

**ACTUAL INSTANCES OF
CORRUPTION
AS REPORTED IN THE
NAMIBIAN PRINT MEDIA
1990-2004**

A RESEARCH REPORT

BY THE

**NAMIBIA INSTITUTE FOR DEMOCRACY
(NID)**

FOREWORD

This report is based on a survey that focuses on actual instances of corruption as reported in the Namibian print media from 21 March 1990 to March 2004. Part of the Zero Tolerance for Corruption Campaign, the survey aims not only to identify noticeable tendencies in the occurrence of corruption but also investigates trends in print media reporting on actual cases. Funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), to whom we are grateful for their continued support for democracy in Namibia, and implemented by the Namibia Institute for Democracy (NID), the survey was divided into three phases.

During the first phase, more than 10,000 issues of Namibian newspapers were perused and copies of relevant articles referring to corrupt practices were made. For the collection of this source material, the services of eight students from the University of Namibia (UNAM) were commissioned: Rodney Cloete, Tendayi Gwasira Regina Kinda, Bianca Maravanyika, Busi Muwane, Louisa Nangome, Romie Nghikulwa and Leitago !Narib.

The NID wishes to thank these students for their dedication and diligence. We would also like to express our appreciation to the National Archives and the archives of the newspapers that offered assistance to the students. Furthermore, the NID thanks the student supervisor, Olga Nel, who provided a valuable support and advice function for students and cross-checked the research carried out. The NID is also grateful to the Ecumenical Institute for Namibia (EIN) for providing office space at UNAM and, therefore, assisting us with a time-saving project implementation.

In the course of the second phase of the survey, a code sheet and a variables sheet were compiled according to which the occurrence of different dimensions of corruption, the intentions as well as the primary agencies could be determined for sorting. Due to the number and complexity of the newspaper articles copied, up to four temporary project personnel were employed at any one time. The NID expresses its gratitude to Mericia Cloete, Avril Coetzee, Issaschar Kazundu Kasume, Friederike Koep and Dietrich Remmert for a job well done. Initially, all articles dealing with actual corruption cases were separated from editorials, reader's letters and articles dealing with corruption in general. By assigning newspaper articles to specific cases, the relevance given by the print media to specific cases could be assessed. The chronological acquisition of data permitted an assessment of the respective increase or decrease in corruption during the period under review.

The NID would like to express its sincere appreciation to Christiaan Keulder, an expert in qualitative data analysis, who compiled the final report during the last phase. The overall survey benefited from his expert advice, suggestions and recommendations.

Dr Justine Hunter

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1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption is commonly perceived as a serious problem indicating a lack of good governance. It is proven to have a detrimental effect on economic development and growth, foreign and local investments, public confidence in government institutions, service delivery and social capital. The prevalence rate of corruption in any given society comments on the extent of greed¹ in that society and points to the quality of institutional controls over public resources.

Corruption, however, is notoriously difficult to define, identify and, hence, to obtain hard data for. Most studies, such as the annual reports on corruption by Transparency International, focus on perceptions and comment on the prevalence of corruption. In the absence of reliable hard data, this is considered best-practice although its limitations are well known and acknowledged.

Given the lack of a universally agreed upon definition of corruption and the difficulties in measuring its prevalence, it is difficult to monitor what happens with corruption over time. Is it on the increase or is it declining? Is it under control or is it rampant? Are the measures to combat corruption successful or need they be revised? Given the absence of hard data, these questions are hard to answer, yet they form the core of many public (and private) debates. It is difficult to reconcile public perceptions with hard facts on corruption and inevitably these debates generate very little consensus about the extent of the problem.

This report, as part of Namibia's Zero Tolerance for Corruption Campaign, is intended to help shed light on the actual state of corruption since Independence. It uses the print media as a public record of corruption cases and, in so doing, presents findings on the actual cases of corruption, as well as the reporting thereof. Articles reporting on alleged corrupt activities or providing accusations without proof were not included for analysis. It presents data on the volume of cases and reports, the agencies involved in the actual cases, the nature of the offences, the motivations behind the offences, charges laid, actions taken and verdicts discharged. It presents an overview of the key cases and concludes with a subsection on the impact of the print media on perceptions of corruption.

2. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This study forms part of the NID's Zero Tolerance for Corruption Campaign that was initiated in 2004 to reinforce Namibian efforts to arrest corruption in Namibia as recognized by key stakeholders in government, the private sector and civil society and to maintain the high reputation Namibia enjoys within the region and internationally with regard to transparency and integrity.

Specific Objectives of this campaign include:

- Enhancing public access to comprehensive, accurate, relevant and contemporary information on corruption through surveys, public education/training programs and media campaigns;
- Strengthening the capacity of institutions, organizations and bodies involved in coalitions and networks that address corruption-related issues and advocate for improved integrity systems at all levels;
- Stimulating the overall capacity and willingness of all Namibians to become involved as citizens and to participate within collaborative structures together with government and civil society institutions to ensure transparent governance at all levels characterized by a superior level of integrity.

These objectives are, through partnership with public and private institutions, pursued by means of three types of interventions:

- Social marketing campaigns using the mass media;
- Technical assistance and training for selected public-, non-governmental and private institutions;
- National surveys.

This report forms part of the last intervention.

3. METHODOLOGY

This study includes all reports on actual cases of corruption reported on in the mainstream print media of Namibia from the date of Independence, 21 March 1990, to 31 March 2004. These newspapers included the Namibian, Republikein, Allgemeine Zeitung, Windhoek Observer, Windhoek Advertiser, New Era, Times of Namibia, Tempo and the Economist. Two factors inspired the choice of using print media. Firstly, given the fact that it was decided to cover 15 years of corruption coverage, it was impossible to include media types such as radio and television as only print media has readily accessible archives available. Secondly, under given time constraints it would simply have proved impossible to examine all types of media and code the reports in the time available for this project. As is, this project took some sixteen months to complete. Although this may limit our understanding on how the media overall covers corruption, it is unlikely that it would necessarily affect the validity of the data presented here. The country is small enough and newspaper coverage wide enough to allay fears that this approach would have serious deficits, hence there is little chance that television or radio would have covered cases not covered by the print media. Since the focus of this survey is on corruption and not the media, we are confident that the picture painted by findings is an accurate one.

The focus of our study is limited in that it includes only reports on actual cases of corruption. It does not include reports on corruption in general, public speeches and events dealing with the topic of corruption, reports on legislation drafted or agencies established. The reason for this is that it was decided to use the media as a source of 'hard data' that could indicate the frequency of corruption as also the nature of the problem: who does it, why do they do it and what happens to them once they have done it. As corruption is difficult to detect and track, 'hard data' is difficult to come by and what exists is often not easily accessible. Newspapers provide a solution to both problems. Given the ever present threats of libel action in the case of inaccurate or speculative reporting, it is accepted that these reports are accurate in as far as they detect real cases; and, given the fact that newspapers are carriers of public information and it is accepted that what is reported is no secret, that those members of the public who read newspapers regularly would be familiar with the cases and the circumstances, facts and personalities associated with them.

The NID appointed a number of data collectors who visited newspaper archives to collect all articles dealing with corruption cases. These were photocopied and evaluated by a supervisor. A separate team coded and captured the articles electronically for further analysis.

