and possible corrective action. It was noted that, recent years and especially in the decade of the 1990s a phenomenon broadly referred to as corruption has attracted a great deal of attention in countries developed and developing, small and large. Corruption is not a new phenomenon. This is the case in the Zambian situation where the fight against corruption has been prioritized. Two thousand year ago, Kautilya, the prime minister of an Indian king, had already written a book, Arthashastra, discuss it. Seven centuries ago, Dante placed bribers in the deepest parts of hell, reflecting the medieval distaste for corrupt behavior. However the degree of attention currently paid to corruption is unprecedented and nothing short of extraordinary. The degree of attention now paid to corruption leads naturally to the question of Why. Why so much attention now? Is it because there is more corruption than in the past? Or is it because more attention is being paid to a phenomenon that had always existed but had been largely, though not completely, ignored? The answer is not obvious, and there are no reliable statistics that would make possible a definitive answer. Further corruption has been defined in many different ways, each lacking in some aspect. A few years ago, the question of definition absorbed a large proportion of the time spent on discussions of corruption at conferences and meetings. However, like an elephant, even though it may be difficult to describe, it is generally not difficult to recognize when observe. In most cases, though not all, different observers would agree on whether a particular behavior connotes corruption. Corruption has increasingly been in the lime light than never before, with non- governmental organizations such as Transparent International playing a

major role in publicizing the problem of corruption and trying to create Anti-corruption movements in many countries. However corruption has been looked at from a macro point of view in many circumstances, ignoring the micro view which is seen to be the major source of corruption.

2.3 .1 Understanding Police Corruption

In order to understand police corruption, one has to know what corruption is. Unfortunately, there is no single definition of corruption, and the legal definition of corruption varies from country to country. Furthermore, some countries may not even define some types of corruption as crime, such as bribery, which is defined as a criminal act by most of the countries across the world Ivković (2003).

Transparency international, which is an international non-governmental organization addressing corruption, defines the corruption as “the misuse of entrusted power for private gain” (www.transparency.org). Punch (2000) defines corruption as “taking something (usually but not exclusively bribe), against your duty to do or not to do something, as an exchange for money or gifts from an external corrupter”. According to McMullan as cited in Corley (2005) a public official is corrupt “if he accepts money or money’s worth for doing something that he is under a duty to do anyway, that he is under a duty not to do, or to exercise a legitimate discretion for improper reasons” (as cited in Withdraw & Dailey 2004). It is obvious that government officials who have greater discretion regarding their position would have more opportunity to engage in corruption Gorla (1998). Because of the nature of police work, police have more discretion when compared to other government officials. This broader discretion raises the risk of engaging in corruption for police officers. Despite considerable agreement among scholars on the meaning of the term corruption, the boundaries of corrupt acts are not defined clearly. To illustrate, some corrupt acts might be classified as bribery and extortion in a country. On the other hand, another country might classify the same act as theft, fraud or racketeering, depending

on its legal system. Furthermore, prohibited corrupt acts may vary from agency to agency within the same country Ivković (2005). For example, one agency may evaluate accepting a free cup of coffee as a violation of organization's integrity rules. On the contrary, another organization may defend this act by saying that refusing a free coffee might cause harm to police-citizen relations.

Corruption or bribery is described in legal terms as the practice of tendering [and accepting] a private advantage for the performance of a duty. This has also been described as the abuse of entrusted power for private benefit and basically entails an official doing, or not doing, something for some sort of gain. Where the levels of corruption are high it is indicative of low levels of respect for the law NTACU (2011). Police corruption varies in many ways, by countries and organizations.

According to Juntunen (2008) in a study conducted in Finland on police corruption, borrowing from Sherman, defined police corruption as "illegal use of organizational power for personal use" Sherman (1978). According to Quah (2006), Sherman contends that this definition is "the most useful for studying police corruption as a form of deviance that can be both individual and organizational" Sherman (1974; 1978). Corruption is said to be part of ethical behavior, since the police are interconnected with other actors in the socio-economic and political-administrative environment. They can be influenced as an organizational unit or as an individual body due to their connections to society. The current study therefore looked into this in terms of how corruption can be constructed using verbal accounts of individual minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone.

2.3.2 Forms of Police Corruption

According to An easy means of differentiating forms of corruption centers on the institutional location of the public official involved (i.e., corruption within the executive branch, the legislature or the judiciary, the local government, the police, customs agents, building inspectors, etc.). Since corruption seems to be very broad in nature, the study limited itself Morris (2015) definition political corruption involves “public officials” thereby differentiating the concept from fraud taking place within society, the sheer vastness of the public sector means that corruption can occur at virtually any place within the government.to forms of police corruption.

Mc Cafferty et al (1998) in a study conducted on law enforcement agencies, various types of police corruption were discussed. It was further noted that, in the closed society of law enforcement agency, factors such as the conspiracy of silence, authoritarian supervision, and police discretion contribute to corruption. Various types of corrupt behavior by police officers were described and that, understanding of corruption in law enforcement might be helpful in understanding, correcting and preventing corruption in other professions. Police corruption, in the context of the article, is "the use of one's status as a police officer for wrongful gain or benefit. According to the article an investigation of the Chicago Police Department from 1970 to 1976 Mc Cafferty (1998) revealed that officers engaged in 10 types of corrupt behavior:"

- i. Mooching: Receiving gratuities (such as free meals), sometimes in return for favoritism;
- ii. Chiseling: Demanding free or discounted admission to sporting events or other events not connected with police duties;

- iii. Favoritism: Granting immunity from police action to certain citizens or peers, such as "fixing parking or traffic violations;
- iv. Prejudice: Treating certain groups differently, particularly minority groups, because their influence within the political structure is not likely to cause trouble for the officer within the political structure.
- v. Shopping: Stealing small items from a store on one's beat when the door is accidentally left unlocked during nonbusiness hours.
- vi. Extortion: Demanding a cash payment and promising that in return, the person making the payment will be protected from police action.
- vii. Accepting bribes: Accepting an unsolicited cash payment, as from a bar owner or a person who wishes to avoid prosecution.
- viii. Shakedown: Stealing expensive items for personal use, as from a crime scene, and attributing their loss to criminal activity.
- ix. Perjury: Lying to protect a fellow officer or oneself, in a court of law or during an Internal Affairs Division investigation.
- x. Premeditated theft: Carrying out a planned burglary.

The study looked at police corruption in its broader form encompassing the whole police organization; however the current study looked at traffic department only.

According to the 1971 Knapp Commission found that corrupt police officials fall into two categories: "Grass Eaters" and "Meat Eaters" Gaines and Miller (2005). Grass eaters refer to police officials who are engaged in minor acts of corrupt practices Scaramella et al. (2011). The term "meat eaters" refers to the police officials who are engaged widely in serious corruption (Gaines and Miller, 2005). Meat eaters are the police officials who "aggressively misuse their police powers for personal gain" Mackey (1997). On the other

hand, Research hematic (2011) is of the opinion that most common types of police corruption are bribery and extortion.

2.3.3 Bribery

Bribery is the crime that requires the public officials to perform the duties in a manner that benefits the briber rather than the community Burchell (2006). Police officials occasionally are voluntarily offered something of value to influence their performance of an official duty Gaines and Kappeler (2015). Punch (2009) emphasizes that the offence of bribery, a police official agrees in exchange for a reward not to lay charges, or pursue an investigation.

According to Wraith and Simpkins (2011), bribery involves nepotism, and delegation of authority according to self-interest rather than merit. Bribery involves police officials taking no enforcement action in exchange for monetary remuneration Scaramella et al. (2011). Reporting to the Portfolio Committee on Police, the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa asserts that the police confiscated the legal documents of foreign nationals, and forced them to pay bribes in return for their release US State Department (2010).

