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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEPTIONS ON CORRUPTION – RESIDENTS OF BROOKLYN IN CAPE TOWN

A mini-thesis research submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Public Administration in the School of Government, Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape.

Prince Zukile Gonya (Student No. 3717500)

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Supervisor

Dr. Meron Okbandrias

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ABSTRACT

The subject matter of corruption is a topical one in South Africa, where many institutions in the socio-political economy, both private and public, are subject to corruption allegations which emerge from time to time in the media. A number of studies have been undertaken on this topic globally, mainly in Latin America, but there remains a dearth of published academic work on the phenomenon in South Africa. Inevitably what transpires in the socio-political economy has a bearing on the lives of the general public. Of interest in this study is public perceptions of corrupt practices in the country and how these affect ordinary people. The objective of this study is to explore how people perceive corruption in the City of Cape Town, using the residents of Brooklyn as a case study.

The study examines various aspects of corruption and how it is perceived to affect society. The study considers the views of those interviewed in the light of findings from the literature. The findings reveal that respondents are well informed about corruption and its negative repercussions on society and in particular on the poor. Perceptions are that corruption manifests mainly in the public sector and at different levels of government. A number of the respondents have been directly exposed to corruption, with some reporting their experiences to various bodies, and none having received satisfactory outcomes. The finding is that most respondents have low levels of confidence that government will overcome the scourge of corruption.

Key words: Public perception, perception versus reality, corruption, forms of corruption, media, social class.

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DECLARATION

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When growing up, Ntsikelelo used to quote Nelson Mandela, saying 'education is the master-key to success', which found a home in me. Thelma has always encouraged me by congratulating me on all my achievements and has been a special pillar in my life. She sacrificed much to give her children what she did not have in her youth. Mum, you are very special to me. Ntombizanele, your efforts have not been in vain. Your support throughout my life has been instrumental in getting where I am now, and I will never forget that.

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List of Acronyms

CPI - Corruption Perceptions Index

CPS - Cash Paymaster Service

HH - Household

SAPS - South African Police Service

SASSA - South African Social Security Service

NACF - National Anti-Corruption Forum

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1 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

South Africa is a country marred by high levels of crime, ranging from petty, blue collar crimes such as common theft to more serious, white collar crimes such as fraud and corruption. This thesis focuses on corruption and what the people of Brooklyn, a suburb of Cape Town, think about corruption.

Corruption is recognised as a criminal activity carried out at all levels of society, from the poor to the middle and upper classes. Poor people may pay a fee for jumping a waiting list for houses, middle class people may pay a bribe to obtain expedited approvals for their building plans, and rich people may bribe tax officials or tax consultants to fraudulently alter their company books in such a way that less tax will be required from them. These are just a few examples of the kinds of corruption that permeate the whole of South African society. There are many more forms of corruption, as will be discussed.

Corruption has the potential to cause political and economic turmoil in a country. Many examples of the effects of corruption may be found from the time of former President Zuma. In 2018, protests in Cape Town erupted as a result of poor people's dissatisfaction with slow housing processes, with people claiming to have been on waiting lists since the 90s, while newcomers to their areas were allocated housing in a shorter space of time. In the Bo-Kaap area, residents cried foul on the City of Cape Town Municipality (Pather, 2018; Carrie, 2018), claiming that new residential buildings had been approved without their having been consulted. White collar corruption is damaging to society, having the potential to seriously disrupt the socioeconomic landscape. In the recent years, Brazil has seen a proliferation of protests against the political elite due to perceived high levels of corruption, which resulted in the impeachment of former president Dilma Rouseff (Mourao, 2019; Nguyen et al., 2020).

Corruption affects everyone, whether directly or indirectly. People may be directly affected when they are victims of corruption or exposed to it in their midst. They may be indirectly affected when prices of goods and services escalate due to the negative repercussions of criminal behaviour. An example of this is that South Africa's investment level grading was reduced to junk status after various revelations were made in the media linking the country's former president, President Zuma, to poor governance. During his term, where there was poor governance, there was also an increase in corruption and particularly when it came to state owned companies (Onishi, 2018). The result was that everybody in the country suffered. The Mail & Guardian (2017) reports that the value of

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the Rand dropped, causing an unfavourable exchange rate and higher petrol prices, which naturally affected the prices of food and services, along with the rate of unemployment, which rose. In 2016, the South African Police Service made a statement to the effect that acts of corruption had destabilised the economy and had lead to inflation in the cost of conducting business in South Africa.

Since crime has such far-reaching effects, it is to be expected that most people would hold opinions on it, including on corruption, the focus of this study. Buchanan (1984) states that, in terms of the theory of public choice, all individuals develop personal interests in resources, whether they work in the private or public sector. This study aims to research whether, in similar fashion, the general public develops a personal interest in crime and whether or not they have differing perceptions on it – in particular, on corruption. This study therefore endeavours to understand the narrative that Capetonians create on corruption, by soliciting their perceptions on the matter.

1.2 Crime statistics and corruption

1.2.1 What is corruption?

The piece of legislation that is used in South Africa to charge people with corruption is the Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, Act 12 of 2004. This Act describes corrupt activity as:

> Any person who directly or indirectly - (a) accepts or agrees or offers to accept any gratification from any other person, whether for the benefit of himself or herself or for the benefit of another person; or (b) gives or agrees or offers to give to any other person any gratification, whether for the benefit of that other person or for the benefit of another person …. in order to act, personally or by influencing another person so to act, in a manner'… that will lead to the abuse of the law or abuse of positions of authority … is guilty of the offence of corruption' (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Crimes Act No. 12 of 2004, 2004: S3).

It is a complex statement which, when examined closely, means that if a person wrongfully and knowingly performs any activity that is against the law for purposes of benefiting himself or another person, then that person may be found guilty of corruption. Some examples are mentioned above; further examples may include the paying of bribes, whether monetary or in kind, collusion to price fix tender submissions, and manipulation of information to give advantage to a preferred supplier or service provider. These types of activities are sometimes considered 'meaningless' or petty to the wrongdoers, but they are deemed corrupt in terms of the law.

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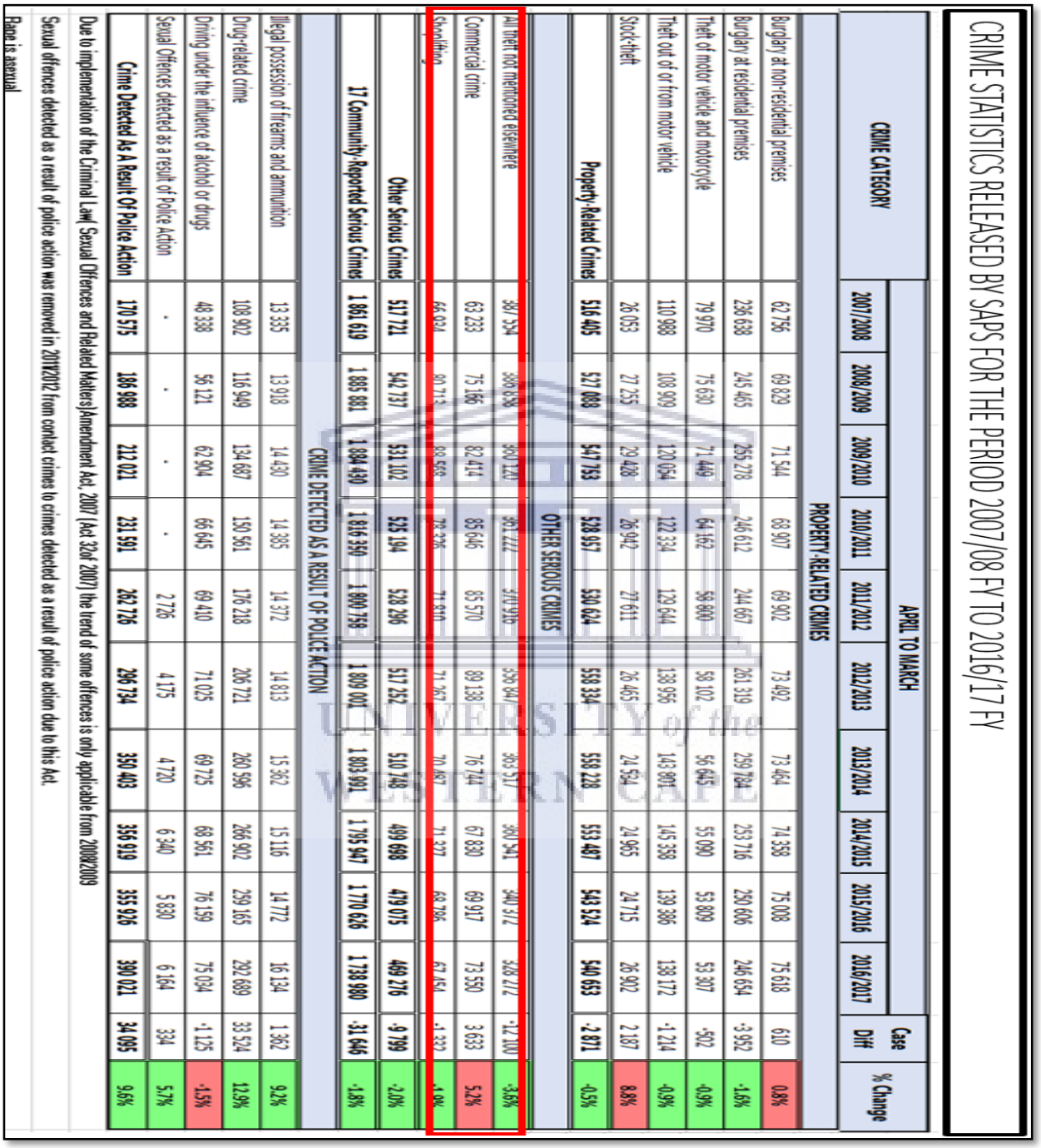
The South African Police Services (SAPS) issues crime statistics every year that include the crime of corruption under the broad term of 'commercial crimes'. The latest statistics (see Figure 1) show that commercial crime (outlined in red) increased by 5,2% during the period between the 2008/09 financial year to the 2016/17 financial year.



CRIME STATISTICS RELEASED BY SAPS FOR THE PERIOD 2007/08 FY TO 2016/17 FY

CRIME CATEGORY	APRIL TO MARCH										Case Diff	% Change
	2007/2008	2008/2009	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017		
PROPERTY-RELATED CRIMES												
Burglary at non-residential premises	62 756	69 829	71 544	68 907	69 902	73 492	73 464	74 358	75 008	75 618	610	0.8%
Burglary at residential premises	236 638	245 465	255 278	246 612	244 667	261 319	259 784	253 716	250 606	246 654	-3 952	-1.6%
Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle	79 970	75 630	71 449	64 162	58 800	58 102	56 645	55 090	53 809	53 307	-502	-0.9%
Theft out of or from motor vehicle	110 988	108 909	120 054	122 334	129 644	138 956	143 801	145 358	139 386	138 172	-1 214	-0.9%
Stock-theft	26 053	27 255	29 428	26 942	27 611	26 465	24 534	24 965	24 715	26 902	2 187	8.8%
Property-Related Crimes	**516 405**	**527 088**	**547 753**	**528 957**	**530 624**	**558 334**	**558 228**	**553 487**	**543 524**	**540 653**	**-2 871**	**-0.5%**
OTHER SERIOUS CRIMES												
All theft not mentioned elsewhere	387 554	386 858	360 120	361 222	370 916	356 847	363 517	360 541	340 372	328 272	-12 100	-3.6%
Commercial crime	63 233	75 166	82 414	85 646	85 570	89 138	76 744	67 830	69 917	73 550	3 633	5.2%
Shoplifting	66 934	80 713	88 568	78 326	71 810	71 267	70 487	71 327	68 786	67 454	-1 332	-1.9%
Other Serious Crimes	**517 721**	**542 737**	**531 102**	**525 194**	**528 296**	**517 252**	**510 748**	**499 698**	**479 075**	**469 276**	**-9 799**	**-2.0%**
17 Community-Reported Serious Crimes	**1 861 619**	**1 885 881**	**1 884 430**	**1 816 350**	**1 800 758**	**1 809 001**	**1 803 991**	**1 795 947**	**1 770 626**	**1 738 980**	**-31 646**	**-1.8%**
CRIME DETECTED AS A RESULT OF POLICE ACTION												
Illegal possession of firearms and ammunition	13 335	13 918	14 430	14 385	14 372	14 813	15 362	15 116	14 772	16 134	1 362	9.2%
Drug-related crime	108 902	116 949	134 687	150 561	176 218	206 721	260 596	266 902	259 165	292 689	33 524	12.9%
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	48 338	56 121	62 904	66 645	69 410	71 025	69 725	68 561	76 159	75 034	-1 125	-1.5%
Sexual Offences detected as a result of Police Action	-	-	-	-	2 726	4 175	4 720	6 340	5 830	6 164	334	5.7%
Crime Detected As A Result Of Police Action	**170 575**	**186 988**	**212 021**	**231 591**	**262 726**	**296 734**	**350 403**	**356 919**	**355 926**	**390 021**	**34 095**	**9.6%**

Due to implementation of the Criminal Law(Sexual Offences and Related Matters)Amendment Act, 2007 (Act 32of 2007) the trend of some offences is only applicable from 2008/2009

Sexual offences detected as a result of police action was removed in 2011/2012 from contact crimes to crimes detected as a result of police action due to this Act.

