Corruption: A Stumbling block in the Democratization and Economic Development of Cameroon

Master’s thesis, 60 cr
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Defense date: January 22, 2014
Abstract

This paper aims to investigate the connection between the socio-cultural and politicos-economic structures of Cameroon and corruption. That is how the national cultural scope of values and practices foundation of Cameroon contributes for the high rate of corruption in the country. Besides, it gives a detail analysis of Cameroonian perceptions of the conception of corruption and what methods and strategies have they employed to make a leaving in an environment where corruption have almost replaced meritocracy. In this perspective, this work makes an inside on how Cameroonian survive inside corruption, and whether it is possible to earn a living without being corrupt or get in to conflict with the corrupted people around. Therefore, are many Cameroonian corrupt because they want to be corrupt or accepting corruption or being corrupt is the only way of breakthrough in life in the country?

Furthermore, how corrupt practices are being carried out and executed in some education institutions, given the fact that most of the perpetrators of corruption are actually educated in the country. This work argues that the endemic state of corruption in Cameroon is relatively a legacy of colonial dictatorship that actually designed the socio-cultural and politicos-economic structures of Cameroon. The information was drawn principally from interviews, personal knowledge and as well as secondary sources like news, articles, journals and reports of tribunal and commission of inquiry.

The results show that many Cameroonian have inevitably accepted corruption as a mean of survival. This means that he or she who denies to be corrupted may be regarded as an outcast among the people around who are corrupt. The act of corruption has more or less become a moral value to many Cameroonian even at the grass root level.

Keywords: Corruption, Interviews, Education, Embezzlement, CFA, Culture, Morals.
Acknowledgment

The realization of this work would not have been a success without the valuable research comments and contributions from my supervisors and lecturers: Dr. Mats Deland, Dr. Fredrik Lilja, Dr Erik Lindberg and Prof. Lars M Andersson. I equally pay huge amount of gratitude to my informants for their time and resources sacrificed. Mindful of the fact that some of them knew the gravity of the information they were given, but yet, they still stood for the truth.

I dedicate this work to God Almighty and to my family and friends who spiritual, financial, intellectual and moral supports could not be taken with a pitch of salt especially my mum Nkiedyack Barbara, my dad Fobisong Stephen may his soul rest in peace, Crister Renkel family, Joacim Holmgren family and Eric Nimako Aidoo and many others academic peers.
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Chapter one
Introduction

One of the burning issues of contemporary Cameroon history which since the early 1980’s that had attracted the interest of Political scientists, historians, economists, anthropologists, religious leaders and the common Cameroonians has been the repercussions of corruption on the political and economic development of the country. Many schools of thoughts have sprouted within and outside the country who have attempted to slake the intellectual feelings of public opinion on the prevailing situation of corruption in the country.

Corruption is most commonly defined as the misuse or the abuse of public office for private gains. It usually takes various forms such as bribery, fraud, nepotism, extortion, theft, embezzlement, falsification of information, kickback, tribalism and favoritism.

Even though, corruption is commonly attributed to the public sector it also prevail in other aspects of governance such as political parties, private business sectors and non-governmental organizations.

Corruption for a long time has been identified as one of the impediments in many of the world’s developing economies with devastating consequences. Even though, corruption as a phenomenon is a global issue and exists in varying degrees in different countries, in Cameroon, it is one of the main cankers worms that has eaten deep in to the moral fabric of the society. It remains one of the most unanswered problems that have deeply hobbled and skewed development in the country. Corruption has been traced as one of the main constraints for the country to achieve a reasonable economic advancements. To substantiate this evidence in 2005, Transparency International graded Cameroon as the most corrupt country in the world and since then Cameroon had remained among the most corrupt nations from yearly reports of this international world body that acts as the watch dog against corruption. Besides, World Bank corruption report in 1999 estimated the cost of

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2 Global Corruption Report 2005, Transparency International
corruption is over one trillion dollar per year accounting for up to 12% of the Gross Domestic Product of countries like Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya and Venezuela.³

To remedy this situation, the Cameroon government had engaged on radical economic and political reforms such as the privatization of some public Corporations, banking sector reforms, anti Corruption campaigns, detention and arrest of corrupt officials and the institution of a clean and transparent fiscal standard since 2005.

It may be tempting to say that the prime aim of these anti-corruption policies is to provide suitable conditions for both internal and foreign investments, solicit foreign aid from international financial organizations such as International Monetary Fund, (IMF) and the World Bank, because once these loans are granted, campaign against corruption becomes silent

Another burning desire of this work was to investigate corruption in some education institutions in the country. This aim became very paramount given the fact that the tentacles of corruption have almost spread in all sectors in This paper also critically analyze the attitudes of Cameroonians towards corruption and the socio-cultural and politicos-economic structures of Cameroon and how they contribute to the high rate of corruption in the country. That is how these structures have made corruption a new mode for survival for many Cameroonians. Because of the negative impacts of this pandemic in the development of the country, there have being relentless attempts from the government, international institutions and non-governmental organizations to reduce its occurrence. However, the results of these actors are still very much to be desire because corruption in the country has infiltrated very deep into the social, cultural, political and economic structures of the country. Therefore fighting corruption requires the establishment of specific guidelines to prevent corruption, poverty and unethical behaviors. The importance of tackling corruption is very imperative phenomenon in the construction of states institutional competence.⁴

It worth mentioning that from the 1980’s, corrupt practices spread in almost all sectors in the country and this was attributed to the effects of the economic doom that peaked in the late 1980’s. This economic crisis promoted a drastic cut down of state employees salaries by 60% precisely in 1993. This was equally followed by massive layoffs of workers in both public Corporations and private companies. Besides, in 1994, there was 50% devaluation of Central African Franc.\(^5\) (CFA) which is Cameroon currency. In this precarious economic atmosphere accompanied by poor working environment, forced the state employees to resort in to corrupt practices as the last resort for survival.\(^6\)

**Research Issues**

This paper is aim to critically analyze Cameroonians perceptions of the concept of corruption and what methods and strategies have they resorted to, in order to make a living within and without corruption. With the increasing campaigns against corruption and the economic hardship in the country, this work investigates the new attitudes, mechanisms and techniques employed by many Cameroonian to make a living out of and within corruption the country and almost all corrupt and the corrupted officials got their education in the country, there was the need therefore to investigate the education sector whether it is a pro-corr upt one since the type of education and environmental factor may to a larger extent influenced the people moral behavior.

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\(^6\) Interview with Mr. Lawrence a senior government official who spoke in anonymous, Buea, Cameroon, 2011.
As earlier mentioned, corruption has more or less become a cultural phenomenon in Cameroon. In fact, everybody denounces corruption and at the same time everybody seems to be corrupted. It is base on this ground that this work also examines those political, economic and cultural institutions that has kept the ball rolling for corruption. It investigates some socio-cultural, economic and political structures in the country that were largely created by the colonialists which has made the eradication of this disease incurable. According to popular opinions from the interviews conducted, the practicing of corruption is still taken an increasing return instead of a diminishing return, and taking everything equal, one would have expected a significant reduction in the practices of corruption in the county if measures taken by the government were honestly aimed at reducing corruption. It is from this direction that this question remains an integral part to be research on.

**Sources and Methods**

Various sources and methods had been critical employed in order to give a comprehensive analysis of this research work which include both primary and secondary sources. To begin with the primary sources, a cross section of interviews were conducted across different classes of people within the society. Since this paper examines the attitudes of Cameroonians, across section of many of them from different fields of works were interviewed. However, the type of people interviewed depended on the information needed and to what extent the people interviewed were informed on the subject matter in question. Interviews remained an integral part concerning the source of this work because it helped to reveal first hand information regarding corruption in the country since the interviews informant were either perpetrators or victims of corruption. Interviews sources were not taken with a pitch of salt because due to political loyalty and fear of political prosecution most of the secondary sources patenting to corruption are usually bias. I therefore, saw interviews as the main solution to this problem because the people interviewed spoke in anonymous and therefore released information which they could not do publicly.

Mindful of the shortcomings of the interviews like any source, some of the people interviewed were not soundly educated and had had little knowledge on practical issues
concerning corruption. To remedy this situation, the educational background and the practical experience of the interviewers was taken into consideration before making any sense from the information received from them. Besides, the problem of bias and fear of political prosecution was another problem encountered with this source. As a solution, I took into interest how many people or scholarly experts cited a particular interviewer as a source to my work. Source criticism was also done by asking similar and opposition questions to the same and different people. Besides, personal judgment and experience which was highly overcome by the used of quantitative paradigms base on empirical evidence to a deductive conclusion was another mean of source criticism. Lastly, most of the interviewers spoke on anonymous Therefore with the help of this interviews, my research interest on Cameroonian perception and attitudes on corruption made it easily researchable since most of the interviewers spoke on anonymous without fear of prosecution.

Previous Research

Corruption has become one of the most prominent issues in the world today which have caught the attention of many intellectuals. Hence, a lot of secondary literatures have been written regarding this particular phenomenon. However, different authors had taken different perspectives in presenting and addressing the concept of corruption.

The past study of the literatures shows that there are many past history of corruption at the societal level. It is from this direction that there exist general consensus amount to different authors in diverse fields of research that unique societal cultures can persuade huge varieties of social issues.7

This work ascertained that the socio-cultural and politico-economic structures of a given nation states determines their behavior, attitude and values and this is not an exception to Cameroon. It is from this dimension that the work of Rokeach, M. in his book: Beliefs, Attitudes and Values: A Theory of Organizational and Change Organizational behavior studies: opines that values and culture powerfully persuade personal behavior.\(^8\) Therefore, the cultural foundation of Cameroon strongly account for the high rate of corruption in the country since culture can also be seen as the way or mean of surviving within a given community. The culture and values in which Rokeach carried his research, where he proved that the culture and values of a nation state can strongly determine individual behavior is quite different from the culture and values that exist in Cameroon in particular. It is based on this differences that this research seek to investigate how precisely in the Cameroon context does the culture and values determines individual characters towards the concept of corruption.

Cultural magnitudes of a country or a community may determine the individual’s perception of ethical situations and therefore national cultural and economic diversities can more inevitable influence corruption in such a community. Scott et al, 1993. *The effects of culture on ethical decision-making: Understanding cultural.*\(^9\) My work argues that the act of corruption has more or being assimilated in to the culture and values of Cameroon which have therefore made corruption to become a cultural practice to many Cameroonians. To determine how the cultural foundation and the politico-economic structures of Cameroon accounts for the pandemic rate of corruption in the country makes worthy a new research.

Past research have shown that a country culture or national cultural structures are very important elements that may help to explain corruption, unfortunately, this has not yet been

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research on across different countries. It is based on this dilemma that this work wants to use the socio-cultural and economic structure of Cameroon to explain the rationale behind the high rate of corrupt practices in the country.

Some researchers have argued that cultural values are constant and are coordinated to present-day ethical situations like Davis, J.H. and Ruhe, J. *Perceptions of country corruption: antecedents and outcomes, Springer, 2003*. Contrary, their work argues that not only cultural values are applicable to present-day ethical behaviors, also the socio-political and economic factors constantly reshape the ethical thinking of people within nation state. They used individualism, Power distance and masculinity as structures to determines variation in corruption. Therefore, this justifies my research objective on how the socio-cultural and politico-economic structures of Cameroon account for the high rate of corrupt practices in the Cameroon. This work explores others new structures in Cameroon which were not mentioned in the previous research which encourages corruption with well elicit evidence which made the need for further research.

Husted, B. in his book *Wealth, culture, and corruption*, shows that effective combating of corruption is dependent on culture. This in effect may insinuates that cultures, with high bureaucracy, high family ties, tribal ties are more easily to be corrupt than countries with the contrary and therefore different mechanisms need to be apply in fighting corruption. This work accepts the fact that corruption is dependent on culture, but however, I think the problem of poverty is very imperative in combating corruption than culture. This is because this work does not see poverty as an issue of culture but as dependent variable.

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The prevailing situation of corruption in Africa from the post colonial period has been elaborately discussed by John Mukum Mbaka in his book title. Corruption in Africa causes consequences and cleanups. This book was very imperative to my work given the fact that it analyzed the general causes of corruption in Cameroon. From a cultural perspective, which is also very important as far as my work is concerned, the author sees culture as a factor of corruption because of certain defective cultural values within a given society. He argues that there is a clash between some cultural values and norms that were imported from some developed countries into new societies. The effects of corruption as discussed by the author became more evident immediately after independence. In the case of Cameroon the effect of culture on corruption became more visible after the reunification of the two Cameroons where the president adopted a very sophisticated political craftsmanship in order to consolidate his position in power and that of the francophone majority. This put the final nail on accountability and transparency in the running of state affairs which was more or less the same political culture used by the German, British and the French during their colonial mandates. This has remained a political model in Cameroon and it has made the ruling class to be more interested in accommodating wealth for themselves. Further research is needed from this domain because the author did not mention Cameroonians perception of corruption and how they survive with it which has been an integral part of my work. It should also be mentioned here that the author’s perception of corruption were generally applied to the entire continent. This however, differ from my point of observation which is concentrated on Cameroon since I believed that causes of corruption may differ from one country or continent because of cultural and constitutional differences across international boundaries and therefore, what may be consider as a corrupt act in Cameroon may be abiding in another country.

13 Ibid. P. 55-64.
Tangie Nsoh Fonchingong in his articles: *Corruption, Governance and Development in Cameroon* have stressed the pragmatic impacts of corruption in Cameroon in the various state departments like the customs services, the taxation department, the forces of law and order the civil service, the judiciary, education and in the electoral process. In sum he maintained that most services within these state departments are exercised in the form of kickbacks to top state officials and small amount of money to junior workers. This was very rewarding to my work because it gives an over view of corruption in Cameroon in the education sector which I investigate by providing evidence of some exiting forms of corruption in some education sectors in the countries and how it is being done.\textsuperscript{14} However, this work assumed a different interpretation since its traces the colonial legacy of corruption and its impacts on the economic development of the country which was completely ignored in this book.

*Global corruption report 2008, corruption in the water sector by Transparency International* analyzed the perception index of corruption in the country and placed Cameroon as the most corrupt world country.\textsuperscript{15} This report analyzed the lack of accountability as one of the major cause of corruption. This report is vital to my work by presenting empirical data of corrupt practices in Cameroon. This book failed to trace the root of lack of accountability as a colonial legacy. It is from this dimension that, this is work sought to open a new research line on colonialism as the genesis of corruption in Cameroon.

This research work proves that corruption whether in the public or private sector spheres, results in the miss use of scares resources which consequently hinder the economic advancement of the country through multiplier effects.\textsuperscript{16} To justify this claim the work of


Kempe Ronald Hope, Sr and Bronwell C. Chikulo in their book title *Corruption and Development in Africa* had been of great assess to this work since they strongly agreed that corruption is negatively associated with developmental objectives and controlling it takes on greater importance in the quest for development. Their work is different from mine because I assume a new interpretation of economic impacts of corruption precisely in the Cameroon context drawing on examples from a wide range of issues on the causes, development, consequences and efforts to control corruption particularly on Cameroon.

Summary report of a seminar organized by Africa, Leadership Forum in Entebbe, Republic of Uganda, 12-14 December 1994 on Corruption, Democracy and Human Right is recommended for the realization of this work because it identified the Northern countries as promoters of corruption in Africa. That is, in order for the Northern countries to keep up with competition in international trade, to sell inferior goods and to sell goods and services which are not needed, often resort to corruption. This work was necessary because in analyzing the causes of corruption in Cameroon, I also took into account the role played by foreign countries during colonialism and at independence especially in the constitutional draft up which many believed has helped fertilized the soil for effective breath of corruption. Therefore this work identified neo-colonialism as a fundamental factor for corruption while my work emphasis on Colonialism as the foundation stone of corruption in Cameroon

*Africa Anti-Corruption Commitments: A review of Eight NEPAD countries* by Noel Kututwa gives a review of anti-corruption efforts enshrined in the constitution of new partnership for Africa development (NEPAD) insinuates that to create an atmosphere of greater investment and development assistance from international organizations, Africa political leaders should improve on governance and a supportive role for civil society. This was an input in an effort to access anti-corruption measures undertaken by the Cameroon government. This

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differs from my objective because most of the anti corruption commitments advocated in this book are politically incline and failing to address poverty as a paramount issue in the fight against corruption

_Corruption, Democracy Good Governance in Africa_ by Kwame Frimpong and Gloria Jacques, outline some economic and social causes of corruption and its effects. They identifies the North as the main partners of corruption in most Africa states through illegal business that need to be bribe for it to be established. That is for some of these countries in order to sell their inferior goods and services, sells goods and services not needed and to meet up with competitors do bribe their way. However, their views were just mentioned and no critical analysis was made to justify their claim. Even though this work gives the economic and social causes of corruption, it is more detailed and critically analysis.