The researcher defines bribery or *nicekeleko*? “*a local expression in Zambia meaning soliciting a bribe*” as “the crime that consists of the unlawful and intentional act of agreeing to wrong-doing. It involves the giving and receiving of money or anything that may alternates the behavior of the police official.

Garrett (2015) in his study police misconduct and corruption, points out that there are many levels of behavior and acts committed by law enforcement both on duty and off that can be considered misconduct. These acts can be categorized as ranging from minor errors in judgment, to the blatant

intentional victimization of honest law abiding citizens as well as the criminal element. No matter whom the victim may be all forms of misconduct and corruption damage the integrity of the profession. The minor incidences, if left unchecked ultimately lead to more serious acts of misconduct that can result in a culture of corruption within an agency and a lack of trust by the community. He further states that, some of the acts that are often committed by law enforcement can be those such as, accepting gratuities in exchange for special treatment, accepting bribes, stealing from both citizens and criminal alike, and at its worst, physical harm inflicted on innocent people. Whatever the specific behavior, it undermines the faith given to law enforcement by the community they serve. The study postulates through Delattre (2002) that corruption is caused by society at large, by influences within departments and or by a disposition towards corruption in individuals drawn to police work. However the study was quantitative in nature, therefore making it difficult to understand the meaning of corruption hence the current study taking a qualitative approach so as to understand the meaning attached to corruption by minibuses and taxi drivers in Livingstone.

According to Ibrahim (2015), in a study conducted in Nigeria on the prevalence and consequences of corruption in Nigerian Police Force, Corruption is endemic social problem in Nigerian society; it is particularly objectionable in Nigeria Police Force. Corruption is said to be a stumbling block to the effective administration of justice and efficient maintenance of law and order in Nigeria and have soiled the image of the force. The study identified Nigeria police force as the epitome of all multi corrupt and fraudulent schemes and recommended for fundamental restructuring, reorganization and retraining of officers. The study utilized secondary data which is inappropriate to come up with proper conclusions, hence the current study using a qualitative approach so as to bring out issues as understood by the participants (minibus and taxi drivers) themselves as they interact with police officers.

2.5 Police Corruption

According to Al-Muhairi (2008) police corruption is caused by local culture involving favoritism and nepotism that protects and even encourages unacceptable police behavior. The study aimed at exploring the different ways of police corruption and examining the potential ways of external mechanisms to control and minimize police corruption in the state of Abu Dhabi, which is one of the emirates of the United Arab Emirates. The methodology used for this research was by means of collecting data through a survey method distributed in the form of a questionnaire among a large population of police personnel and public. This research proved that unacceptable police behavior existed (64.4%), with traffic, investigation and the immigration departments being the highest. Favoritism and nepotism have been identified as the most types of unacceptable behavior which exists within the Abu Dhabi police force. Police officers (70%) agreed to use violence and excessive force against suspects and (54%) believed that the public were worried about repercussions if any complaint was made about corrupt officers. It has been established that unacceptable police behavior exists in Abu Dhabi police force and traffic, investigation and immigration departments have been identified with the highest levels of unacceptable police behavior. The research suggested the important role of media, public awareness, and training as remedies that should be adopted for instituting long term reforms. A combination of approaches, as well as federal supervision is needed. The researcher would look at favoritism and nepotism in reference to the current study if at all, it really happens or it's been happening.

Vilakazi (2015) in a study conducted in the Pretoria Central area South Africa police corruption is a problem which spans cultures, countries and generations because it is based on human weakness and motivations. Because even the lowest ranking officer can exercise wide power and

because there are people who want to take advantage of that power, the threat of corruption is inevitable. This is not meant to be a cynical view of the problem, but a practical one. It is the practical administrators that will be the most successful in combating corruption and keeping its influence to a minimum. The aim of the study was to measure the prevalence of police corruption and its impact on service delivery in the Pretoria Central area from the perceptions of the community. However, though the study was qualitative it did involve police officers as participants and this could lead to some information not to be revealed by participants (police officers) who have a tendency of protecting each other, using either the institutional culture or the blue code (the informal rule among police officers not to report on a colleague's errors, misconducts, or crimes). The study further, found that the majority of community members regarded most police officials as corrupt. The study did not segment the police by departments, making it difficult to know which department was more corrupt within the police service.

A study on police corruption done in Kenya by Onyango, states that policing ethics or related behaviors are shaped by both societal perceptions and organizational socialization of police personnel on how authority should be exercised, as well as the latter's relationship with the socio-political and economic structures overtime. It is found that most forms of police misconduct at police stops/checkpoints tend to demonstrate a policing culture consumed with more emphasis and training on maintenance of law and order than on compliance with related legal-rational processes. Likewise, some police misconducts are embedded on extra-organizational features, producing or flourishing on cartel-like enterprises that are somehow drawn on the complex interactions between institutional and environmental variables of policing. Tighter traffic laws, unexpectedly, seem to produce more, not fewer, opportunities for corruption. This, together with increased departmentalism arising from police reforms, consequently, aggravates problems of oversight and hinders pursuit of policing ethics in law enforcement. Institutional variables of traffic policing vis-à-vis dimensions

of justice and oversight systems in African contexts are generally illuminated Onyango (2018). The arising synergic interactions particularly give an explanation for the complexity and difficulties in monitoring discretionary behaviors of police personnel. Hence, difficulties with monitoring police discretion practically results to poor control systems for curbing policing malpractices and disenfranchisement of citizen oversight mechanisms. This, in turn, brings forth both institutional and cultural problems when enforcing compliance through stipulation of policing ethics Adebayo (2005).

Human Rights watch (HWR) research conducted in Liberia found that the ability of the police to enforce the law and investigate wrongdoing is severely compromised by lawlessness and abuse that police officers themselves inflict on ordinary Liberians, especially those living on the margins. The police force is riddled with corruption and a lack of professionalism and accountability. Further it showed that Liberians perceived the police to be the most corrupt institution in Liberia; the courts were a close second. This was confirmed by a Transparency International report, Global Corruption Barometer 2013, which noted that the police were perceived to be the most corrupt institution in the country TI (2013).

Regardless of location, victims of police corruption frequently expressed their concern that in Liberia, “justice is not for the poor,” or “no money, no justice.” They described police extortion at every stage of a case investigation—from registration of a complaint to transportation to the crime scene, to release from police detention. This institutional neglect has created the credible perception among many Liberians that wealth, not guilt, determines the outcome of a criminal case. Too often research found, the police acting like predators, violating the law rather than protecting the population. Police officers entered poor communities at night or simply patrolled a street and engaged in shakedowns. In these situations, officers approached or followed local residents and under the pretext of searching them for contraband items or weapons, demanded money, sometimes using

threats or violence. Motorcycle taxis, street vendors, and taxi drivers are particularly vulnerable to extortion and theft by the police HRW (2013). Police often “hustled” for money on the street usually going after motorcycle taxis or street vendors instead of reporting to their posts. The study was too general therefore the current study focused on the traffic police

According to Wanjala (2012) in a study done in Kenya on the matatu operators, operating on the Nairobi-Eldoret highway. The aim of the study was to find ways of reducing police corruption in Kenya. It was found that corruption was rampant on the Kenyan roads and it involved both Matatu drivers and traffic police officers. The drivers on top of maintenance and fuel costs, they had to budget for an extra 200 shillings on a daily basis for bribing police officers on various road blocks along their routes. At roadblocks once the police checked on the Matatu’s the driver had to flash out documents tucked with 50 shillings note [60 US cents] in between pages. Further Kenya police force was marked down as the country’s most corrupt state institution in the eyes of the public. Ninety-five per cent of Kenyans interviewed described the force as either “corrupt” or “extremely corrupt”, and 77 per cent said that they or a member of their household had bribed a police officer within the last 12 months Transparency International (2012). According to Transparency International, one of the major barriers to fighting corruption is the vicious circle where members of the public are accustomed to using unfair methods to secure services, while the providers of these services “seek further opportunities to exploit their position to make more money”. Bribery has permeated the ranks of the police service over the years to the extent that it has attained a sense of normalcy.