4. DEFINITIONS

It is exceedingly difficult to find a standard definition of corruption. At the very basic level, corruption refers to acts of dishonesty and illegal behaviour. It is agreed, however, that in a political sense, corruption is the collective name for a number of offences involving public resources, positions and agencies for personal gain. For the purpose of this study we have identified the following dimensions of corruption:²

- Bribery: Involves the promise, offering or giving of a benefit that improperly affects the actions or decisions of a public servant, political party or government agency.
- Embezzlement: Involves the theft of resources by persons entrusted with the authority and control of such resources.
- Abuse of power: Involves a person using his/her vested authority to improperly benefit another public servant or other person or using the vested authority to improperly discriminate against another public servant or other person.
- Conflict of interest: Acting or failing to act on a matter where he/she has an interest or another person that stands in a relationship with him/her has an interest.
- Insider trading/Abuse of privileged information: Involves the use of privileged information and knowledge that a person possesses as a result of his/her position to provide unfair advantage to another person to obtain a benefit or to accrue a benefit for himself/herself.
- Favouritism: involves the provision of services or resources according to personal affiliations (i.e. ethnic, religious, party political affiliation etc.) to a public servant.
- Nepotism: Involves a public servant ensuring that family members are appointed to public service positions or that family members receive contracts from State sources.

5. FINDINGS

5.1 ACTUAL NUMBER OF CASES AND VOLUME OF REPORTS

During the period under review, Namibian newspapers covered a total of 467 cases of corruption and published a total number of 1,247 articles on these cases. This amounts to an average of 31 cases and 83 reports per year. Figure 1 shows the breakdown of actual cases of corruption by year.

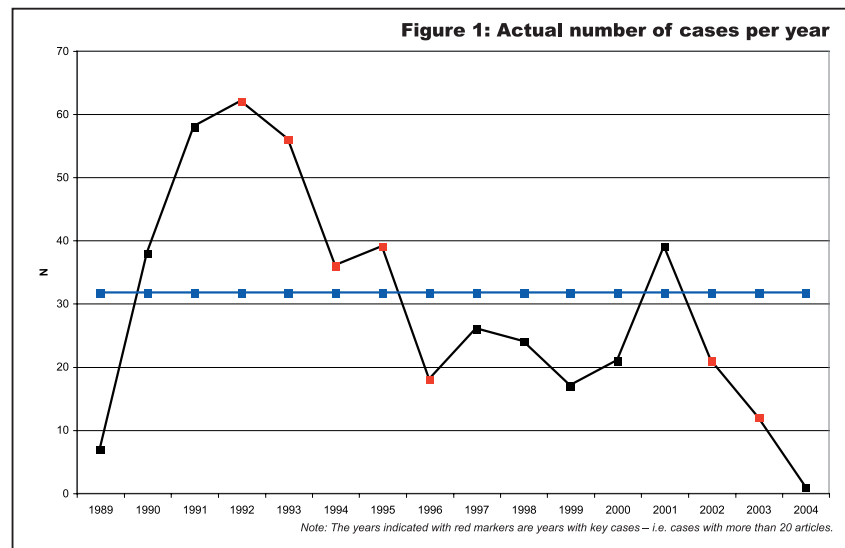


Figure 1 shows that the volume of cases peaked between 1991 and 1993. Thereafter it declined steadily, with a significant increase only in 2001. Since 1995 the volume of cases per year exceeded the series average only once in 1993. If one considers the volume of cases to be the benchmark against which to assess whether corruption is on the increase or decrease, then it is clear that corruption has declined over the past ten years. But, as will be discussed in more detail later in the report, the volume of cases is not the only way to assess the scope of corruption. Figure 2 shows that the volume of coverage (i.e. the actual volume of newspaper reports) followed a different pattern and that it does not correlate with the volume of actual cases (Figure 3)³.

Figure 2 indicates that the highest volume of coverage occurred during 1996, 1998 and 2003. Overall, the number of articles increased annually between 1990 and 1996, whilst the period between 1999 and 2001 had the lowest volume of coverage since 1990. In 2003, the volume of coverage was almost three times more than in 1990. The low volume coverage in 2004 is due to the incomplete coverage for that year.

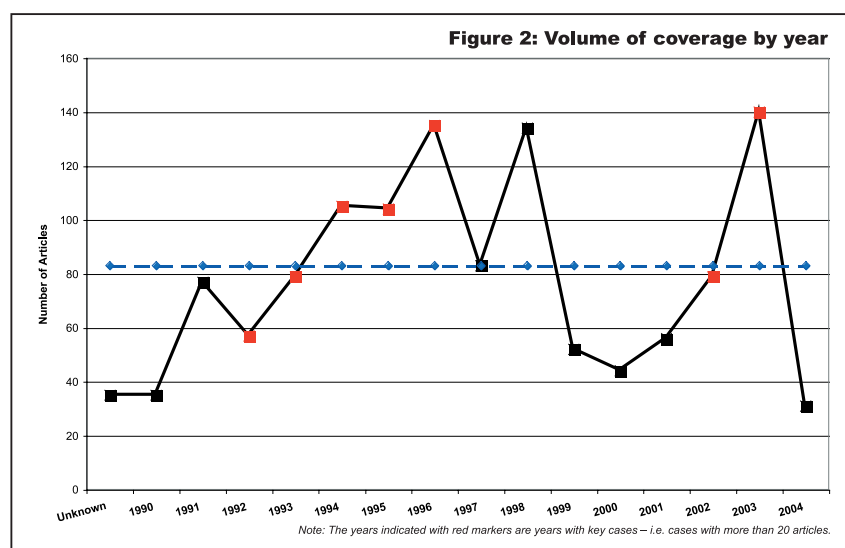


Figure 3 shows the relationship between the volume of actual cases and the volume of reports by year. It illustrates that the volume of reports exceeds the volume of cases for every year except two – 1990 and 1992. During the period from 1995 to 1998 the volume of reports increased despite the fact that the volume of actual cases declined. From the distribution of the volume of reports, it is clear that in some years (usually those with key cases, or those years following key cases) the intensity of media coverage increased significantly.