Rape is asexual

Figure 1: *Crime Stats released by SAPS (2017)*

The concern here is that the term 'commercial crimes' includes activities such as embezzlement, forgery and fraud, with fraud incorporating activities such as trademark theft and the evasion of

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tax (SAPS, 2016). Tumakumayo (2014) identifies a shortcoming in that the government uses a blanket term to record corruption, including it with other commercial crimes which do not strictly speaking fit the defintion of corruption. This makes it difficult to monitor whether corruption is on the rise or on the decline. It is also difficult to identify how many of the 73 550 commercial crimes cases may be directly attributed to corruption. It seems that for a closer analysis of the statistics, these crimes may need to be recorded separately.

1.2.2 Efforts to fight corruption

Various stakeholders are involved in the fight against corruption. These include the government, non-governmental organisations, non-profit organisations and civic formations. The government has enacted a number of pieces of legislation used to combat corrupt activities. These include:

- The Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, Act 12 of 2004, which deals with defining corruption, how to report corruption and the sanctioning applicable to those found guilty of corruption.
- The Public Finance Management Act, Act 1 of 1999, which deals with how public finances should be spent at national and provincial levels of government.
- The Municipal Finance Management Act, Act 56 of 2004, which deals with how public finances should be spent at local government level (Category A, B and C municipalities). An important aspect of this Act is that it requires municipalities to develop annual budgets and expenditure plans, with policies on how internal processes will work to spend funds, guided by treasury notices released from time to time.
- The Public Service Amendment Act, Act 30 of 2007, which mainly seeks to prevent public servants from carrying out business with the State, as that has been found to lead to widespread corruption – in particular in the Eastern Cape.
- The South African Police Service Amendment Act, Act 57 of 2008, which allows for the formation of a Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations (commonly known as the Hawks). This unit is responsible for investigating corruption-related crimes (SAPS, 2014).

Non-State stakeholders include entities such as Corruption Watch, Transparency South Africa, the Institute for Security Studies, the Black Sash and the Public Information and Monitoring Services, all of which perform watchdog duties to monitor corruption in South Africa. All of these entities meet with the government and together have formed the National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF). This forum participates in the formulation and evaluation of government strategies aimed at combating corruption (NACF, 2006).

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One of the most successful achievements of these non-State entities is the one in which Corruption Watch (2018) reports that it won a case against Cash Paymaster Services (CPS), in which CPS was ordered to repay R316 million back to the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA) after the former had received a contract to handle the payout of grants to SASSA beneficiaries. This amount of money could now be returned to the national fiscus where it could be spent on public goods such as housing. In the government's housing sector, the current subsidy quantum for a low-cost housing unit is R167,000 per unit. This includes the services as well as the actual house, which is referred to as the top structure (excluding electricity, which is provided by an Eskom grant). An estimated total of 1 892 houses could be built using the money recovered from CPS.

1.3 The importance of studies related to corruption

Acts of corruption often involve the squandering of government money which is collected mainly through the country's tax system. Both tax payers and those who are potentially deprived of services become angry when wrongdoing is reported through the media, often with minimal repercussions for those involved. An example of this is the State capture matter which caught the interest of many South Africans, where the cost of state capture is estimated to be in region of R1,5 Trillion rand just during former President Zuma's second term and that this figure may not fully take into account the cost where untouchable politically connected individuals may have perhaps benefited (Merten, 2017). One gets the impression that the issue of State capture sowed seeds of division and deep discontent in the country, which could lead to further lawlessness and even tax revolts in order to stop the flow of funds to the so-called corrupt political elite.

Corruption extinguishes the key principles of democracy, transparency and accountability, which may lead to a trust breakdown between the citizenry and polical leadership, and indeed to a breakdown in the political system as a whole (Chang & Chu, 2006). It is important that studies pertaining to corruption be conducted in order to pre-empt and prevent a situation where the tolerance threshold for corruption is reached. This would ensure that we do not arrive at a situation where the legitimacy of political systems and democracy itself is questioned. It is also important to combat corruption as it easily leads to a situation where society casts aspersions on all spheres of government, accusing entities of corruption even where no corruption exists. This situation would perpetuate the cycle of negative perceptions about the prevalence of corruption in the government, which is supposed to be the epitome of fairness, justice and equitability.

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1.4 The importance of studying perceptions

It is important to study perceptions, as people's perceptions inform stakeholders such as academics, public officials and professionals who work in the social sciences arena, educating them on what people actually think about a subject matter, whether or not the subject matter is considered a priority. To an academic, a study of perceptions is enlightening as it adds to the body of knowledge about a specific topic. To a government official, knowledge of perceptions is a means to determine whether or not the government is adding value to people's lives. To a social scientist, this type of study may form the basis of further investigations to possibly identify reasons for corrupt behaviour. When reasons are found, social scientists may publish articles making recommendations to prevent or ameliorate the effects of the phenomenon.

McDonald (2012) states that an individual's perception of any matter may be influenced by socioeconomic conditions, gender, tribal grouping and/or educational level, among other factors. Michaels and Carello (1981) write that people's perceptions are either direct or ecological in nature. The former means that an individual's perception is not influenced by memory, prior knowledge or representations, while the latter means that an individual forms a perception based on external influence.

From this we can deduce that perceptions may be formed as a result of either (1) exposure to certain kinds of information, (2) exposure to other people who might harbour certain ideas about the world around them, (3) direct or indirect experiences that cause one to have a specific feeling towards a particular subject matter. I am of the view that a person's perception is limited to what they know about a certain topic and, as McDonald (2012) puts it, perception involves the ability to think rationally about raw information and to separate fact from fiction, leading to a logical conclusion about a matter. If an individual has heard only that, 'Afrikaners are racist', then that person will always tend to think of Afrikaners as racist, until the day he or she engages with an Afrikaner and finds that a particular Afrikaner genuinely cares and has compassion for other races.

It is perhaps inevitable that there will always be a gap between what is real or fact and what is perception. A perception may be limited to what we have heard or learnt about a topic which enables us to create a mental impression about it. Therefore, there will always be a difference between the two, and the difference will be evident across any group of people who may be exposed to the same facts but have different perceptions of it. This is because people differ in their life experiences, educational levels, ability to reason and socioeconomic conditions, all of which influence what is perceived as important and not important.

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External and internal influences on the formation of perceptions can therefore lead to the creation of a disjuncture between reality and perception. This is because there are a plethora of sources of information, or informants, such as the media and society around us, as well as the fact that not all people internalise and comprehend information in the same way. Even if hard facts are presented, an individual with a strong bias towards a certain point of view will never agree to appreciate the facts and will continue to incline toward a particular perspective on a subject matter. This thought is echoed by Michaels and Carello (1981), who write that perception is 'nonveridical'. They find that perception is not one dimensional, meaning that whatever one individual thinks about a topic will not necessarily be shared by another person. A person may perceive what they want to perceive, which may not necessarily be the truth. This is why this study delves into understanding perceptions on a topic in which many share an interest.

1.5 The research problem

Kumar (2014) states that research is both a set of skills and a manner of thinking. He also states that as individuals we question what we see and thereafter we investigate and probe what we have seen in an attempt to rationalise events, which ultimately expands our knowledge. With Kumar's definition of research in mind, it may be stated that the research problem in this study is to analyse the perceptions that people have about corruption. The study explores whether people are vitally interested in this topic or whether they think that the issue is overstated and does not warrant the media coverage it receives. The study also delves into people's understandings and misconceptions on this matter. In addition, it is critical to consider what causes the said opinions on corruption. Could the differing opinions be ascribed to the different levels of exposure that individuals have to information and if so, what kind of information shapes certain opinions? Could an interest in corruption be due to the individual's ability to comprehend, to separate fact from fiction in stories, and to engage in a process of analytical thinking? These are important questions as the answers ultimately inform us why certain people hold the views they do on various aspects of corruption.

Lastly, numerous people speak on public platforms such as radio, TV and through newspaper columns about how communities perceive corruption. These are mostly anecdotal in nature. There remains a need to conduct academic research about perceptions of corruption, so that information may be may be gathered and considered in a systematic and methodical way. The benefit of such research is that it enables other academics to interrogate the ideas that have been put forward and to draw fresh conclusions when the findings are viewed in relation to other research. Therefore this research, comprising both a literature review and the collection of empirical data, will add to the body of knowledge on corruption and perceptions of it.

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1.6 Purpose and reasons for the study

The study pursues the perceptions of corruption held by sample of people in Cape Town, specifically those residing in Brooklyn. The researcher believed that it is important to understand what the layman's view is on corruption, as it is a subject matter that affects every individual in South Africa and, in addition, manifests quite rampantly in the country, as reported. I have tried to understand the respondents' existing attitudes and thoughts on corruption and what informs their ideas. Since perceptions are being considered, it is important to discuss the term 'perception' and look into how perceptions are formed in general. The information yielded by interviews will be considered against information made known through the literature, a comaparison which will show areas of overlap and similarity as well as gaps. Whatever is unearthed will add to the academic discourse on the topic of both corruption and perceptiont.

The topic has been chosen because, in the South African context, the role of public administration is to implement government policy, which is developed by the political rulers who are supposed to act in the best interests of all citizens. The administrators are supposed to act in an unbiased manner to deliver on all the basic needs of the citizens, as per the policies that guide them. As stated earlier, acts of corruption have the potential to derail service delivery as resources that are allocated for public use end up being diverted elsewhere, often for the benefit of the politically connected few. The researcher is a public administration student; it is important to study all aspects of public administration, and corruption is one of those aspects. The topic is particularly important in light of the potential negative effects that corruption has in a country where there is high inequality and 32,3% of the population lives below the poverty line – currently R431 per person per month (StatsSA, 2014). It is important that the different forms and levels of corruption are uncovered. It should be noted that corruption is not limited to the public sector, as a corrupter in the private sector can both engage in corruption and instigate corrupt activities in the public sector. For all these reasons, the topic was deemed worthy of study.

1.7 The objectives of the study

The objective of the study is to explore how people perceive corruption in the City of Cape Town, using the residents of Brooklyn as a case study. The study will serve as opportunity to examine the direct, unabridged perceptions held by members of the general public, and will therefore add to the body of knowledge relating to corruption. The extracts have not been edited, except for obvious errors, and are reported verbatim in order to yield a comprehensive picture of what the general public understands and feels about the topic.

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The study includes a review of different theories on corruption in relation to its forms, nature and levels. I have also discussed the importance of understanding perceptions and what we can learn from this exercise. In brief, the study attempts to achieve the following:

- Understand how communities in Cape Town, especially in Brooklyn, define corruption.
- Explore the community's perceptions on corruption.
- Investigate what informs respondents' perceptions on corruption.
- Identify measures to manage corruption, based on people's perceptions.
- Identify how the different races, social classes and genders perceive corruption.

In setting out to achieve these objectives, I engaged with a limited number of residents in the identified community, and undertook interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire.

1.8 The research questions

Main question

The main research question is, 'What are the perceptions that different people residing in Brooklyn, Cape Town have about corruption?'

Sub-questions

- How do the residents of Brooklyn define corruption?
- What do respondents think about the prevalence of corruption?
- What informs the respondents' perceptions of corruption?
- What are the possible measures to manage corruption?
- Do respondents express differing perceptions on corruption according to social class, race or gender?

1.9 Methodology

The intention was to interview people from a selected geographical area, namely, Brooklyn in Cape Town. The study area was selected mostly for convenience, since I reside in Brooklyn, making research inexpensive to conduct since no travel expenses were incurred. A knowledge of the area also increased a sense of security and safety from crime, as the area was familiar to me and I knew which areas were safe and which were not.