Though the study looked at the everyday experiences it did not clearly bring out the motives for paying bribes by the Matatu (minibus) drivers, therefore the current study aimed at understanding the motives of the minibuss and taxi drivers’ motives for involving in corruption with traffic police officers.

Further there is need to know whether this is the case in the Zambian situation

2.6 Research Gap

The researcher has reviewed related literature on traffic police corruption. In the recent times it has been realized that good police practices must not only be professional but corrupt free as well, so as to achieve meaningful development. Various studies have been conducted about police corruption in many parts of the world, most of them quantitative in nature and studies have in most cases focused on the entire police services making it difficult to understand which department of the police is more corrupt than others, hence need to narrow the study to Traffic police department. However, in Zambia, there is still limited research that has been conducted concerning traffic police corruption. This study took a qualitative approach so as to gain insightful understanding of how minibuses and taxi drivers construct corruption from their verbal accounts as they interact with traffic police officers in Livingstone City in Southern Province of Zambia.

2.7. Summary

In chapter two, literature related to this study has been reviewed and the gap identified is that studies did not segment police departments when looking at police corruption. The researcher reviewed literature from a global perspective, regional perspective and local perspective. It was discovered from the literature reviewed that police have been said to be corrupt in a holistic way rather than segmenting them departmentally. In the next chapter, the methodology that was used in this study shall be discussed.

CHAPTER THREE- RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

In the previous chapter, the researcher reviewed literature related to the study. In this chapter, the researcher described the methodology of the study which include the research design, study site, target population, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection instruments, trustworthiness, data collection procedure and analysis, as well as ethical considerations. Williams (2011) is of the opinion that methodology is used to give a clear cut idea on what the researcher is carrying out his or her research. Research refers to the process in which scientific methods are used to expand knowledge in a particular field of study Welman and Kruger (2001). Furthermore, (Blakstad, 2008) states that methodology maps out the research work in relevance to make solid plans.

3.2 Research Paradigm

Firstly, it is important to discuss the underlying philosophical research framework that formed the foundation of the study before discussing the research design and methodology. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) described a paradigm as either a world in order to understand behavior and action of the participants. In this study therefore, the world in focus was the world of minibus and taxi drivers conceptually taken from an emic perspective and this world is interpretive and this fits the phenomenological paradigm. Pring (2000) argued that research paradigms inherently reflect beliefs about the world we live in and want to live in. In addition, he argued that a research paradigm is an all-encompassing system of interrelated practice and thinking that define the nature of enquiry along three dimensions namely; ontology, epistemology and methodology.

3.3 Research Design

In order to fulfill the objectives of the study, a qualitative phenomenological interpretive research design was adopted for this study so as to understand the motives of minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery with traffic police, meaning and lived experiences of participants (minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone city) on the phenomenon (corruption) from their own perspective Creswell (2009). Merleau-ponty (1963) describes the essential focus of the phenomenological movement in philosophy as human consciousness. Phenomenology privileges the nature of the meaning that people construct in their lives and that guide their actions McPhail (1995).

Qualitative research appreciates how social reality is interpreted. Making sense of the reality is the ultimate objective of qualitative research. Needless to say, the objective of this study was to make sense of the meaning of bribe by studying the reason why minibus and taxi drivers are involved in the act. In doing so, qualitative research was likely to provide fruitful answers. Specifically, this study employed the phenomenological Inquiry Method. This is a method designed for a study that has certain characteristics, where it needed to bring out issues in relation to lived experiences of minibus and taxi driver in there day to day interaction with traffic police officers.

The research was an empirical study because the problem of corruption affects the social, political and economic status of a country and its people. The answer to the problem was to be identified through an active intervention in the real world so as to address a real-life problem.

This study was guided by a qualitative research that aimed at understanding corruption. According to Moleong (2008) qualitative research aims at understanding the phenomena of what was being experienced by research participants. Sociologically the study sought to understand the motives for involvement in bribery of minibus and taxi drivers with traffic police

officers. Qualitative research appreciates how social reality is interpreted. Making sense of the reality is the ultimate objective of qualitative research. The objective of this study was to make sense of the meaning of bribe by studying the reason why minibuses and taxi drivers were involved in it. In doing so, qualitative research provided fruitful answers. This study therefore, employed an interpretive phenomenological Method. The interpretive paradigm is believed to provide a deeper understanding of "corruption" from the viewpoint of the informant. As noted by Chua (1986) action can only be understood by reference to its meaning, where the interpretive paradigm facilitates it. Phenomenology is one school of thought in the interpretive paradigm. Phenomenological methodology is used to consider the significance of understanding the daily life of a human being (life world) to reveal social problems and to interpret how people act in everyday life Burrell & Morgan, (1979). This study used an interpretive phenomenological method to look at the meaning of bribe among traffic police officers, minibuses and taxi drivers in Livingstone city from a perspective of minibuses and taxi drivers.

3.4 Meaning in phenomenology

Husserl (1913/1962, 1936/1965) argued that the positivistic paradigm was inappropriate for studying phenomena because it could not describe the essential phenomena of the human world. Among these essential phenomena were values, meanings, intentions, morals, feelings, and the life experiences and creations of human beings. In order to study these phenomena, human consciousness should be the primary unit of analysis in the study of human life. The domain of phenomenology was defined as consciousness, not in its materiality (i.e., the faculties associated with consciousness, such as neurological mechanisms), but rather the act of consciousness in its intentionality toward something or someone (i.e., how something or someone is experienced by me) Polkinghorne (1983). Husserl and his

followers, while sometimes disagreeing on particular conceptualizations of consciousness, all agreed on the central point of phenomenology. They viewed the positivistic scientific paradigm as flawed for studying human beings and their lives because it could not consider human consciousness in its meaning-making capacity Mc Phail (1995).

In a study by Ospina (2004) on leadership scholars seeking to answer questions about culture and meaning have found experimental and quantitative methods to be insufficient on their own in explaining the phenomenon they wish to study. As a result, qualitative research has gained momentum as a mode of inquiry and increased recognition of the strengths of qualitative inquiry generally. Shank (2002) defines qualitative research as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” By systematic he means “planned, ordered and public”, following rules agreed upon by members of the qualitative research community. By empirical, he means that this type of inquiry is grounded in the world of experience. Inquiry into meaning says researchers try to understand how others make sense of their experience. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) claim that qualitative research involves an interpretive and naturalistic approach: “This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them”. The advantages of doing qualitative research include (Conger, 1998; Bryman et al, 1988; Alvesson, 1996): flexibility to follow unexpected ideas during research and explore processes effectively; sensitivity to contextual factors; ability to study symbolic dimensions and social meaning; increased opportunities, to develop empirically supported new ideas and theories; for in-depth and longitudinal explorations of leadership phenomena; and for more relevance and interest for practitioner. Therefore, this study tried to bring out the meaning of corruption among minibus and taxi drivers. Conger (1998) argues that quantitative research alone cannot produce a good understanding of phenomenon, owing to its complexity,

3.5 Study Site

The study was conducted within Livingstone City of Zambia. Livingstone city was selected to be appropriate for the study bearing in mind that the few studies done in this field were concentrated to major cities like Lusaka, Ndola and Kitwe and mostly based on macro but this study will be based on micro scale, looking only at minibus and taxi drivers. Hence, it was the researcher's feeling that conducting the study in this part of the country would help reveal what was prevailing concerning bribery between police officers, minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone city.