Werlin, H.H. 1972 ‘The Roots of Corruption’: The Ghanaian Enquiry, _Journal of modern Africa Studies vol 10_ is another important literature review of this work because it stresses the genesis of political corruption. He sees the pandemic rate of corruption in most developing economies as a result of the illegitimate legislation adopted especially after independent were irrelevant to the need of the people. In this perspective, he sees corruption as a political mistake. However, his ideal was concentrated on political corruption at the detriment of economic and social corruption which my work is focus on.

_Cameroon: a country united by ethnic ambition and difference_ by France Njamnjoh, _African Affairs 1999_ journal is another literature review imperative to this work. This journal intrinsically examines the political history of Cameroon from colonialism to after independence.

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author also presents the political history of Cameroon in contemporary time and shows it relation to the existing social groups from which he draws the conclusion that Cameroon is a fragile state because of minority difference, abuse of democracy, a centralized political system and corruption. The author sees ethnic unity and differences as the main factor for the survival and stability of the country and the relative peace the county enjoys.\textsuperscript{20} Given my research interest on how corruption is a legacy of colonialism, my work therefore agrees with the author view that ethnic differences as a colonial creation and high centralization of power are fertile grounds for corruption. However, my work assumed a difference research focus in that, it traces how colonialism and the economic crisis of 1980s had enhanced corruption in the country which have since then remains as impediments to the democratization and the economic development of the country and not to see ethnic differences, electoral malpractices and minority problem as a source of instability in Cameroon which was the focus of this journal.

\textit{The wages of corruption} by Sammy Oke Akombi was another inspiration to my work. He maintained that the practice of corruption in Cameroon is not only limited to high levels but that it also exists within the lower levels of the entire society and how it affects the entire society.\textsuperscript{21} In this perspective he analyzes corruption from the individual and institution levels. Therefore the book creates knowledge about corruption in Cameroon lead by politicians, educators, big civil servants, leaders and power elites. He also discusses corruption within different sectors in the society and those who practice it mostly. Lastly, he maintained that almost everybody in Cameroon has been acculturated into corruption and therefore the eradication of this disease will not be an easy task since he compares the effects of it to dead. Contrary to my research interest, my work laments on corruption at a very broader or national level and not frictional as the book sounds.

\textsuperscript{20} Nyamnjoh Francis, Cameroon: A country united by ethnic ambition and differences, Oxford University Press, 1999, p 101 - 120

\textsuperscript{21} Sammy Oke Akombi, \textit{The wages of corruption}, Langaa RPCIG, 2009, p 1 - 29
Anticorruption in Transition by James H. Anderson and Cheryl W. Gray is an important input to my work. In this book the author made it clear that poor countries have higher levels of corruption while richer countries do have lower levels and points corruption as an obstacle in any meaningful economic development. Besides, he argues that anticorruption struggling in most developing economies had remained a tough issue because of poor salaries and the lack of much needed resources to fight this pandemic. This book has been very rewarding to answer my research question of the political, economic and social obstacles that hinders the effective combat of corruption in the country. My focus however differs from this previous work because my interest on corruption is limited to Cameroon which is difference to the author view on corruption from a global stance. Given the fact that corruption as a concept is perceived and define in varying ways perhaps due to cultural differences

Justice Mbuh work on Inside Contemporary Cameroon Politics particularly on his chapter eight title Killing justice, peace and progress in which he present an inside of the Cameroon police and the law ,a handicapped judiciary system , political appointments, social justice , integration and harmonization .In this regards, the author argues that the corrupt and the injustice nature of the Cameroon judicial system, the police force, unmerited political appointments and social injustice act as breathing grounds for corruption. His view on these aspects was very important on my research question on why and how Cameroonians survives with corruption. That notwithstanding, my research interest still remain justified given my interest on how corruption act as a constraint in the democratization and economic development of Cameroon

The Structure of the Thesis

This project is partitioned into five chapters and each chapter begins with an introduction and end with a conclusion. The first part is the introduction which consists of the research issues, sources and methods, literature review and the structure of the work. The second chapter presents the back ground knowledge of the nature of corruption in Cameroon. It’s
also gives a theoretical and a conceptual definition of corruption, the topologies and the various forms of corruption which many Cameroonians encounters in their daily activities. Furthermore, this chapter also presents an overview of corruption in Africa as a continent.

Chapter three presents some socio-cultural and politico-economic structures of Cameroon that encourages corruption. That is, the chapter shows some historical designed structures created by the imperialists that today act as causes of corruption.

The fourth chapter gives an inside of individual overview of the concept of corruption in Cameroon. That is what are some Cameroonians perception and evaluation of corruption in the country. The analysis of the chapter was based on a cross examination of a series of interviews conducted within different class of societies in Cameroon at individual level.

The last chapter dwells on corruption in some education institutions in the country. It examines and identifies difference forms of corruption in some education institutions in the country. The roles play by different school actors such as teachers, lecturers, students, parents and politicians and big business men in school corruption. Finally, the work ends with a general conclusion of the investigation.
Chapter Two

Background of corruption in Cameroon

This chapter provides an empirical nature of the knowledge of corruption in Cameroon with a theoretical and conceptual definition of the term corruption. Besides, the chapter also takes into account the topologies and the difference forms of corruption in the country.

Corruption from a general perspective is an illegal means to accumulate wealth and power for selfish interest at the detriment of a common good. Corruption like political instability has for a long time remained as one of the most stumbling blocks in many developing countries with negative ramifications on the political, economic and social developments in these developing economies.\(^\text{22}\) Corruption as an illegally act of behavior exist in all the four angles of the globe but however, differs in different gravity across the world irrespective of the political system be it a capitalist, socialist or a feudal state.

Despite the fact that corruption differs in varying degrees across the globe, in Cameroon, the situation is very alarming as it is soon becoming a cultural habit. Given the fact that old habits don’t die easily, the future is almost bleak for most Cameroonian youths given the devastating effects of this cankerworm on the economic and political developments on the state since most of the country resources end up in foreign banks. In fact, its ranges from petty corruption to political or bureaucratic corruption and systemic corruption. As an eye witness and a victim of corruption in my own beloved country, it wasn’t injustice for Transparency International to have rated Cameroon as one of the most corrupt countries in the world from 2000 to 2001 conservatively despite government reaction as seeing these report bias.\(^\text{23}\)

\(^{22}\) ibid

\(^{23}\) Cameroon national radio and television station interview with the then minister of communication.

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Theoretical and Conceptual definition of Corruption

Ghandi, 1869-1948 said “Corruption and hypocrisy ought not to be inevitable products of democracy, as they inevitably are today”. According to the framework of the Council of Europe on Criminal Convention on Corruption: “...Corruption threatens the rule of law, democracy and human rights, undermines governance, fairness and social justice, distorts competition, hinders economic growth and endangers the stability of democratic institutions and moral foundations of society”.24 Due to the inevitable effects of corruption in all human endeavours, the world have come to be aware of the deep-seated relation between corruption, democracy and human rights, which agree to the conformation of corruption as having a imperative ‘human dimension’, or human cost, as conflicting of being merely a lubricant for bureaucracies, a once-accepted administrative reality of the state.25 Institutions, agencies, government and the private sectors are now all held to higher principles, as their behaviour may be seen as a violation of democracy, human rights and the enhancement of corruption.

It may sound undisputable based on pragmatic research that a higher occurrence of corruption means higher frequency of democratic and human rights violations.26 Likewise, conceptualising corruption as a democratic, development and human rights matters may give protection to susceptible groups. This is because Corruption has an unbalanced impact on those belonging to groups which are exposed to meticulous risks or socio-economic and political weaknesses. As acknowledged in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights report, it is the vulnerable and marginalised – women, children and

24 The framework of the Council of Europe on Criminal Convention on Corruption
26 Global Corruption Report 2005, Transparency International
minority groups who often suffer corruption’s harshest consequences. In dealings with police, judges, hospitals, schools and other basic public services, poor citizens tend to suffer more violations than the rich and see a larger share of their resources eaten away.\textsuperscript{27}

Though, lawfully speaking, ‘corruption’ as a concept has no clear substance in international law. This is important as what currently constitutes corruption according to legal and social principles is considerably different, and more vigorous, than generations passed, where certain bureaucratic and administrative ‘corrupt’ practices, were normalised as ‘state practice’. Corruption is a nebulous phenomena; it may assume many forms, directly or indirectly manifesting itself in the public sphere. In fact, according to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) manual for Fighting Corruption 1999, corruption can assume various forms: “It includes unilateral abuses by government officials such as embezzlement and nepotism, as well as abuses linking public and private actors such as bribery, extortion, persuades peddling and fraud. Corruption arises in both political and bureaucratic offices and can be petty or grand, organized or disorganized

Undeniably, most legal mechanisms on corruption do not define or criminalise it per se but instead itemise certain criminal acts ‘amounting to corruption’. Therefore, an appropriate legal definition of corruption could be therefore: “corruption is the list of acts criminalised by law under the heading ‘Corruption’ “.\textsuperscript{28}

Unquestionably, chapter three of the United Nation Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) unambiguously specifies acts to be criminalised without stipulating that such acts


\textsuperscript{28} Corruption and Human Rights: Making the Connection, 2009. International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP) Versoix, Switzerland” p. 31
amount to corruption.29 A comparable approach is followed by the Council of Europe Criminal Law Convention on Corruption and the African Union.30

**International conceptualization and criminalization of corruption**

United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) 2003

Under the UN, the most endorsed instrument is the UNCAC, created under the patronage of the UN Office of Drugs and Crime. UNCAC is a legally-binding international anti-corruption instrument, which came into force in December 2005, its deals with prevention, establishing criminal and other offences, international cooperation and asset-recovery.31 The UNCAC contains 71 articles efficiently enumerating select “Corrupt Acts”, including public procurement, bribery, illicit enrichment, embezzlement, misappropriation and money-laundering. This facilitate UNCAC to captures the behaviour of state parties themselves, and raises the standards for good public administration and the duty to scrutinise private administration. United Nations Declaration against Corruption and Bribery 1996

This Declaration explains economic costs of corruption and bribery, and indicates that a stable and transparent environment for international commercial transactions is a fertile

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30 The African Union (AU) Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption states in Article 1 that “[c]orruption means the acts and practices including related offences proscribed in this Convention”. Subsequently, it lists acts such as the bribery of a national public official, abuse of function and embezzlement (Article 4)

31 Kumar, R ‘Corruption and Human Rights: Promoting Transparency in Governance and the Fundamental Right to Corruption-Free Service in India’, Columbia Journal of Asian Law 17:1
ground for investment, finance, technology, skills, and other resources across national boundaries.


This Convention establishes legally mandatory standards to criminalize bribery of foreign public officials in international business transaction. It is an anti-corruption instrument focused on the ‘supply side’ of the bribery transaction. The 34 OECD member countries and four non-member countries - Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, and South Africa - have adopted this Convention. Moreover, the OECD imposes series of proposals regarding transparency, integrity and ethics in public administration.32 Even though, these proposals are not legally the Convention itself is for signatory states.

The International Covenant on Economic, and Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Both these international organisations preamble form relevant parts of the international body of laws on corruption as they compel state parties to “undertake to guarantee” equal right without discrimination.33 Indeed Article 2 of section one of the ICESCR commits parties to the “progressive realisation” of rights, including steps to remove impediments to the realisation of economic and social rights. Therefore, as corruption remains one of the biggest obstacles in the fulfilment, promotion and protection of such rights, states are obliged to take efforts against it by “all appropriate means, particularly the adoption of legislative measures”.

Transparency International has defined corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Corruption involves the violation of established rules for personal gains at the detriment of the public. In this sense, corruption means the use of public resources for the

32 http://www.oecd.org/topic/0,3699,en_2649_37447_1_1_1_1_3
33 The International Covenant on Economic, and Social and Cultural Rights article 3
achievement of personal goals. Therefore for an act to be considered corrupt, it requires at least two or more persons to either barter or to guarantee the exchange of services offered or promised to in an exchange of money in a secret environment against the constitution of the state for private interest. It should be noted that connotation given to corruption varies just as the meaning varies depending on the framework in which it is used. It could be a form of bribery or nepotism, a mindful and well-planned act by a person or group of persons to accommodate, by prohibited means, the wealth of another person or group of persons. The International Monetary Fund defines corruption as “abuse of authority or trust for private benefit: and is a temptation indulged in not only by public officials but also by those in positions of trust or authority in private enterprises or non-profit organizations”

In Cameroon one of the prime enthusiasms for corruption is often the ardent desire to get hold of, or consolidate political power through vote-buying, unmerited political appointment, illegal award of public contracts and illegal registration of electorates and riches.34

In fact, in Cameroon one cannot really distinguish between what belongs to the state and the ruling Cameroon People Democratic Movement (CPDM) since the party has become more or less the government and therefore one cannot easily differentiate the intellectual class, civil society and business men since most of them for political reasons have sold their consciences and embraced corruption inevitably. Besides, many opposition parties like National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP) Union of Cameroonian Population (UPC) have crossed the carpet and joint the ruling party and this has been one of the fundamental constraints for democratic developments in the country because the country lacks a strong and united opposition to control corruption through democratic reforms.35

35 Interview with Ben Ako, an unemployed graduate since 1997
In Cameroon, according to Mr. Ako and sixteen others informants, the poor or the unemployed are very vulnerable to commit corruption with their daily encounter with the bureaucrats they often come to deal with. There are many instances of corrupt officials extracting money from this group of Cameroonians. This is because as unemployed people and voiceless they lack the credibility to complain against any corrupt act committed against them. As “weak” Cameroonians, they cannot enjoy the same human rights and general protections as other citizens, and are often excessively demanded to pay bribes even when desperately seeking access to health and education which all human beings are entitled. Consequently, these group of Cameroonians especially the young girls often than not find themselves in exploitive employment, such as prostitution.36

An overview of corruption in Africa

Africa is undoubtedly regarded as the world’s most corrupt continent. A phenomenon which account for the slow economic development, political democratization, mass migration and impoverishment of many African countries and this explain why a continent like Africa with rich natural and human resources is perceived to be one of the poorest in terms of standard of living with most of its citizen living in poverty. According to Transparency International corruption report which is the world leading institution investigating on corruption matters propounded that, of the ten countries measured most corrupt in the world, six are in sub-Saharan Africa. It worth mentioning that in 2002, African Union report on corruption in the continent predicted that corruption cost the continent about One Hundred and Fifty Billion US Dollars. The question that one may ask is: what is the future of African continent regarding this pandemic especially at the time when corrupt practices are more or less becoming cultural rights to many African politicians and business men. The constant political infighting in most of these African countries between politicians usually comes about of their desire to enrich themselves through corrupt means as many of them usually

36 Ibid
manipulate the constitution and seek for re-election since asset to public offices guarantees them to states treasuries as well as immunity.\textsuperscript{37}

The paper partition of Africa at the Berlin West Africa Conference by the colonialists without taken into full consideration the nature of the peoples had had consequential effects on the present situation of corruption in the continent. According to Dr. Ettagonoh, partition fathers failed to took in account the concept of ethnicity and as such, people of the same tribal group were partitioned. This lead to the creation of a very fragile heterogeneous states in the continent and since then the continent had been political, economical and socially governed based on ethnic affiliations with the dominants ethnic groups struggling to maintain their supremacy over the other through corrupt means.\textsuperscript{38} This paper agrees that a heterogeneous society is a fertile ground for corruption. This can be justify in line with Transparency International yearly reports on corruption which have often placed the Scandinavian countries as the least corrupt countries in the world. Besides, other factors, these countries are less corrupt because there are relatively homogeneous states.

The rampant spread of corruption in the African continent can therefore not be fully comprehended without tracing its root from the colonization of the continent. It worth mentioning that the end of direct colonialism was not a voluntary gesture rather it was an involuntary act precipitated by mass demonstrations and wars by the Africans against their colonial masters. In such unfavorable political and economic atmosphere, colonialism came to an end inevitably. Therefore, for the colonial masters to maintained and consolidate their position in their formal territories they supported the new African leaders financially, militarily, economically and even morally who were then ready to continuous protecting the aspirations of their formal masters even at the detriment of the local inhabitants who decried the relationship as being asymmetric.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{38} Dr Ettagonoh a political scientist and a historian University of Buea, Cameroon, 2011.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
The aftermath of these unpopular new African leaders was the establishment of a politicized bureaucracy in these infant states because they were not massively supported by the indigenes of not been democratic and believed to have been representatives of the latter, they did not get the full support of the people despite general cried to an end of colonialism. For these leaders to consolidate their position in power they started to enshrined in centralized economic decision making and patrimonialism. This economic and political circumstance did enhanced corruption in the continent since the new leaders did not only welcome bureaucratic autocracies but were also engaged in to political and economic dictatorship which is a direct and visible constraint to accountability, the rule of the law and transparency as far as the running of the state is concern. This phenomenon of lack of accountability and the rule of the law had since then become a new model of rulership by the African leaders and has remained an indisputable factor for the wild spread of corruption since clientelism, partrimonialism and egotism have substituted political legitimacy and morality and nepotism, favoritism and personal loyalty have come to replaced merit and patriotism.