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Census 2011 shows that the study area has a dynamic socioeconomic profile. Brooklyn is one of the City's oldest suburbs, with a household (HH) population of 3762 against the City's total household population of 1 086 537. It is not a big community in comparison to Khayelitsha, with 118 000 HH and Mitchells Plein, with 67 993 HH (Jacobs personal communication 2017, October 10). The suburb has long been a working class area, mainly due to its proximity to one of Cape Town's biggest industrial areas, Paarden Eiland. Recently, the area has become favoured by migrant workers due to its fairly low rental prices and proximity to Cape Town's CBD. Cheaper housing is available in the City's furthest outskirts, but the cheaper rentals are offset by increased travelling costs; Brooklyn has the advantage of offering fairly low-cost housing options and low travelling costs to the CBD. It was deemed a good area to collect empirical data.

Secondary information was has been obtained from existing literature on the topic, mainly books, government publications and scholarly articles relating to corruption and perceptions. These will be discussed in greater detail below.

1.10 Usefulness of the study

This study could be of value to fellow academics, international organisations and the government. The two former groups may have an interest in assessing the sentiments of ordinary South Africans on the subject of corruption and the government has declared its commitment to curbing corruption and ending the negative image it creates about the country. Therefore the study could be of benefit to a wide range of institutions. Perceptions shape behaviour, and conseqently it is important that anyone interested in human behaviour have some knowledge of people's perceptions of issues that affect them.

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2 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the nature of corruption, examining the definitions of various authors and organisations that regularly deal with the topic. It examines the different forms of corruption experienced globally, comparing these with experences and understandings in South Africa.

There is a growing move to take action against corruption both amongst State and non-State stakeholders such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and non-profit organisations (NPOs). Recently, there has been a surge in citizen action against the State in the form of withholding rates and taxes, largely due to people's dissatisfaction with corruption and the resulting lack of service delivery. This rise in citizen action is discussed in this chapter.

Since the study is about perceptions of corruption, definitions of perception and how perceptions are formed are also discussed. The literature points to a gap between perception and reality, referred to in Chapter 1. The media play a critical role in shaping public perception and therefore the influence of the media is also discussed. Lastly, the 'balance of power' theory is referred to as it has relevance in the current South African scenario, where citizens feeling aggrieved by acts of corruption use pillars of government to bring politicians to book. Lastly, certain gaps in the literature are highlighted, subject to the limitations of my personal observations and understanding.

2.2 Corruption

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Corruption Watch (2016) defines corruption as the pursuit of personal benefit through the abuse of public authority. Rose-Ackerman and Palifka (2016) provide a similar definition of corruption, stating that it is the abuse of a public power or authority with the intent to benefit an individual. According to Vargas-Hernandez (2009), corruption is the abuse of power for personal benefit. Illicit acts by persons in position of some authority have the potential to affect all people within a local community or a country. Corruption Watch (2016) describes how corruption affects the general public, stating that it destabilises society and the prospects of a sustainable economy, which can result in moral and ethical decay and disregard for the rule of law. Canache and Allison state that the legitimacy and pillars of society can become undermined through acts of corruption (2015). This view is supported by Chang and Chu (2006), who state that the legitimacy of political systems may become challenged when the tenets of democracy, transparence and accountability are destroyed through acts of corruption. The World Bank (2017) highlights the monetary value of corruption, stating that private individuals and corporations pay in excess of 2% of the world's

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gross domestic product (GDP) in bribery, an amount valued at about $1,5 trillion per year. The bank further points out that corruption inevitably takes away opportunities from those most in need of assistance. The United Nations' (2018) finding on the cost of corruption is higher than that of the World Bank; it calculates the value of corruption as $2,6 trillion dollars, or 5% of the world GDP. This certainly shows that the cost of corruption is high and it appears that it may be increasing, for the World Bank made its calculation in 2017 and the United Nations made its calculation a year later.

Klitgaard (1998) states that there is a formula for corruption, pointing out that it often occurs as a result of monopolies operating in a space where there is no accountability Whether the activity is public, private, or non-profit, and whether it is carried on in Ouagadougou or Washington, corruption will be present when an organisation or person has monopoly power over goods or services, has the discretion to decide who will receive goods and services and how much of each, and is not accountable.

According to Vargas-Hernandez (2009), there are different types of corruption, including political, economic and public administration corruption. Morris (1991) states that political corruption is corruption implemented by politicians, but that it can sometimes be difficult to distinguish political corruption from other forms of coruption. This is based on the fact that 'clientelism' is sometimes construed as corruption, whereas it may not always be the case.

It is understood that in political practice, patronage is considered the norm because it is considered unwise for, say, a political principal to appoint too many, if any, of his direct detractors to his cabinet. It is usually accepted that he or she will appoint those who support his or her ideals. Hicken's findings correlates with this view, as he states that 'clientelism' thrives and endures in all types of governance systems across the globe, from dictatorialships to democracies (Hicken, 2011). Therefore some may consider that clientelism should be acknowledged as the norm. However, Morris (1991) queries the idea of a universal 'norm', since what is normal and correct in Africa might not be normal and correct in the UK and Nordic countries, where corruption levels are low. Possibly, clientelism should not be accepted as normality.

Another view on political corruption is expressed by Chang and Chu (2006), who state that corruption is the abuse of a trust that has been bestowed upon politicians by voters, in such a way that resources benefit only private interests. Public administration corruption occurs where public officials perform or fail to perform their tasks in order to benefit individually or to benefit a close associate (Vargas-Hernandez, 2009).

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Corruption occurs in different ways. Some try to conceal it as acts of benevolence which makes it difficult for law enforcement and investigative authorities to pick it up. Morris (1991) points out that corrupt activities are not always conducted in a manner that yields direct benefits for the individual; it can be concealed so that it benefits only a family member, an organisation, a certain community or even a single ethnic or race group.

Vargas-Hernandez (2009) states that corruption has different levels and takes different forms. The different forms may include bribes, rent-seeking, misuse of public money, indiscretion and clientelism, among others. The different levels may range from petty corruption to grand corruption. The author states that grand corruption is determined by the magnitude of the corruption and may include the capture of a State by private interests. Petty corruption refers to low-level misdemeanors such as theft and bribery.

Across the world, governments have been battling corruption. Chang and Chu (2006) state that the Italian government implemented 'Operation Clean Hands' to clear out corruption in the State. Morris (1991) states that in Mexico, almost every president between 1970 and 1989 has implemented a corruption clean-up programme. Seligson (2002) states that international financial institutions have also imposed conditions in their lending agreements which require countries to implement corruption reduction strategies and to keep corruption low.

Alemann (2000) states that in Germany, the government has developed a law to manage donations made to political parties. How it works is that all donations from a single entity that exceed a specified threshold must be publicised so that all may scrutinise it. In addition, the law prohibits certain types of donations such as those aimed at bribing political parties. If people transgress the rule, then the monies which have been obtained illegally are confiscated and made available to non-profit organisations. In South Africa, the government, in cooperation with business and the civic sector, created the National Anti-Corruption Forum (NACF), a structure that aims to reduce corruption. The NACF developed a Public Service Anti-Corruption Strategy (2006) with the exress intention of fighting corruption in the public service.

2.2.1 Comparison of corruption in South Africa with other third world countries and with first world countries

In order to provide a context to corruption in South Africa, information relating to corruption in the first world and third world has been reviewed. Transparency International generates the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) annually, in which commentary is solicited from prominent

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business people and experts in the field of corruption studies in each of the participating countries. This index is able to show which countries, generally, have more accounts of corruption that others. In terms of the 2018 data, South Africa is ranked 73rd out of 180 countries (Transparency International, 2018). The mere fact that there is a ranking mechanism indicates that South Africa is not the only country where corruption exists and furthermore, shows that South Africa does not rank as the country with the highest levels. This finding provides some sense of perspective to South Afruca's anti-corruption struggle. Klitgaard (1998) found that there was no country that was immune to corruption.

An interesting article by Kaufmann (2004) states that perceptions of corruption in first world countries are increasing. He cites the Executive Opinion Survey undertaken at each World Economic Forum gathering, which shows that business executives operating in first world countries have noted a decline in the control of judicial bribery, whereas the perception is improving in the newly industrialising countries of East Asia and other emerging economies. Kaufmann foregrounds the term 'legal corruption', a situation in which the elite capture governments through influence. They influence the formulation of policies and legislation or the so called 'rules of the game' to satisfy their vested interests.

The conduct of large multi-national companies doing business in non-first world countries is also of concern, as they get things done in corrupt ways such as bribery, and bring an undue influence to bear in the domestic political sphere (Kaufmann, 2004). Klitgaard (1998) is of a similar view, pointing out that many bribes accepted by those in developing countries emanate from first world countries. Therefore it can be concluded that corruption is not a concern for undeveloped or developing countries only, but is a scourge affecting all countries.

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2.3 Perceptions

A perception is the attitude that a person holds towards a subject matter. Perceptions are formed in different ways. A perception may arise as a result of a person's exposure to people who have a specific, fixed view on a subject matter, or may arise due to more complex reasons, as described below.

McDonald (2012) states that an individual's perception on a matter is influenced by their socioeconomic conditions, gender, tribal grouping and/or educational level, among other factors. In psychology, the registration theory espoused by Gibson (1972) tells us that a perception is formed as a result of information available to a person and can change or be augmented when

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new information becomes available. However, the unconscious-inference theory postulates that the formation of perceptions is an involuntary process where the mind creates its own impressions of what is happening (Kennedy, 1974). We should not think of a perception as a place where information has gathered, but rather a place where information has been moulded to create a perception (Medina, 2011). In simple terms, this means that a person might infer, reason or deduce unconsciously and arrive at a particular point of view, comprising an idea or perception of how something actually is or how something actually works. A useful analogy may be drawn from paleontology; a perceiver is like a palaeontologist who has to recreate a creature using scattered, unearthed bones which will eventually stand in a museum (Kennedy, 1974).

Fancher (1979) tries to explain perception by juxtaposing what he refers to as sensation with perception. He refers to sensation as a physiological phenomenon. In practice, it is the light that enters our eye, reflecting off the natural environment and received as different colours arranged in a certain form. Perception, on the other hand, is what the brain converts the colours and shapes into once they have been received. Initially, green and brown colours may enter the eye in the physiological process. The psychological process will convert those colours into the green grass and brown mountain landscape that one sees. Light entering the eye is the physiological process, and the perception that is formed is the psychological process. This occurs when the mind uses available information to create a useful perception (Fancher, 1979).

The latter part of the previous statement is quite important. Kennedy (1974) states that different people from separate cultures view images differently. He cites the example of a picture shown to a westernised person who easily interpret the image. However, a 'black negro' woman could not make out what she had in her hand. She could not fathom the concept of a photograph.

People therefore use both their knowledge and their imaginations to fill in the gaps of an image or data set and arrive at an outcome which constitutes their perception. Data collection is a separate process from assembling that data into a comprehensible image or presentable information, which forms the perception.

External and internal influences on the formation of perceptions can lead to the creation of a disjuncture between reality and perception. This is because there are a myriad informants, such as the media and society around us, and because people internalise and comprehend information differently, for reasons pointed out by Medina, Kennedy and Fancher above. Sometimes, even if hard facts are presented, an individual with a strong bias towards a certain point of view will not

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appreciate the facts and will maintain a particular perspective on a subject matter in the face of facts that appear to contradict the perception.

Medina (2011) refers to 'dual representational theory' which attempts to explain why people attach certain ideas and attributes to a single object. For example, when shown a five-sided geometric shape, some people think of the American military headquarters, the Pentagon, others of the Chrysler vehicle badge. They would rarely view it as just a five-sided shape. The author continues that people use symbolic reasoning to understand things, and to help recall certain stored information.

It is important to point out that people who have never seen the Pentagon or the Chrysler logo will not attach either of these symbolic values to the five-sided geometric shape. Wider exposure to information and knowledge enables a person to attach many more different attributes to the simple shape. The same is true of the facts. A person exposed to differing reference points and a broad sweep of ideas and knowledge will attach different meanings to an event than one exposed only to a narrow range of ideas and facts. This links with 'unconscious-inference theory' discussed earlier, where people will unwittingly read ideas into a simple picture (Medina, 2011).

This means that it is possible for people to take the facts or reality and ascribe certain attributes to them through a subliminal psychological process. An example of this might be that when a person sees the African National Congress (ANC) flag they may think of widespread illicit acts that plague the country currently. There has been so much media coverage of wrongdoing in government that when one sees the ANC flag one might easily think of wrongdoing, an immediate association that shapes the perception that everyone and everything associated with the ANC flag is corrupt. Medina (2011) states that the human mind often fabricates what is lacking in the information provided and does so using whatever information source is available. This is one of the reasons why individuals can conclude differently with respect to a set of facts.