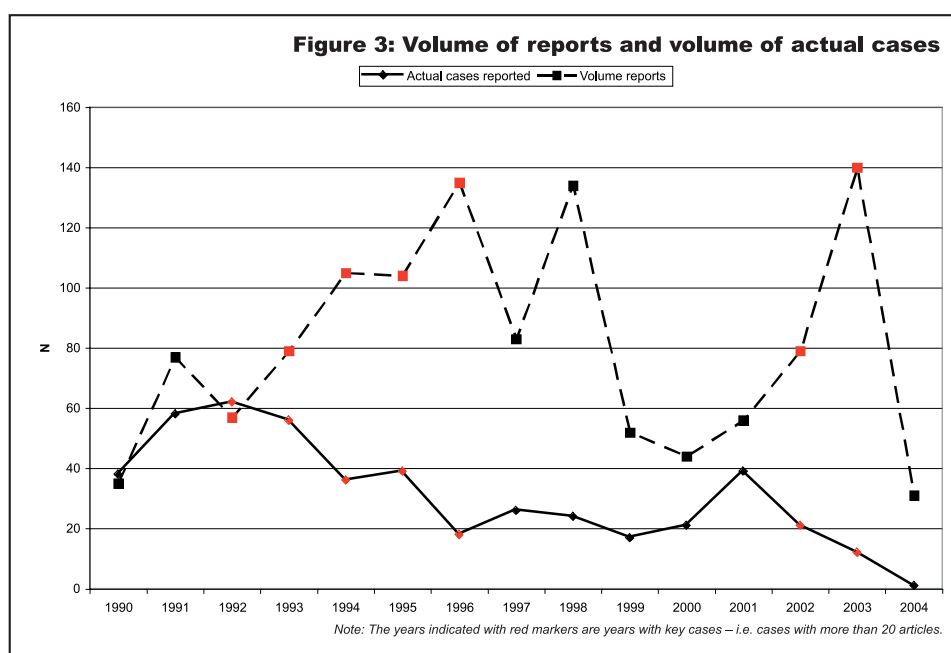
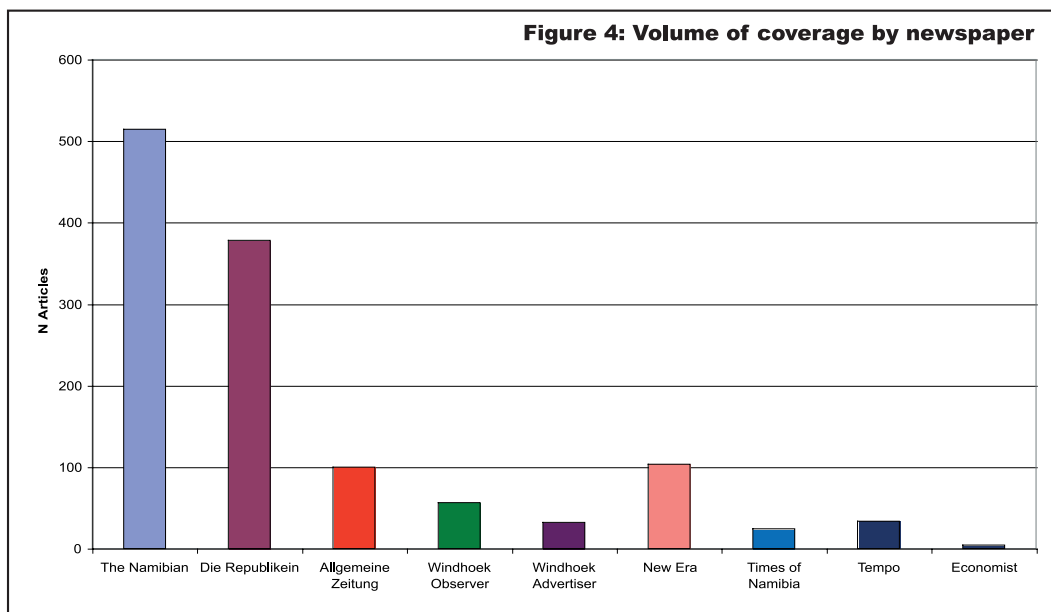


Figure 4 shows that the country's two leading daily papers, the Namibian and Republikein, produced the highest volume of coverage.⁴ The Namibian published 514 articles over the period, and Republikein 378.

This means that on average the Namibian produced 34 articles per year and Republikein 25. In the case of the Namibian this amounts to approximately 3 articles per month, with the Republikein slightly less at 2 articles per month.



According to Figure 5, the Namibian had the biggest share of coverage: approximately two-in-ve of all articles whilst Republikein produced slightly less at approximately three-in-ten. The remaining papers contained relatively low volumes of coverage yet one has to bear in mind that some were weekly papers (e.g. Windhoek Observer, Windhoek Advertiser, Tempo) and some existed only for a limited period (e.g. Tempo and Windhoek Advertiser).

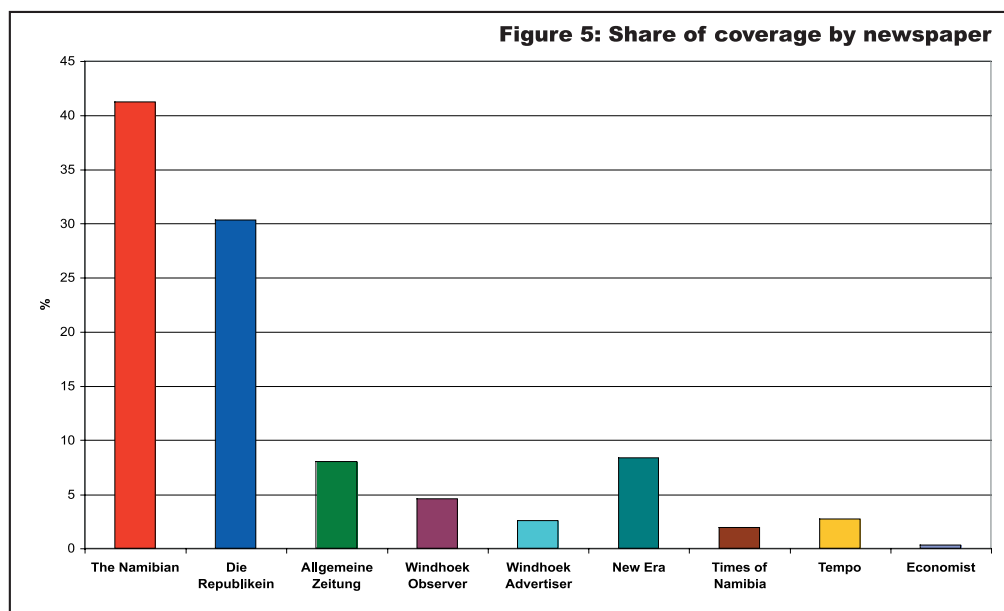
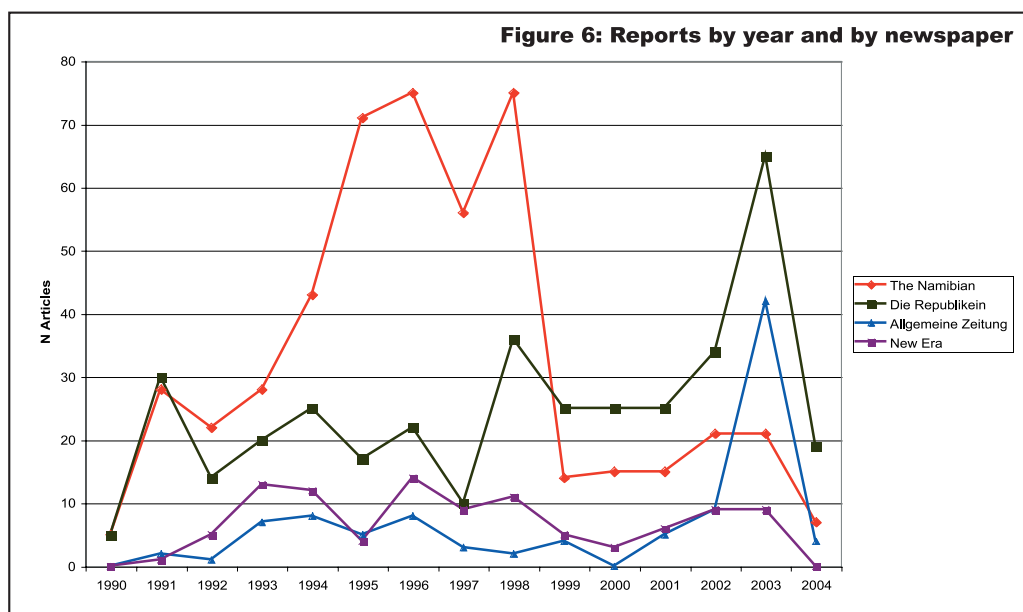