3.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study was confined to Livingstone City one of the five cities in Zambia. According to Creswell (2003), delimitation is used to address how the study was narrowed in scope. To this regard, in this study, the researcher only collected data from traffic police officers, minibus and taxi drivers the information was obtained using in-depth unstructured interviews. Though Wiersma (2000) stated that, because qualitative research occurs in the natural setting it is extremely difficulty to replicate studies. The study formed the basis for future studies on the phenomenon. Therefore, the findings of this study may not be generalized to other places across the country in its form.

Table 3.1: Research Design Matrix

Research Question	Research Objective	Population and sampling	Data collection tool	Data Analysis
In what ways do traffic police demonstrate a bribe? (Nominalist ontology and Abduction)	To describe the experiences of minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone of traffic police bribery	Nonprobability-purposive sampling Minibus and taxi drivers	Interview guide/schedule	content analysis
What is the meaning of paying bribes by minibus and taxi drivers? (Nominalist ontology and abduction)	To understand the motives of minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone for their involvement in bribery with traffic police	Nonprobability purposive sampling Minibus and taxi drivers	Interview guide/schedule	content analysis
Why do taxi drivers, minibus drivers and Police officers engage in bribery	To understand the meaning that minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone attach to paying bribes to traffic officers	Non probability Purposive sampling Minibus and taxi drivers.	Interview guide/schedule	content analysis

3.7 Target Population

The study targeted all minibus and taxi drivers operating within Livingstone city Zambia, this was so because there was no proper records of the total number of mini bus and taxi drivers operating within the city. This was due to the fact that, each site or loading place had its own way of managing the affairs and this made it difficult for the researcher to come up with the actual number of mini bus and taxi drivers around Livingstone city. The number of participants was twenty five, comprising of sixteen taxi drivers and nine minibus drivers.

Patton (1990) "There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry". The most important aspect in qualitative research is saturation which is a point where all the themes and categories have saturated and no new data generated Morse (2000).

3.8 Sampling Techniques

This study employed purposive sampling; this is a non-probability sampling technique where selection of individuals for the sample will not give the entire individual in the population equal chances of being selected. Purposive technique involves handpicking of individuals from the population on the authority's or the researcher's judgment or knowledge Msabila & Nalaila (2013). Maximum variation sampling was used to select participants because the researcher desired to have a range experiences from the existing pool drivers at the taxi and mini bus ranks based on age groups, place of operation and to enlist taxi as well as minibus drivers. The categories of drivers were deemed to be ideal to render insights on the topic by virtue of their knowledge and experience.

Based on Bless and Achola (1988) who stated that "purposive sampling method is based on the judgment of the researcher regarding the characteristics of a representative sample" in this study, the inclusion

criterion was that one needed to be a PSV driver and must have been operating in Livingstone city for at least one year.

3.9 Data Collection Techniques and Description of Instruments

In order to collect required information for a qualitative study, data was collected using unstructured in-depth interview. Interviews were recorded using a dicta phone recorder. Drawing from Moleong (2008) the researcher used loose questions to get into the conceptual world of the respondents in order to understand the lived experiences of events in everyday life. Minibus and taxi drivers as well as some traffic police officers were interviewed and each interview took about 20 to 30 minutes.

3.10 Researcher's reflexivity in the dissemination of data

Reflexivity can be a complex concept to grasp when entering the world of qualitative research. Although reflection is, to all intents and purposes, a goal-oriented action with the aim of improving practice, reflexivity is a continual process of engaging with and articulating the place of the researcher and the context of the research Barrett et al (2020). According to Berger (2015) researcher's reflexivity is "the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the researcher's positionality as well as active acknowledgment and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome" Watanabe (2017)

The researcher is a police officer though working in a different department. As member of the Zambia Police Service, he is familiar with anecdotes of police corruption, incidents that are alleged and proved as reported in the media. The researcher was alive to the fact that being a police officer was going to compromise the way respondents would come out concerning corruption, therefore the researcher made sure that respondents enlisted to participate in the study were not known him.

The researcher collected data from a diverse range of respondents and settings. This strategy reduces the risk of chance associations and systematic biases Bickman and Rog (2009).

3.10.1 Minibus and taxi drivers

Minibus and taxi drivers were very cardinal in giving out information to this study, because the researcher wanted to find the underlying essences and common meaning and lived experiences attributed to the phenomena (corruption), in relation to their day to day interaction with traffic police officers. Creswell (1998) posits that the best criteria to determine the use of phenomenology is when the research problem requires a profound understanding of human experiences common to a group of people. In this case were the minibus and taxi drivers in Livingstone city.

3.10.2 Traffic Police Officers

Traffic Police officers would have been equally important in giving out information which could either confirm or disapprove allegations of corruption by the mini bus and taxi drivers in their day to day interaction in Livingstone city, however the study did not include police officers as participants in the study owing to the fact that, issues concerning the police borders on security of the country therefore and permission was to be sought through the relevant authorities and this could take time. Therefore the study being an academic and that time frame for the completion was set; it was not possible to take on board the police.

3.10.3 Interview Guide

Interview schedule was used to collect in-depth data from both the traffic police officers, minibus and taxi drivers to give answers to the research questions of this study. This technique of data collection was very important as it helped the researcher to probe information from the respondents, who had busy schedules and, some of whom did not know how to read and write. Interviewing can, at one extreme, be structured, with questions prepared and

presented to each interviewee in an identical way using a strict predetermined order. At the other extreme, interviews can be completely unstructured, like a free-flowing conversation. Qualitative researchers usually employ “semi structured” interviews which involve a number of open ended questions based on the topic areas that the researcher wants to cover. The open ended nature of the questions posed defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. If the interviewee has difficulty answering a question or provides only a brief response, the interviewer can use cues or prompts to encourage the interviewee to consider the question further. In a semi structured interview the interviewer also has the freedom to probe the interviewee to elaborate on an original response or to follow a line of inquiry introduced by the interviewee. However the researcher used unstructured interview for this study because little is known about corruption in Livingstone city.

3.11 Data analysis and Interpretation

According to Van de Ven (2007) data analysis is a process of inspecting, cleansing, transforming and modeling data with the goal of discovering useful information, informing conclusion and supporting decision-making. Data analysis has multiple facets and approaches, encompassing diverse techniques under a variety of names, and is used in different business, science, and social science domains. In this study data was analysed using interpretive phenomenological analysis a method which suited the study.

3.11.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

The focus is on text on qualitative data rather than on numbers and this is the most important feature of qualitative analysis. The “text” that qualitative researchers analyze is most often transcripts of interviews or notes from participant observation sessions, but text can also refer to pictures or other images that the researcher examines. Qualitative analysts may have two

different goals. Some view analysis of a text as a way to understand what participants “really” thought, felt, or did in some situation or at some point in time. The text becomes a way to get “behind the numbers” that are recorded in a quantitative analysis to see the richness of real social experience. The text is only one possible interpretation among many Patton (2002). Qualitative data analysts seek to describe their textual data in ways that capture the setting or people who produced this text. However, qualitative and quantitative data analyses also differ in the priority given to the prior views of the researcher and to those of the subjects of the research.

This study used Moustakas’ (1994) interpretive phenomenological analysis with some modification embracing Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method of analysis to analyze the phenomenological data;

First, all statements relevant to the participant’s experience were listed. This process is known as horizontalization, each comment was presumed to hold equal value. Second, all nonoverlapping, nonrepetitive statements were listed. These statements were the invariant horizons of the experience. Third, invariant horizons were then grouped into themes. Fourth, the invariant horizons and themes were used to construct an individual textural description of each participant’s experience, including verbatim examples. Fifth, individual structural descriptions of each participant’s experience were drawn from the individual textural description and imaginative variation constructed. Sixth, a textural-structural description of the meanings and essences of each participant’s experience, including the invariant constituents and themes were constructed. Finally, individual textural-structural descriptions were used to develop a composite description of the essences of the experience for all participants as a whole. This description will be the heart of the lived-experience in the current study.