In today's world it is also becoming easy for citizens to develop erroneous perceptions on socio-political matters that influence their lives. The influence of the UK public relations company Bell Pottinger in South Africa is a case in point. This company was allegedly employed by a group of allegedly corrupt people to spread 'fake news' through media platforms such as newspapers, TV stations and social media. Times Live (2017) reported that dissemination of fake facts and innuendo elicited a significant magnitude of response on social media, as it was the first time that propaganda on such a large scale had been spread in South Africa. Times Live (2017) states that the propaganda resulted in negative outcomes for the country, affecting politics and the economy. This raises the

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question of who controls, selects and frames the news that we as a society receive via media. This matter is discussed in the following section.

2.4 The 'fourth estate'

In terms of the 'estates of the realm' theory (Dutton, 2009), the media is known as the 'fourth estate' or 'fourth power'. Dutton states that the clergy, nobility and the commons were the three powers in the parliaments prior to the French and English revolutions; however, it was soon realised that the media that attended parliament were the most powerful grouping and were eventually considered the fourth power due to their influence on the citizenry (Dutton, 2009). The press was described as the 'fourth estate' due to its high level of influence on society at the time and its ability to influence the workings of the State (Schultz, 1998). Schultz writes that the independence of the media is sometimes in tension with with its ability to be self-sustaining, since media houses are reliant on external funders and can sometimes be at the mercy of the funders' interests, which tend to shape and direct their content. Schultz adds that media houses should be free of any political patronage or state patronage in order to ensure their objectivity.

In South Africa, the media is an important tenet of society as it informs, teaches, unearths wrongdoing and gives hope to society. In performing these activities, the media plays a role in entrenching democracy, disseminating political and other news, and in so doing both informing and shaping public discourse (Moy & Scheufele, 2000). An important element to consider is the impact that the media has on the trust of the citizenry in relation to government. Moy and Scheufele (2000) raise various hypotheses to explain the relationship between society and the media; the first is that the media, in particular television and political talk radio, have nurtured a lack of trust ('negative trust') between the State and the citizens, whilst newspaper media has generated a 'positive political trust'. They argue that this is based on public surveys conducted over a period of 30 years in the United States of America.

Another interesting factor raised by Moy and Scheufele (2000) is that some scholars believe that the higher a person's educational qualifications, the lower that person's level of trust in the State – perhaps because they believe they are enlightened and can be self-sufficient. These authors state that other academics believe that those living in poverty, who are less educated, will have less trust in government because they perceive the government as doing nothing for them. Therefore, there are conflicting views on whether a person's position on the socioeconomic spectrum defines their level of trust or distrust in government.

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The media is a key roleplayer when comes to the way that people understand and perceive issues around them. Pfeiffer, Windzio and Leimann (2005) found that the public in Germany had perceptions that, over a ten-year period, crime was increasing, whereas in fact it was decreasing. The authors identified that over the period there had been a proliferation of private news TV channels that sensationalised the reporting of crime. The authors concluded that the public had the perception that crime had escalated due to the increased reporting on it that they had experienced. This shows that the media can influence the way in which people think.

Medina (2011) states that vision is the most powerful sensory tool that humans have at their disposal. He relates an experiment where wine connoisseurs talked about white and red wine using jargon associated with each colour of wine. They would look, smell and press the wine against their palates before deciding on its qualities and attributes. Researchers dyed white wine red using odourless and tasteless dye, and gave it to the wine connoisseurs. The outcome was that the connoisseurs described the wine as though it were red wine. This shows that vision is capable of deceiving all the other senses. Visual images can leave lasting memories about specific issues.

Media studies show people find it easier to learn through images and that they learn even faster when images and text are used together to convey a message. This phenomenon is referred to as multimedia and the temporal contiguity principle (Medina, 2011). Television in itself is a multimedia platform which uses audio and visual elements (text, pictures, videos) to deliver information. Therefore, the principles stated by Medina would apply to television. The perception that crime had risen after the proliferation of private television news agencies in Germany is therefore not surprising.

With regard to State capture in the South African context, Areff (2016) quoted a senior ANC member who said that there had been an ongoing negative portrayal of former President Jacob Zuma which ultimately hurt the ANC during the elections that year. Hunter (2018) quoted Fikile Mbalula, head of the ANC's election campaign for the 2018 national election, who said that voters had developed a perception that there was corruption in the ANC. The media clearly has a powerful effect on people's perceptions. A constant narrative has led to ANC voters believing that there is corruption in the ANC. Despite the fact that there are reports of corruption in the ANC and the fact that the ANC admits it (whether tacitly or directly), the argument is that the media still influences the formation of perceptions. As stated earlier, people receive information which they analyse and

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comprehend based on their knowledge and the information at their disposal, which culminates in the formation of a perception.

Friedman and Friedman (2013) state that the best propaganda techniques only work when a key theme is identified and then repeatedly released to the public. The message should be concise and persistant. Big lies are more often believed by the public than small lies, according to Maugham (1941). The media also uses images when reports are on the front page. A single image captures the attention, as we still see when an image of former President Jacob Zuma is on the front page. One almost gets a sense of, 'What has he done this time?' Psychologist Kennedy (1974) informs us that images are very powerful as they are used to capture attention and evoke the memory on matters associated with the image. He states that if a picture showing four dots in a box shape were to be presented to an audience of people, some would see a box and some would see four dots. Those who see the dots would be the conventional thinkers and those who see a box or square could be described as constructive thinkers, having 'unconscious-inference' thinking (Kennedy, 1974). Perhaps people unscramble a picture and try to find a 'proper' outcome because it is an innate human trait to try and find solutions to conundrums. Allowing the imagination to run wild is a way of seeking a solution. Those four dots might represent a prism for some and a four-stick fire, used in the army, for others. People's minds think differently.

In this regard it is also important to consider Shaw's (1979) agenda setting theory, which states that the citizenry will absorb in their minds what the media gives them in its publications, and that the citizenry will not prioritise news matter which the media houses do not publish. Therefore, they publish what they want the citizenry to keep in their minds (Shaw, 1979). Shaw considers other theories that seek to explain the nature of mass communication, including those that deny that the media has any great power over those who consume its content. The media impact model, for instance, claims that the media simply vocalises a plethora of topical items for the general public to think and talk about and has no interest in changing peoples attitudes or opinions on those topics. The author also mentions the diffusion or multi-step flow model which states that information flows from the primary source via a media outlet to expert panels or opinion leaders and then to the public, for them to decide on. Lastly, the author makes reference to gratification research which shows that the citizenry selectively read news items in order to satisfy their preconceived ends or prejudices (Shaw, 1979).

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Shaw's work presents a wealth of ideas to consider when seeking to understand the impact of the 'fourth estate' on the lives of the citizenry. The fact that the media (the fourth power) is assigned such a pivotal status in society indicates that it does indeed possess the power to both inform and influence people, despite claims to the contrary in Shaw's work. The empirical longitudinal study on perceptions of crime in Germany referred to earlier shows that a constant bombardment of news on a particular topic can cause people to believe that indeed there is a problem or an issue of great importance that needs to be faced. The experiment in which wine connoisseurs were easily fooled when white wine was dyed red shows that people, even experts in their field, can take information at face value. They undertake a process of synthesising the information presented to them, but their decisions may be pre-concluded, based on what they frequently see and hear. The constant bombardment of information on corruption in South Africa has had many stating that this country is the most corrupt in the world, yet the Corruption Perception Index, which is an internationally recognised measure of average prices of goods in each country, shows that it is not the case. From the examples of how perceptions may be shaped simply by repetition or a constant focus on an issue, it becomes clear that a narrative can be shaped simply by excluding certain information and repeating certain other information.

2.5 Tax Revolts as Citizens' actions against perceived uncontrolled corruption

Lowery and Sigelman (1981) refer to a tax referendum conducted in America during the 1970s to determine whether the public were in favour or against limiting taxation. According to their research, there were eight main reasons why people supported the statement that taxes ought to be limited. Three will be lifted for purposes of this investigation. The first reason is 'political dissatisfaction', where the citizenry's trust in government begins to wane due to corruption and a lack of service delivery. The second reason is 'information' or the lack thereof with regard to how public funds are spent. The third reason is 'tax efficiency', where the citizenry develops a perception that the State is squandering their taxes and they therefore support measures that will place the State on a 'fiscal diet'. The two authors acknowledge some flaws in the manner in which the evidence supporting these arguments was collected, mentioning weaknesses in the epistemology. However, they still recognise that the findings of one of the polls showed that people who considered government to be wasting resources were more likely to support tax revolts (Lowery & Sigelman, 1981).

In South Africa, numerous articles and opinion pieces on web-based news media show a narrative being discussed in the public domain about a possible tax revolt due to evidence of widespread corruption in government. Business Tech (2017) reported that the government had reached a

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ceiling point in respect of levying taxes to the wealthy in order to subsidise the poor. This ceiling point is referred to as the 'Laffer curve', which is the point at which any further taxes on the wealthy may see less revenue being collected as people find ways to avoid paying their taxes. The article continued by stating that the performance of a tax system is affected by the social, political and economic conditions of a country and that when citizens develop perceptions that the government is inefficient and wasteful, they may resort to tax revolt.

According to Dachs (2017), the economic turmoil which occurred as a result of the alleged 'capturing' of the South Africa government by private interests, coupled with slow economic growth and credit downgrades, led to some tax payers contemplating a tax revolt. People avoid paying taxes in a variety of ways, the most obvious being non-disclosure of assets (Heysteck, 2017). Should many individual and corporate taxpayers decide to embark on this route, consequences could be dire, considering that personal tax and corporate tax make up 57% of the country's gross tax income (Dachs, 2017). VAT would be difficult to avoid since that is surcharged on the daily goods and services that people buy. Reports show that some administrative areas are already experiencing quasi-tax revolts, with communities refusing to pay rates to local authorities. In a matter discussed by the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2010), the mayor and accounting officer of Renosterberg Municipality informed the group that some residents had refused to pay rates and had actually started paying them into a bank account which they had jointly created.

2.6 Mechanisms to promote accountability

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In the definitions on corruption discussed under point 2.2, it is stated that corruption erodes the trust that people have in government and even in democracy itself. From the discussion relating to tax revolts under point 2.5.1, it is evident that there are stirrings in certain sectors towards the idea of taking some form of action against the State in the event that acts of corruption continue to go unpunished (Dachs, 2017; Heysteck, 2017; Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2010). This shows that there is a trust deficit at play, with many tax payers believing that the government is no longer able to spend its taxes for the benefit of all. The question that arises is what mechanisms are currently employed to ensure accountability from government. When one discusses government it must be borne in mind that government rests upon three pillars in South Africa, which is in attempt to balance government's power and authority.

Shehaan (1996) writes about the balance of power concept, describing it as the distribution of power among the different authorities in a country in order to limit the power of any one of the authorities. In the South African context, the three pillars of government that create a balance of

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power are the judiciary, the president and his cabinet, and the national parliament. The president is permitted in terms of the law to appoint members of the judiciary such as the chief justices, who in turn appoint judges in the lower order courts. Parliament is entitled to hold the president to account for all government decisions that are taken. The judiciary is entitled to hold both parliament and the president to account if matters are taken to it for judgement. An example of the exercise of this power was the court case that Corruption Watch brought against Cash Paymaster Services and effectively against the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA), where over R300 million was recovered from CPS and paid back to State coffers. Another example is the court case where Right2Know and Corruption Watch teamed up to accuse government of corruption in the arms deal, which cost over R70 billion (Thamm, 2017). These are examples of how citizens have used the judiciary, one of the pillars of government, to hold the government to account.

Parliament and senior government officials such as the president and his cabinet comprises people elected to powerful positions by citizens during elections. People have a right to vote and to participate in democracy, but do not always avail themselves of this right. Moy and Scheufele (2000) state that the influence of television may be associated with a lowering of citizen action against the government and lower numbers in voter turnouts. When opportunities to take direct action for change are not optimised by the citizenry, there is cause for concern. A lack of voter turnout or active participation in democracy may result in a higher usage of the judiciary to hold the government to account. There has been a visible increase in the number of times that the political opposition in South Africa has taken the government to court when they have not been able to reach political solutions. However litigation processes are costly and inaccessible to the ordinary individual on the street. Stats SA (2019) recorded that 21.3% of households in South Africa did not have adequate access to food, implying that those households, representing 3.4 million people, would probably not have the financial means to access unsubsidised legal aid. This means that to a large extent the citizenry is reliant on NGOs, Chapter 9 institutions such as the Public Protector, and elections, where citizens have the opportunity to effect change every five years. There is a danger of becoming too reliant on NGOs, since their mandates may at times be questionable. Their allegiance to State, people, donors and/or political organisations have been questioned in the past.