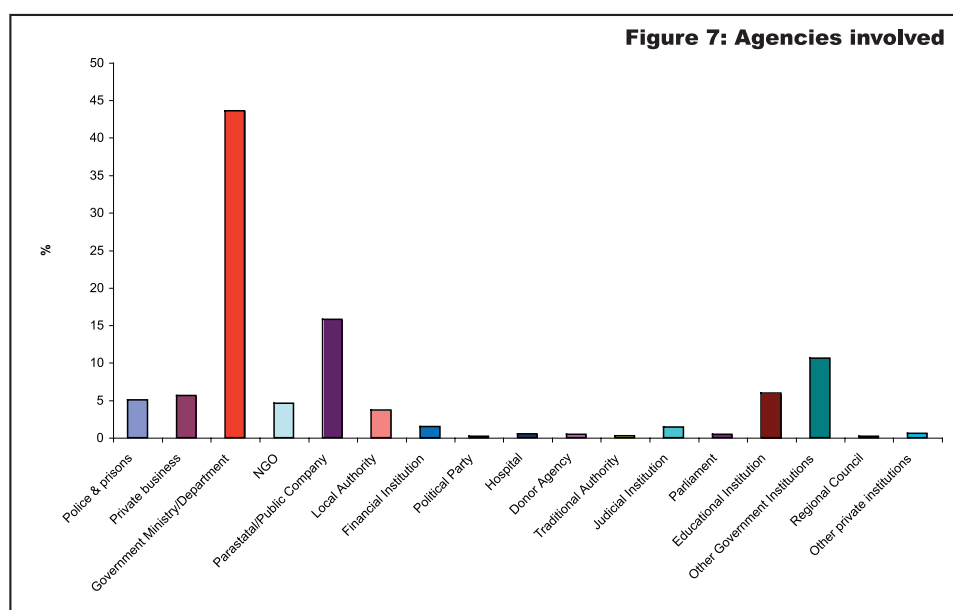
Figure 6 reveals interesting changes to the volumes of coverage over the study period. Until 1998, the Namibian had the highest volume of coverage by far. In 1996 and 1998 it produced almost four times as many articles as Republikein, yet after 1998 the Namibian's volume of coverage dropped sharply; the number of articles dropping five-fold from 1998 to 1999. As of 1999 Republikein had the highest volume of coverage of all the papers. In 2003 the Allgemeine Zeitung volume peaked and it had second largest volume coverage of all papers for that year.



Although their overall volume of coverage varies, the general trends for the individual papers listed in Figure 6, do seem to correlate. For example, in 1996 all four papers showed a peak in coverage, whilst 1997 and 1999 saw a decline. The period between 1999 and 2001 saw coverage attening out for both Republikein and the Namibian.

5.2 AGENCIES INVOLVED

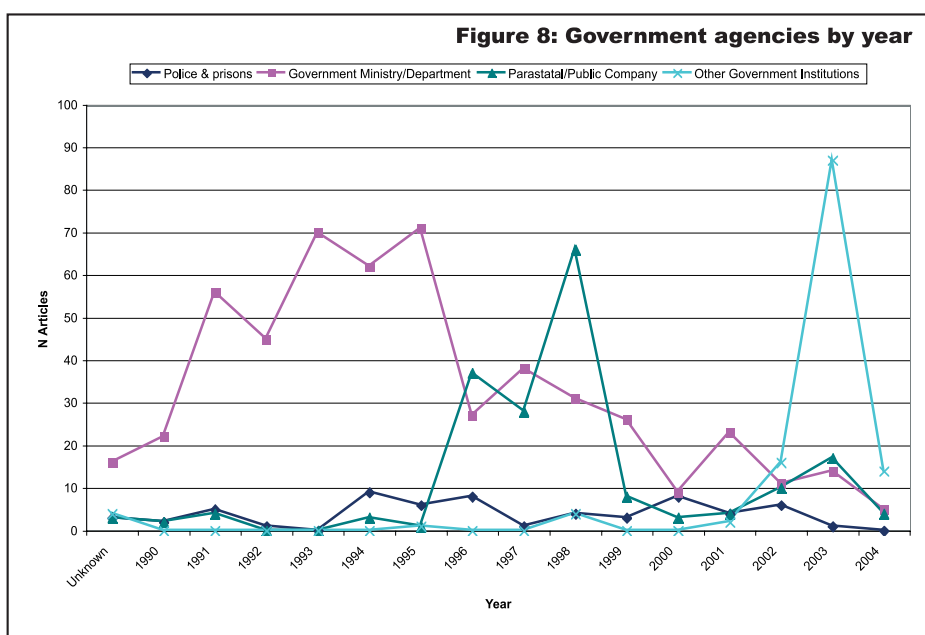
Based on the information contained in the articles, the agencies where corruption occurred could be identified. The original list was expansive and was condensed and recoded into a much shorter list of 17 agencies for further analysis. Figure 7 shows the breakdown of these agencies.



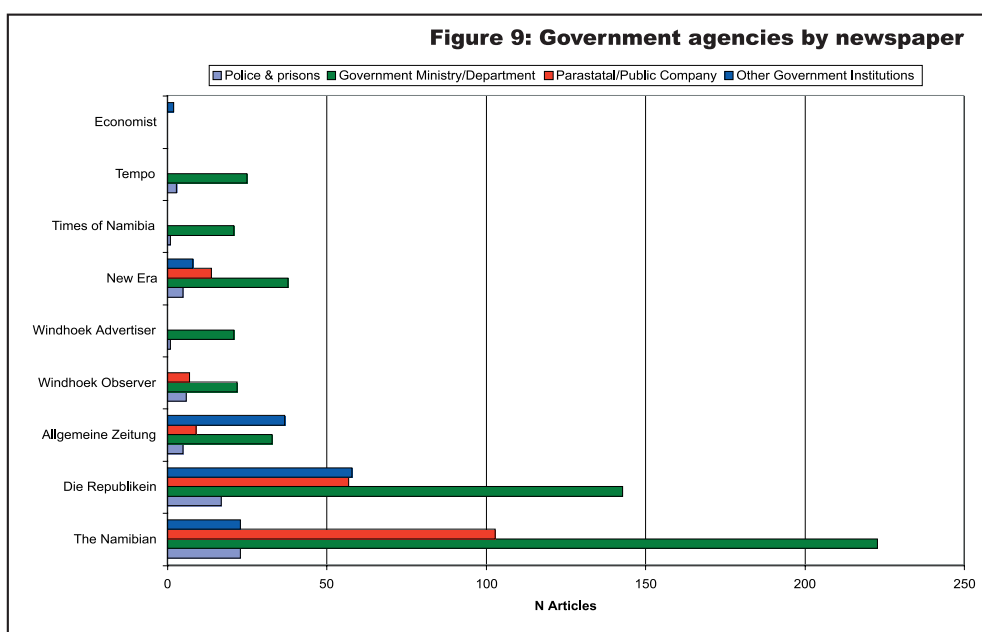
Government with all its agencies remains the prime location for corruption with close to 45% of all cases involving a ministry or department. A further 15% of all cases involved parastatals and another 10% other

government institutions such as the Social Security Commission. As corruption is directly linked to resources, the breakdown in Figure 7 makes an important statement about the location of resources in the country and, most importantly, about the state of the mechanisms that are intended to control the management of these resources. The extensive list of agencies involved means that there is virtually no section of the Namibian society that is totally free of greed and corruption. This does not imply that civil servants are necessarily more corrupt than other Namibians but simply that, in addition to inadequate controls over government resources, they may have more opportunity to engage in corrupt activities.