3.12 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, credibility, dependability, transferability, confirmability and authenticity are used to describe what characterizes the aspects of trustworthiness of data Patton (1990); Polit & Hungler (1999) and Long & Johnson (2000). Since in qualitative studies researchers do not use instruments with established metrics to determine validity and reliability, trustworthiness is used to establish it Streubert and Carpenter (1999). Trustworthiness in this study was achieved through triangulation. The researcher used data triangulation. Triangulation is very important in ensuring confirmability of results Chilufya (2014).

3.12.1 Credibility

Credibility in research ensures that the research findings are true and accurate. According to Holloway & Wheeler (2002); Macnee & McCabe (2008) Credibility is the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings. In this study therefore, credibility was ensured by the use of various methods for data collection.

3.12.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be transcribed to other contexts with other participants – it is the interpretive equivalent of generalizability Bitsch (2005); Tobin & Begley (2004). In this study, transferability was ensured through homogenous purposive sampling and thick descriptions. This was done to show that the research findings can be applicable to other contexts (similar phenomena, populations, circumstances and situations).

3.12.3 Dependability

According to Anney (2014), dependability refers to the stability of findings over time. Dependability involves participants evaluating the findings and

the interpretation and recommendations of the study to make sure that they are all supported by the data received from the informants of the study Cohen et al (2011); Tobin & Begley (2004). Dependability was ensured through the use of inquiry audit in order to ensure that the findings were consistent and could be repeated.

3.12.4 Conformability

Conformability refers to the degree, to which the results of an inquiry could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers' findings Guba (1981); Schwandt, Lincoln, & Guba (2007). It ensures that there is a degree of neutrality in the research findings. The researcher in this study ensured that the findings were based on participant's responses and not any potential bias or personal motivations. This was done by ensuring that there was no biasness in interpretation of what the participants said.

Authenticity is also of importance in qualitative research, whereby researchers seek reassurance that both the conduct and evaluation of research are genuine and credible Given (2008). As such, in this study, the researcher focused on describing the participants' experiences faithfully, fairly and without biasness.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

According to Wellington (2000) an ethic is a moral principle or a code of conduct which guides what people do. Deyle et al (1992) identified several critical ethical issues that needed to be addressed in approaching a research: how does one present oneself in the field? As how does one present one? How ethically defensible is it to pretend to be somebody that you are not in order to gain knowledge that you would otherwise not be able to acquire, and obtain the preserve to places which otherwise you would be unable to secure or sustain? The researcher followed the participants at minibus stations and taxi ranks within Livingstone city. The possible participants were identified through their dress code, which were a navy blue shirt and black trousers.

Participation in the study was voluntary and informed consent was sought from the participant before being interviewed. Respondents' anonymity and

confidentiality of information was ensured through the use of pseud names. Decision made not to participate in the study was highly respected. Using appropriate research methodology and ensuring the correct reporting was among other considerations that the research, through the competence of the researcher upheld

3.14. Summary

In this chapter, the methodology that was used to collect data for this study has been discussed. The research paradigm, research design, study site, study population and a description of the sample has been given. Data collection methods and instruments have also been discussed. This was followed by an explanation of the data collection procedures, validity and reliability, data analysis procedures and ethical considerations. What follows next is now the presentation of the research findings.

CHAPTER FOUR-PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings were presented using a thematic approach. Each research question had themes sub themes and categories that emerged following the analysis. However, before the presentation of findings, the researcher presented the demographic profile of respondents.

4.2 Demographics of Respondents

In this section, demographics of respondents who took part in the study were presented. A total of 25 participants were interviewed as summarized in **Table 4.1**. Most of the targeted participants declined to give an interview and some suspecting it to be politically motivated while others could not avail themselves because they were in a hurry hastening for cash targets of the day.

Table 1: Frequency and percentage distribution of participants

Characteristics	f	%
<u>Type of Participant</u>		
Minibus drivers	9	36
Taxi drivers	16	64

Table 4.1 shows that all the participants were males (100%), this clearly shows that this sector is male dominated, with a representation of 36% minibus drivers and 64% Taxi drivers. This study was conducted in a period of five months from July to November 2019.

4.3 Ways in which Police Officers, Taxi drivers and mini bus drivers demonstrate bribery¹

The aim of this objective was to bring out ways in which Traffic police officers demonstrated corruption as they interacted with minibus and taxi drivers in their day to day lived experiences.

Research question 1: “in what ways do traffic police demonstrate bribe”? The section demonstrates two ways in which bribery was done. Police Officers and Taxi drivers as well as minibus drivers demonstrated bribes in a number of varying and similar ways. It is prudent now to show the manner of bribing and how the two were actors. Two themes were used to show case this. The first related to planning circumstances to initiate a bribe and the second is about soliciting a bribe. Each of these two themes was discussed below.

Theme I: Fault finding as Underhand Methods

Fault finding was one of the ways in which traffic police officers were said to have demonstrated ways of bribery. The traffic enforcement objective of the Zambia police traffic department is to reduce traffic crashes and injuries and to facilitate the safe and expeditious flow of vehicular, bicycle and pedestrian traffic through voluntary compliance with traffic regulations, through traffic patrols, snap checks and road blocks. The purposes of traffic

¹ The drivers who had at one time involved in initiating bribes came out clearly saying some police officers were not corrupt as perceived but circumstances led to this situation, for example Mike a minibus driver aged 33 had this to say,

“The police are not corrupt per say it’s the charges which are too high and most of the taxi drivers cannot manage, hence engaging in bad vices.”

Enforcement at times was abused by traffic police officers in the quest of perpetrating their own interests as inducers of bribery. This study indicated that traffic officers used under hand methods to pin drivers with unscrupulous traffic offences with a view to gain. For instance the following were testimonies from drivers,

Joseph a minibus driver aged 45 had a hell of an experience and says:

“I have suffered hell with these people....The system the police have is that when your vehicle is fit and road worthy, they will always look for faults in you for instance at one time my vehicle was impounded because one of the passengers had a laptop bag on his laps and the police said it was contravening and they wanted me to pay a fine.”

Lioko a minibus driver aged 42, explained how police officers acted in the quest of gaining through bribery.

“What happens with traffic officers when they are broke they will mount road blocks all over the place and impound almost all the vehicles and release them after paying and they do not issue us receipts because we do not manage to pay the stipulated charges and that money doesn't go to the government it ends up with individuals.”

Steve a taxi driver aged 27 outlined an instance of a wrong offence.

“At times us PSV driver are given fake charges for instance if you stop on the way to pick a customer the police will charge you for obstruction or contravening and the vehicle impounded and you are asked to pay k450 and this may not be easy you end up negotiating with the police and end up giving them say k100 and you are let free.”

Jones a minibus driver aged 37, pointed out a new culture among police officers.

“At times even if your vehicle is fit you have to contribute to the police on a daily basis because it’s now a culture that everyone operating within Livingstone has to contribute something in terms of cash, drinks, lunch.”

Participants’ responses further showed that police officers were actively involved in fostering bribery acts, by either showing sympathy to the drivers who could not manage to pay the stipulated fines, or by threatening drivers through impounding their vehicles and later on accepting whatever lesser amounts drivers offered them. By accepting what was offered by minibus and taxi drivers was confirmation of police misconduct.

Peter a minibus driver aged 44 observed that;

“Normally when the government says no unnecessary road blocks you will find that the police will change the strategy and continue mounting road blocks and they say it is a snap check but they check for faults as usual and they will be all over the place we fail to understand the difference between road block and snap check.”