Lastly, the media plays a role in the promotion of accountability as it is a medium that is used to expose all forms of illicit activities. It is referred to as the ‘fourth estate’ because it wields the power of information. The role of specific media houses is questioned from to time, due to claims that some actually spread misinformation or sensationalise information, which is unethical. There

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are clearly mechanisms in place to promote accountability in South Africa; whether they are functioning as they should is a matter I leave to other scholars.

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3 CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

This study explores people's opinions on the subject of corruption in South Africa. The nature of the study is thus qualitative, since the intention is to capture the opinions of respondents. An interview sheet was developed containing mainly open-ended questions which I administered to secure the perspectives of the thirty respondents in Brooklyn.

Glesne (2006) states that qualitative research is a type of research that explores subjects' stories on a personal level in a way that goes beyond the surface, and that qualitative research methods help society to understand a particular phenomenon and may even change sociopolitical and cultural issues. Glesne (2006) states that most qualitative researchers conduct their research in a manner that is in keeping with social constructivism, and refers to these type of researchers as interpretevists. Firestone (1987) states that qualitative research probes the actions that take place in people's daily lives. Glesne (2006) adds that people are unique and the way that they see, do things and understand the world will be different. Qualitative researchers should not presume to generalise their findings to an entire population as though they were undertaking a scientific exercise in the manner that post-positivists conduct research.

In this study, care has been taken to ensure that the study is in keeping with research requirements and characteristics as identified by Kumar (2014), which are that the study should be well managed, empirical and rigorous, and demonstrate integrity. He states that the concept of 'controlled' usually applies only to scientific studies undertaken in a laboratory or demarcated space. Kumar (2014) also states that the researcher should refrain from being biased, recognising, however, that some subjectivity is unavoidable, as every person, including the researcher, has unique beliefs and ideas. It was important to ensure I remained as unbiased as possible when posing questions and so that I could capture the views of the respondents as purely as possible, without the interference of personal interpretation.

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3.1 Research design

The intention was to capture the perceptions of corruption of 30 people from different social strata, gender and races residing in Brooklyn, Cape Town. This was done by undertaking face-to-face interviews using a questionnaire. The 45-minute interviews were undertaken at a time and place most convenient for the respondents after they had granted consent to be interviewed. All the interviews were recorded on cell phone and interview notes were made. Following each interview, I requested the interviewee to refer me to the next person through what is referred to

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as the snowballing technique. An analysis of the interview findings was conducted through the identification of common themes in the responses. The most common or re-occurring themes were brought to the fore, and are presented in Chapter 4, with verbatim quotes that support the themes.

3.2 Data sources

Interviews served as the primary source of data in this study. The interviews provided the repsondents' opinions on the subject matter based on their own life experiences and the information available through the public media and/or general dialogue with peers.

A sample of 30 people residing in the identified geographic area, Brooklyn in Cape Town, was interviewed. Brooklyn was selected as it was the area where I reside and where I already had social connections to approach for interviews, who in turn could refer to me to others, according to the snowballing technique. The area contains a fairly even mix of races and social classes. Statistics from the 2011 Census indicate that the demographic split between the three main races in Brooklyn are 36% black, 30% white and 31% coloured. The gender split is at 49% males and 51% females (Jacobs personal communication 2017, October 10). The same statistics indicate that 60% of households are middle income (R38 201 – R614 400 per annum), 39% are poor (R0 – R38 200 per annum) and 1% are rich (R614 01 – R2 457 201 per annum). In terms of educational levels, there is a mix, with low (less than matric), middle (matric to diploma) and high (degree and higher) levels of education in Brooklyn (Jacobs, personal communication 2017, October 10). Interviews were conducted with people of all races and levels of income and education, and therefore I believe that a sufficiently divergent mix of ideas and levels of understanding on the subject matter was gathered. Secondary data sources included the many academic studies which were read and used to guide and inform this study.

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3.3 Data collection techniques

There are many ways to collect data. In this study, semi-structured interviews, comprising mainly open-ended questions, were used. Onwuegbuzie et al. (2009) raise the option of a focus group. They state that many interviewees find focus groups more comfortable as the platform allows them to share their thoughts and opinions in a manner where they feel less intimidated. It is considered easier to respond to questions when one is in a small group of people, as a response from one may stimulate a response from another, who may agree or disagree with the first speaker. However, the face-to-face interviews opted for in this study allowed for the probing of responses in a more effective manner. The probing yielded in-depth information for this study.

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The desire to get in-depth responses was the reason why 45 minutes were allowed for each interview, with all interviewees being asked the same set of questions.

There are advantages and disadvantages to using person-to-person interviews. Rea and Parker (2005) mention three advantages applicable to this method; complexity, adaptability and control in issuing instructions. The face-to-face interviews allowed the interviewer to ask questions that would elicit fairly complex answers, to probe for further thoughts, to adapt the probing to each respondent's answers, and to control the process, in that all questions had to be answered – unlike in a questionnaire, where respondents may leave questions unanswered. Rea and Parker also mention five disadvantages of in-person interviews. They are expensive, the interviewer can influence the interviewees, the respondents may be unavailable, the experience can be stressful to both parties in the interview, and the interviewee may feel compromised and limit his divulgence of information (2005). I had anticipated that the last disadvantage would be a possible hurdle in the execution of this study, particularly with regard to the second last question of the questionnaire, which asked whether the respondent thought corruption was more prevalent in a specific race. It seemed likely that a white or coloured person might want to avoid offending me as a black person, whereas had I simply emailed or handed out questionnaires, which woud remain anonymous, respondents might feel freer to state their real opinions. To overcome this, I made a point of asking interviewees for their honest opinions and not to be concerned about coming across as prejudiced. Interviewees were also informed that their opinions were important to academia, as their honest responses could lead to further related studies.

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The approach taken for this study was to meet with interviewees one by one and request an appointment, informing each person of the purpose and duration of the interview. The respondents were interviewed at a location where they were comfortable. Interviews were conducted in English and recorded on a cell phone voice recorder, and notes were taken by the interviewer on the questionnaire. Secondary sources were consulted in the form of academic articles in print and available on the internet.

3.4 Reliability and validity

The researcher endeavoured to remain free of biais and to report all findings in a manner that was transparent and truthful in order to maintain reliability. In order to do this, verbatim quotes are used for purposes of emphasising important findings. Validity was achieved by using the data as it was and by refraining from manipulating data to suit existing ideas that I, the researcher,

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may hold. It is important to accept that there is a plethora of viewpoints and experiences which need to be harnessed in a truthful manner so as to maintain the richness of the study (Noble & Smith, 2015). The data was used to produce the findings and the findings were verified to enhance credibility. In doing so, the audio recordings undertaken at the time of the interviews and the resultant transcripts were revisited regularly to ensure that data was captured accurately. Interested participants will be provided with a copy of the study, so that they may lodge a complaint with the University of the Western Cape should they feel they have been misrepresnted. Most importantly, care was taken not to tamper with or 're-engineer' ideas emanating from the respondents.

3.5 Sampling techniques

The snowballing technique was used for this study. This technique falls within the non-probability sampling category, with respondents selected in a purposeful manner. This contrasts with probability sampling, where the selection of respondents is random and systematic, and where there is an equal possibility of participation in the study for all residents of the study area (Acharya et al., 2013). Only people residing within the identified geographic area were interviewed. After completing each interview, respondents were requested to refer the researcher to another person who suited the study's requirements.

3.6 Limitations

During the interview stage, I was not able to fully interrogate all responses with sufficient follow-up questions, which may be attributed to inexperience in undertaking interviews. Another reason for this may have been that one did not want to come across as challenging respondents to the extent that they refused to complete the interview or offer a name for the next interview. About 40% of the people approached to be interviewed declined. They may have feared being targeted in some way for disclosing sensitive information on corruption, or they may have had perceptions about interviewers, thinking that they would be judged based on their views on corruption.

3.7 Data analysis and interpretation

The interviews were voice recorded using a cell phone and notes were taken during the interviews. Thereafter, the recordings were transcribed, grouped into themes and analysed for the purposes of answering the research questions.

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3.8 Ethical considerations

Guthrie (2010) states that ethics are important in research. Participants should be informed of their right to participate in research or to refuse to do so, and that, should they agree to participate, there is a means of redress should things go wrong. In addition, they need to be assured that their responses will be anonymous and that confidentiality will be maintained. The researcher needs to secure all requisite permissions prior to commencing with research and should adhere to a code of ethics throughout the process. I endeavoured to maintain a high level of professionalism and objectivity, and obtained all the requisite permissions from the University of the Western Cape. Care was taken not to force or even persuade any of the respondents to participate; they were asked whether they would agree to it, and they were asked for their permission to audio record their responses. All gave their consent. The recordings were kept safe and confidential. I also informed the respondents about the study in general and how their input would contribute to the finalisation of the study. The respondents will be provided with copies of the final study upon request.

3.8.1 Confidentiality

All interviewees were informed of their right to remain anonymous. They were not asked to give their names. Following the interviews, the questionnaires containing their responses were stored in hard copy and soft copy format, in a safe location.

3.8.2 Provision of debriefing, counseling and additional information

Guthrie (2010) states that research participants usually show an interest in the outcomes of the study in which they have been involved and that for this reason feedback to respondents is important – particularly if the researcher may want to interview them in the future. Copies of this study will therefore be made available to the interviewees upon request. In such cases where the participants do not agree with the findings, then, as Guthrie (2010) suggests, their criticism will be considered objectively.

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4 CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the key findings revealed in the interviews are discussed. The findings are arranged according to the themes that emerged during and after the interviewing process. Themes were considered in light of the main research questions and the five sub-questions listed under point 1.8. Before results are discussed in detail, demographic and socioeconomic information on the participants is presented, to indicate the nature and character of the sample. Most of the findings are presented in percentage form, rounded off to the first decimal.

4.2 Data analysis and interpretation

Two data analysis techniques were used in this study; content analysis and descriptive statistics. These two techniques were used firstly in order to yield information on the demographics of participants and secondly to obtain their views on the subject matter through open-ended questions. The researcher identified themes emerging from the responses, as discussed below.

4.3 Demographic representation of the findings

4.3.1 Race

The demographic information showing the race of respondents is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Race

DEMOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF RESPONDENTS				
WHITE	COLOURED	BLACK	INDIAN	TOTAL
8 (26,6%)	8 (26,6%)	13 (43,3%)	1 (3,3%)	30 (100%)

The table shows that the study sample was split fairly equally among the difference race groups, reflecting the demographics of Brooklyn. Census 2011 shows that the racial profile for Brooklyn is blacks (36%), whites (30%) and coloureds (31%) (Jacobs personal communication 2017, October 10). Therefore the sample may be considered a fair representation of the residents of Brooklyn from a race point of view.

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A narrative is sometimes portrayed in the public discourse that certain races tend towards corrupt practices or condone them, but the findings of the study show this not to be the case – at least for the residents of Brooklyn. The respondents in all race groups disapproved of corruption in principle; I add 'in principle' because one or two stated that their very survival sometimes depended on participating in illicit activities, even though it was something they would prefer not to do.

4.3.2 Gender

The gender division of respondents was female 51% and 49% male. Census data 2011 shows that the gender split of the area is 49% males and 51% female. Therefore, the gender division of respondents in this study clearly enough reflects the gender division of the Brooklyn area.

4.3.3 Age

The majority of respondents were above the age of 34. In total, twenty-one were above 34, with the oldest being 80 years of age. Nine were below the age of 34 with the youngest being 19 years of age. The spread of ages allowed for a variety of views to be expressed from younger and older persons.

4.3.4 Educational level

Most of the respondents had either a matric or a below-matric level of education. Five had a tertiary education. This indicates that there was a good mix of educational levels, both with and without higher levels of education. For participation in this study, a high level of education (i.e. PhD or Masters) was not essential; only the views of the respondents are important. It might be supposed that a higher level of education would allow for more complex or academic responses. On the other hand, an academic qualification is not a requirement in order for an individual to observe and determine that malpractice is either acceptable or unacceptable.

4.3.5 Employment sector

Respondents worked in both the private and public sector. This provided a balance of working contexts, with findings showing that no matter which sector a respondent worked in, perceptions of corruption were similar across the board, with all disapproving of it.

4.3.6 Level of Income

The majority of the respondents had low levels of income. This may indicate that they occupied positions of minimal influence at their places of work. It also shows that the views obtained through

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this study are those of mainly the working class, a classification that applies to most South Africans. However, some participants had higher incomes and some had no income at all, showing that views from across the socioeconomic spectrum were obtained.

4.4 Themes emerging from the questions

From participants' responses, four themes emerged. The first is respondents' understanding of corruption in their own words. The second is respondents' perceptions of the prevalence and extent of corruption. The third is the factors that affect perceptions of corruption and the fourth is measures being taken to fight corruption; actual measures by government and measures that respondents themselves had taken. Direct quotes are used occasionally to illustrate a point, referenced with the letter 'R' (respondent) and a number indicating which respondent it is.