Given the prevalence of corruption in government and its agencies, closer inspection is warranted. Figure 8 shows that overall trends vary by individual agency. In the first instance, the volume of corruption in the police and prison services was consistently low during the entire period. Secondly, parastatals and public companies had very little corruption until 1995, after which the volume of coverage remained high for three years until it peaked in 1998. This was the period of the NHE/Alba Construction case. The highest volume of coverage for corruption in ministries and departments occurred prior to 1995. Several prominent cases had an impact on this distribution: the case involving drought relief and boreholes for senior civil servants; a case of embezzlement in the Ministry of Home Affairs; and a case involving false medical claims by ministerial staff. Thereafter, it declined steadily each year until 2004. In the final instance, other government institutions had few instances of corruption prior to 2002 when the Social Security Commission irregularities first came to the fore. In 2003, another prominent case, that of the Roads Authority, first appeared in the media.



Given the fact that the Namibian and Republikein carried the highest volume of coverage overall, it is not surprising that these two papers had the highest volume of coverage concerning government and its agencies. Figure 9 shows the breakdown of volume of coverage for government and its agencies by newspaper. Across all papers bar two, ministries and departments received the highest volume of coverage. The Allgemeine Zeitung reported mainly on other government institutions, suggesting that it paid special attention to the Social Security Commission case and the case involving the Roads Authority. These cases received relatively little attention from the Namibian and substantially more attention from Republikein. Parastatals received most coverage in the Namibian. The volume of coverage for parastatals and other government agencies was almost equal in Republikein.



5.3 THE NATURE OF THE OFFENCES

All cases were analyzed and coded according to the nature of the offences. These were classified according to the various types of corruption as defined in the beginning of this report. Figure 10 shows the breakdown of the various types of corruption for the entire period.

Given the fact that government is the main location of corruption the nature of the offences is perhaps not surprising. Embezzlement and abuse of power are the two most frequent types of corruption followed by insider trading/misuse of insider information. Both these relate to the two most frequently covered corruption cases: the Alba Construction/NHE case, the Social Security Commission case and the Roads Authority case. From the volume of coverage it would appear that some of Africa's most common corruption problems, bribery and nepotism, are not prevalent in Namibia. Yet, a further caveat on the nature of offences is also appropriate. Some forms of corruption, such as bribery, are more difficult to detect and, hence, not reported. Others such as nepotism and favouritism are difficult to prove and, hence, might be prevalent but undetected.⁵ From this point of view, caution must be exercised when drawing conclusions regarding the nature of the offences.

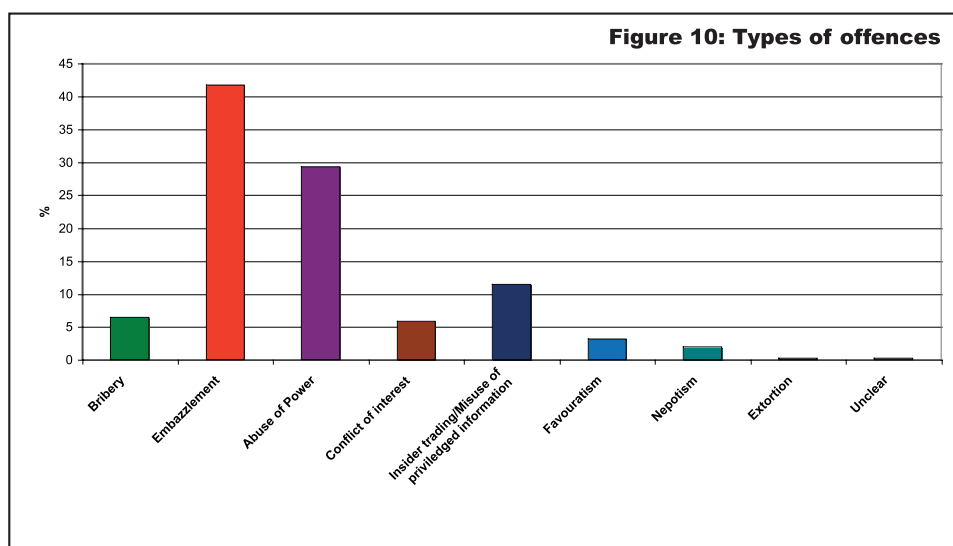
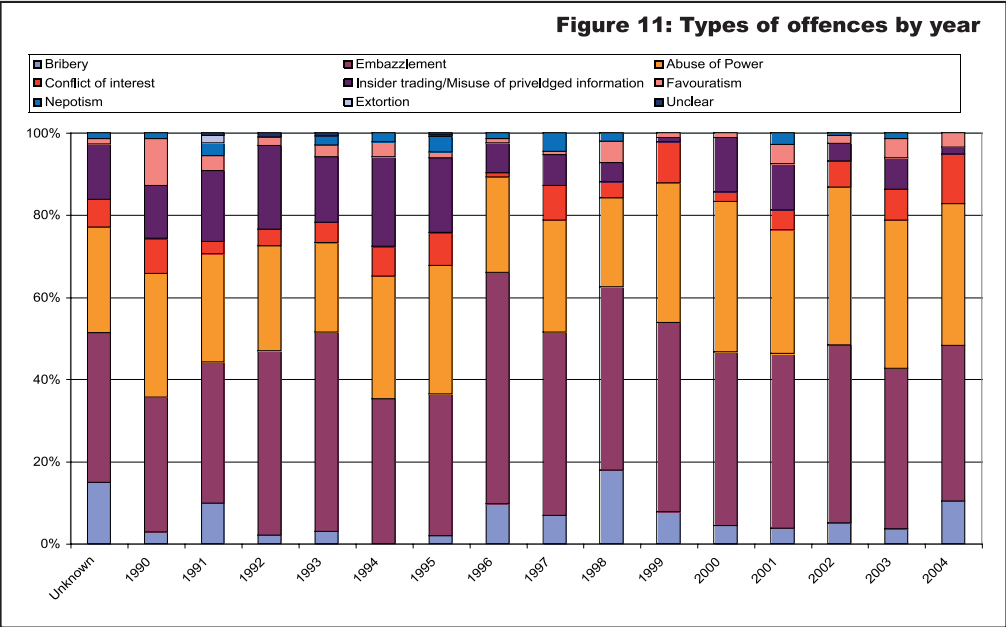
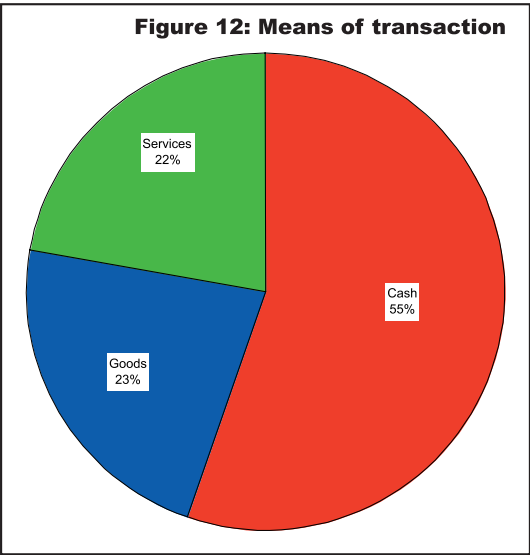


Figure 11 illustrates the breakdown of the types of offences by year.