Theme II: Soliciting a Bribe

The solicitation or acceptances of a bribe are serious breaches of the public trust which police officers are engaged in. Solicitation involved a police officer or driver giving or, offering either before or after an act which could be any gift or gratuity with the intent to influence a decision, or judgment on any matter related to a traffic offence real or unreal. In the paragraphs that follow are sub themes relating to soliciting a bribe. The first relates to police officers and the second to drivers.

Subtheme II: Police officers soliciting a bribe

In this study traffic police officers were considered as the main inducers in soliciting bribes from drivers. Drivers were also inducers in a number of respects and they also solicited bribes this was in form of money, drinks, lunch and talk time.. There were times police used actions to solicit a bribe and in some occasions they openly sought for a bribe from the minibuss and taxi drivers. Police officers were in a habit of soliciting for a bribe from the drivers instead of enforcing the law as required. For instance, they would let a driver develop a plan or tell the driver that he knew what to do and the following are testimonies of drivers. Below are the testimonies.

In a number of instances, drivers referred to what police officers instructed them to do. Drivers could be told that “they knew what to do”, to make an atonement of a wrong, or to devise a plan or to do it the “*English way*”.

One driver Joseph aged 45 had this to say regarding ‘*knowing what to do*’.

“When you have committed an offence, in most cases the police will not tell you directly to give them money but they will just tell you that “ziba vochita” meaning know what to do.”

The study further has shown that because of the sentiments from police officers such as the one in driver Joseph’s response “*ziba vochita*” gave a leeway for drivers to negotiate for unstipulated amount of fines in which police officers as recipients gained at the expense of the Government.

Regarding developing a plan Moya a taxi driver aged 33 observed as follows

“Police officers at times will openly tell you that if you want to pay for a receipt pay but if you cannot afford make a plan meaning you plead with them and negotiate for the amount you can afford giving them so that you are let free.”

The sentiments from the police officers were taken to be a gospel truth by drivers, because of the special position police officers hold in society, police wield some powers as a result of their profession and this makes them to have influence over the general citizenry. This kind of behavior was once affirmed by Dempsey and Forst (2012) who noted that police work was fertile ground for growth of corruption owing to the enormous authority given to officers and the tremendous discretion they are allowed to exercise interacting with client.

Subtheme II: Drivers soliciting a bribe

Drivers solicited a bribe by initiating the act. This occurred especially when the drivers were in the wrong. Where drivers were in the seat of corruption, they did so once they were found with a fault genuinely or when police officers concocted a fault. Drivers' demonstrated bribery by offering cash, drinks, lunch and talk time. They did to either not pay the required fines or just to free themselves from inconvenience. For example, drivers initiated bribes by giving offers to police officers in a bid to remain in operation even when their vehicles were not roadworthy; police officers on the other hand were recipients of bribes. The following were testimonies of the drivers.

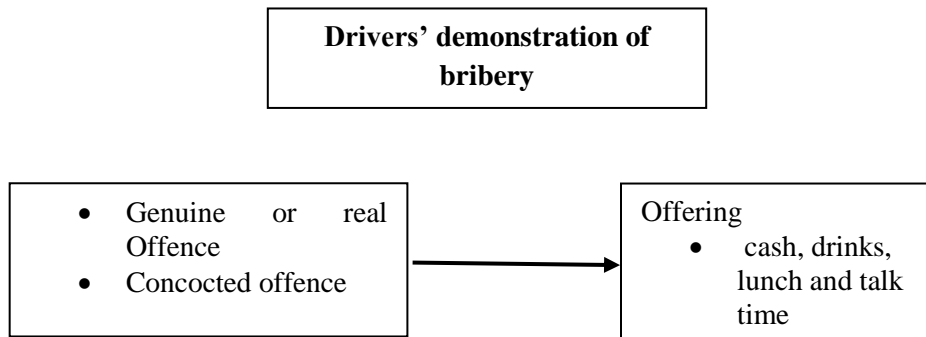
Mwangala a minibus driver aged 40 supported the need to give police officers something.

“If the vehicle is impounded it will be at the police for a long time as you wait for your boss to sort out the issue... you will have to give the police whatever you can afford so that the vehicle is released.”

This was consistent with Mombela a taxi driver aged 41 who said;

“Without engaging in the business of paying something to the police you cannot survive. they need money, they have many ways of making you pay them for instance they will impound the vehicle and get the keys, let us say for three days and you have the family home and they need food, you will be forced to follow them and plead with them and end up give them something.”

When you are in trouble with them, you just give those drinks or get them some packed lunch and promise to send them talk time. They will release you or leave you next time when you have a matter with them. This can be summarized conceptually as follows



4.4 Subcultural language by minibus and taxi drivers

This objective looked at the sentiments and meanings that emerged from a subcultural language, which was the way of expressing corruption among the drivers and traffic police officers in their day to day interaction in the city of Livingstone.

Research question 2: “what was the meaning of paying bribes by minibus and taxi drivers”? The section demonstrates three ways in which meanings of corruption were expressed. Considering this research question, meaning

appears as a crucial concept for reaching a deeper understanding of a participant's perspective regarding the concept 'bribe'. A qualitative scholar focusses on meaning because acts are built on such Bortoft (1996); Bech (2005). Recognizing that qualitative research is inquiry, tends to aim at describing and clarifying human experience as it appears in people's lives, in this section the researcher uses a subcultural language to bring out the meaning of bribe. For example, the following were testimonies of the drivers with particular meanings of the term corruption which has been routinized in the Livingstone city subculture.

Panga Plan (Make a plan)

When Mukelabai a taxi driver aged 36 was asked to elaborate the meaning of Panga Plan (Make a plan), his interpretation within the subculture was to offer buying the officers some lunch.

"I told the officer that I was going to come later as I was dry (had no money). My intention was to buy him lunch. That to me was the plan to liberate myself."

One other concept that was used related to "you know what to do" translated as *Ziba Vochita*. Joseph a minibus driver aged 45 gave an account of what it meant when the police said ziba vochita (you know what to do)

"In most cases they (police), will not tell you directly to give them money but, they will just tell you that "ziba vochita" meaning know what to do." This implies that you have to give them cash lesser than the genuine fines and a receipt is usually not issued, meaning the money ends up with the individual police officer dealing with you at that particular time."

The police officers hat was one term that was used to enhance corruption and to render meaning of what one ought to do. They would tell drivers to look into the hat and they will say in a local language *Yangana muchisote*. When

Mukendi a taxi driver aged 30 was asked to elaborate the meaning of yangana muchisote, his interpretation within the subculture was,

“The police will not tell you directly to bribe them but their actions speak louder than words, for instance they will tell that yangana muchisote meaning whatever you are to bribe them should simply be dropped in the police cap which is normally placed a few meters from the road.”

Doing the English way was one other common term used in the subculture (Uchite ya chizungu). When Muzamai a taxi driver aged 39 was asked to elaborate the meaning of uchite ya chizungu (you can do it in the English way), his interpretation within the subculture was,

“I have been told at the road block when I have been found wanting to do it the English way. This implies making sure that onlookers do not figure out that I am making payments. I would be ushered into the police car and make transactions on the spot. Those who use the English way are deemed to be sharp.”

Nathan a minibus driver had an experience with doing the English way and said,

“The police do ask us for the bribes since they know most of us are either friends or relatives and they will tell you to choose between a charge sheet, “olo uchite ya chizungu” meaning you pay less without getting a receipt. If you resist bribing them they will impound your vehicle say for twenty days as you look for money to pay, therefore for fear of this you are forced to give them whatever you can afford.”