Corruption in Africa differs on the degree of billions of Dollars from high-level political splice to low-level bribes to police officers, judges, customs officials and school administrators. While political corruption imposes a greater proportion of direct financial lost on a continent, petty bribes have an acidic effect on basic institutions and business atmosphere and undermine public trust in the government.

In the past years, African governments have made some pains to fight corruption. In many cases, they have been spurred by international donors pushing for transparency and good governance as well as domestic pressure to fulfill promises of reform made on the campaign trace.. U.S. President Barack Obama highlighted Ghana's strong governance record during his visit in July 2009. But many countries, including Cameroon, Nigeria, Kenya, and South

40 John Mukum Mbaku, Controlling Corruption in Afria, 200.
Africa, have made skimpy progress on fighting graft. All these countries have time-honored anti-corruption agencies that sought to prevent, investigate, and prosecute corruption. But according to corruption report from the UN Economic Commission, the battle against corruption in the continent has been largely inefficient and ineffective due to their uncertain political traction. Often funded and overseen by the executive branch and anti-corruption agencies are usually been eliminated, demoted or faced other source of unjust treatment or at time the investigating organization may be indirectly eliminated through administrative procedures by corrupt means.

To make an overview of corruption in Africa as a continent and not to a particular country is a very difficult academic task because the concept corruption is a very sensitive and secretive behavior therefore making the term very much ambiguous and hence, it is more problematic if not impossible to give a precise measurement of the scale of corruption in the continent as a whole. This complexity is the result of the fact that what may be legally accepted and defined as a corrupt practice in one country may not be on the other hand be regarded as a corrupt act or may differ in terms of gravity. This dilemma is more complicated because of the fact that Africa as a continent is a heterogeneous society with significant diversity in cultural or traditional values making it difficult to accept a standardize definition of corruption. This is because certain act of behavior affiliated to cultural values may be welcome in one country and at the same time perceive as a corrupt act in another.

It is based on this lack of compromise of what actually constitute corruption that international organizations like the Africa Union, World Bank, Transparency International have been so much preoccupied to create awareness and quantify the ramifications of corruption and the degree in which it is prevailing in the continent. In this perspective, the most acceptable establishes mechanism for making a quantitative analysis on corruption is: surveys and econometric analyses.

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Chapter Three

The Socio-Cultural and Politico-Economic Structures of Cameroon that instigate Corruption in the Country

The act of being corrupt is more or less becoming a new mode of cultural behavior for surviving for many Cameroonians. Tylor Edward in his book title *Primitive Culture* defined culture to be “that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”. 43

Culture is therefore a powerful human tool for survival. This implies that culture is a very instrumental phenomenon for the survival of mankind because it is very active, fragile and can be easily be manipulated because it exist only in human minds. “By culture we mean all those historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men”. 44 This chapter therefore examines the socio-cultural, political and economic historical structures of Cameroon and how these structures encourage corruption in the country:

The culture of fear, uncertainty and corruption

Africa in general is often refers to as a land characterized with political instability. This assessment is however questionable because there are several African countries prior and after independence have not witnessed any civil war. With the exception of an abortive coup

43 Tylor Edward. *Primitive Culture*

d'état in Cameroon in 1984, Cameroon have enjoyed a relatively political stability despite social and economic instability in the country. The culture of fear and uncertainty is one of the social political and economic factors that enhance corruption in Cameroon because it makes it difficult to effective and objectively arrest all corrupt officials for fear of uncertainty probably because almost all top government officials have dirty their hands as far as corruption is concern. The fact that some well known corrupt official have not yet being arrested, it give confidence to those in top positions to continuing corrupt practices so long as they follow the rules of the games which is by by remaining royal to the ruling government. For instance, in a recent publication by Wilkleaks cable, the President of the Republic was asked by one of his minister to arrest the entire corrupt officials. The president responded “who will be left” and he further expressed the fear of instability if all corrupt officials have to be arrested. In this atmosphere, there is bound to be aggressive corrupt practices because once corrupt patterns are institutionalized, they turn to consolidate because breaking out the established patterns may create an atmosphere of uncertainty and therefore corruption is bound to continue.

**Bilingualism and Corruption**

Bilingualism as a legacy of colonialism is one of the socio-cultural factors that enhance corruption in Cameroon. The Germans annexed Cameroon from 1884 to 1916 following the outbreak of the First World War during which they were defeated in Cameroon by the British, French and the Belgian forces. Following this event, Cameroon became a mandatory territory under the League of Nations supervised by Britain and France. Due to cultural and many other factors, between the French and the British, the territory Cameroon was then partitioned between the two imperialist powers with a lion share given to the French. English and French then became the official languages in their respective zones. The United

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45 Wilkleaks Cable BBC

46 Getz, K. and Volkema, J. (2001), Culture, perceived corruption, and economics”, business and society, Vol. 40 No. 1
Nations Organization organized plebiscite was held in the British Cameroon which was then administered as an integral part of Nigeria in 1961. In the plebiscite, Northern British Cameroon voted to join the republic of Nigeria while British Southern Cameroon voted for a re-union with French Cameroon. Following the Foumban constitutional conference 1961, the two re-married and gave birth to united republic of Cameroon with English and French as the two official languages.

One may be tempted to question that if bilingualism is a source of corruption why Canada which is equal a bilingual country like Cameroon not corrupted to the same degree if at all bilingualism promote corruption. According to Transparency International yearly corruption report which placed Canada as one of the least corrupt countries?. The answer may probably be because Canada is a federal state; corruption is being minimized since empirical research has proven that a federal state is less corrupt than a unitary state. This is one of the reasons why the Anglophone Cameroon has long being crying for a federation.

**Autocratic system of governance and corruption**

Cameroon as many African countries theoretical are known as democratic states but in practice to a larger extent are autocratic states with frequent constitutional abuses, lack of press freedom and judicial dependency.\(^47\) With such abusive of democratic principles, there are no checks and balances on how government projects are being managed. This creates an inevitable situation that encourages the practice of corruption because the bureaucratic structures encourage managers to act dishonorably and since social, economic and cultural rules delineate and limit conduct, individuals may then recognize that it is necessary to work through informal and unconstitutional channels to achieve personal objectives.\(^48\) This would provoke people to offer or pay bribes and similar deceitful dealings, and it might persuade officials to demand or accept bribes.

\(^{47}\) Interview with Dr. Ettagonoh. Buea, Cameroon, 2011.

\(^{48}\) Ibid
In Cameroon, the situation is so strong because the present government has been in power for thirty one years. This has enabled them to developed new mechanisms and extent their tentacles on how to be more efficient in corruption without any public alarm.

**Future orientation and corruption**

Future orientation refers to the point at which a given culture center on the future. That is to what extent does a country promote and reward future development programmes such planning and good ethics.\(^4^9\) High future orientation cultures realize economic success, have organizations with a longer planned orientation, have bendable and adaptive organizations and managers, place a higher precedence on long-term success, have a strong capability and willingness to imagine future projects, formulate future goals, and seek to achieve goals and develop methods for meeting their future dreams.\(^5^0\) On the other hand this is a sharp contrary to Cameroon that has a short future oriented programmes which is based on history, riches, tradition and custom. In such a society like Cameroon the main desire of many people is to enjoy life at the moment, acquire private asses, huge bank account, enrich their immediate family members and other close friends and a complete absent of patriotism which is tantamount to corruption. In such a culture people don’t border about past mistakes, future dreams and the desire to plan for future projects are not in their gender, capability to enjoy the moment, free from past worries or future anxieties, unwilling to plan a sequence to their desired goals and often put a blind eye on the dangerous indicators which their present ethics may indicate.\(^5^1\) In Cameroon people may prefer to consume alcohol from morning to evening, organize ceremonies, and buy expensive cars which are all activities likely to promote corruption.

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\(^{5^1}\) Ibid
To a greater extent, there is lack of institutional collectivism within which people of different class and age can be encourage to be integrated and assimilated in to community institutions. This type of cultural environment promotes corruption because people don’t work with love and integrity. Therefore cultures that have higher institutional collectivism are assimilated in to strong cooperative groups and as such group interests take precedence over individual selfish ambitions. In collective institutional societies, individuals are prone to engage into group activities and are more desire for up keep and posterity of their institutions. Thus, in institutional collectivism culture, group goals and interests are more imperative than individual’s goals and interests; therefore, it is likely to be less corrupted.

**Boss and Subordinate relationship and corruption**

This mean that societies that are human –oriented are likely to developed agencies which allow employers and employees to work as a team and tolerant to each other in the cases of any mistakes. In such a working environment, a sense of belonging, love harmony, values and complete dedication to what so ever one does is a prime objective to all the workers and hence, corruption is minimize. In Cameroon corruption is bound to exist because of poor human oriented programmes which encourage self-interest and lack of love and dedication at job sites. Most employers in Cameroon act as dictators to their workers bleach employment contracts, intolerant to mistakes and at times may physically and morally in fleet insults to their workers. This unfriendly and inconsiderable working environment act as a

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social factor for the high rate of corruption in Cameroon because workers are mind full of the fact that they can be dismiss at any time in the case of the private sector and others may think that they will never get any reward such as promotion which may only be possible if their bosses recommend them in the case of state employees

**Economic crises, poverty and corruption**

Poverty is one of the fundamental socio-economic factor for the alarming rate of corruption in Cameroon. I believed that no amount of financial investment on the fight against corruption will ever be successful if the problem of poverty has not yet being adequately addressed. For a “hungry man” is vulnerable to every situation and can exploit what so ever means at his disposal to bend the law for survival. When I talk of a “hungry man” it doesn’t necessary mean someone who lacks food but also basic necessities of life. Africa in general and Cameroon in particular has certain demands that a man has to accomplish before accepted in the society as a successful man or an adult. Probably one need to secure a job, own a house, get marry, have children and own many other asses in order to be accepted in the community as a successful man.

I think these needs are very imperative due to the poor social security or welfare system. For instance, majority of Cameroonians do not have health insurance, unemployment insurance, life insurance, pension, no free education and poor banking system with high interest and low liquidity. With all these uncertainty, majority of Cameroonians are then force to engage into corruption and other forms of dishonesty dealings in order to secure a better future mindless of his immoral behavior. Many Cameroonians do not border about the future of Cameroon but what pre-occupied their minds is what the future of their family tomorrow, and therefore, they have to amass a lot of wealth for their family most often through corrupt means.
The culture of communalism and corruption

Communalism in this sense refers to the degree of relationship and closeness that exist between members of a small community such as family or tribe. In this type of communal life people have strong respect and expectation from the privileged ones coming from that community who have positions of responsibility to manage state affairs. They are often referred to as illustrious sons and daughters. According to Dr Sango: usually in Cameroon appointments of individuals from a given community is regarded as a big blessing to everybody from that community. Such appointments are often marked by traditional jamboree and letter of emotion to the head of state for having appointed one of theirs in to the position of high responsibility. This type of behavior is one of the socio cultural and economic factors that enhance corruption in Cameroon because the few ones appointed from this type of communities feel indebted to satisfy the people from their community.

Due to the limited resources at their disposal when in power, they often break the laws and follow unconstitutional behavior to meet such a huge expectation from their closed ones. This mean that their being in position of responsibility is not to serve the general public but rather to satisfy their families and those coming from the same community to which they belong. Therefore it is common to prefer a family or anyone coming from the same community during public recruitment and promotion in to higher positions. In such a society like Cameroon, individual, families and community goals takes precedence over common interest.

Authority and power aloofness

Authority and power aloofness is defined as the degree to which members of a society allocate, organize, and react to the claim of power, authority, and status. The authority and

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54 Interview with Dr Sango a historian and a lecturer, Buea, Cameroon, 20011.
power aloofness actually indicate the interaction between those who have the authority and the power and those who do not. It is a very strong cultural practice in Cameroon that the gap between those who command power and those who do not have power is aloof. In an interview with Dr Kah he said that this one of the fundamental cultural norms that accounts for the high rate of corruption in country. This act of power distance in Cameroon has created a new class of people call the untouchable’s class whose acts of behavior whether unconstitutional, immoral and irrational is at times unquestionable so long as they command more power and are loyal to the ruling government.56

Because of this type of aggressive power aloofness, the subordinate class often accord too much respect to those who command power and therefore see themselves weak to question any act of corruption for fear of either dismissal or other punishments which makes those who have the power to be autocratic and adopt paternalistic conduct in the running of the state which is a very pro factor for corruption. It should be noted that it is a typical situation in Cameroon. In higher power aloofness communities, public corruption is very evidence because only a few people in that community have access to manage and control the country resources.57 Conversely, countries with lower power aloofness cultural heritage encourage community participation, constitutional respect, human rights which can easily check corruption.58

56 Interview with Dr, Kah, a historian and a lecturer, Buea, Cameroon, 2011.

37
In Cameroon, those entrusted with state power believe that it is their fundamental right to get extract benefits from their position of responsibility at the detriment of the masses. The aftermaths of this type of behavior is that it has limited the opportunities available for those who do not have such powers and hence this groups of Cameroonians, who do not have such power and access to participate in the national cake by improving their own standard of living or class status, are inevitable forced to bribe top officials in search for their daily bread. Therefore, there is no check and balance in the running of state affairs like in a lower power distance state where the unprivileged class see themselves equal and can question or debate leaders actions which promote rational behavior and possible reduce corruption\textsuperscript{59}

**Gender consensus and corruption**

Gender consensus refers to a society that looks to reduce differences between the roles of females and males in homes, organizations, and communities.\textsuperscript{60} In a society like Cameroon where the women folk played subordinate roles both at home, organizations and at the state levels, the practices of corrupt act are likely to be high and this accounts for the high rate of corrupt practices in the country. This is because they are very few women in positions of high responsibilities; they have lower status in the society, less educated, have low labor force and are not frequently consulted in decision making especially within the family level. Corruption is likely to be high in this type of society like Cameroon because women are less involve in corruption.\textsuperscript{61} Some researchers has found that corruption is less rigorous where

\textsuperscript{58} Emrich, C., Denmark, F. and Den Hartog, D. Cross-culture difference in gender egalitarianism: implications for societies, organizations, and leaders, 2004.


\textsuperscript{60} Ibid

\textsuperscript{61} Some researchers has found that corruption is less rigorous where
women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats and senior positions in the government bureaucracy, and comprise a larger share of the labor force.\textsuperscript{62}

**The speaking of local languages in public offices and corruption**

Cameroon is a multilingual country with over two hundred and fifty local languages besides French and English as the two official languages. The speaking of these difference languages in the public offices has contribute tremendously in promoting corruption in the country. It should be noted that each of these languages are being spoken by each ethnic groups. This phenomenon results to corruption in the sense that, in a public office where there are several states workers performing the same duties, there is always competition among them to get a client and it is very possible to get a client once they can identified themselves by speaking the same language that other workers cannot understand. In the case of their discussion, the worker easily manipulates the client by demanding extract money for the services he or she want in pretend he is helping. Mindful of the fact that most Cameroonians are ignorance of the cost of their services or their rights in state institutions, the client easily pays in extract money (bribe) probably ignorantly or consciously.

In an interview with Ayuk Donald he admitted that this type of corruption is mostly seen in public offices like the in schools, the legal department, police and passport offices.\textsuperscript{63} He maintained that in most offices like the police and the passport sectors, most state workers there always welcome client at the door of the main office with questions like “where are you coming from and what do you want?” He equally said some few state workers have gone to the extent of deploying spies to bring them clients who latter received commissions depending on the number of clients they provide

\textsuperscript{63} Interview with Ayuk Donald, Muyuka, Cameroon, April, 2011.
It should be noted that in most public offices in Cameroon, states workers often used indirect language and communication as a mean to indirectly request for bribe for their services. Some of the phases they used include: “you know my hand are tied” “Your case is a very complicated one and I need to convince a lot of people in order to help you” “you know I’m not the only one working here, I need to consult my colleagues and you know what that mean” “You know I’m not the boss her, my boss may think that I have collected some benefits from you”. These are some of the corrupt indirect style of communication when bribe is needed.