The overall share of each type of corruption has remained fairly consistent over the period under study. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Firstly, it could mean that certain types of corruption are more prevalent than others because they are easier or more lucrative to commit (and prove) and that these have remained so over time. Secondly, it could be the result of some of the more prominent cases being more drawn out and as a result, receiving more coverage over longer time periods. The implication is that, over time, any specific high profile case of corruption would have a significant influence on the overall distribution of types of offences for that year. In the final instance, it might also be that some types of corruption are deemed more serious than others because they involve larger amounts of money or more high profile individuals or agencies and, as a result, receive more media coverage.

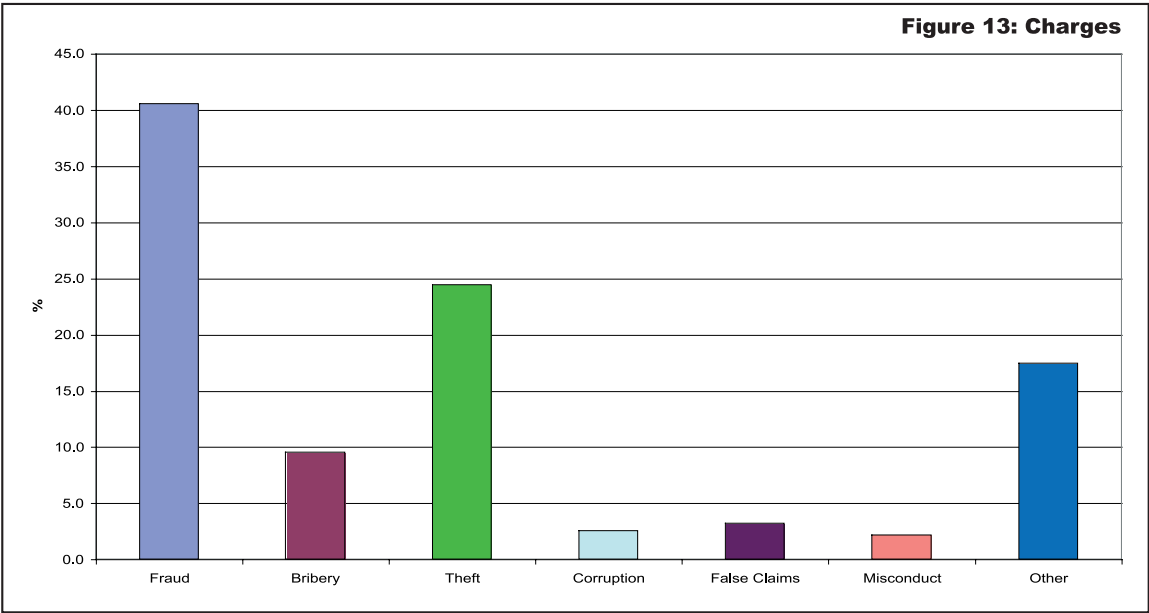
Figure 12 shows that most corruption related transactions involved cash rather than goods or services. This means that personal greed rather than pure deprivation might be driving corruption in the country. This is well evident in some of the key corruption cases covered in this report.



5.4 MOTIVATIONS, CHARGES AND LEGAL ACTIONS TAKEN

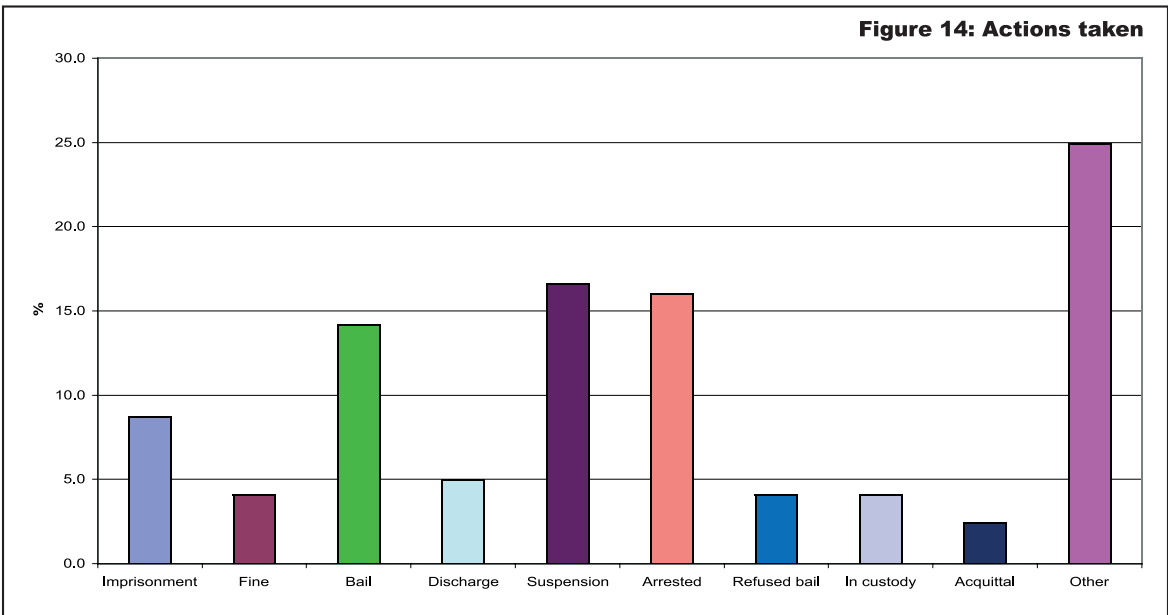
It is difficult to ascertain the real reasons behind acts of corruption when one studies corruption through the media. Not every article reveals motive; in our case only 56 articles mentioned explicit motive. Of these two stand out as prominent: “to obtain a tender”, and “(personal) financial difficulties”. In almost all cases the intended beneficiary is the ‘self’ and only in very few cases would the beneficiaries be other parties such as family, friends or institutions. It, therefore, appears that on the basis of the limited information available, most cases of corruption are expressions of personal greed and acts of selfishness.

In 48% of cases (226/467) charges were laid. Some 44% of all articles published reported on these charges. Figure 13 provides a breakdown of the charges brought against offenders.



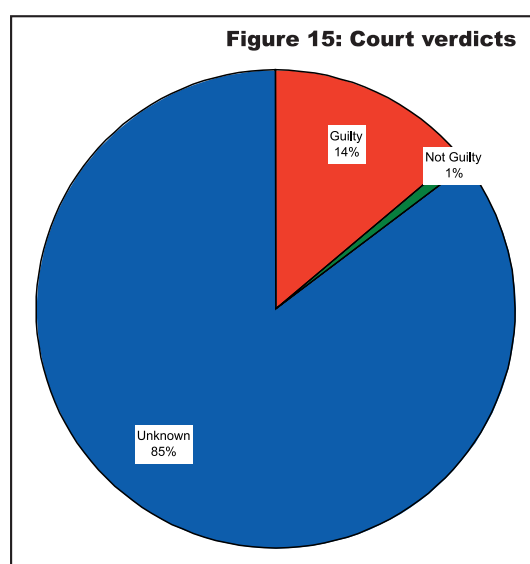
Fraud and theft are the two most frequent charges brought against offenders where fraud alone accounts for slightly more than 40% of all charges laid and theft for approximately 25%. Although bribery is not that common an offence, it accounts for 10% of all charges.

Figure 14 shows the various types of actions taken against offenders as reported by newspapers.



In cases where legal action was taken, most offenders were suspended, arrested or granted bail. Although these do represent legal actions, all are not punishments as such, instead they are temporary measures taken until such time as the legal process is concluded.