4.4.1 Definitions of corruption according to respondents

The survey reveals that the respondents had a good understanding of what corruption is. They knew that it is something that often involves illegal acts or manipulation of systems and processes, and that it eventually leads to disadvantaging others. Furthermore, none of the respondents said that corruption is a positive phenomenon or one that leads to positive results. All viewed it in a negative light. In general, the respondents were aware that corruption is the misuse of authority for individual benefit or for the benefit of a select few instead of many. All knew that it entails some form of breaking of the rules or the law.

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In defining corruption, the respondents made use of examples, many of which related to politicians using their authority to benefit personally; things like State capture, the Bosasa scandal, and the many cases of general corruption that are reported on TV, radio and social media. The respondents also cited examples from their own daily lives. Some identified poor service delivery and unfulfilled promises by those in authority as a form of corruption. They felt cheated because they had voted for someone based on what the person promised; promises had not been fulfilled and this they interpreted as a form of corruption. Many of the respondents also showed knowledge of the different forms of corruption identified in the literature. They were aware of political corruption, administrative corruption and corruption within the private and NGO sector which, according to them, often goes unnoticed, as most of the attention is on corruption perpetrated by people working for the State.

The literature indicates that corruption is indeed a negative phenomenon. Corruption Watch (2016) stresses how corruption affects the general public in a negative way, having the potential

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to promote lawlessness, create an unstable society without morals or ethics and thwart initiatives to develop the economy in a sustainable manner. Further to this, corruption is said to involve the abuse of authority for self-benefit (Vargas-Hernandez, 2009).

Therefore the views of the respondents as to the nature of corruption concur with the literature findings. Apart from understanding the various forms of corruption, the respondents were aware that corruption occurs as a result of an erosion of ethics and values, which are essential for the proper functioning of society. It is clear from the respondents' comments that those in positions of authority should have the ability to distinguish between right and wrong. One respondent said:

> *Corruption, generally, has to do with people enriching themselves at the expense of others* (R1).

Another provided a more nuanced definition of corruption, encapsulating many of the other definitions provided by respondents. He said:

> *Corruption comes into play the moment logic falls away ... when ... rules are thrown out of the window ... I can also add racism to corruption ... nepotism ... favouritism ... we make victims every day by our actions'* (R12).

In essence, the manner in which the respondents defined corruption is not dissimilar from the way the literature defines it. All the respondents believed that it is a phenomenon that is harmful and needs to stop, and some became quite emotionally charged when discussing the matter, as they felt themselves to be victims of it.

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4.4.2 Perceptions on the prevalence and extent of corruption

The second theme deals with how respondents thought and felt about the extent of corruption in the country. The respondents all said that corruption is widespread in South Africa. They made reference to small-scale and macro-scale corruption. Some mentioned the exchange of both small and large amounts for personal advantage and the abuse of authority for personal gain.

In total, 83,3% of the respondents said that they felt the level of corruption is high and or out of control. Only 13,3% said that said the prevalence of corruption is on a medium scale and less than 3,3% said corruption levels are low in the country. This suggests that respondents generally believed that corruption in South Africa is quite pervasive.

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In total, 50% of the respondents had been personanlly exposed to corruption. What is striking is that only 6,6% of the survey stated that they had received a satisfactory outcome to their complaints. Of this 6,6%, only one individual said that an arrest had been made. This is only 3,3% of the entire sample. Half of the sample is a high number stastically, showing that indeed corruption is highly prevelant, since 5 out of every 10 people had been exposed to it. The fact that only one person was aware of an arrest in relation to corruption gives some indication of why levels of corruption remain so high. Clearly, the level of success in dealing with corruption is very low. The perpetrators get away with it and most likely go on to repeat the same acts. The risk is that where corrupt acts are allowed to continue unabated, corruption becomes systemic.

The respondents stated that corruption occurs at local level and at national levels, and in both government and the private sector. It involves the exchange of money for personal advantage or the abuse of authority. This finding indicates that respondents thought corruption is widespread.

The respondents were also aware that the effects of corruption are far reaching. They mentioned that corruption affects all persons across the socioeconomic spectrum, including the poor, the middle class and the rich. However, most felt that corruption affects mainly the poor, who have little to cushion themselves against its myriad side effects.

Of the 50% of the respondents reporting personal exposure to corruption, 66,6% said that they would report corruption again in the future. This suggests that the respondents felt that all hope is not yet lost and that corruption can still be challenged and corrected. The general feeling was that reporting it is the right thing to do, and that they had a moral obligation to report illicit activities in order to prevent it affecting someone else. Therefore, despite the feeling that corruption is widespread and pervasive in society, there is clearly some hope that the tide might turn, and that it is not entirely futile to report acts of corruption.

R18 had this to say:

> *… because it affects a lot of people. Coming from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, I have seen how corruption affects the poor. There is a lot of wrongdoing with people paying their way through situations and taking the space of persons that deserve it.*

Respondents were asked whether they thought it was proper for ministers to receive gifts for doing their jobs. Several were strictly against this. They felt that gifts are sometimes the root of the bribery and capture that is already evident in the country. This finding should be a sign to government that

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the public is concerned about the giving of gifts to persons in places of authority, often by those with hidden motives. The government should take heed of the concerns shown by the public, including those of the respondents in this study. The literature shows that uncurbed corruption has the ability to diminish trust between the citizenry and those in power (Chang & Chu, 2006), and once that snowballs, it may lead to the undermining of democracy or any other prevailing political system.

The respondents' comments on the extent and effects of corruption reinforce the statement by Corruption Watch (2016) that the effects of corruption impact negatively on socioeconomic development and disrupt society generally. The respondents felt agrieved at unfulfilled promises made by local politicians, they found corruption to be widespread, and they felt personally affected by it, which is to be expected from a sample of mostly poor and middle-income individuals. Generally, they felt that the resources that were meant to be used to uplift their lives were being squandered by those who already had plenty.

4.4.2.1 Perceptions of corruption in different sectors and levels of government

One gains the impression at times that corruption exists only in the public sector due to the volume of media reports showing acts of wrongdoing in that sector. Many of the services provided by government are entrusted to so many different government departments that it becomes difficult to determine which department is at fault for corrupt activities and which sphere of government should be held accountable. This is a matter that is sometimes difficult for employees of the State to determine, and much more so for members of the public.

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Almost all respondents, at 96,6%, believed that the public sector is responsible for most corruption in the country, while 53,3% said the private sector engaged in most of the corruption. Such a high percentage of people believing that the public sector is the most corrupt sector of society should be of concern to the State, since its officials and leaders are casting the entire government in a negative light. What is striking is that 16,6% of the survey sample were government employees. Almost every one of them said that there is corruption in the public sector, with 60% of this group stating that corruption is 'out of control' in the country.

The private sector was not considered blame free, with over half (53,3%) believing that the private sector engages in corrupt activties. This, too, should be taken seriously, because 46,6% of the respondents work in the private sector. One such individual, R15, who works at a privately owned shop, mentioned that at her workplace one could forget about getting a promotion if one had a

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certain skin colour. This shows discrimination and abuse of authority, which is a form of corruption according to the literature and according to the respondents in this study.

In relation to the second aspect of this theme – the perceived levels of corruption in the different tiers of government – it should be mentioned that some respondents were not clear on the jurisdictions of the different tiers of government. In total, 73,3% of respondents said that there was wrongdoing at all levels of government. Local government was singled by 13,3% of the respondents, and of this group, 75% claimed that they had been directly exposed to corruption. They based their claims on real life experiences. Interestingly provincial government was not singled out and national was singled out by 6,6% of respondents. Some respondents claimed that corruption occurs at all levels, but gave a description of corruption that is actually occurring at local government level, citing 'selective municipal service delivery' and the general corruption reportedly occurring in the municipalities. Some of the respondents mentioned the scandals that were being aired on television at the time, such as the Vrede Dairy Farm matter, which actually implicated the Free State provincial government and its former premier, Ace Magashule, the capture of President Zuma by the Guptas, or the Bosasa scandal, both of which implicated national government. This shows that respondents were aware of many instances of corruption that occurs at different levels of government, but could not always discern the government level implicated in each instance – which could explain why most said all tiers are corrupt.

4.4.2.2 Perception on levels of corruption in the different parts of society

This subsection discusses perceptions of corruption in different parts of society according to race and social class. In respect of the perceived levels of corruption by race, it was found that no race group had an indulgent or accepting view of corruption. Individuals in all race groups showed that they understood that corruption impacted negatively on the citizenry, from the poor to the rich, barring three persons whose definition of corruption fitted the definition of criminal activity in general rather than corruption in particular.

The majority of the respondents said that all races are prone to corruption. Only 10% of the respondents said that the black race group was more prone to corruption than others, and all of these respondents were black themselves. The comments of these three were:

> *I would say the most corrupt are black people … You cannot say a white person is corrupt. A white person becomes corrupt because you allow them to be corrupt. We are corrupt. We, the blacks, are saying yes. We bring corruption. I'd say that. They're just there because they know how our minds work and because of our*

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backgrounds and most of our brothers and sisters, how hard they worked to get there. Unlike those with silver spoons. Lending money to you is not a big deal. So you make a decision of being corrupt because of greediness. So I say its black people who are corrupt mostly, and not whites. Whites they instil the thought or the mind of doing a corrupt act or deed (R15).

Based on what I (see and hear)… I would say it's mostly with the – maybe with the blacks. That's a place that's mostly corrupt … because people just, like, taking advantage of you, maybe because of your colour and stuff … nowadays all the blacks are just not standing up for themself. That's how I feel (R8).

There is a perceived group … black people, because of the news. The news is always showing the ANC as corrupt and its leaders. Some are probably correct (R3).

Since I, the interviewer, am a black African, it may have been difficult for some race groups to claim that black people are most likely to commit acts of corruption. They may have wanted to avoid coming across as offensive. It is therefore possible that only black people gave this response because they might have felt less afraid to voice this opinion, since, being black themselves, they could not have been accused of being offensive. Whites and coloureds may have held the same opinion but were possibly more reluctant to express it.

There are three other possible reasons why black people may have named blacks as the main perpetrators of corruption. Firtsly, black people may have had more direct exposure to corruption that involved black persons. Secondly, the respondents' sources of information may have told them that mostly black people were involved, and thirdly, the perception could exist due to a latent inferiority complex in black people, developed and perpetuated during the time of the apartheid regime. The supporting argument for the first possible reason is quite straightforward. If a person is exposed to black corrupt persons repeatedly, then that person will develop the perception that black persons are corrupt. The literature review uncovered that a perception is the attitude that a person may hold towards a particular subject, which can be influenced by what others think about the same issue. A form of peer influence is at play here, where an attitude is formed as a result of exposure to people who have a certain attitude or perception. McDonald (2012) supports this view, stating that an individual's perception of any matter under discussion may be influenced by their socioeconomic conditions, gender, tribal grouping and/or educational level, among other factors. It is clear that what a person sees and hears certainly influences his perception of a matter.

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The supporting argument for the second and third possible reasons are not as straightforward. With reference to the second possible reason, I found that unlike the other race groups, all of the black persons stated that they received information on corruption via television only or a mix of TV and other sources such as radio, social media and print media. Earlier in this study the media is described as the 'fourth estate', a powerful roleplayer in society that shapes discourse on many topics, including corruption. The literature reveals some of the ways in which perceptions are formed, and one of those ways is that some people receive and accept information as it is, while others receive and interrogate information using other sources, past experiences and logic to determine what is true and what is likely to be fallacy. Without assuming that the three persons quoted above were susceptible to accepting news sources at face value, it appears that they may have been doing so.

Mainstream media outlets mostly report on corruption in the public sector, in line with their own perceived mandate to inform and to hold the executive to account. This could be one of the reasons that most of the respondents were of the view that the public sector is most corrupt. Since most officials in government are black Africans, it is perhaps inevitable that most reported cases of wrongdoing would involve black individuals.

With reference to the third possible reason – a latent sense of inferiority – the country's history needs to be taken into account. During the period of colonisation and apartheid, black persons were considered third-class citizens. This view was entrenched through explicit means which, over time, created an inferiority complex among blacks which is still evident today. Stevens, Duncan and Hook (2013) write that apartheid racism was a psychological system that led to the inferiorisation and of those on the receiving end of apartheid. This may be the reason why the black respondents stated that the black race group is the one most susceptible to corruption.