The above mentioned socio-cultural, economic and political structures which are largely colonial legacies are some of the fundamental factors which contribute to the persistent rate of corruption in the country. I ‘m very optimistic that until some of these structures have been revisited and restructure the fight against corruption will remain a utopia idea.
Chapter four

Individual Overview of the Concept of Corruption in Cameroon

Based on a cross examination of the interviews conducted within different classes of society in Cameroon at individual level, this chapter presents Cameroonian perceptions and evaluation on corruption. The conclusion regarding Cameroonian perception on the effects of corruption on their daily life will be qualitatively evaluated base on the responses of the questionnaires and interviews conducted during my research. Lastly, this chapter will also attempt to measure the developments of corruption in Cameroon using the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) which is the perception of the degree of corruption in any given country by Transparency International which has over the past years remained the worlds watch dog over corruption issues.

In line with popular opinion from the interviews, corruption has deeply eaten into the moral fabrics of the Cameroonian society regardless of gender, occupation and age. In fact, many holds that corruption has become the way of life and the inevitably mean of surviving for many Cameroonian despite the negative correlation between corruption and the development of the country. However, not all the interviewers confirmed openly that all Cameroonian are corrupt as many of them holds the views that they still exist acceptable numbers of Cameroonian who still maintained high spiritual, moral standards and the respect of the constitution.
How do Cameroonian succeed with their daily activities where almost everything is achieved through corrupt means?

With an interview with Ayuk Donald, and some other informants, maintained that the practiced of corruption has long been established and is gradually developing into a new culture and each and every Cameroonian has come to be aware of the fact that most often before any services are to be render by state or private administrators, the beneficiaries must be ready to pay extra dues either in cash or in kind. This amount is usually been determine by the importance of the services to be render or the relationship between the corrupt and the corrupted. According to Mr. Forka one of the informant: Cameroonian have come to be aware that documents lying in offices for processing are not quickly verified if the owner has not pay bribe. These types of files are usually regarded as incomplete files and are kept lying in their offices until when the beneficiary respects the rules of the game.

According to my interviews findings, from this perspective, money remains one of the most appreciable gifts in exchange for corrupt services rendered but nowadays, according to Mrs. Mary, sex is gradually winning grounds as a mean of corruption and women are becoming more successful and promoters of this type of corruption through the use of their “bottom power”. This is partially because the public sector which is highly corrupted than the private sector is dominated by the male fork and most women offered sex in exchange of what they want. Many have therefore linked their wives, daughters or girl friends to public administrators in exchange of services such as promotion, award of public contracts,

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64 Interview with Ayuk Donald. He is a graduate with a bachelor degree in History and a Teacher and a discipline master in a private secondary school Muyuka, Cameroon.
65 Interview with Mr. Forka, a retired school teacher, April 12, 2011.
66 Ibid
67 Interview with Mrs. Mary a house wife and a retired public state worker
employment, and follow up of documents. This has tremendously contributed to the increased rate of HIV and divorces in the country since the rate of promiscuity as a mean of corruption has gain grounds. 

Table one. Why should one pay bribe for services he rightly deserves?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation/Response</th>
<th>It is the system</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>Time factor</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>To gain favor</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>58.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Interviews survey

Note: The answers on the table rows were quantitatively arrived at based on the responses of the number of people interviewed.

Interview analysis

From the above results base on the interviews conducted, one can conclude here that corruption has become more or less a culture to many Cameroonians. This result shows that some Cameroonians willfully gives bribe even without being demanded to give as a mean to receive services which they even legitimately deserve. The act of bribing and corruption has come to the extent that unemployed graduates often refused to register for public competitive jobs exams because they usually feel that they have no money to bribe and as

68 Ibid.
such sees themselves taking part into such exams as a mere waste of their meager resources since registration involve some financial demands.\(^6^9\)

What was most surprising from the interviews results was that teachers who one would have expected to be the least corrupt due to their education background and their rule in the society are deeply involved in corrupt practices. When I confronted some of them from this direction, some of them justified that after their education, they have to attend a teacher professional school for at least one or two years during which they received no salary from the state. Besides, after graduation from these professional schools, they worked for two to five years still without salary. That salary start flowing depending on your ability to bribe the officials at the ministries in Yaoundé. Furthermore, some argued that their salary does not warrant them to live a decent life and therefore makes some of them who depend solemnly on the small money they received as salary from the state vulnerable. As a result teachers have being inevitably forced out of circumstances to involved into small corruption such as organizing payable private classes out of schools hours for the same students and writing personal books which they imposed on their students to buy despite state proscribed test books\(^7^0\). One of them who spoke in anonymous said our head of state has taught us wisely to be corrupt by buying his electoral votes in exchange of goods like rice, salt cutlasses, fake promises, award of contract to undeserved individuals, political appointments and many others and therefore why should we be exempted? Except you want to become the wisest fool. He concluded.

**Table two: Can one have a job without paying bribe?**

This was formulated based on the reactions of many Cameroonians during my interviews. Many believed that having a job in Cameroon without paying or having connections with

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\(^6^9\) Ibid

\(^7^0\) Interview with Mr. Forka, Buea, Cameroon, 2011
any top government official is something practically impossible. However, the responses gathered were relatively different based on the class of society one finds himself as shown in table two below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation and Response</th>
<th>It depends</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Number of people</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Interviews survey

Interview analysis

When I asked many of the interviewers if it can be possible to secure a job in Cameroon without paying bribe? One of them responded by saying that “If you have a brother up an apple tree you will certainly eat the best apples and he or she who has no brother up the tree must be ready to eat fallen or the rejected apples if at all there exist any of such.”. When I asked for interpretation he said “to secure a job, you must have connections with the big guns of the country in Yaoundé who will be able to defend your interest at the level of decision making and without this connections, your chances to have a job will be much slain”. He concluded by saying that with money everything is possible and that is why the rich will continue to grow rich while the poor will continue to remain poor except divine

71 Ibid
intervention. However, he accepted to an extent that one can have a job out of merit due to the fact that there still exist people of honor in the government and or because of a person relationship to God.

From the table above majority of the people interviewed responded that to have a job without given bribe is something almost impossible. Consequently based on the samples from the interviews it may be tempting to conclude that job offer in Cameroon depends highly on how much you can afford to pay, nepotism and favoritism and merit has become an issue of extreme luck

Table three: How do people survive with corruption in Cameroon?

Many of my informants believed that corruption in Cameroon has come to stay and therefore people have adopted several means of surviving in a corrupt environment like Cameroon. The table below from the interviews samples present four important methods of surviving with corruption in Cameroon.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response/Occupation</th>
<th>Family Income</th>
<th>Prayer</th>
<th>Corrupt practices</th>
<th>Diversification of functions</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>16.7% (2)</td>
<td>16.7% (2)</td>
<td>25% (3)</td>
<td>41.7% (5)</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
<td>41.7% (5)</td>
<td>50% (6)</td>
<td>8.3% (1)</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>16.7% (2)</td>
<td>16.7% (2)</td>
<td>50% (6)</td>
<td>16.7% (2)</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>50% (6)</td>
<td>33.3% (4)</td>
<td>8.3% (1)</td>
<td>8.3% (1)</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>41.7% (5)</td>
<td>8.8% (1)</td>
<td>8.3% (1)</td>
<td>25% (3)</td>
<td>100/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interview analysis

As a result of corruption, the gap between the rich and the poor has clearly been established. While the wealth of the country is concentrated on the hands of the few rich, the majority of the population lives in poverty. Consequently, those who are fortunate to find themselves working in the corrupt government have greater responsibilities to provide for the needs of their families members because most of their family members survive at the mercy of those who are working. It should be made clear that majority of the people are not working not because they are not qualify but largely because they are unable to pay bribe to secure jobs for themselves.

Africa in general and Cameroon in particular has been named a Limbo which means a midpoint between heaven and hell where you can find both the “goods” and the “bads”. From the samples conducted many holds the opinion that because of corruption, many Cameroonians are not willing to help for free without the exchange of money, as a result many have embraced Christianity as the only consolation and faith to their problems to God through prayers. Many of these Christians who have succeeded in having a job usually describe such situations as a Divine miracle thanks to their faith in God and usually do not see it out of merit or transparency because there is absolute lost of trust on the government by most citizens as far as the job market and transparency are concern.

From the interviews conducted it may be tempting to conclude that many Cameroonians have come to welcome corruption inevitable since it has become a mean of surviving. In this case, corruption will not only mean the act of giving or receiving bribes, it should also been

72 Interviewed with Mr. Micheal, 15, April, 2011.
73 Ibid.
regarded as all illegal means of surviving. With an interview with Mrs. Henrietta a High school teacher she said: teachers have engaged themselves in to corruption practices not by taking direct bribes from the students who they teach. She said the fact that most teachers have devoted much interest in organizing private classes out of school hours and imposing their own written text books for students to buy is a direct involvement into corruption. She concluded that however, this is a new development on the morals of the teachers because teachers were not involved into such practices from the 1980s downward where they were well paid until the late 1908s where there was a drastic cut of their salaries.\textsuperscript{74} Therefore we should not be blame for our new attitudes instead the system should be blame because what we receive as salary cannot sustain us.

In a system like Cameroon where good moral reputation is not longer worthy, where everyone wants to survive by cheating, the phenomenon of corruption is therefore growing stronger and stronger. From table three above, it is clearly shown that public transport drivers are seriously and consciously involved in to corrupt practices as the only way of surviving as they go on with their daily activities.

With a deep interview with a taxi driver who is a graduate from the University, with the question: Why has public transport drivers involved so deeply into corrupt practices?

He began by saying that “we are not corrupt, it is the police men who are corrupt. We are the prey and they are the predators, they forced us to give bribe, we do not force them to take bribe from us. Our so call mobile police have completely forgotten the reasons for police check points which are to investigate whether vehicles running in the roads are stolen ones or not, to check whether both the drivers and the passengers have all the required documents and to prevent illegal transportation of goods within the country to 500 CFA bribe collection.\textsuperscript{75} Everyday day the police stop us and instead of presenting our documents to them, we come out from the car with 500 CFA to give to them in order to continue our job since it has become an obligation to us to do give .

\textsuperscript{74} Interviewed with Mrs. Henrietta a high school teacher, 19\textsuperscript{th} April, 2011.

\textsuperscript{75} Interviewed with Sylvester, taxi driver, 14\textsuperscript{th}, April, 2011.
Furthermore, the informant said, if we do not give them 500 CFA, our cars will be seized and taken to the police station where you need to pay at least 10,000 CFA and most often when you go to the station to claim your car, you will not be able to find the police man who impounded your car and before settling everything, you must have wasted too much time and money. Secondly we give bribe because we are not the owners of most of the cars we drive, they belong to our bosses and we are entitled to give a daily balance of 10,000 CFA and our bosses will not compromise with us if we bring home a lesser amount. In that case in order not to waste time arguing with the policemen we have to bribe them in order to satisfy our bosses because we pay bribe to gain enough time to work.

More so he explained, we cannot complain to anybody because before the commissioner who is their boss, we cannot be treated fairly because he is even the one who sends them to the road to collect money which will be share among themselves. Besides, he maintained that before the law, the policemen are more powerful to the taxi driver even when he is perfectly right. The police man has the power to impound your car, seize your papers and charge you of whatever crime he wants to. In these circumstances, it is better to bribe them instantly so as to avoid the lost of time than to allow your car been impounded at the police station where you will need to pay more money.

This taxi driver maintained that the cost of acquiring all transport documents in Cameroon is about 15000 CFA and no matter whether you have all these document you need to still pay bribe and as a result many taxi drivers have come to prefer not to pay for all these documents because having them all makes no difference because you still need to pay bribe. This led to the lost of billions of CFA into government coffers. If a single driver has to pay 500 CFA everyday to a policeman it mean for a month he pays 15000 CFA is equivalent to the amount needed to pay for all driving documents.
How has corruption affected Cameroonians at the individual level?

Corruption has more or less become an established institution in Cameroon and as such many Cameroonians have passed through the wicked hands of this disease. Many Cameroonians have therefore got very bitter experiences and inevitable developed new human morals which in return has instead encouraged the practicing of corruption. One of the common effects of corruption in the lives of many Cameroonians is that they have been denied jobs which that truly deserved due to their inability to bribe state officials. With an interview with Mrs. Florence and like many others opined that to qualify for a job in Cameroon does not solely depend on how educated or experienced one may be but on how you can afford to pay. That is the highest bidders are those who can easily find jobs in Cameroon. As a result since many cannot afford to pay they have remained unemployed. Many of these unemployed youths have become frustrated, thieves and internet scammers. Since corruption has been seen as a way of life in Cameroon, many have inevitably welcomed the practice of corruption as a mean of survival. Many Cameroonians who are working in the public sector especially as public administrators came in through corruption that is by paying bribe and that the amount of bribe to secure for a job in most government institution many varies between one to five millions CFA depending on your relationship to whom the bribe is given to.

It is not usually easy to raise such amount and as such people borrow money from banks, credit unions, friends, relatives and even sell family asses. When they start working, they have the responsibility to pay back their debts, and because of poor salaries and other commitments they are usually unable to pay the money they borrowed to bribe their way in, consequently they are forced to ask for bribe and embezzle government funds in order to

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76 Interview with Mrs. Florence, Buea, Cameroon, 19th April 2011.
77 Ibid
78 Ibid.
settle their debts. Taking bribe in this regard is consider to be fair because they believed that everybody who wishes to be employ by the state need to come in through the same door or road which they also came (the door or road here is refer to bribe)

Besides, many have seen going abroad as the only solution for living a decent life. The number of many Cameroonians youths for further studies abroad is quite alarming. If visas were to be given to all the Cameroonians who every day are overcrowded at various embassies in the country, Cameroon would have remained an aging populated country in the world because the future is completely bleak for the majority of the Cameroonian youths due the corrupt nature of the country.

In fact, corruption has caused many Cameroonians to be dishonest up to the extent that wills of the deceased are usually changed by either the lawyer, family head, chief and close family friends to the highest bidder in the family. With an interview with forty eight years old widow by name Jethro, she confirmed that she has been a victim of this type of corruption. She narrated her story that she got married to her husband where they lived happily but unfortunately without a surviving child until when her husband died in 2007. She said before she officially got married to her husband, she had a son who was raised in their matrimonial home. That before her husband dead, he had made a will which was given in secret to a close and respected village elder claiming the above mentioned son as his successor. That during the death ceremony of her late husband, when his will was supposed to be made publicly a nephew of her late husband rejected the will by claiming himself the next successor and he was quickly supported by some village elders because he was consider to be a rich man and as such was able to bribe their consciences with his money.

Out of twenty eight interviews conducted with the unemployed youths of what they think the future holds for them in a country many of them believed nothing may be possible to be accomplished without passing through the back door, nineteen of them said that corruption have changed their perspective and ambitions in life, that they cannot longer define their

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79 Ibid.
status in the society, that is whether they falls within the youths, adults or the ageing group. It should be noted that in Cameroon one belongs to a given class depending on his or her responsibility and not usually by age. When I spoke with one of the interviewer by name Wilson Ndip, an Advance level certificate holder who has more or less becoming a drunker of the importance of continuing his studies he told me education in Cameroon does not longer serves it purpose. That all needed is for one to know how to read and write. He said he is even living at the mercy of some of his brother and sisters who left the primary education and started something doing. He concluded that the educated youths are even the most frustrated than those who did not waste time in extending their education\textsuperscript{80}. Some parents even admitted that they pay bribe to school administrators to secure their children position in school and children whose parents cannot afford for this bribe are either admitted into low standard schools or stay home and sent into early marriages and or become street children.

Furthermore, the rate of HIV AID infected persons is increasingly becoming unbearable in Cameroon which after Malaria is considers the deadliest, is compounded by the fact that the rate of corruption is very high in the country. Since corruption act as a strong barrier for transparency, merit and equal distribution of the national cake, many Cameroonian both female and men have find a solution by offering themselves for sex as a mean of surviving. May our good Lord have mercy on my beloved country she concluded.

\textbf{The developments of corruption in Cameroon: A critical assessment from (1996- 2010).}

According to Transparency International, an international organization created in combating corruption, Cameroon has two times ranked as the most corrupt country in the world. It should be noted that the declaration of Cameroon as the most corrupt country by Transparency International was received with miss fillings by Cameroonian. Most

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{80} Interview with Wilson Ndip. Muyuka, Cameroon, 21, April 2011.
\end{flushright}

52
Cameroonian specially the civil society accepted Cameroons corruption perception index as the most corrupt nation on earth to be authentic. On the other hand, the government thought Cameroon did not deserved the position as the most corrupt country and hence, considered the report bias. However, despite government standpoint, the government became committed than ever before to put an end to this cankerworm that has eaten deep into the moral fabrics of many Cameroonians through the implementation of anti corruption measures so as to up lift Cameroon from it shameful position she has held in the corruption perception index.