Figure 15 shows that only in 15% of actual cases was a verdict reported in one or more newspapers. This means that the verdict is unknown for the large majority of cases. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Firstly, it could mean that newspaper coverage of corruption cases is incomplete, as cases are not followed to their legal conclusion; papers only report on cases when they become public but do not follow these cases until the end. If this were indeed the case, the assumption would be that all cases go to court, which might not be the case. Thus, a second possible explanation is that most corruption cases do not go to court, and hence, no verdict is ever given. Whereas the first explanation would be critical of newspapers and their coverage of corruption cases, the second explanation would be critical of those whose responsibility it is to deal with corruption. A third possible explanation is that at the time when the data was collected, some cases had not yet run their legal course and that verdicts were thus outstanding. One such case involves the Social Security Commission investigation.

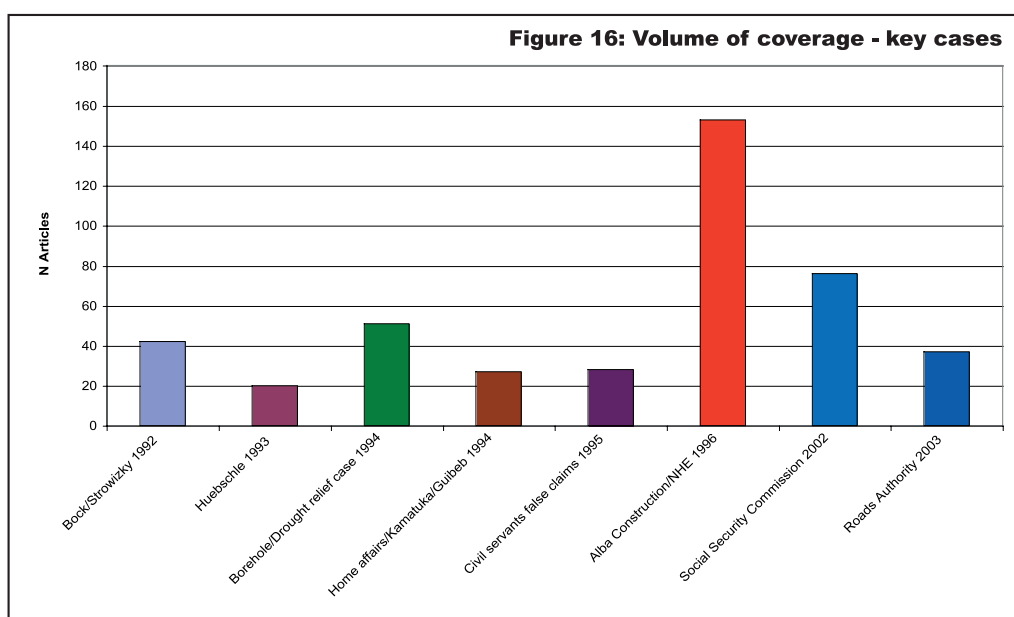


5.5 KEY CASES

The print media reports included in the data set vary greatly in the volume of coverage dedicated to any single case, implying that some cases are deemed more important than others. This may be due to the scale of the corruption, the amounts of money involved, the profile of the individuals or agencies involved or the public nature of the process that is being followed. Although some information included in the data set addresses some of these issues, it is incomplete and thus not presented here. For the purposes of this report, cases with more than 20 articles published are regarded as 'key cases'. They all include one or more of the potential indicators mentioned above. Out of a total number of 467 cases, only 8 cases are key cases. Together, these 8 cases account for almost 35% of the total volume of coverage, which means that they had 434 articles dedicated to them. Figure 16 shows that the case with the highest volume of coverage was the Alba Construction/NHE case with 153 articles. The single key case with the lowest volume of coverage was the Huebschle case with 20 articles. The average number of reports on key cases was 54 articles. Key cases share two important characteristics: they all involve government agencies and they all involve grand scale fraud.

In terms of media coverage Namibia's most important corruption case was the Alba Construction/NHE case in 1996. It is followed by the Social Security Commission case (2002) and the case involving boreholes and

drought relief from 1994. The distribution of key cases suggests that Namibia has had such a case almost every second year.



5.6 PERCEPTIONS ON CORRUPTION

Once a year the influential organisation Transparency International (TI) publishes a report on the state of corruption in the world. It uses a Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) to rank countries from completely clean (10) to completely corrupt (1). These annual assessments are based on a perceptions survey among specially selected organisations (e.g. auditing companies). For a good number of years, Namibia was regarded as one of Africa's most clean countries, second only to Botswana. Its annual score was approximately centered in the ten-point scale (see Figure 17). From 1998 to 2003 Namibia's CPI score improved slightly in a positive direction. It moved from 5.3 in 1998 to 5.7 in 2002. Thereafter, it showed a movement in a negative direction. In 2003 the CPI score was 4.7 and in 2004 it was 4.3. Hence, between 1998 and 2004, Namibia's CPI score dropped a full scale-point and for the first time since Independence, the country appeared on the negative side of the CPI scale. But what is the relationship between perceptions and reality? If perceptions, as reflected by the CPI, are shaped by the volume of actual cases in any given year one would expect the CPI index to improve if the number of actual cases decreases, or to worsen if the volume of actual cases increases.

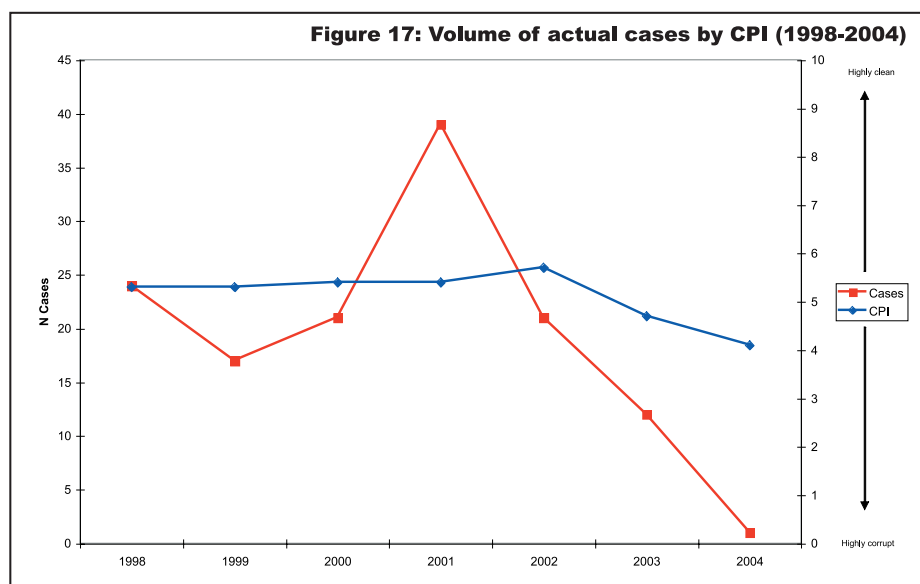
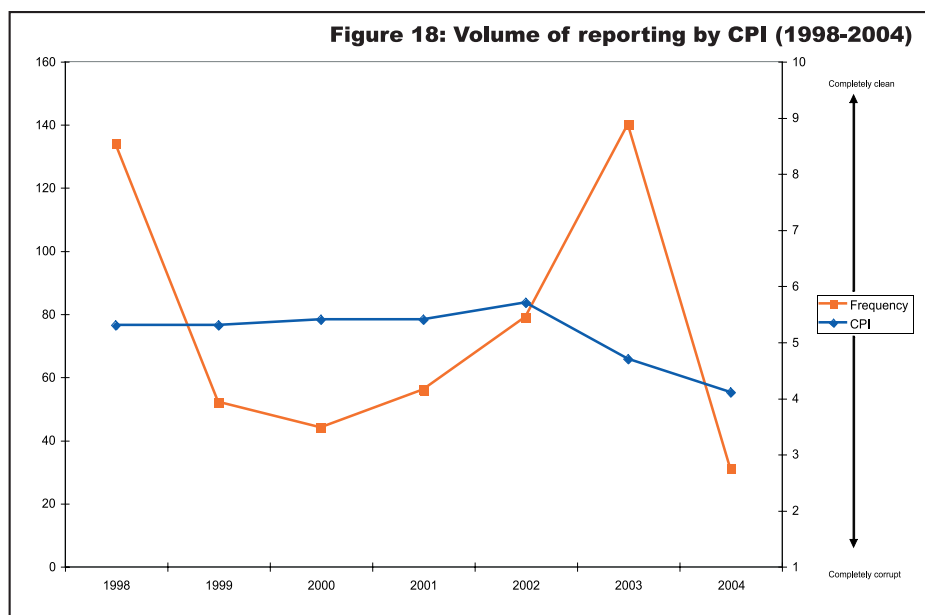