In terms of the perceived levels of corruption by social class, it has to be brought to the fore that the majority of the respondents fell within the poor and middle-income class. A study on middle-income earners conducted by Visagie (2013) showed that the income range in this groups is between R5,600 and R40,000 per month after tax. In total, 60% of the respondents recorded incomes of between R0 and R10,000 per month, 20% had incomes of between R10,000 and R50,000 per month, while 6,6% had incomes of between R50,000 to R100,000 per month. In total, 13,3% declined to state their level of income. Out of the respondents that had an income below R10,000 per month, 6.6% were pensioners who received less than R5,600 per month and 20% were unemployed, putting them in the category of individuals whose income is less than

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R5,600. This means most respondents fell in either the poor or the middle-income class. It also shows that the views obtained through this study are those of mainly the working class, a classification that applies to many South Africans. Therefore the views emanate from across the socioeconomic spectrum.

With all this said, none of the respondents from the different social strata supported or tried to justify corruption. In the main, the respondents said that corruption has a negative impact on all citizens, but was particularly hard on the poor – more so than on middle-income and rich people. They found that corruption was mainly 'high' to 'out of control' and that it manifested mainly in the public sector. Respondents across all social classes had been exposed to corruption and had reported it or said that they would report it.

One item to consider in detail is the social class that the respondents thought was most involved in acts of corruption. It is evident that the rich social class was singled out by 40% of the respondents as the class category most prominent in corruption. They were followed by the middle and the poor classes at 10% each. In total, 23% of the respondents said all social classes were equally involved in corruption and 10% said that a combination of two social classes were involved. Only two persons, that is, 6,6%, said they did not know or did not have a comment.

Some of the comments were:

> *Yes, the wealthy, yes. Because they do not want to lose more money. They want to stay in that level … Once they become rich, they will do anything to keep that (R15).*

> *It can be poor because they don't have anything and they want to get those things, so they're trying a better life (R22).*

> *I will say the middle-class … in the middle-class you will find people who are content for just belonging to the middle-class … But also you find people whom are not content, who are not far away from being satisfied, who only think of, you know, going a step higher, meaning belonging to the elite, therefore they are prepared to do whatever it takes to reach their goal (R12).*

One can conclude from the above that most were of the view that all race groups were capable of committing corruption, although the rich were singled out slightly more often than other groups.

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4.4.3 Factors that affect perceptions of corruption

People formulate perceptions of corruption based on what they are exposed to, which includes direct experiences, the media and second-hand information. The level of actual and alleged corruption within the country are also influencing factors that cause the respondents to develop views that corruption is high or out of control in the country.

It has been mentioned that 50% of the respondents said that they had been directly exposed to situations involving corruption, meaning that these respondents based their views not only on what they saw and heard through the media, but also on direct experience. Equally, it can be said that the other 50% of respondents who had not had direct experiences of corruption based their views on what they heard from second-hand sources and the media. Their perceptions were based on third parties and not on direct experiences. The third parties include friends, colleagues and family members, while the media refers to TV, radio, print and the internet. This means that the manner in which corruption matters are reported is important, as is the manner in which various commentators or thought leaders discuss it. Commentators have enormous power to shape the narrative of corruption and influence people's perceptions.

Most respondents said that they discussed corruption at least once a week. The people with whom they discuss the matter play a significant role, since in social situations, others can impose a different type of interpretation of a matter to that which is provided in the media. The media plays an important role and should always report things in an unbiased manner so as not to drive specific perceptions. Whilst corruption in the public and private sector is a reality, it is important that the media strive not to align their reporting with certain ideologically or politically influenced narratives. The fact that one half of the respondents had been personally exposed to corruption, while the majority stated that corruption was high to out of control, shows that the perception of corruption is based on what people receive through the media. The fact that the majority of respondents had low levels of confidence in corruption-fighting measures supports this observation. The media coverage of State capture in 2018 shows that there is corruption in many if not all arms of the State, and that corruption-fighting institutions have been compromised. Gevisser (2019) states that State capture led to the pillaging of State funds by private individuals or entities for their private benefit, enabled by the control they gained over law makers, law enforcement authorities and the South African Revenue Services.

Stories portrayed on various media platforms are accompanied by commentary from both neutral and non-neutral commentators, who influence the perceptions of viewers or readers. Therefore,

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it may be stated that the respondents' views about corruption are influenced by what they see and hear either through direct observation, or through what they see and hear through the various media platforms.

There is an important matter to consider, which is perceptions versus reality. The two are not the same, but are frequently assumed to be so. A too-heavy reliance on perception can come about as a result of basing one's views only on what is filtered through others, whether friends or news sources. People may be led to believe that a situation is overwhelming or uncontrollable, whereas it is being overplayed by those reporting on the issue. As mentioned, McDonald (2012) asserts that an individual's perception on any matter are influenced by their socioeconomic conditions, gender, tribal grouping or educational level, among other factors. If a person is unable to screen or interrogate the way that an incident or phenomenon is reported, then that person may easily gain a false impression or perception about a subject matter.

Reality, on the other hand, is more easily discerned when the person has experienced or observed something directly. R13 mentioned that he had been stopped by a member of the South African Police Service who said, 'What did Mandela say', i.e., the police officer was making reference to bank notes that have Mandela's face on them. That is a real-life, direct experience of corruption as opposed to being told about it by someone else. At the same time, not everything that is absorbed through third parties is untrue or leads to fallacious perceptions.

4.4.4 Affiliation bias

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When considering the viewpoints of the respondents it is important to consider the matter of affiliation bias or unconscious bias. This occurs when a person has developed a stereotype or prejudice about others based on ethnicity, race, habits or traits, which is something acquired at a young age as we become exposed to our societies (Moule, 2009). Affiliation bias is common and not restricted to perceptions on corruption, but permeates all aspects of life. People can, at times, align their views with what their peers consider right or just in order to fit in. It is likely that aspects of this bias may have been at play, particularly in reponses to the question of whether a specific race group or social class were more likely to commit acts of corruption than others.

In general, the respondents stated that all races are prone to corruption, except for three black persons who said that black people are prone to corruption. As mentioned above, these persons could have based their opinion on what they see through direct experiences or through the media. Since the media reports mainly on government corruption, and since the government is mostly run

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by black officials, it is logical than most acts of corruption would seem to involve black individuals. Unconscious bias is applicable where the individual has not been directly exposed to corruption yet claims it is black persons who are most corrupt. As Moule (2009) mentions, people are conditioned to develop stereotypes through socialisation over time, which in many instances occurs through exposure to information disseminated by the media.

The second possible cause for the three respondents' views is the compounded effect of colonialism and apartheid which ensured that black Africans were second- or third-class citizens. This position in society may have led to the development of an inferiority complex, which might be the reason that black people believe that other blacks are most prone to corruption.

This study does not attempt to prove or disprove that notion. It is difficult to prove which race group commits more acts of corruption, since the statistics on corruption form part of the statistics on commercial crimes, and one would have to research each case of corruption to determine which race groups is involved to prove a preponderance of one race group or another. It is in fact not possible to get a set of accurate numbers of corrupt acts comitted by each race group based on snippets seen on the media.

The other point speaks to social class. The rich were singled out as corrupt on more occasions than other social classes. The point is that the poor and middle class may see corruption in a different way than the rich do, and hence they single out the rich. If one were to interview people in a wealthy community, it is quite possible that they would say the poor are corrupt. People genetrally do not want to admit to their own shortcomings and tend to place the blame on others. Smith (2008) adds that it is often assumed that corruption is associated with those individuals who have means, which is perhaps why the poor and middle class blame the rich, as is the case in this survey. Lastly, if we take into consideration that most of the respondents are poor to middle class and that they discuss corruption regularly, it is likey that their friends and colleagues, holding similar views, would simply reinforce perceptions already formed. Thus the view that it is morstly the rich who engage in corruption would come to appear as fact.

Media reports on corruption during the period of the interviews were centred around Bosasa, State capture and the Steinhoff scandal, which involved billions of rands squandered through malpractice and corruption. With such large sums involved, it is natural that people would form the idea that rich people are responsible for most corruption in the country. The elitist profiles of the individuals involved would also support the impression that the rich social class is more prone to corruption. As has been established, the media is a powerful voice in any society and their style of reporting

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influences the general public. Perceptions are usually formed through the intake of information that has already been processed by others, which combine in the mind of the perceiver with personal experiences and biases. It is no wonder, then, that with this combination of influences the perception should exist among low- and middle-income earners that the rich are mostly the ones to blame for corruption.

4.4.5 Measures taken to fight corruption

This section investigates various measures put in place by the South African government and measures undertaken by the respondents themselves to try to combat corruption. The fear of reprisal, which came up often amongst respondents, will be touched on, too.

4.4.5.1 Measures implemented by the State and the respondents' perceptions

The government has declared on numerous occasions that it has taken a stand against corruption and intends to take all those responsible to task. The State has put in place various laws and institutional structures that are supposed to act against corruption.

Commissions of enquiry that have been established to seek the truth amid countless allegations of wrongdoing at various levels of government. The government has also established Chapter 9 institutions, as contained in the country's Constitution. The latter includes organisations such as the Public Protector and the Auditor General, who are tasked with upholding the rights of the citizenry and monitoring government spend respectively. There is also the Standing Committee on Public Accounts (SCOPA), located in parliament and set up to monitor the spend of State resources. Government has also set up the national anti-corruption forum which incorporates non-State entities such as Corruption Watch and the Black Sash, whose aims are to root out corruption in the State.

Apart from these structures, the government has promulgated numerous pieces of legislation in an attempt to curb corruption. These include the Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, Act 12 of 2004, the Public Finance Management Act, Act 1 of 1999, the Municipal Finance Management Act, Act 56 of 2004, the Public Service Amendment Act, Act 30 of 2007, and the South African Police Service Amendment Act, Act 57 of 2008, all of which came about as a response to the wrongdoing plaguing the country.

The respondents were requested to provide their level of confidence in the corruption-fighting measures put in place by the government. Over half, at 56,6%, said they had low levels of confidence in the corruption-fighting ability of the government. In general, the respondents were

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of the opinion that those implicated tend to use influence and financial muscle to navitage themselves out of trouble. Two showed their lack of faith in the justice system, stating:

> *Money today in our country buys you freedom. So if you don't have money you're going to end up in prison. But if you have money, money talks (R17).*

> *If you look at it, the Zuma case, what's happening to that? Everything is being kept quiet. Shabir Shaik is, you don't hear of that anymore. So what the hell … You work your ass off and then you're living from the hand to the mouth and these assholes that sit in the office does absolutely jack, gets driven around, they earn the huge bucks (R29).*

These two comments capture some of the anger expressed by most. They show that even with all the measures available, the respondents felt that those in positions of authority are evading arrest and court convictions.

R1 said that she had reported a corruption incident against the police and that there had been no satisfactory feedback. One person involved in the incident had since died and the respondent had been hospitalised after being threatened. Despite her hospitalisation, she mentioned that she would continue to report corruption because she believed that if one does not report it, one becomes an accomplice. However, her level of confidence in the current corruption-fighting measures were low due to the lack of action on the matter she had reported. This incident, where a respondent had been threatened after lodging a complaint of corruption, should be of concern to the State and the public in terms of the perception it might create that it is better to keep quiet than to speak up when faced with evidence of corruption.

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It is clear that the government is attempting to address the problem; however it has not managed to arrest the scourge, according to the respondents, who showed low levels of confidence in the measures instituted by government. It is in fact difficult to measure the success rate of government's efforts, since corruption is grouped together with commercial crimes in the reporting mechanism (Tumakwayo, 2014). This makes it impossible to tell whether the number of corruption cases is increasing or decreasing. Media reports are an unreliable indication of real corruption figures, since uncorroborated events are sometimes reported, or the accusation of corruption, rather than corruption itself, is reported. Until the government implements an accurate reporting mechanism, unclarity regarding the number of corruption cases will remain.

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4.4.5.2 Measures taken by respondents to fight corruption

The survey shows that, in general, the respondents did not only have views on corruption but were willing, in some cases, to take action on the matter. This is evident from the fact that 50% of the respondents had been exposed to corruption, and of this number, 66,6% had gone on to report the incident. Amongst those who had not been directly exposed, 73,3% said they would report incidents in the future. In total 70% of all the respondents were willing to report cases of corruption in future. This is a significant finding, as it shows that a large percentage of the respondents were willing to take action against wrongdoing, despite the possibility of an unsuccessful outcome or repercussions.

The respondents kept themselves informed about corruption as they had access to a variety of information sources, including TV, print, radio, internet and dialogue with peers. Most respondents state that they discuss the matter at least once a week. This may indicate that respondents consider the matter important – although, as has been pointed out, a constant bombardment of reports via the media also tends to bring the topic to the fore, creating the impression that the topic is indeed very important.