Many maintained the view that government affords in combating corruption have been very slow and inactive and hence, to many Cameroon the fight against this immoral behavior is still very yet to be desired .According to the 2010 Transparency International corruption report, Cameroon is placed as the 146th most corrupt nation on earth out of a total of 180 countries with a corruption perception index of 2.2 where corruption is seen as being very alarming. It worth mentioning here that the 146th position of Cameroon in the 2010 report may not in any sense insinuate that the fight against corruption has been very successful, behaves, it is because some countries has been added in these reports. If one has to measure a country development on corruption as far as Transparency International corruption report is concern, more focus should be center in the corruption perception index and not on the rank of a country on the global chart. To analysis the extent and the measurement of the developments of corruption in Cameroon, this depended on the Corruption Perception Index from Transparency International from 1996 – 2010 which shows the perception of the degree of corruption of a given country from a global perspective.

**Transparency International Cameroon Corruption Perception Index (CPI) 1996 -2010.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>CPI Scores</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Standard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

81 Transparency International
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>CPI</th>
<th>Deviation</th>
<th>Survey Used</th>
<th>Low-Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>49/54</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>85/85</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<td>2001</td>
<td>84/91</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>2003</td>
<td>124/133</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2004</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>2.4</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>146/180</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>146/180</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>146/180</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** WWW. Countries Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International.

**Meaningful issues:** CPI: It is the perception of the degree in which corruption is perceived to exist among public officials and politicians within a given country. Countries with scores of more than 5 out of clean scores of 10 indict very low corruption. On the other hand, countries with scores less than 5 suggest high level of perceived corruption in government and public administration.

**Survey used:** It indicate the assessed a country performance

**Standard Deviation:** Indicate differences in the valves of sources

**High-Low-Range:** It provides the highest and the lowest valves of the sources
From a general perspective of the interviews conducted among different classes of people in Cameroon, many opined that corruption in Cameroon is taken a progressive return instead of a diminishing return over the past year despite government initiative in reducing this cankerworm. A critical analysis of Cameroons CPI scores from Transparency International from 1996 to 2010 clearly confirms many Cameroonians' point of view as far as the development of corruption is concern in the country. If one have to accept the CPI scores interpretation that scores of more than 5 out of a clear scores of 10 indicate low corruption while a scores of less than 5 suggest high level of perceived corruption. Therefore base on Cameroons CPI scores from 1996 to 2010, Cameroon has constantly registered a blow 5 score with a decreasing rate which absolutely justifies the standpoints of most Cameroonians that corruption is increasing despite all effort to combat it as shown below.

![Time Series Plot of CPI Score](image)

Figure six
The graph is a self time series plot of Cameroons CPI scores from 1996-2010. It worth underscoring here that the higher the CPI scores from below 5, the lower the rate of the perception of corruption in a country and the lower, the scores still from blow 5 the higher the perception of corruption in that country. In 1996 Cameroons CPI score was 2.46 which mean that the level of corrupt practices in the country was much better than 1998 and 1999
when Cameroon won the price of the world most corrupt country two conservative periods. There was no 2007 Cameroon CPI scores from Transparency International therefore, to find the value of 2007 CPI score, I used the average point between 1996 and 1998 which gave me a score of 1.39

**Analysis of the self time series plot of CIP scores**

Base on my time series plot of Cameroons CPI scores which is a direct reflection of Transparency International corruption report on Cameroon, it can be observe from the above diagram that from 1999 when Cameroon was the leading corrupted country in the world to 2002 there was a significant reduction of corruption in the country. From the interviews conducted two important phenomenon were very imperative for these scores. Firstly, many believed that it was because of the shameful declaration of Cameroon by transparency international for two good years (1998-1999) as the world most corrupt country. Following this declaration, the government suddenly made series of anti corruption campaigns where many culprits were caught and sent to jail and some reforms to encouraged transparency at the ministries were also enforced. Secondly, this was equally the period when Cameroon was promised Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) relief funds by the World Bank and IMF. One fundamental prerequisite to qualify for these funds was for the government to encourage transparency in all state transactions. It became justifiable that for the government to please her donors, she had to reduce corruption by all course as a last resort for these funds.

From 2003 – 2004 according to the CPI scores as shown above, there was high rate corrupt practices in the country. I was unable to get specific explanations behind the sudden rise in corruption in these two years. However, this could be justify if one take in to account a statement made by John Grap Lambsdorff a senior official working with Transparency International regarding CPI scores. He said that CPI score is not an assessment of the corruption level in any country rather it is an attempt to assess the level at which corruption
is perceived by businessmen. That their perceptions may not be a fair reflection on the state of affairs, but they are a reality and it is in this reality that the index seeks to assess.82

From 2005- 2010 Cameroon had maintained relative scores during which corruption was still highly perceived. My informants believed that it is because the government anti corruption measures had not been very effective to make any significant impact since the government in power which is the main activist in this fight is also believed to be highly corrupt, and therefore attempt by the government to capture and detained corrupt culprits is seen as a mean to settle political scores and to solicit foreign aid. Many Cameroonians are surprised that since the government started the fight against corruption, many ministers, directors, managers and public administration had been caught and sent to jail but yet no accurate information had ever been made known to Cameroonians of how much had been recovered from these corrupt people and sent to government coffer.

Conclusively, from what I gathered from my research the question whether corruption has been declining or increasing in Cameroon over the past years, is still a matter of debate to many Cameroonians. But if one has to make any critical judgment base on the CPI scores, I think one will conclude that the practicing of corruption in Cameroon is taking a relatively progressive trend despite government anti corruption campaigns. However, this conclusion can still be subjected to debate following a speech made by Transparency International chairman man Tunku Abdul Aziz statement in Malaysia: That CPI is based on understanding that a change on the perceived level of corruption can be measured only by a consistent shift in behavior over a number of years, and as result it may not give credit to new leaders who are making determined efforts to counter years of rampant corruption in their country. But if one equally needs to take into account that he who does not accept the practicing of corruption is at times consider being a fool or a loser. This conclusion is defendable because during my interviews with a hand full of public administrators confirmed that they do witness corruption in their various offices every day

82 Transparency International 2010.
Chapter five

Corruption in some educational institutions in Cameroon

Introduction

The previous chapters have been lamenting on the practicing of corruption in Cameroon that is more specifically on how Cameroonians perceived it, how they survive with it and some ramifications it has in the process of nation building. In the first chapters, my research has proven that corruption is more or less becoming a cultural norm to many Cameroonians which therefore insinuate how big the problem or the culture of corruption is in the country. It therefore became a matter of necessity to do some research on the practicing of corruption in the education section and the impacts it has on the society as a whole. Investigating the education section became paramount because those carrying out some of the corrupt practices are actually Cameroonians especially the educated ones who have got their education in the country and entrusted with positions of responsibility to run the country. Therefore, if most of these corrupt Cameroonians have largely been educated in the country and are such corrupt, it means that there must be something wrong in the type of education some of these people had that should be investigated. This desire therefore justifies the connection of this chapter with the previous ones. Besides, in relation to the previous chapters, it also indicates clearly how education as a social institution enhances the practices of corruption and how actors in this sector perceived some of the irregularities as corrupt practices.

This chapter begins with an introduction on corruption practices on some education institutions in Cameroon with a source methodology and ethical issues on how the interviews were conducted. It should be noted that interviews remains the predominant source of information to this work. Besides, different forms of corruption will be presented within five different main categories of corruption identified in the education sector. Within these different five categories, some different forms will be picked out and analyzed in details through thorough interviews with some actors involved like lecturers, students,
parents and politicians. Among the various types to be discussed in detail will be: lecturers accepting gifts from their students, selling of handouts and sexual harassment as different forms of corruption. A full presentation of the interviews and table will be done and a final analyses of the results of each of these forms. Besides, and overview of corruption in the primary education sector and how corruption is being infiltrated in this sector through interviews will be discussed. The chapter will end with a conclusion

Source methodology

Interviewing is a way of collecting information as well as a medium to win new knowledge from different people. It from this regards that Kvale sees interviews as an interchange of opinions between two or more people on the topic of mutual interest. Therefore, in order to ascertain some of the irregularities in this sector, I used structured, survey, semi-structured and unstructured interviews on different instances depending on the type of information needed at a particular time. Corruption is a very complex issue probably because it has huge consequences on the lives of many people once it is committed. Therefore, as a researcher, in order to explore many aspects of such a complex issues like corruption in depth, in some education institutions, like the difference forms of corruption, its causes and impacts, structured interviews became a source of necessity to me because my interview did involved different academic actors like teachers, parents students and politicians which meant that the replies from these different actors were to be aggregated before drawing any conclusions. Focused interview was another form of interview used to ask open questions related to specific cases with my respondents. For instance based on the responses got from structured interviews conducted on the campus on who should be blamed among lecturers and students for the causes of some corrupt aspect on the campus, both side were pointing figures at each other. I equally used semi-structured interviews especially during group interviews with lecturers and students. This helped in posing additional questions in

response to what was seen as significant replies during the interview discussion which were questions designed to invite detail answers for in-depth analysis. This is because with these forms of interview, I had the possibility of hearing different opinions expressed about the same topic or research questions as I move from one question to the other. The used of semi-structured interview made the findings from the structured interview more reliable and accountable because before summarizing and making any conclusion from the collected data, which needed more explanation or detail, it gave me the possibility of going back to my respondents or designed similar questions since there is huge potential for flexibility as the respondent leads the interview. Unstructured interview was another form of interview used where the questions were not pre-determined but were asked based on what I intended to know. This was used when I accidentally mate people whom I thought could have some relevant information to my research but whom unfortunately due to either their locations or time proved abortive to planned an interview. For example I used this form of interview with Mr. Charles and Mrs. Forge primary school teachers to get some information on primary schools corruption in the country.

My point of concentration of the interviews was at a “mid size” Universities in Cameroon and it became very difficult for me to know who should be considered an informant and how to actually test the trueness of the information gotten. In such an atmosphere, in order to continue with my research, I did preliminary interviews at the campus before the proper planning of interview, implementation and the methodology was defined. With the preliminary interviews, I did a very convenience selection of my informants across the campus asking the same or opposite questions to both students and the lecturers. My greater ambition was to identify some of the departments within the university that people generally thought were corrupt, so as to concentrate my research there. Despite the fact that, my research was to be concentrated on the pointed out most corrupted departments, these departments were not my limit as others were also taken into consideration. That notwithstanding, despite the preliminary convenience interview that was purposely to know the most corrupt departments and people to contact, some few additional questions were equally asked such as students personal experiences and observation on corruption. After all,
it is said that the researcher carrying out Semi-structured interview is freer than the one conducting structured interview because the interviewer does not necessary need to adhere to a more profound interviews guide in this sense Patton call for the interviewer to explore probe and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate the subject matter of the research.\textsuperscript{84} With the students population of over 12,000 and above, the preliminary convenience selection interviews also became problematic for me alone to conduct. As a remedy, I decided to seek assistance from twenty five students including myself to conduct the preliminary convenience selection interviews with some lecturers and students who could have some reliable information concerning the practicing of corruption. A total of 2084 students were conveniently selected and interviewed and 1062 students thought the Sociology and Anthropology, Law, and Political Science were the most corrupted departments. It should however be noted that, not all the 1062 informants during the convenience selected interviews mentioned inclusively all the three departments as the most corrupted as other departments were also mentioned. The statistics will be illustrated below. The interview questions were: (How many departments are in the University? Which of them do you consider the most corrupt? Who do you think I can contact as victims? Are you a victim of corruption at the Campus? Would you like to be contacted for more information? and What are the different forms of corruption in the campus?

\textbf{Preliminary convenience interview at a university campus}

\textit{Question one: Do you know the number of departments in the University?}

\textsuperscript{84} M.Q. Patton, \textit{How to use Qualitative Methods in Evaluation}, Sage Publications, pp 116-117

61
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Num of Dept</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>1521</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2084</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Question one was not meant to know if the students knew the total number of the departments in the campus but to know if they knew some of the departments and how corrupt they could be since my focus was also to identify some of the most corrupt departments.

**Question two: Have you been a victim of corruption at the campus?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1678</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2084</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question three: Which departments do you consider most corrupted?

Anthropology and Sociology, Law and Political Science departments (SA/L/PS) were mentioned by 1062 students as the most corrupted department. This mean that out of the 2084 students interviewed, 1062 of them mentioned at least one of the three departments as the most corrupt. A total of 986 students never mentioned specifically any departments and 36 students mentioned others departments and programmes as shown in the graph above. The other mentioned departments and programmes which for space reason could not be plotted in the graph were: Educational Psychology, Economics and Management, Environmental Science, Civil and Ethics, Educational History Geography and Bio-Chemistry.

Gender, age and class levels were also taken in consideration during the interviews as indicated below in the diagram. Amount others reasons, this classification was done in other to test the validity of the interviews.
## Gender, age and class for question 1, 2 and 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Non responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>669</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>388</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NB:** F stands for females while M for males.

On gender, it could be seen that more female students responded to the interviews as opposed to male. The reasons why we had more female respondents than the male fork is because women are more victims to corruption at the campus especially sexual corruption which according to this research remains one of the most forms of corruption at the campus and therefore some of them welcome the interviews as an opportunity to expressed their grievances. Secondly, because they have the highest population of students in the University. However, the interviews were not gender focused which meant that whoever was willing to corporate was regarded as informant regardless of sex.

Age wise, it was divided in to two groups: 18- 24 and 24- above. Majority of the responses came from the ages 24- above because they are more mature, vulnerable and easily exposed to corruption than those of the ages 18-24. Secondly, some of this group of students are workers who for one reason or the other want to further their studies and therefore most of them had had broader knowledge about corruption and were then willing to express their experiences especially when it comes to acquiring a job in Cameroon.
Class levels. The responses got here took a progressive trend. Most university studies in Cameroon are three years; however some programs are four years. According to this research, the respondents were grouped into first, second, and third-year students. It is worth saying that third-year students included all final year students that is both students for three and four-year studies programmes. The results were progressive in the sense that the longer a student stays in the university, the more he or she encounters corruption. Third or final year students had the highest respondents because this is the level where corruption is almost unavoidable because students are usually very desperate to graduate. At this level, it is a double size coin game for both corrupt lecturers and students as each of them knows the desperation of each other.

QUESTION FOUR: Do you know of some forms of corruption in the campus?

According the research findings, there were 31 forms of corruption mentioned by the respondents during the interviews. From the above graph, figure 1 to 12 represents the 12 most mentioned forms of corruption. Others, represents the 19 forms which were
considered the least mentioned forms, while None-Response include those students who did not mentioned any form at all. For graphical purpose, I decided to choose the 12 most mentioned and plot them singly and the 19 inclusive. The 12 most corrupt forms were: Embezzlement of funds 197, Absenteeism 152, sexual harassment 96, award of unmerited marks to students 67, leakage of examination marks to closed students 89, forceful selling of handouts to students 243, demand for bribe or gifts for final year thesis 38, victimization of students 149, poorly dressed in order to seduce teachers 172, exchange of sex for marks 131, paying bribe for good grades 49, negotiating sex friend for teachers 97

Sum all these figures gives 1618

Non response 45

Others forms 421

Total students 208

**Gender, Class and Age responses for question four.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>First year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUA</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>EF</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPNIF</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUMS</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEQS</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSHS</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DBGFT</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VS</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAUSU</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPUS</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSAHCPE</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSSNGT</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FI</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESUF</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISFP</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDIST</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESM</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEGTEM</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBGG</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSFT</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IASA</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSS</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACS</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AUA (Allocation of underserved allowance) OPS (Over payment of supplies) GM (Granting of missions) PB (Payment of bonuses) DP (Delayed of payment) PV (Payment of vouchers) EF (Embezzlement of funds) NPNIF (Nonpayment of National Insurance Funds) AB (Absenteeism) SH (Sexual harassment) AUMS (Award of unmerited marks to students) LEQS (Leakage of examination marks questions to close Students FSHS (Forceful selling of hand outs to students) DBGFT (Demand for bribe or gifts for final year thesis) VS(Victimization of students) TAUSU(Threat to admit unqualified students into school and university) TPUS(Threat to pass underserved students) BSAHCPE(Bribing school administrators not to send home their children for not paying fees) DSSNGT(Demanding
sex from students in order to negotiate their grades with closed teachers) IM(Impersonation) FI(Fake identity) ESUF(Embezzlement of student union funds) DISFP(Demand of illegal school fees from parents) PDIST(Poorly dressed in order to seduce teachers) ESM(Exchange of sex for marks) BEGTEM(Buying expensive gifts for teachers for exchange of marks) PBGG(Paying bribe of good grades) NSFT(Negotiating sex friends for teachers) IASA(Influence appointment of school administrators) RSS(Recruitment of school staffs) ACS(The allocation and creation of schools)

**NB:** The abbreviations on the rows represent the 31 forms of corruption in order of appearance as indicated above.

The first row represents the 31 forms of corruption. Gender wise as noted earlier was unevenly mentioned depending on the form of corruption. Some forms were highly indicated by either the female or the male forks depending on how much or less each group is affected. This means that some forms of corruption affects the female sex than the male sex and likewise. The same goes with class as the first year students are less experienced to some forms than the second and third year's students. In the domain of the age, the older a student is the higher the tendency for he or she to involve into corrupt practices either as a corrupt or a corrupter.