Figure 17 shows that the CPI score does not correlate with the volume of cases as expected. Between 1998 and 2000 the volume of actual cases first decreased, then increased again whereas the CPI score remained constant. In 2001 the volume of cases increased significantly but the CPI moved in a direction opposite to expectation; it showed a very slight positive increase. From 2002 onwards, the actual cases declined whilst the CPI moved in the opposite (negative) direction. Although the number of years in the sample is very small (N=5), correlation analysis shows that the CPI scores and the volume of actual cases are correlated, but not in the direction expected.⁶ This effectively means that as the volume of actual cases decreases so do the CPI scores, meaning that the country is viewed as more corrupt. This does not seem sensible unless one concludes that the perceptions tapped by the CPI are not related to the volume of actual cases; i.e. that these perceptions are shaped by factors other than the volume of reports.



Although it is uncertain exactly what these experts base their perceptions on, it is often assumed that the media is an important agenda setter in this regard.⁷ To test this assumption, we plotted the volume of newspaper reports against the CPI scores for the period 1998 to 2004. Figure 18 shows that there is no correlation between the two. The overall trend in volume of coverage shows great variation, whereas the CPI index stayed fairly constant for most of the time. A second important observation is that aside for 2003, the volume of coverage did not have the expected influence on the CPI score. If perceptions were to be influenced by the print media, one would expect the CPI score to go up when the volume of reports goes down or conversely to go down toward the negative end of the scale if the volume of reports goes up. This was the case only in 2003. Aside from 2002, the gap between perceptions and volume of reports is quite substantial suggesting that there is no correlation, both in strength and in direction, between the two sets of scores. A closer analysis of years 2002 and 2003 (the period during which the CPI became negative) showed that they coincided with two key corruption cases: the Social Security Commission case and the case involving the Roads Authority. This shows that single key cases of corruption can have a significant influence on perceptions of corruptions, especially if such perceptions are measured by a single score index. Thus, based on Figure 18 above, our conclusion is that the volume of coverage has little influence on perceptions on corruption.⁸

6. CONCLUSIONS

Based on print media reports on corruption we reach five main conclusions. Firstly, the 467 cases of corruption identified since Independence suggest that Namibia as a small economy has substantial volumes of corruption. Corruption is a problem that cannot be ignored. The recent promulgation of the Anti-Corruption Act, the pending establishment of an Anti-Corruption Commission, as well as numerous public speeches on the matter by prominent state leaders confirms that other stakeholders think so too. However, our evidence suggests that the volume of actual cases has declined since the early 1990's. Although this does suggest that corruption is perhaps not as wide spread as many may have thought, it would be unwise to conclude that all is well and under control. There are other indicators of corruption that are excluded here that could paint a different picture – e.g. the amount of resources involved, the number of actors and agencies and those cases that are not reported on in the print media.

Secondly, through media reports, it is clear that most cases of corruption involve Government agencies. There are two main reasons for this. It is where more resources are available and where controls are weakest. Having said that, however, evidence has been presented here showing that corruption is present in all sectors of society.

Thirdly, evidence has also been presented that the media has paid extensive attention to cases of corruption and that newspapers have printed substantial volumes of reports especially on key cases. The volume of reports varies across the print media as well as over time. Very often it is key cases that increase the volumes of reports, not necessarily larger numbers of actual cases. Some newspapers have a stronger focus on corruption than others and as a result produce higher volumes of coverage. Fourthly, we found that newspapers often present incomplete coverage of corruption cases. A specific case might receive intense coverage for the time that it is deemed topical, but very little coverage towards the end. As a result, we know little about the conclusion of the legal process (assuming that there was a legal process). This in turn might have an effect on how the public sees the effectiveness of those tasked with combating corruption.

In the final instance, the relationship between the volume of actual cases and coverage and perceptions of corruption as represented by Transparency International's CPI was analysed. The relationship between the CPI scores and the volume of actual cases is the inverse from what is expected and no correlation was found between CPI scores and the volume of reports. Hence, it is concluded that print media does not drive perceptions of corruption either through the volume of actual cases reported or through the volume of coverage. However, the presence of key cases appears to shape perceptions due to the intensity with which they are covered. This means that these specific perceptions are more likely shaped by a single case with high volumes of coverage, than larger number of cases with low volumes of coverage. The years between 1999 and 2001 when the volume of reports was low, made no difference to the CPI scores, suggesting that that a certain volume of reports might be needed to change these perceptions. This makes a further case for dealing with corruption swiftly and efficiently. Despite the fact that there might actually be fewer cases during a year, the presence of any single significant case would have a negative effect on how others view the state of corruption during that year. There seems to be a special dynamic with regard to perceptions. They appear to be responsive to the negative aspects of corruption, but not the positive ones.

This study stops short of saying what acceptable levels of corruption for a country like Namibia should be because there is no comparable data from other countries against which this could be measured. Whether the average of 31 cases per year is too many, is a matter of public debate. Also, it does not argue the case for media reports to be the only source of corruption data, nor does it make a case that volumes of actual cases should be the only criteria for evaluating the state of corruption in the country. These issues are also matters for public debate.

End Notes

- 1 Greed is defined here as “the excessive desire for something such as food or money” (Collins Paperback Dictionary, 4th edition, 2004, HarperCollins Publishers, Glasgow).
- 2 The identification of the dimensions of corruption is based on an Anti-Corruption Programme that was hosted by the NID and presented by Dr. Janette Minaar-van Veijeren.
- 3 Pearson's $r = -.114$ ($p=.686$)
- 4 One has to bear in mind that all newspapers could have contained a number of additional articles that dealt with corruption in general. As explained earlier, our interest lay only with those articles that dealt with actual cases.
- 5 We have excluded articles with unconfirmed reports of nepotism and favouritism.
- 6 Pearson's $r = .769$ ($p<.05$)
- 7 For this report, when we make mention of ‘perceptions’ we refer to the perceptions of the experts who participated in the TI survey, and not the perceptions of the Namibian population in general.
- 8 Pearson's $r = .086$ ($p=.854$)



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