Three or four respondents mentioned that they had some confidence in President Ramaphosa, which is one of the reasons they were willing to report corruption in the future. Many respondents said they would do so because it is the right thing to do and that they want to see an end to corruption. Clearly there was a willingness to fight corruption in the ways accessible to them, given their appetite to actively report incidents. This shows that the respondents had not yet given up hope in governance systems currently in place to fight corruption. This should be a viewed as a positive sign by government, as the literature states that acts of corruption erode the trust levels between the citizenry and the government, which can lead to the citizenry rising up against the prevailing political system (Chang & Chu, 2006). Because such a large percentage of respondents was still willing to fight corrupt acts, one might conclude that government has not yet lost the trust of the people.

Fear of reprisals was an aspect of reporting corruption that became apparent through the comments of respondents. Although only 10% of the respondents mentioned possible reprisals, the possibility has serious implications and should be considered seriously by the State. The death of former Bosasa head, Gavin Watson, who was due to give evidence the day following his death, also tends to perpetuate the narrative that reprisals are a reality, which could potentially deter others from taking action against acts of corruption in the future. What is clear is that those

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who had not reported corruption and those who said they were unsure about reporting were concerned about the risk of reprisal. In addition, they were disappointed at the lack of action and the lethargy in the way that cases are dealt with.

Respondents' comments on the matter of reporting corrupt activities included:

> *No, I would not report corruption in the future because it is – you will be putting – I will be putting myself in danger of reporting corruption. Hence this lack of resources or people going to the media and reporting corruption, because they are scared of being a snitch in that particular incident* (R6).

> *It's hard, the police are also corrupt, that guy if you give this police some money … then ... 'case closed* (R5).

> *People report incidents and at times there's no follow up, or you report and then the matter is dragged out and goes on for a long time and you need to avail yourself to give evidence and all those things. So a person doesn't really want to go through that or lack of confidence as well, even if I report, nothing is going to happen* (R28).

The fact is that a certain percentage of respondents were reluctant to report, or were uncertain whether they would report corruption in future, speaks volumes about the extent of corruption. To government, the respondents' fear of reprisal should be of utmost concern as it says that those who are supposed to uphold and enforce the law might be siding with the wrongdoers. These views should be taken seriously as the respondents are not basing their views on hearsay or media reports alone. Half the respondents had witnessed corruption first hand. The Department of Home Affairs as well as traffic law enforcement were singled out by those who were willing to be direct in respect of the perpetrators of corruption.

4.5 Summary of results

The concluding thoughts on the findings are arranged according the themes discussed above. The respondents understood the nature of corruption, but defined it mostly according to real-life examples from their own lives or from the media, friends and colleagues. In the main, respondents were of the view that corruption is high to out of control in the country and that it manifests mainly in the public sector. This view was expressed irrespective of gender, race, employment sector and employment status. Worryingly, the respondents had low levels of confidence in government's ability to win the fight against corruption. Even the five State

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employees expressed this view. This is something that should have the public and government worried.

The respondents' sources of information were direct experiences, the media and other second-hand sources. Some respondents singled out black persons as the main perpetrators of corruption which may be attributed to, firstly, their exposure to black corrupt individuals, secondly, the information available to them via the media and, thirdly, a possible case of inferiority complex caused by decades of subjugation by the apartheid government.

The study shows that the government has legal and administrative systems in place to fight corruption, but that these methods appear not to be working. This was vocalised by respondents who mentioned that they had low levels of confidence that the government would succeed in the fight against corruption. Some based this view on their personal experiences, having reported corruption and received no satisfactory outcome. One respondent stated that she had been the victim of a form of reprisal (a threat against her life) which had landed her in hospital. Surprisingly, many claimed they would report in future despite their low level of confidence in government's responses to reports of corruption.

As discussed above, the views expressed by the respondents were based on what they witnessed, heads and read, all of which shaped their perceptions. This accords with what has been stated by McDonald (2012), Dutton (2009) and Shultz (1998), who concur that perceptions on any matter under discussion are influenced by one's socioeconomic conditions, gender, tribal grouping and/or educational level, among other factors. The media's influence on society has been shown to be a key factor to consider, having the potential to shape ideas that later become echoed throughout society. As evidence of this, many of the respondents used examples stated in media reports such as the stories about the State capture commission of inqury when they define corruption. The respondents had a low level of confidence in the State's ability to combat corruption, which is a manifestation of one of the repercussions of corruption – a breakdown in trust between the governed and the governing (Chang & Chu, 2006). The waning belief in democracy and the political systems of South Africa is evident in respondents' comments, in which some queried the continued use of voting. Voting is a basic building block of democracy, but citizens' confidence in the system is being undermined by the many illicit acts of corruption reported. This latter point should serve as something of a warning to the government.

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5 CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study aimed to solicit perceptions of corruption from people in Cape Town, specifically from residents of Brooklyn. Research was undertaken on corruption in terms of definitions and impacts on society. The phenomenon of perception was also investigated, both its defintion and how perceptions are formed. Corruption and perception were central concepts to the study and both were researched in order to ascertain whether and why interviewees' thoughts on corruption might have differed in any way to what is contained in the literature. Perceptions were solicited by interviewing 30 people in Brooklyn, chosen as it is my area of residence and research there would be both safe and cost effective. It can be argued that the sample, although small, represented a fair spread of the residents of the suburb in terms of gender, socioeconomic class and race. Some challenges were experienced in obtaining willing interviewees through the snowballing technique used, but in the end, the required number of interviews was attained.

The results of the study indicate that the respondents were able to define corruption mostly using examples they were exposed to through the media. They were aware of what corruption entails and how it affects society. Their definitions and understanding of the potential impacts correlated with findings from the literature. It was also clear that respondents' perceptions were informed by the information sources they had access to, which were mainly the media and other second-hand sources. The manner in which their perceptions were formed was found to correlate with the way in which the literature portrays perception formation. Perceptions are formed through the intake of external information which is filtered through prior knowledge and prejudices, to form what eventually becomes perceptions of a subject matter.

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In relation to respondents' perceptions of corruption, the following findings emerged from the study:

- The respondents were able to define corruption and were aware of how it affects society;
- They had the perception that most corruption comes from the public sector, while ackowledging that there is also corruption in the private sector;
- Almost half of the respondents had been directly exposed to corruption;
- The respondents had low levels of confidence in government's corruption-fighting measures. Interestingly, despite a lack of satisfacory outcomes after reporting corruption, most said they would still report corruption in the future;
- Corruption was an important issue to the respondents as they discussed it at least once a week;

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- The majority of respondents were aware that receiving gifts in the workplace had the potential to lead to wrongdoing in future. They knew that the giver of a gift is invariably investing in a favour expected at a later date;
- Notwithstanding the respondents' information sources, they were of the opinion that no particular race group is more prone to corruption than another – except for three black respondents who singled out black persons as the main perpetrators of corruption;
- The rich social class was singled out the most likely to be involved in corrupt activities; and
- The perceptions of respondents was influenced by traditional sources of information such as friends, colleagues and media – consistent with findings from the literature on perception.

There was a clear negative perception of corruption in the country, with many expressing views that indicated a lack of trust in government. Although the sample size was small, its good mix of social classes and races made it fairly representative of the views of more citizens.

5.2 Recommendations

The respondents in this survey showed that they were aware of the nature and effects of corruption. However, it is recommended that government continues with an awareness drive to reach those individuals who may not recognise corruption when it occurs, or the devastating effects it has on society, including the risk it poses to democracy. People also need to be made aware that corruption is not something that pertains to the State only. They should be shown how to recognise it when it occurs in non-State entities, too.

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Since many of the respondents who had reported corruption said that they have not received a satisfactory outcome, there is a need to ensure that reported cases of corruption are attended to swiftly if the fight against corruption is to have any success. Swift and decisive action needs to be taken in every case, and to be well reported, so that people see results and their confidence in government is restored – at least in regard to this issue.

There is perhaps a greater need for non-State sectors to get involved in the fight against corruption. In the past, entities in the non-State sector have been able to secure court judgments against the government, which indicates that they have the power to effect change. The State, its law enforcement agencies and the legal system must also appear to deal with corruption fairly and without discrimination. The perception that justice is skewed in favour of those with money and influence is dangerous. Furthermore, there is a case to be made for harsher sentences for

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people who are found to be engaging in acts of corruption. That might help to re-establish trust in government and play a deterrence role.

Currently a great deal of reporting takes place about corruption in the country. There is also a need to highlight the positives, where individuals are charged and sentenced. This might serve to improve morale amongst those who feel ready to give up on the State's fight against corruption and might possibly deter those contemplating continuing with their corrupt activities. The other aspect of effecting change is that there needs to be heightened protection for corruption whistle blowers. Without such protection, it is unlikely that those who are witnesses to corruption on a grand scale would be willing to come forward. Information details on the people who report corruption need to be kept confidential so as to safeguard them from acts of reprisal on the part of those implicated. Moreover, reporting channels should be made clear, so as to encourage whistle blowers to come forward. The protection of whistle blowers is something that is legislated in the private sector and in other sectors. These laws need to be utilised and strengthened.

Lastly, it is recommended that corruption be reported and recorded as a separate line item from commercial crimes in the annual crime statistics released by the South African Police Service. This would allow all involved and interested to know whether corruption is increasing or decreasing in South Africa.

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Appendix I – Ethical Clearance

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OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION DIVISION

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535
South Africa
T: +27 21 959 4111/2948
F: +27 21 959 3170
E: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
www.uwc.ac.za

12 October 2018

Mr ZP Gonya
School of Government
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

Ethics Reference Number: HS18/5/37

Project Title: An analysis of the perceptions on corruption – Residents of Brooklyn in Cape Town.

Approval Period: 27 September 2018 – 27 September 2019

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research project.

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

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Ms Patricia Josias
Research Ethics Committee Officer
University of the Western Cape

PROVISIONAL REC NUMBER - 130416-049

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Appendix II – Consent Form

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CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH TITLE: An analysis of the perceptions on corruption – Residents of Brooklyn in Cape Town

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **ZUKILE GONYA** towards the Masters Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntary agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant ID Number : _____

Participant Signature : _____

Date : _____

Place : _____

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Student Researcher : ZUKILE GONYA

Student Researcher Signature : _____

Student Number : 3717500

Mobile Number : 0767550537

Email : ZPGONYA@GMAIL.COM

I am accountable to my supervisor : MERON OKBANDRIAS

School of Government (SOG)

Telephone : +27 21 959 3827

Fax : +27 21 959 3849

Email : MOKBANDRIAS@UWC.AC.ZA

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Appendix III – Survey Instrument

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QUESTIONNAIRE: PERCEPTIONS ON CORRUPTION

Name			Race	Black	Colored	White	Other	
Gender			Employment Sector	Public Sector		Private Sector		
Place			Highest Education Level	<Matric	Matric	Diploma	Degree	>Degree
Time			Income band	R0-R10k		R10.001k-R50k	R50.001-R100k	> R100.001k
Age	18 - 34	35 - 64						

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Questions

1	What is corruption and how do you define it?						
2	Who does Corruption impact the most, and why do you think so?	Poor	middle class	rich	all	Why:	
3	From which sources do you hear about corruption?	Hearsay	Print Media	Internet Media	Radio and Television	Other:	
4	How prevalent do you think corruption is in South Africa?	Low prevalence		Medium level of prevalence		High prevalence	out of control
5	In which sector do you think corruption is prevalent in and why?	Public sector	Private Sector	Non Profit	All	Why:	
6	Which Department or Government entity is most corrupt?	Local Municipalities	Provincial Government		National Government	All	Reason:

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7	Have you ever been exposed to situation involving corruption?	Yes / No. Please Explain:					
8	Have you ever reported corruption?	Yes / No					
9	If you have, what was the outcome?	Nothing done	Still under investigation		Arrest made or clearance	Other:	
10	Where you satisfied with the outcome?	Yes / No					
11	Would you report corruption in future and why?	Yes	No	not sure	Why?		
12	What is your level of confidence in the corruption fighting measures currently used by the government?	Low			some confidence	highly confident	
13	Why do you feel that way?						
14	How often do you discuss corruption?	Daily	≥ once a week		≥ once a month	≥ once every three months	

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15	If you or any other private person receive a gift for doing your job, is it a bad thing and why (*briefly*)?	Yes / No	Why:			
16	Based on your sources of information on corruption, which color race is the most corrupt and why?	Blacks	coloreds	whites	Other	Why?
17	From where you receive your information on corruption, which social class most corrupt?	Poor	middle class	rich	Why?	
18	If a minister received a gift for doing his job is a bad thing and why (*briefly*)? Possibly shift this down so that you ask once people do not have 16 in your mind.	Yes / No	Why:			

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