**Question five: Do you know of someone we can contact for additional information?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2084</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I was able to have 25 students from 25 different departments who assisted me in the preliminary convenience interview at the campus. I conducted the interview myself in the hold faculty of Arts that makes up 4 departments. I decided to choose the faculty of Arts
because I had some personal knowledge about it and therefore it was a bit easy for me to find my way. The other 25 students who assisted me were equally conveniently chosen from 25 departments who were however willing to assist. I chose only one student from each department because I knew the job was enough for one student since it was just a preliminary investigation. On how they were chosen, I visited some of the departments and mate students who were willing to cooperate with me and with their help I was able to get the number of students needed.

With the basic information from the preliminary interviews, I then started with the proper interview because I knew already the area of concentration and those who I could interview. The first among them were lecturers and students, who I interviewed, where those I was referred to during the preliminary interview to have some knowledge of corruption in the campus either because they had been victims or perpetuators of corruption in the campus. Some of these informants were contacted either by phone calls, with the help of friends especially the 25 students who assisted me during the preliminary interview and others were mate in their offices especially the lecturers and at various places. In some cases the interview was conducted during our first meeting if at all there was time otherwise, further arrangements were made on where, when and how to meet again for the interview. In most cases, majority of my informants preferred the interview to be held in public places than at their home. It should however be noted that even though majority of my informants were those referred to during the preliminary investigated, a significant number of them were mate at difference places like in the church, street, market, home, drinking sport and other social gathering places. Most of them were willing to participate even without any pre-appointment. During my research, I noted that corruption is one of the politico-economic and social issues that most Cameroonians either the literates or the illiterates are willing to express themselves probably because they believed corruption is the main cause to their daily dilemma. However, not everybody who I was referred was willing to talk to me probably because some of them were scared of the type of information I wanted from them or they did not want to talk at all for personal reasons. Besides, there were no specific criteria on how I chose other informants. Anybody consider an academic actor, as listed above who had any information relating to my research desire and who was willing to share with me was my
informants. I conducted the interviews with parents, students, lecturers, and teachers. I did group interviews as were as individual interviews.

I conducted group interviews with lecturers and students and students within different departments as well as with individual lecturers, students and teachers. For data collection aim, I largely depended on questionnaires that were distributed to lecturers, students, parents and teachers.

All the information collected from the interviews and questionnaires were aggregate on the basis of analysis and ambition and then analyzed to have the general corruption perception scores. However, I took in to consideration for the analysis and the results of the data collected not to change the opinions of my respondents or to be subjective.

The questionnaires contained various answers and therefore the questionnaires were analyzed based on the percentage got from each group of respondents to each response in the categories. That is the percentages were calculated based on the total number of responses out of each answer in the questionnaires. According to Alan Bryman in his book: Social Research Methods, questionnaires that are completed by interviewees themselves are consider as one of the best instruments in gathering data in most social research. In this case, I used self completion questionnaires during which my respondents were requested to complete the questionnaires by themselves. It worth saying that the two main types of questionnaires that is postal and mail questionnaires were not used rather my questionnaires were personally handed to my respondents. The completed questionnaires were either dropped in my home, school, church where some of them worship or collected directly from my informant homes with the assistant of a few friends. The questionnaires were designed short and straight forward in order to minimize the risk of been bore.

Ethical Issues

Universally ethical issues should always be taken in account when carrying social research. Therefore most research in this field at time is questionable when ethical issues are not given proper attention by researcher in the area where they did their work. Corruption is a very sensitive issue and as such, it makes it almost difficult to be specific on the type of persons to be interview because a lot of people even with reliable information are usually afraid to disclose information for safety and political reasons. Besides, due to time limitation especially on the part of the informants and financial constraint on my part, that is to be able to put something on the table like beverages as an ethical value during the interviews, made pre-specification on who to interview almost a nightmare. In this prospective, it should be noted that the buying of drinks and some rusted meats to my informants was not an attempt to persuade or influence their views but rather it was to encourage the flow of information needed which is ethically welcome in Cameroon during most conversations. Some of my informants in some instances were reluctant to realize certain vital information when they saw that I was selfish by not putting something on the table during the interview discussion.

In some cases where I could not afford to buy, I had to be dishonest by making promises which I could not fulfill all in order to get good data. However, I was caution that my dishonesty was not significantly harmful to my informants and my research. For ethically reasons, most of my informant names were anonymously recorded and the information gotten from them were kept confidential as many of them were willing to give out information on conditions that their identities were not to be disclose mostly for political reasons. However, some of my informants opening said they did not want to be anonymous because they believed the information they were given out was just the truth necessary for nation building and as a way to fight corruption in the country. The Privacy of my informants was another ethical valve noticed. That is, in some cases the respondents who accepted the interviews, some occasionally refused to respond to some of my questions for reasons best known to them. This happen largely during the group discussion. It was made
known to them that in no circumstances were they under any pressure and that they had the right to withdraw from the interview any time they felt as to.

When and where to conduct the interviews was another ethical issue I faced. Several attempts to conduct the interviews at my informant residence was almost all abortive as most of them responded quickly when they knew the interview was probably going to take place at the afternoon in the city especially at a drinking point. Most informants especially the students and some parents welcome meeting at a drinking spot because they believed that the information they were to give out was largely to my advantage, and besides, if they have to sacrificed their time and other commitments, their immediate benefits for their sacrifices was probably just to share a bottle of drink of which if the interview was conducted at their residence they will probably miss it and will instead be the once to entertainment me if I had to come to their homes. I was left with no choice since the informant need to be inform of when, where and why of the interview

Another greatest challenge I faced using semi-structure and unstructured interviews was that some new information and questions that I least anticipated before the interview came in. This actually opened door for probing which helped me to explore new ways in the interview conversation which were not initially taken into consideration. For instance, this was more particularly during my interview with Lisa on sex harassment as a form of corruption. Initially I least expected her to talk more on her sex experiences as a student for personal reasons, but when I discovered that she had the courage to disclosed it to me regardless of her integrity, I was then probed to asked her some precise questions on her sex experiences as a students. I also took into account the personal integrity and privacy of my informants. Their personal information was promised to be protected if they so desired and where and how to meet for the interview was largely determined by them as a sign of respect and convenience.

In sum basically participation was voluntary throughout, anonymity protected and all the informants were informed that the information given was just for my thesis.
Some identified categories of corruption at the “mid size” university in Cameron

In sum, I conducted four major group interviews, 15 individual interviews and 3 separate questionnaires were distributed. The first interview was the preliminary convenience selection interview conducted at the University campus. The aim of this interview was to identify some of the most corrupt departments and some victims or perpetrators of corruption at the campus as point of concentration for further research. In these interviews, a total of 2084 students were conveniently chosen. The second interview was the group discussion interview done with 5 lecturers and 7 students. The aim of this interview was to know either it is the lecturers or students who encourages corruption at the campus and how and why? The five Lecturers chosen, were out of the 15 lecturers I was referred to during the preliminary convenience selection interviews the same with the 7 students. The third group interview was held with 13 students. The ambition was to know specifically which forms of corruption was more specifically within their different departments during which the selling of handout was accepted by almost all the students as the most common corrupt practices at their various departments. 29 students each representing a department were invited for the interview but just 13 of them finally attended due to unforeseen circumstances.

One of the individual interviews was the one conducted with Lisa. I conducted this interview to know how sexual harassment is a form of corruption. I chose Lisa because she had been referred to me by many of my previous informants and with prior contact with her; she expressed her willingness to be my respondent. The next interviews were held at another “mid size” University. A total of 225 students were convenience interviewed, 10 lecturers, 8 priests, 2 gatemen, 6 reverend sisters and 12 workers. These interviews were not deeply conducted because there was really little told about corruption in this university. Others 15 individual interviews were conducted at the primary schools aimed to identify some corrupt practices in this sector.

There were three main questionnaires distributed. The first of these questionnaires were sent to identify some of the malpractices at the “mid size” Universities in particular and in the education sector as a whole. In these questionnaires, 500 copies were sent to Lecturers and teachers and 256 of the responded. 750 copies were sent to students, and 505 answered. 750
were sent to parents, and 601 answered and 500 to politicians and 426 answered. Since, there were many copies; there were specifically no criteria for chosen the interviewers. The second questionnaires were aimed to know whether it was ethical acceptable for lecturers to received gifts from their own students which is one of the forms of corruption in most schools in Cameroon. 59 copies were send to lecturers, 323 to students, and 345 to parents. The last questionnaires was aimed at investigating whether it is accepted for lecturers to date their own student.82 copies were send to lectures and teachers,227 to parents and 68 to students.

I used unstructured interviews in the form of a conversation to get first hand information on what is corruption and how it is been done in this sector because the information needed were very personalized data. It would have been expected that one questionnaire should have been sent to all my informants comprising all the questions as opposed to different questionnaires that were sent to different informants with different questions. This was due to the fact that using semi-structure and unstructured interviews, new investigating issues did arise from the interviews that needed broader understanding which therefore precipitated the need for additional questionnaires. Based on the interviews conducted especially the preliminary convenience selection interviews as mentioned above, and questionnaires distributed at the Universities and some primary schools in the country, on what forms of corruption does exist in the education sector? The following forms were identified from the responses got as shown below which I later categorized under five principle types:

**Poor implantation and execution of the school budget**

Allocation of underserved allowance, over payment of supplies, Granting of missions, Payment of bonuses, delayed of payment, Payment of vouchers, Embezzlement of funds and Nonpayment of National Insurance Funds
Professional misconduct
Absenceism, Sexual harassment, Award of unmerited marks to students, Leakage of examination marks questions to close students, Forceful selling of hand outs to students, Demand for bribe or gifts for final year thesis and Victimization of students

The role of parents on school corruption
Threat to admit unqualified students into school and university, Threat to pass underserved students, Bribery school administrators not to send home their children for not paying fees and Demanding sex from students in order to negotiate their grades with closed teachers

Corruption from the part of students
Impersonation, Fake identity, Embezzlement of student union funds, Demand of illegal school fees from parents, poorly dressed in order to seduce teachers, Exchange of sex for marks, buying expensive gifts for teachers for exchange of marks, Paying bribe of good grades and Negotiating sex friends for teachers.

Corruption from politicians and businessmen
Influence appointment of school administrators, Recruitment of school staffs and the allocation and creation of schools.

In order to investigate in details some forms of corruption in this sector some questionnaires were distributed to lecturers, students, parents and politicians. I could not make detail analysis of all the various forms of corruption within the five different categories as shown above. I therefore decided to send some short questionnaires with just two questions to know which forms of corruption indentified before are common practices in the campus that affects students the most. Therefore the table is a list of some of the most common forms of corruption. I decided to investigate and analyzed only on some most common forms of corruption, since my research method was base on interviews. This meant that my informants were supposed to have a comprehensive knowledge on the information needed. It should be noted that not all the forms of corruption found on the five categories above
could easily be investigated because some top officials were needed to be interviewed and due to time constraints on their part, the need to protect the regime and partly because some of them are directly involve in the corrupt practices, information about some of the corrupt forms became very much impossible and this therefore accounted for the reason why only some common forms were lamented for further analysis. Since I had many copies of the questionnaires I distributed them to the above mentioned groups of persons who were however willing to contribute. 500 were sent to lecturers and teachers 256 of them responded, 750 were sent to students and 505 responded, 750 were sent to parents and 601 responded and 500 were sent to politicians and 426 responded.
Table A: Identified forms of corruption among lecturers, teachers and students at a “mid size” University in Cameroon in Percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Lecturers/Teachers %</th>
<th>Students %</th>
<th>Parents %</th>
<th>Politicians %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absenteeism</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underserved marks</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.56%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>12.87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leakage of</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.17%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>examination</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>questions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual harassment</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>15.23%</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>21.38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bribery</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.73%</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>17.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threats</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>25.39%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underserved</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.46%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>allowance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong appointments</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>27.73%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fake documents</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>14.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Analysis**

Table A above, indicates forms of corruption at a “Mid Size” University campus in Cameroon. Therefore, the diagram shows responses from questionnaires distributed to Lecturers, Teachers, Parents and Students on some corrupt practices identified at the “Mid Size” University in Cameroon from December – February 2011. It was only distributed for
Lecturers and Students in the South West Region and cut across Parents and Politicians from the three regions. All my informants were randomly selected based on whosoever was willing to cooperate.

It should be mentioned that not all types of corruption found within the different five categories were listed on the table above due to space. Those forms included in the table above were those indicated by my informants as the most corrupt forms in term of occurrences and it impacts through short questionnaires which contained just two questions as mentioned before. Secondly, the frequency of a particular form of corruption from the responses of the questionnaires and interviews actually indicated the degree of occurrences and the importance of this type of corruption in the education sector. That is, as long as many informants pointed more at a particular form of corruption, it was therefore presumed to be a common form of corruption in the education sector. Among these forms are those enlisted in the table above. Thirdly, the few selected forms from the different categories were actually those forms that information was easily accessible to the public than others. Besides other new forms were discovered as I proceeded with my interviews. It should be noted that making analysis of some forms of corruption, I did not take into account from which categories the few forms analyzed came from rather my interest was based on analyzing some of the most common forms which my informants indicated during the interviews and questionnaires.

Before making any analysis of the percentages, it should be noted the percentages on the table does not directly reflects the answers. This is because the total number of each group of respondent that is the Lecturers, Teachers, Students, Parents and Politicians were not the same. Therefore the percentages were got by dividing the total number of respondents in each group by the total number to each response. It implies therefore that the higher the number of respondents in each group, the lower the percentage, and the lower the number in each group, the higher the percentages. Therefore a critical look at the percentages on the table above will be very difficult to say which of the above common forms of corruption can be said to be the most common chronologically. This is because the percentages are direct reflection on individual’s experiences as far as corruption is concern at the campus.
depending on the issue of interaction. For instance, majority of lectures and teacher sees wrong appointments as the most form of corruption in the education sector in the country probably, because its affects them most than any other group of respondent. Because they believed that most appointment into positions of high ranking are political motivated and not merited. On the part of students, sexual harassment and fake documents are considered the most common forms. The highest response regarding sexual harassment came particularly from the female students who are mostly the victims even though, a large number of boys sees it also be a big form of corruption because they see many female students whom they considered weak in class emerging victoriously at the end of a course. Bribing and fake documents are also seen as the most common forms among students in general. Majority of them thinks that these are the most common forms because they themselves are regarded as perpetuators of this type of corruption at the campus, as most of them issued fake documents and give bribe in order to get admitted in to the university since admission is often very competitive and also bribe to either get underserved marks and other favors from their teachers and lecturers

The same also goes with the parents group of who the majority thinks that bribing and fake documents are among the most common forms of corruption. Some of them believed that some students who deserve to be admitted at the university have at times been denied access instead, to those students who can afford paying bribes have been accepted at the university. Parent also thought that some students graduate with good results which they cannot defend probably because they bribed teachers to get good results.