This section has shown participants’ experiences with the police are related to the descriptions of their life-world with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena around offending and bribing.

4.5 Motives for bribes

This objective looked at the issues that motivated the drivers to engage themselves in corruption and bribery. It was important to look at the reason to the act of bribery by the drivers, because this brought out the emic perception of the drivers concerning the phenomena.

Research question 3: “why do taxi drivers, minibus drivers and police officers engage in bribery”? This question is about motives to borrow from Max Weber’s sociology of verstehen. The concern of the researcher is ultimately with the development of means and procedures for ascertaining and verifying which are or have been the historically effective motives involved in and accounting for any particular course of social a bribery action. In this section, the researcher relied on Weber’s sociological analysis to delineate particular causal chains in bribery.

The study demonstrated three motives (occurring in 26 ways), which led the minibus drivers, taxi drivers and traffic police to engage in bribery. It is prudent now to show the motives for bribes. Three sub themes emerged and under which circumstances facilitated motives and these included the need for protection (security), physiological needs and survival. When asked why drivers were in the habit of bribing police officers. The following were testimonies.

When Mukelabai a taxi driver was asked why he involved himself in bribery with the police he had this to say about the motive related to Maslow’s physiological needs. He was worried about his children and said,

“At times we do engage in corruption looking at our status, if the vehicle is impounded it will be at the police for a long time as you wait to sort out the issue with the police, at home the children need food therefore you will be forced to give the police whatever you can afford so that the vehicle is released instead of waiting

to pay a lot of money which at times may be in excess of k1200.”

This shows that the driver had an obligation for supplying physiological needs to his family. Another minibus driver Mike gave an account justifying the need to be secure or safe as a driver for bribery,

“If one wanted to be released they must pay something to the police, than paying the actual amount and once you give them anything they will let you free...No one wants to be locked up or detained at the road block until the matter is resolved.”

Imasiku a minibus driver when asked the reason drivers bribe police officers, his narration was as follows,

“You may not survive without paying a bribe to police, because of the high charges for instance instead of paying K 1500 for an offence like dangerous driving just give them K300 and they will release you...If you do not make a plan, your car will go to the wire (Impounded) and that will be end of you... (Meaning you will have no source of income until the matter is resolved in an official way.”

4.6 Summary

The study has found that both police officers and drivers were corrupt. Police officers used underhand Methods like Looking for faults, mounting roadblocks charging drivers wrongly and seeking contributions. Police officers went on to solicit bribes by asking a driver to develop a plan or tell the driver that he knew what to do. Drivers solicited a bribe by offering cash, food, drinks and talk time. Drivers solicited a bribe when in the wrong or when a case was concocted. There were two main motives for drivers engaging in bribery when they faced a threat to security, survival or threats to physiological needs. The motives were the need for protection (security), physiological needs and survival.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Overview

The researcher in the previous chapter presented the findings of this study. Through the use of related literature presented in chapter two and themes derived from the research objectives and questions, the researcher in this chapter will endeavor to discuss the research findings.

A number of themes as indicated in the preceding chapter emerged from this study, which revealed how the subculture conducted itself in corrupt activities during their day to day interaction as they conducted their business. Corruption or bribery occurred in the forms of fault finding, soliciting a bribe, corruption, and in a bid of hasting for protection, survival and physiological needs

Looking at the findings, one could infer that both police officers and drivers were living in a corrupt sub culture. Using underhand methods seemed to suggest unethical conduct. This feature of police and driver corruption was embedded in the local culture if we were to borrow from Al-Muhairi (2008). In a subculture of corruption are vices like favoritism and nepotism that protects and even encourages unacceptable police behavior. Favoritism and nepotism were identified as the most types of unacceptable behavior which exists within the subculture

It was not possible to argue that what happened in Livingstone was peculiar. There were cases of police corruption with motorists and these were inherent of the power that they had. Vilakazi (2015) in a study conducted in the Pretoria Central area South Africa police corruption was a problem which spans cultures, countries and generations because it was based on human weakness and motivations. Because even the lowest ranking officer could exercise wide powers and because there were people who wanted to take advantage of that power, the threat of corruption was inevitable. This was not meant to be a cynical view of the problem, but a practical one. It was the

practical administrators that could be the most successful in combating corruption and keeping its influence to a minimum.

It was very evident that police and driver corruption was an ethical matter as well as bordering on power. A study on police corruption done in Kenya by Onyango, (2015) stated that policing ethics or related behaviors were shaped by both societal perceptions and organizational socialization of police personnel on how authority should be exercised, as well as the latter's relationship with the socio-political and economic structures overtime. It was found that most forms of police misconduct at police stops/checkpoints tend to demonstrate a policing culture consumed with more emphasis and training on maintenance of law and order than on compliance with related legal-rational processes. Likewise, some police misconducts were embedded in extra-organizational features, producing or flourishing on cartel-like enterprises that were somehow drawn on the complex interactions between institutional and environmental variables of policing. The current tighter traffic laws, unexpectedly, seemed to produce more, not fewer, opportunities for corruption. This, together with police reforms, consequently, aggravates problems of oversight and hinders pursuit of policing ethics in law enforcement Wanjala (2012).

There was evidence to argue that arising synergic interactions between drivers and police officers particularly gave an explanation for the complexity and difficulties in eradicating such form of corruption creating it difficult to monitor corruption. As seen elsewhere, this in turn, brings forth both institutional and cultural problems when enforcing compliance through stipulation of policing ethics as shown in some countries Adebayo (2005); Oleinik (2016).

The study had also shown the role of drivers in corruption. The exchanges between police officers and drivers in Livingstone were rather worrisome. These exchanges are regulated by informal and taken-for-granted rules of the game of corruption, which mutually legitimizes police and driver

misconduct, curtails detection and respectively defines, for example, amount and nature of bribes involved. Such kind of socialization and rationalization of police and driver corruption has created an unresponsive state of affairs on failure to report police misconduct.

The testimonies of drivers about high and strict fines ought to be noted as this accentuated corruption, and fed unresponsiveness towards police misconduct. Likewise, it had been shown how the police could be differentially pressured by both horizontal and vertical associations, reinforcements and socio-cultural and economic factors to engage in corruption. In short, traffic policing in Livingstone featured well-established and expansive network of a subculture form of corruption, where both motorists and the police were generally obligated to play their part. Nevertheless, it was also partly contended that the effectiveness and sustenance of such networks stemmed from socio-institutional/organizational perceptions and definitions of authority, as well as socio-political and economic structures.

It was further illustrated that, as on one hand, motorists paid bribes to circumvent traffic regulations and/or to be in right terms with corrupt police officers, the police, on the other hand, were seemingly focused on maximizing illegal incomes. The informal or unstructured nature of bribing therefore partly contributes to corruption at the roadblocks creating feedback or spiral effects of corruption between the police and motorists. It also showed that prevalence of illicit police practices may put into question the quality of police personnel just as effective citizen oversight against such practices required enlightened citizenry. In Livingstone, for example, police bribery was partly conditioned by inadequate internalization of traffic legislations both by police and motorists. Together, these were differentially reinforced through favoritism and nepotism and sustained by perennial culture of impunity in the service that could be traceable to colonial past and previous socio-political environments of police practices. In short, social

learning processes and the resilience supportive socio-political and socio-cultural systems such as in forms of large power distance and reciprocal cultures pose complex interactions that shape policing environments and police practices. This may mean that police misconduct in Livingstone was considerably a combination of organizational culture and system failure problems and degradation or manipulation of social norms rather than individual personnel problem. This went further to explain the ineffectiveness of anti-corruption strategies against police corruption in contexts like Livingstone.