Over all, absenteeism cut crossed all the different groups of respondents as the most common form of corruption. It should be noted that absenteeism in this content refers to a situation where either a lecturer or a teacher who occasionally or completely absent from their job site and at the same time receives salary from the state for the same job. It should be noted that teaching job in Cameroon is regarded by many as the last resort for survival and as such those who find themselves inevitable in it, do it without any professional love or commitment for it. Regarding this view, many of my parents and politicians informants feels that teachers considered themselves to be the less paid not because of their salary situation
but largely because there exist very little avenues for big corruption to make them get rich over night like other workers like treasurers, tax collector, judges and police men. Some of these ghost teachers absent a way from school because some have either gone abroad for studies, or for adventure, some have got new jobs or have part time jobs where they do dedicate much of their time but at the same time registered as full time teachers or lectures in the government and in collaboration with their bosses they still receives monthly salary from the state which may be latter divided among themselves

During my research in one of the “mid size” University , I became interested in professional misconduct and students misbehavior as the most common forms of corruption in the campus as mentioned in the table above. My interest on these two types of corruption in the campus was based on the fact that it was easy to get information through interviews from both lecturers and the students as opposed to other forms of corruption such as the poor execution of University budget. This is because it involves most of the top-ranking dons often complaint of time for any appointment

After some interviews conducted at the campus with some lecturers and students, my findings were that most of the student interviewed were pointing fingers at their lecturers as the main perpetuators of corruption at the campus .On the other hand, the lecturers accused the students for becoming more lazy and as such thinks that, they can find their way out by corrupting their lecturers. Based on this view, I decided to conduct a group discussion interviews with five lecturers and seven students from different departments. Conscious of the fact that the five lecturers will not attend to my invitation if they knew the present of their students before time, I therefore made appointment with the lecturers to meet in a drinking spot at 3: PM and the students at 3:30 at the same drinking spot where I bought some beers and rusted beef. When the student delegation came later, I did not introduce them to the lecturers as students but just as friends. After having two bottles of beer each and some soya (rusted meat) I then started the interview:
**Analyses of interview one**

From the responses of both lecturers and the students, it is clear that the award of underserved marks to students by lecturers for the exchange of money and other valuable goods is one of the most forms of irregularities in most schools in the country. Analyzing the interview, it can be said that there are several reasons why some lecturers award unmerited marks to their students. Firstly, it is a mean to support life based on the fact that most of the lecturers and the teachers considers their salaries very much insufficient for their daily commitment and future developments. For instance, as lecturer 1 said in the interview that, those lecturers who actually received from their students have become more influential wealthy and arrogant to the others lecturers. Therefore as a lecturer, to become rich and influential may not necessary depend on his so called salary. Besides, as a lecture or a teacher your life may be under threat if you constantly refused to compromise with a student seeking for unmerited marks. This kind of threat usually come from final year students or those who have already made an additional year beside their normal programme and some lecturers who are either friends, relatives to these type of students Hence, it will be better for some lecturers to accept gifts from their student than to put his life at risk and be regarded as a wicked lecturer in the society. In an interview, one of the lecturer said “Our lives sometimes is at risk and most often we are regarded in the society to be very wicked if we fail to compromised to lazy students demands, equally, some parents even at times bribe teachers or lecturers for their children

One of the lecturer during the interview maintained that corruption is more or less a will or an inheritance handed over from father to son. This may to an extent shows how deeply the roots of corruption have adversary affected the moral fabric of almost the entire society. If a lecturer, who by virtue of his job has greater responsibilities in growing citizens with certain moral rectitudes, sees corruption as a heritage, it goes without probably any doubt that the fight against corruption still has a long way to go. This therefore in another sense may simply mean that if some lecturers are accepting gifts from their students for either in exchange of marks, it is not something bizarre or out of the ordinary. It should however be noted that only a small portion of lecturers, teachers and some parents do this. Not all lecturers who
find themselves today in corrupt practices really wanted to be corrupt but the environmental influences and bad behavior of some campus administrators actually pushed them into it. This has far-reaching implications on the image of the “mid size” which until 2011 was the only Anglo Saxon University in Cameroon. Whose value as the only Anglophones pride has been jeopardized due to corruption.

If some lectures and teachers already see corruption as a societal heritage, it can logically be opined that education in Cameroon has failed to stand the test of time since it has being rapped with corrupt practices. Eckstein Max A. had pointed out that any education characterized with some constraints like cheating, plagiarism fraud, professional misconduct and bad academic reforms cannot achieve its goals. He insinuated for improvement in technology as a remedy to check on some of these corrupt practices. I think improvement in high technology may be an important solution but not a paramount one because most Cameroonians especially at this level with petit corruption, most people are corrupt as a mean of surviving according to my interviews and therefore, the working conditions of teachers and other state holders need to be improve especially in term of salary

A critical look on how the whole interview process was done with the lecturers, it can be said that I tricked the lecturers to some degree. This was because the lecturer –student relationship in Cameroon is so beaurocratic, and therefore my lecturer informants would have seen it very degrading to sit and argued on corruption with their fellow students which to an extent are also culprits of it. This accounted for the reason I did not pre-informed them the coming of the student’s delegation to challenge their opinions. Of the five lectures present, four of them contributed in the discussion, one reacted with just a head shake after each of the other spoke. Despite two questions directed to him, he responded just by saying that his colleagues have said almost very thing. He seemed to have agreed to his colleagues opinions about corruption in the campus, but jet he stood adamant in the discussion process probably because he accepted all things said or just did not want to contribute.

With a hand full of interviews conducted with lecturers and students, of whether it was ethical right for lecturers to accept gifts from their students?, the results I got were very controversial. I then decided to add the number of my informants by including parents. Pertaining to the subject, a questionnaire was deemed necessary because I could not easily meet most of them because of the nature of their jobs, and time limitation on my own part. Whosoever was among the above mentioned group and was willing to answer the questionnaires was consider my informant. Five categories of answers were involved in these questionnaires. Which were: “Yes, it accepted”, “No, it is not accepted”. “I don’t know”, “Yes, but it depends” and “No, but it depends”. For those who choose the option either yes, it depends and no it depends were require to explain further. It should be noted that a total of 100 questionnaires were sent to lecturers and teachers, 49 responded, 500 was sent to students 323 responded and 500 to parents and 345 responded.

Table: Responses from Lecturers, Parents and Students in percentages from questionnaires distributed on whether it is ethically right for Lecturers to accept gifts from their students in a mid size University in Cameroon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Lecturers</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes it is accepted</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No it is not accepted</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32.2%</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>42.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t know</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes it depends</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No it depends</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>22.9%</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>59</td>
<td></td>
<td>323</td>
<td></td>
<td>345</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These questionnaires were distributed within three region in Cameroon that is the South West, North West and Littoral from December – February 20011. Only Lecturers at
the two “Mid Size” Universities in the South West Region were contacted because there were lecturers at the Universities where my research was largely focus

**Analysis of results**

From the table above, 133 parents out of a total of 145 parents interviewed, responded “no, it depends” which insinuates that majority of parents are not completely in support of students given gifts to their lecturers especially when there are still schooling. According to Mr. Michael who doubles as a parents and as a lecturer, most parents believed that the students are not yet financial reliable and besides, they depend on the good will of their parents to earn a living. Therefore, encouraging them to buy gifts to their lecturers who are receiving payment is very much uncalled for because it will force many students to become thieves either by stealing from their parents in order to pleased their lectures or involved into other undesirable behaviors. This in conformity with the responses on the table above, likely means that most parents are completely against students buying gifts to their lecturers but yet this phenomenon still continues and at the same time these student depends on the financial will of their parents. The question here is how and where do they get the money to buy some of these expensive gifts to lobby their lecturers for free favor? : Cameroon has a social system whereby children from a given biological parents do not only depend on their parents for their financial help but also on external family members, this therefore gives the children opportunity to exploit difference financial avenues within the family circle to help finance some of their illegal transactions without necessary passing through their parents who would have question their demand for money. Secondly, at the university level, most parents do not have good knowledge of the financial requirements of their children except for the school fees and therefore may not likely question any demand made by their children. Thirdly, some students have engaged themselves in to petit private businesses such as Public calls business locally call Phone box, small retail businesses and other part-time jobs. Their parents may not have full control on how much profit they make, and therefore they can use the money for their own private intensions.
From the table above, about 25% of teachers think that is acceptable for teachers to receive gifts from their own students supposing that the gifts do not come with string attachments. Acceptance of gifts from students regardless of the aim may have far reaching implications on the quality of education itself and the practice of corruption in the education sector. When teacher create an environment where students see it legitimate to offer gifts to them, this may seriously have a negative impact on the quality of education itself in that it create space for laziness on the part of the students who may rely on he or her personal relationship with the teacher than to work hard. For instance as one of the student rightly said during the interview that: “for any teacher to accept a gift from a students, he should be conscious of the fact that the student need something in return for the gift”. This may also be a serious input for corruption in the education sector, because a lecturer may at time consciously or unconsciously favor the student. After all, any good turn deserves another.

Both lectures and the student’s opinions demonstrated mix fillings, however, a large number of them saw it completely unprofessional for the students to buy gifts to their lecturers. For those both the lecturers and the students who think it is okay, they however stressed that the content, value and the aim of the gifts should be make very clear before any acceptance.

**Handouts as a corrupt practice**

As earlier noted, there exist a lot of corrupt practices at the University campus. To further my research interest, I summoned 13 University students from different departments on their opinion about the decrying of corruption in the campus. The intention of this group discussion interview was to identify some of the common corrupt practices encounter by most students within their various departments. All attempt to have students from all the 29 I knew departments came out abortive due to time factor on the part of some of the students contacted for the interview. Some of these students were those I was referred to during the preliminary interviews and the rest were randomly selected.
Analysis of the interviews results

Looking critically at the selling of handouts as a major form of corruption in the education sector in Cameroon, it can be argued that corruption in this sector does not necessarily mean that money or other valuable items need to change hands for an act to be regarded corrupt. The mandatory selling of handouts has actually created a situation which illegally acts as a barrier to many students to graduate. It may looks very normal for a lecturer to request students to buy a handout for their own good, but then the indirect consequences that follows the student who buys the handouts and the students who do not buy is the bone of contention. That is the decision to buy a handout is not bad in itself but the ramifications on he or she who is willing to buy, who is unable to buy, who is unwilling to buy and who has actually bought is what is consider corruption here.

The compulsory selling of handouts or photocopy notes to students is a very common type of malpractices in most schools in the country. What is refer to as handouts are either self written small notes books by lecturers or teachers or photocopy portion of required test books. The question is why should it be consider a corrupt act when a teacher or a lecturer request students to buy handout notes? It is a corrupt practice in the sense that some of the lecturers photocopy all the required number of copies in each class and sell it very expensively to students. Usually all the handouts are handed over to either the class monitor or dropped at a photocopy office. The photocopy person or the class monitor is requested to write down the names of all the students who have bought a copy and all the names of students written in the class monitor list will be rewarded with marks ranges from 2 to 10. It should be noted that even when a student has the same handout but from a different source, you are not compensated, you only get compensation when your name is registered in the lecturer list. That is, the more all the students buy from the same lecturer, the more he makes profit.

The selling of handouts can also be seen as a malpractice in the sense that, some teachers and lecturers have taken it as a source of income by writing their own small books and indirectly imposing them to students to buy. Often, class exams are usually taken largely
from the material found in the said handout thereby limiting the scope of student to read further, and when correcting the exams papers, the lecturer can easily determine who bought his handouts and who did not judging from the answers from the students. When the said lecturer discovers that, the answer a student gave actually came from his handout he is very lenient in assessing that student and sometimes hard on those students who did not buy from them. It worth underscoring that some lecturers makes huge sums of money from a single handout sold within a semester ranging from one hundred thousand to five million CFA. Some lazy students actually admire buying because it is the easiest mean for most to them to get underserved favor which can enable them to graduate. It should be noted that the group discussion was very interesting. This was probably because a lot of students go through difficult times at the campus due to corruption and the authoritative nature of some of their lecturers and many of them lack a forum like the group discussion we had where they can share their bad experiences at the campus. There is a student Union were some of these malpractices can actually be table, but unfortunately majority of the students believed that the elected students body at the union have being silent by the school authority either by corrupting them with money or threat. Besides the students body itself is alleged to be very corrupt as there have been reported cases of embezzlement. Of the 13 students present at the group interview, 11 actually contributed to the discussion. Two good listeners who reacted several time to comments with just a smile, and when I confronted them with some questions, all they said was that they were not inspired because there have never been a victim even though they understand the existence of corrupt practices at the campus.

**Sexual harassment as a form of corruption**

Sexual harassment is another significant form of professional misconduct in most schools in Cameroon. I therefore decided to conduct some interviews on why and how sexual harassment should be regarded as a form of corruption. The first interview was conducted with Lisa a university student: Lisa has just recently graduated from the university. She was actually referred to me by some lecturers and students who knew her stories as far as sexually harassment is concern in the university campus probably because she may have
shared her past experiences with them. Lisa as a person is a very beautiful girl and has an out-spoken character.

There are so many implications for a lecturer to date his or her student. This seems to be one of the corrupt ways some lazy female students used to lobby for favor from their lecturers, and on the other hand, the male lecturers uses it as an opportunity to have sex with some of the most beautiful girls in the campus. Whether it is right for a lecturer to date his or her student, still remain an issue of debate. It was at this junction that I decided to sent out questionnaires to lecturers/teachers, parents and students to get their opinions on the subject matter. A total of 250 copies of the questionnaires were sent to lecturers and teachers, 82 responded, 500 to students and 227 responded 750 to parents 514 responded. The responses had four options that is: those who think that: “It is right”, “It is wrong”, “Yes, it is right but it depends” and “No, it is wrong but it depends”. The two options “Yes, it depends and No it depends were the two critical options in the questionnaires because those who stood for Yes it depends and No it depends meant that they either agrees or disagrees base on certain conditionalities that must be elucidate before any relations between a lecturer and his student. The informants were requested to comment on their choices
Table: Responses from Lecturers, Students and Parents in percentages from questionnaires distributed on whether lecturers have the right to date their students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>Lectures/teachers</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes it is right</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.0%</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No it is wrong</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes it depends</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No it depends</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>514</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: These questionnaires were distributed within three region in Cameroon that is the South West, North West and Littoral from December – February 20011. Only Lecturers at the two “Mid Size” Universities in the South West Region were contacted because there were lecturers at the Universities where my research was largely focus

Analysis of results of the interviews and the questionnaires

Generally, from the responses of the questionnaires on the table above, it shows that parents do not likely see anything good in a relationship between a teacher and a student out of the class room especially when the two are of the opposite sex. They probably believed that for a teacher to date his student is very detrimental to the student and the teacher turns to lose nothing because he has already achieved his dream. For the student, she will become less concentrated on her studies and count on the teacher support to award her undeserved
favors especially in class exams. As Mrs. Beatrice a private high school teacher and a parent said: it accounts for the main reason why most of the female students are usually unable to pass public exams not organized by their teachers who can influence their performance. Besides, there have been several cases of female students been impregnated by their teachers which have forced many of them to be dropped out of schools.

However, according to some answers from the questionnaires as shown on the table above, it could be interpreted that some parents do not see it wrong for a teacher to get marry to his student; the two can date when the two families have officially approved the relationship. This represents the views of those parents who gave a “No” response and at the same time saying it “depend” for a teacher to date his student. The answer “No” means that a teacher may have no right to date his student and the answer “It Depends” means that despite the fact that the teacher may have no right to date his student, it could be at the same time possible if the relationship is approved by both parties and the two families.

The United Nations Violence Against Children study defines sexual abuse of children as including any kinds of sexual activity inflicted on children especially by someone who is responsible for them, or has power or control over them, and who they should be able to trust. In 2002, the World Health Organization estimated that 150millions girls and 72millions boys under age 18 have been raped or suffered other forms of sexual violence.87

What does the Cameroon Penal Code says about sexual misconduct? Article 296 of the Cameroonian Penal Code prescribes an imprisonment term of 5 to10 years for any man who uses physical or moral constraint to have sexual relations with a woman no matter her age (rape). Besides, section 361 of the same penal code stipulates that any married woman having sexual intercourse out of her marital home shall be punished with an imprisonment for two to six months and pay a fine ranging from 25 thousands to 100thousand France vice


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versa to a married man. In most cases, it is probably true that most of these lecturers dating their own students are married men.

The question that might be ask is if the law actually stands against some lecturers from dating students for exchange of marks why is this act still prevailing very strong within the education sector without being sanction?. This is probably because the female students who are mostly the victims are at the same time beneficiaries of the system with good grades, reduces the probability of reporting to the authorities. Secondly, some of the cases reported to parents may be solve behind the law because some parents may feel that it might give a bad image of their child publicly.

According to a report from the Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and Neglect in Cameroon, just during the school year 1998-1999 sexual abuse was as high as 15.9% in both private and state schools just in Yaoundé among which girls were tagged 72.5% and boys 27.5%. The research also indicated that fondling was the most frequent form of sexual abuses, representing 54% of the cases whereas rape representing 38.7%. In all, 30% of the cases of sexual abuses were carried out by school mates and 8% by teachers.

A critical look at article 296 and section 361 of the Cameroon Penal Code criminalizing any sexual misconduct, there is no specifically any clause in it that prohibit teachers or lecturers from dating their own students. As best as I can interpret the law on this issue, when the student in question is not a minor and the relationship is not define on any misconduct but on mutual understanding between the two, it therefore, becomes a matter of conscience and opinion of whether a teacher has the right or not to date a student. Therefore, it may not be a crime for a teacher to date a mature student before the law but the method use to establish the relationship may be the issue to question before the law.

The exchange of sex for marks seems to be more of a blessing to many female students than a bane. In order for many of these girls to be attractive to some of these unscrupulous lecturers, many have turn to live very expensive life. That is, they need to appear in class rooms in very sexy expensive dresses with all the make-ups. The way many of them dress to come to classes, makes it very uncomfortable for some of the weak lecturers to control their
sexual feelings with very expose lapse. Lisa and some of the students interviewed, maintained that for some of these girls coming from a poor background, in order to compete themselves for who gets a lecturer, exploit their parents to get huge sum of money and those whose parents cannot provide for them, date many other guys they can to get money.

Female students are likely the most vulnerable sex regarding sexual harassment in the education sector in Cameroon. Base on my research, sexual harassment as a form of corruption in most schools is dominantly carried out by the male lecturers. This phenomenon can be explained basically on two reasons: Firstly, even thought promiscuity is generally condemned; it is culturally to an extent accepted by some cultural groups for men to date more than one woman. For instance as Johanna a teacher said during my interview with her that for a male lecturer to date his student, may be consider a normal situation. Secondly, men are regarded to be more sexually active than women, and hence dating several women in irrespective of their status is to justify men manhood.

On the other hand, women, talk less of a lecturers who is regarded as an intellectual and as a high class citizen, are to a greater extent very reserve in establishing any relationship talk less of dating her own student. It may however be possible but to a very lesser degree. For instance, when two couples who are married are caught cheating, the society may disrespect the women more than the man on the same crime committed. After all the same thing happened in the Holy Bible when A woman was to be stoned to dead after committing adultery and the man was left unquestioned. Thirdly, she said, it looks very much absolutely abnormal for an elderly woman to be dating a young guy than for an elderly male to date a young girl. This is a cultural believe because women commands more respect when it come to sexual misbehavior. From the responses got from the parents over 70% percent of those parents who said it is completely wrong for a lecturer to date his students were female parents. However, the proportion of female and male parents was not taken into consideration when distributing the questionnaires
As earlier noted, according to the organization: The Rights of the Child in Cameroon, female students are the most venerable sexual assaults in Cameroon. Further interest on to why, lead me to an interview with a senior lecturer who however spoke on anonymous that: high rate of unemployment and poverty, especially among the female sex makes it easy for an elderly man to date a girl at time twice older than her age because men can afford paying for sex either in cash or in kind and hence, for some male lecturers to exchange marks for sex is but normal to get what they want. After all, as Mr. Timothy a high School teacher said: many both girls and men consider all female in general to have been blessed by the Almighty with a private shop (virgin) which gives them the opportunity to get what they want. He continued that, Sex seems to be a new form of corruption in the campus largely regarded as assess for some female students to get what they could not afford to financially. It can be describe as trade by barter. Homosexuality and lesbianism is still very highly regarded as a taboo.

It is worth mentioning that above research was carried out at one of the biggest “midsize” university in Cameroon and similar research was equally done at another “mid Size University still in Cameroon which is smaller than the other. There was apparently nothing to take home as corruption in the smallest “mid size university. As a strategy, I equally started with some preliminary investigations in the form of interviews at the university campus on what types of corruption could be practicing in that campus and if available who should I contact for more information.

I visited the campus for three weeks, and I had the opportunity to interviewed 225 students, 10 lecturers, 8 priests, two gate men, six reverend sisters, and 12 workers. Behold, of all these informants none could approve of any malpractices in the campus in the form of corruption. The only problem that seems to be a general cry is the lack of adequate class rooms for the students to have lectures and it usually result to clashes. As Enow Ayuk, a second year student at the university said: “when that happens, one class of students has to forgone their classes for the others”.

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It may be amazing when one tries to compare the rate of corrupt practices in both universities which are just a stone throw to each other in the same city and the question that may follow is why should one be more corrupt and the other relatively not? Firstly, corruption may be free from the smallest “mid size” university probably because it is a new university that needs to guarantees a good reputation for effective continuity because early negative appraisal from the public may jeopardize it future especially at the time where there is much talk on corruption in the country. Secondly, looking critically on how state and private institutions are being manage in the country, there is no doubt that there is a lot of laissez faire attitude that encourages corruption as to how state property are being manage as compare to private institutions. Thirdly, The smallest “mid size” university seem to be corruption free according to my informants: the university is founded and manage under the ten commands of God which absolutely denounces the practicing of corruption as one of the priest interview said: “we don’t only dress in white, but we are equally white in our teachings, the way we manage our institutions and the way we treat the general public, for God says for whatever, you do unto your brother, that you do unto me. If we have to live by this, it therefore implies fare treatment to all irrespective of status, age or sex”. It should be noted that Christian education has being one of the pioneer system of educations where moral decency has being it preamble. Certainly, majority of the smallest: mid size” university lecturers, students and workers had have got their education backgrounds from the Christian education which strongly calls for righteousness.

There are eight states universities and some private own universities in Cameroon, and this therefore open door for further research to investigate and make comparative analysis of corruption in these universities especially at the time when education is becoming globalize. At this junction, religious obligations and rules which denounce any malpractices in the “Mid size” University may accounts for less corrupt practices at this university. This argument may however, remain very subjective until a comparative research has been done at similar religious education institutions in the country.
Corruption in the primary schools sector

The primary school education which is mandatory is a very fertile area where corruption is highly observed. It should be noted that the school age population of Cameroon is two to five years in nursery school and six to eleven years in the primary. The primary sector is overseen by the ministry of basic education. Prior to February 10th, 2000 during the 34th National Youth Day message, the primary education was not free. Pursuant to this message school fees for the primary education was abolished in all state primary schools with the exception of all private schools. This lead to the introduction of what later became known as the “Minimum package” which is the distribution of learning and teaching funds to all state primary schools at the beginning of each academic year by the government.

On the opinions of many of my respondents during my interviews in 22 primary schools, the introduction of the so call minimum package to many of the interviewee especially the parents like Pa Ayuk, has been more a dilemma than something worth appreciation.

Primary school education which is mandatory to all young Cameroonian is the only sector in the Cameroon education cycle to be free. Pursuant to the February 10th, 2000 head of state message, the paying school fees by all primary school pupils was completely abolished. Despite this message that was welcome by most parents, many of them especially those at the rural areas in the country, feels that the message have cost them more because they spend more than what they used to spend for their children at primary school prior to this message which have instead come to shift more responsibilities to the parents.

It should however be noted that the so call free-fees for primary education do not empirically mean free primary cost of education. Parents subsidization for primary education for their children has not yet being given the attention it deserves taken in to consideration the amount of money parents pays for the running of primary schools like buying of benches, construction of school building, examination fees, hiring of private teachers, books, school uniforms and other unforeseen expenditures.

Another most significant irregularities identified in most primary schools education in Cameroon is the problem of absenteeism on the part of the teachers. Prior to my research, I
had learned as rumors that most of the state teachers sent in the interior of the country to teach have more or less become farmers or small business men. This has remained a big challenge to the headmasters and the P.T.A committee in those areas.

Absenteeism as noted on the above interview is a common malpractice by most teachers in Cameroon which may have far reaching ramifications in the education sector in the country. As Mr. Tiduma, a Head Master said: “Those who absent away from their job sites and at the same time receive salary for the same job are said to be corrupt because it is very detrimental to the lives of the citizens”. He proceeded with the interview that: Teaching job in Cameroon is referred to by many as the Chinese Republic. Teaching is one of the highest occupations in the country with both state and private employees. Becoming a teacher in Cameroon in most cases is seen as the last resort for survival and therefore many Cameroonians have ended up becoming teachers which was not their initial dreamed jobs and as a result some actually put in little interest in their job as teachers. This may contributes immensely for teacher’s absenteeism in most schools. More so, he maintained that to become a teacher in Cameroon you need to spent at least two to three years at the professional school and upon graduation, you need to teach for about two to four years in arrears before receiving any salary. Consequently, many teachers have turn to delicate much of their time in other businesses where they can easily get some fast money for their up keep.

He further said, Many of the teachers who teaches in the periphery have either become farmers and small business men and women and thereby putting much of their time in their private affairs than in their occupation and those in the cities where there are many other private schools in need of teachers, delicate most of the time in teaching in some of these schools have turn to delicate much of their time in other businesses where they can easily get some fast money for their up keeping

**Interview analysis**

It should be noted that from the interpretation of the interviews, teachers absenteeism may not be a complete physical absent of a teacher from school in the sense that a teacher present in school or just mark present in the teachers attendance book may not mean that
the teacher gave any lesson to the children as some of them just come to school to take children to work on their private farms or at their construction sites. According to Mr. Ben who is both a teacher and a parent claimed during the interview that Children who work hard are sometimes rewarded with high marks. After a long working day, the teacher may just give a take home assignment. Some teachers who have private farms, at time do bribe officials at the ministry to post them in areas where they have their private farms especially at the local areas where they can easily have access to children unpaid labor. This view may be very common characteristics to some teachers based on teachers frequent complains about their poor salaries situation which they cannot totally depend on as they usually exploit difference methods of surviving in addition to their insufficient salary. This may however, become common especially to those teachers teaching in the periphery due to availability of land and less administrative control.

For instance, during my research, I accidentally mate one primary school teacher during school hours at the city by name Charles, whom I knew was a teacher teaching in one of the interior school in the country. When I confronted him to know why he was by that time in the city and not in his school. He told me he was transferred from his local school to the city and since then things have been very difficult for him and that he came to the city to negotiate for his transfer to his previous school because there he was not paying for house rent, and he had developed his own private cocoa farm with very cheap labor. Behold, just after a month I mate with Mr. Charles again and he told me his transfer has been approved. It was unfortunate for me that he did not have enough time for further discussion with me.

Mrs. Forge, a primary school teacher state that: absenteeism is very strong and uncheck because children and parents are more interested on how many marks a child get in an examination and not whether the child have been able to assimilate any new knowledge which can be use to assess children performance. Many children ignorantly prefer to go help their teachers even during school hours in order to get good grades in return for their help. Good grades in examination seem to be the source where children can gain gifts, favor and appreciations from their parents and at times in regardless of whether the child can defend the grades. This type of grades appreciation from parents in itself is a major source of
corruption in the education sector since it discourages hard work both from children and teachers as some children have come to released that having good grades is very important than the actual knowledge obtained and in order to please their parents, they may willful become corrupt either by buying examination grades or questions prior to their exams, work on their teachers farms or homes, and exchange sex in compensation of higher grades. In Cameroon the best schools are consider to be those with higher examination grades. However, this may remain a debate whether examination should be consider the best true test of knowledge.

In conclusion, there were several forms of corrupt practices identified in some education institutions in the country as far as the running and management of some schools is concern. According to my results; some of these forms are more significant than others in terms of occurrences and the number of people affected. Amount these forms, are sex harassment, the selling of handouts, gifts to lecturers, absenteeism and embezzlement.

Poor salary of teachers, the desire to make more personal wealth, the need for sex, the need for marks and inadequate administrative check up are some of the main causes of corruption in the education sector. Except the government actually create a committee to investigate on schools corruption, the situation may remain the same and this will have a huge set back on the academic performance of the country. Some of my informants especially the students, parents’ politicians were very much optimistic of the continuation of corruption in the education sector except the government creates an independent body to investigate schools corruption. This was contrary to some lecturers views who think students need to be educated on the manner of dressing and the nature of gifts they offer to their lectures as strings attachment.

If education as a socio-cultural institution which has multiplier effects on other sectors in the country, is said to be corrupt to this extent, it indicate how corrupt the society is and unless strong majors are adopted to reduce corruption in this sector, the fight against corruption will remained an utopist philosophy in the country because of the influence of some malpractices incorporated in the education system. Despite these high rate of
irregularities in the running of schools, less concern have been put in place to actually address the situation and there are little or no documentary evidence of some of these irregularities. Therefore, the only reliable source seems to be the experiences of the victims and perpetuators of some of these malpractices in the sector. This is probably, because almost all the actors involve in school affaires like the teachers, lecturers, students, parents and the school administrators are all partly involve in the practices of corruption in this sector.

There is low risk involve in most corrupt practices in this sector because in each corrupt transaction both the corrupt and the corrupter benefit and because of that, there is hardly a looser, which makes public information about it is very low.

However, according to my finding, many students especially the female sex are the most victims of corruption especially from their lecturers. Most of them lack the will or the back up to complain some of their experiences to the authorities concern largely because they feel intimidated by their lecturers who they think have the power over them before the school administrators and even over their education career. In such an intimidation atmosphere, there is bound to be corruption because the weak who are the students, feels that justice is only for the stronger as they see lecturers. Hence, the inferiority complex between students and lecturers, lecturers and high ranking administrators is the genesis of corruption in the education sector in Cameroon.
General conclusion

Why do we have corruption in the first place? An attempt to answer this question may be that, in the process of corruption, the givers of cash or any other methods of payments may be hungry, unsheltered or lacks the basics needs of life and as such may want to improved their lives through the illegal and the only way to change their status in the society. This may be tempting to see with them why they are corrupt but then, what about the receivers of cash mostly the beaucratics who may not be hungry but live in riches but still want to take all the little from the have not?: To me this justifies the economists saying that: human wants are unlimited but the means to our wants are limited. Therefore the act of committing corruption may be to satisfy our unlimited wants. After all, the Greek philosopher Aristotle once said: man by nature is a political animal.

The result of this research shows that the pandemic situation of corruption in Cameroon can only be address only when some of the institutionalized colonial structures and poverty have been visited or dismantle and a radical education on civil and ethics. Until then, the fight against corruption may remain a night mare. I remain very optimistic to this point because the present socio-cultural and politico-economic structures in the country does not guaranteed democratic values such as accountability and transparency, freedom of speech, free judiciary system, the rule of the law and public participation in issues of common interest. The result also shows that there have been significant reductions in the rate of corruption in the country thanks to government and external forces anti-corruption policies. The investigation also proves that many Cameroonian have inevitably accepted corruption as a mean of survival. This means that he or she who denies to be corrupted may be
regarded as an outcast among the people around who are corrupt. The act of corruption has more or less become a moral value to many Cameroonian even at the grass root level. In addition, this work found a negative relation between the level of corruption and economic development. Hence, corruption acts as an impediment to achieve a sound economic growth because corruption helped to reduce investment and economic efficiency despite the availability of resources in the country. Corruption depicts a negative national image and the loss of much needed funds. It robs schools, agricultural sectors, hospitals and welfare services of funds. It undermines the rule of the law, legitimacy and consolidation of the democratic regime thereby slowing down the administrative processes and the implementation of government reforms policies unrealistic. Corruption in Cameroon has taken a progressive strength as a result of high level of poverty, unemployment, centralization and lack of honest leaders. Lastly, most Cameroonian have lost fade with the state to the extent that most have deliberately abstained from state competitive exams into state schools and professions not because they have been victims as such but largely base on rumors. Therefore much is talk about corruption than the act of corruption itself in the country.

Literatures References


Appendix

Primary literatures: Interviews and Questionnaires.

The primary sources of this work were principally based on interviews and questionnaires. Regarding the interviews, I conducted individual interviews, focus group interviews and preliminary convenience selection interviews. There were a total five hundred and ten individual interviews. There were four focus group interviews: The first was amount five lecturers and seven students at one of the Mid Size University on whether it is ok for lectures to receive gifts from their students. Students given gifts to lecturers or lecturers receiving gifts from students was a very controversial issue on who is the corrupter: the student given the gift or the lecturer receiving the gift? It was at this point that I decided to conduct a group interview amount students and lecturers. The second focus interview was amount thirteen students from different departments. During the preliminary convenience selection interview at one of the mid size University, thirty one different forms of corruption were mentioned. In order to narrow my investigation on the forms of corruption at the campus, I had to summon twenty five different students and thirteen of them honored my invitation for the interview to know some of the most common forms of corruption at their departments level and at the University at large.

Preliminary convenience selection interview was done at one of the Mid Size campus with a total of 2084 students interviewed. This was done with the assistant of twenty five different students at the campus from different departments. This was basically to have an overview of what corruption is in the campus. That is of what constitute corruption in the campus, who to contact and what department to concentrate.

There were also four separate questionnaires distributed to lecturers, teachers, students and politicians. The first questionnaires were sent to five hundred lecturers and teachers and two hundred and fifty-six of them responded. Seven hundred and fifty were sent to students and five hundred and five responded. Seven hundred and fifty to parents and six hundred and
one responded. Finally five hundred to politicians and four hundred and twenty six responded.

The second questionnaires were distributed to lecturers, students and parents. Fifty nine copies were sent to lecturers, and teachers, three hundred and twenty three to students and three hundred and forty-five to parents.

In the third questionnaires, a total of 100 questionnaires were sent to lecturers and teachers, 49 responded, 500 was sent to students 323 responded and 500 to parents and 345 responded.

The last questionnaires were sent to lecturers, teachers, students and parents. A total of two hundred and fifty copies were sent to lecturers and teachers and eighty two of them responded. Five hundred copies to students and two hundred and twenty seven of them responded. Lastly, seven hundred and fifty copies to parent and five hundred and fourteen answered.