What was happening in Livingstone could be mirrored to Liberia. Human Rights watch research conducted in Liberia which found that the ability of the police to enforce the law and investigate wrongdoing was severely compromised by lawlessness and abuse that police officers themselves inflicted on ordinary Liberians, especially those living on the margins. This may not be different from what was happening in Livingstone. The police force was riddled with corruption and a lack of professionalism and accountability. Further it showed that Liberians perceived the police to be the most corrupt institutions. This was confirmed by a Transparency International report, Global Corruption Barometer 2013, which noted that the police were perceived to be the most corrupt institution in the country ZBPI (2014); TIZ (2017).

The relation between subjective experience or having an encounter with a police officer when there was a charge and language used to express an action, feeling or thought was in essence a two-way process. The first was that language was used to express meaning and the other way round was also correct, language influences how meaning was constructed. The fact that drivers and police officers rendered word to experiences was indeed a complicated process, as the meaning of experiences is often not completely accessible only to subjects in the subculture and difficult to express in a generic language. To capture the richness of experience in language, people

commonly used narratives and metaphors Polkinghorne (2005). Metaphors vary from culture to culture and are language-specific Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The use of terms like *panga plan*, *Ziba Vochita* and *Yangana muchisote* among others, showed the richness of language in expressing particular meaning. For example in Dutch it was a common saying to give a proposal ‘hands and feet’ (*handen en voeten geven in Dutch*) to express the physical work that was needed to make the proposal concrete. This expression was not easily understandable for native English speakers Otis (2008). Language also influenced what could be expressed, and some linguists even stated that social reality as experienced was unique to one’s own language; those who spoke different languages would perceive the world differently Chapman (2006).

5.2 Limitations and Strengths of the study

There were limitations in this study. These findings could not tell us the magnitude of the problem. They could not tell us also about the demographic characteristics of victims and the police officers who were involved in corruption. It should be noted as well that the results were not generalizable beyond Livingstone. It is research prudence therefore that a much wider study is done that could use the outcomes of this study to appreciate what the trend is like beyond Livingstone. However, in spite of these limitations, this study was significant in that it contributed to the board of knowledge on the subject matter (corruption), scored first in rendering experiences and meanings of corruption or bribe among drivers and police officers, the themes and sub themes that emerged can be handy in conducting a quantitative study. The themes and sub themes could take the position of variables in a quantitative project.

5.3 Recommendations

This section is concerned with recommendations. It proposes what could be done to curb or reduce corruption (with particular reference to bribery) in

Livingstone city. From the discussion so far, it is obvious that certain subcultural practices encourage bribery. Therefore, in curbing bribery, it is very important that the stakeholders (policy makers and other concerned Associations) understand the type of corruption which they are targeting, as the one size fits all approach should be avoided. The general method of what “worked for this must work for that” may not be helpful, as such a method can only guarantee a little success. It is the stakeholders that must take time to understand the actual local circumstances that encourage or permit police officers and drivers to be corrupt nwar (2007).

It was recommended therefore that, to mitigate corruption among the police, taxi and minibus drivers in Livingstone require:

- i. Wholesome and open technique: The study recommended that, taxi and mini bus drivers be sensitized to fight corruption by minibus and taxi drivers Association. Therefore, these drivers should not only hate bribery, but also should speak about it publicly.
- ii. Taxi and mini bus drivers through their Associations should have a say in the governance of traffic regulations: if people were empowered to have a say in the way they were governed (participatory governance) and officials were accountable to the people they served (social accountability), taxi and mini bus drivers become aware of their power and the force their voices could have when oppressed.
- iii. Use participatory social accountability technique: participatory social accountability tools increase contact between taxi and mini bus drivers and the police command in Livingstone, and therefore increase transparency, accountability and good governance. These would reduce the opportunities for the police officers to abuse their power. This can be done through stakeholder collaboration. in this case, Police administrators and minibus and taxi Association leadership.

- iv. Use the civic education strategy: This can be done by Non-Governmental Organizations advocating against corruption as well as the Minibus and Taxi Drivers Associations within Livingstone city. It was realized that drivers in Livingstone did not understand their rights and ended up mistreated by the people in authority such as the police. Thus, increased citizen participation through civic education, means better informed people in the society, and more oversight and less corruption in planning and monitoring local development.

5.4 Conclusion

The overall aim of this study has been to understand the motives of the minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in corruption with traffic police officers in Livingstone city. This dissertation made use of phenomenological research method which involved interviews with 25 participants involving taxi and minibus drivers. In the end, the study clearly shows that there is corruption in Livingstone. It demonstrates that bribery in Livingstone is obviously encouraged by both drivers and police officers.

This study therefore, has filled the gap in knowledge by rendering an understanding of motives of traffic police officers as well as minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery. Both police officers and minibus and taxi drivers are living in a corrupt sub culture. However, this does not mean that the problem of bribery cannot be surmounted. Thus, the study suggested ways by which the causes of bribery as an instance of corruption can be addressed.

What are needed to mitigate corruption are indigenous based solutions including the application of wholesome and open techniques, taxi and minibus drivers to have a say in the governance of traffic regulations, use of participatory social accountability techniques and use the civic education strategy

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent Form for Individual Participants

Dear Respondent,

This serves to inform you about the purpose of this study and what will be followed in the process of conducting it. You will be requested to sign this form to indicate that you have willingly volunteered to participate in this exercise.

1. **Description of the Study:** This is purely an academic education research where all respondents will not be identified in person for their participation. The researcher is a University of Zambia student pursuing a Master of Arts degree in Sociology.

2. **Purpose:** It is the wish of the researcher to explore and understand motives of minibus and taxi drivers' involvement in bribery with traffic police officers in Livingstone. Southern Province, Zambia.

3. **Consent:** Participation in this study is voluntary.

4. **Confidentiality:** Every information that will be collected in this study shall be treated with high level of confidentiality. Names or identity of respondents in this study shall not be revealed to anyone pseudonyms will be used. In the case where the conversation is recorded, information will be kept under key and lock and shall be destroyed after data has been analyzed.

5. **Rights of Respondents:** The rights of every respondent shall be respected and protected and the researcher will ensure that no respondent shall suffer any harm as a result of their participation in this study.

6. Declaration of Consent by the Respondent

I have clearly read and understood every detail of this document and I therefore willingly and freely agree to participate in this study.

Signature: Date:

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Minibus and taxi drivers

Brief introduction

My names are Saul Musukwa, a master of sociology student from the University of Zambia. I am here to collect information for my study “constructing Corruption from minibus and taxi drivers’ verbal accounts in the City of Livingstone”. I have specifically come to you because you are more knowledgeable about what is obtaining. Therefore, I am humbly requesting you to share with me your views and experiences about the topic under study. Be assured that whatever information you are going to share with me will be treated with utmost confidentiality and that it will only be used for academic purposes. Apart from taking notes as we discuss, I would like to ask for your permission to record the conversation in order for me to avoid missing out important points that you will share with me. In this conversation pseudo names will be used in place of your real names to ensure anonymity.

Theme 1: Please tell me about yourself

Please comment on the following in relation to your experiences in this field:

Theme II: In what ways do traffic police demonstrate bribe?

1. Please tell me about your experiences with police officers.
2. What kinds of bribes are involved in relation to your work?
3. Please comment on the ways bribe manifests itself?

Theme III: What is the meaning of paying bribes by minibus and taxi drivers?

1. Have you ever been asked by traffic police officers to pay bribes for any alleged wrongdoing?
2. Please explain the meaning of these actions as seen from police officers?
3. What happens if one resists paying a bribe?

Theme IV: Why do minibus and taxi drivers tolerate bribes from traffic police officers?

1. You talked of bribing the police; why do you think minibus and taxi drivers are into offering bribes to police officers?
2. Is there anything we have not shared nor do you have anything to add on to this.

Thank You for your Responses and Time.

God richly bless you!