



AN EXPLORATION OF WORK ETHICS IN THE ETHIOPIAN
CIVIL SERVICE: THE CASE OF SELECTED FEDERAL
INSTITUTIONS

by

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DECLARATION

I, Teklay Tesfay Gebre-egziabher, declare that “Exploration of Work Ethics in the Ethiopian Civil Service: The Case of Selected Federal Institutions” is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

Teklay Tesfay Gebre-egziabher

Date

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ABSTRACT

Ethics was identified by the Ethiopian government as one of the areas requiring attention and was made an integral part of the ongoing Civil Service Reform Program since 1996. Despite the reform efforts that have been going on for about two decades, no rigorous academic and empirical research has been conducted to understand the nature and depth of the problems. Moreover, the theoretical discourses in the general literature and the national efforts made by the government and its development partners also emphasize on the structural and procedural issues of ethics, giving little focus to the behavioural components or dimensions of ethics of civil servants. The purpose of this study was to investigate and critically analyse the nature and dynamics of work ethics in the Ethiopian civil service; and to assess the ethical environment within which the public sector operates in the country. Mixed research method was applied. Questionnaires were used to collect primary quantitative data from two groups of research participants – civil servants and the service users; whereas primary qualitative data were collected employing in-depth interviews from managers and key experts in the field. Data from secondary sources were also used. The quantitative data were analysed using descriptive analysis. The qualitative ones were analysed using the qualitative data analysis technique with the emphasis on the phenomenological approach. The study showed that there is clearly growing awareness of ethical challenges within the civil service, though a fundamental change in the ethical conduct of the employees is not yet realized. It is also found out that there is no problem of legislation and policy frameworks; rather the problem lies in the weak implementation and enforcement of them. Leadership behaviour, absence of strong institutions, poor accountability system, poor remuneration and politicization of the civil service were identified as the biggest challenges to foster ethical conduct. Accordingly, it is suggested that the government play a key role in addressing the problems that hamper the effective implementation of the reform efforts. Other stakeholders such as the civic society organizations, religious institutions, the private sector, schools and the general public should also work closely with the government. Ensuring ethical conduct requires synergy of all actors, ranging from ordinary citizens to high-level decision-making bodies.

Key terms: Work ethics, code of conduct, ethical principles, compliance-based approach, values-based approach, exemplary leadership, ethics training, ethics climate, civil service, and ethical dilemmas.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPR	Business Process Reengineering
BSC	Balanced Score Card
CIPFA	Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy
DARO	Documents Authentication and Registration Office
DFID	Department for International Development
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ERC	Ethics Resource Centre
EMI	Ethiopian Management Institute
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
ERCA	Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority
FEACC	Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
IFAC	International Federation of Accountants
IIPA	Indian Institute of Public Administration
MCB	Ministry of Capacity Building
MCS	Ministry of Civil Service
NPM	New Public Management
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PWE	Protestant Work Ethic
TE	Transparency Ethiopia
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
WB	The World Bank
WGM	Working Group Memorandum

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

World economies today are increasingly being exposed to international trade, global competition and relatively free capital flows. As a result, many scholars and practitioners regard effective human resources management as the source of sustained competitive advantage for organizations operating in this globalized economy. In line with such developments, there has been a fairly growing research interest in the field of human resources management in general and work ethics in particular especially in the western world. This is because the importance of work ethics, as perceived by employers, has considerably increased over the years. Miller, Woehr & Hudspeth (2002) argue that regardless of the divergent point of view, the importance of work ethics to employers today is apparent. The authors further explain that in a survey of 150 American managers, nearly 60% of them ranked work ethics as the most important factor when hiring an administrative employee, assuming the candidate had the basic skills necessary to perform the job. In this survey, work ethics was ranked higher than other employee characteristics such as intelligence, enthusiasm and education. Hill and Fouts (2005 as cited in Elkin, 2007) highlighted several studies that continue to suggest that a strong work ethic is an attribute highly desired by employers in many industries. Thus, it can be said that assessment of work ethic has become increasingly important in the private sector as it allows organizational decision makers to build and sustain a motivated and diligent labour force.

This phenomenon is also true in the public sector. The ethical dimension of public administration has engaged the attention of governments, scholars, donor agencies and public servants. According to the Economic Commission for Africa (1996), there has been an upsurge of interest in improving ethics in the public service throughout the world in the last two decades. Indeed, ethics in the public service has become a major concern in public administration and management in recent decades, with some intensification in the 1980s and 1990s (Kernaghan, 1993; OECD, 1996 as cited in Larbi, 2001). Such interest, as noted in ECA (1996), is usually tied to programs aimed at making the civil service more efficient, responsive and effective. This same study further argues that the following factors, among others, are responsible for this interest: the global democratic upsurge; the budget squeeze on governments; landmark corruption cases in industrialized and non-industrialized countries; increasing international

cooperation on understanding and improving the ethical conduct of public officials; the successful anti-corruption campaigns in Third World contexts and the increasing recognition by training institutions worldwide that ethics has been neglected in public service training curricula. Due to these and other reasons, many countries around the world have embarked on a new round of administrative reforms, and within these reforms, the issue of ethics is a top priority (ECA, 1996).

The public service, which is entrusted with guarding public resources and executing decisions on behalf of elected representatives, plays an indispensable role in the development and governance of a nation (UN, 2000). Given these crucial roles, a country expects its public service to demonstrate high standards of professionalism and ethics. Professionalism in the public service refers to an overarching value that determines how its activities will be carried out. It encompasses all other values that guide the public service such as loyalty, neutrality, transparency, diligence, punctuality, effectiveness, impartiality and other values that may be specific to individual countries. It also refers to broad norms that delineate how public servants should exercise judgment and discretion in carrying out their official duties. These values and norms are better reinforced if there exists a system of administrative policies, management practices, and oversight agents that provide incentives and penalties to encourage public servants to professionally carry out their duties and observe high standards of conduct (UN, 2000).

To that effect, for over two decades, a wave of public sector management reforms has swept through developed, transitional and developing countries (Veinazindiene and Ciarniene, 2007). In line with this, O’Flynn (2007) explains that by the end of the 20th century, a post bureaucratic paradigm of public management was firmly embedded in many countries reflecting the outcome of the suite of reforms intended to enact a break from the traditional model of public administration underpinned by Weber’s bureaucracy, Wilson’s policy-administration divide, and Taylor’s scientific management model. The role and institutional character of the state and of the public sector have been under pressure to adopt private sector orientation, initially in developed countries and later in some developing countries (Veinazindiene and Ciarniene, 2007; ECA, 2003).

These new management techniques and practices involving market-type mechanisms associated with the private for-profit sector have conventionally been labelled as the new public management (hereafter NPM) or the new managerialism (Hood, 1991; Dunleavy and Hood,

1994; Pollitt, 1993; Ferlie et al., 1996 as cited in Larbi, 2001). The central feature of NPM is the attempt to introduce or simulate, within those sections of the public service that are not privatized, the performance incentives and the disciplines that exist in a market environment. The assumption is that there are benefits in terms of efficiency and effectiveness in exposing public sector activities to market pressures and in using markets to serve public purposes, and that government can learn from the private sector despite contextual differences (Metcalf and Richards, 1990 as cited in Larbi, 2001).

NPM reforms have been driven by a combination of economic, social, political and technological factors, which triggered the quest for efficiency and for ways to cut the cost of delivering public services (Larbi, 2001). In the case of most developing countries, reforms in public administration and management have been driven more by external pressures and have taken place in the context of structural adjustment programs of the World Bank (ECA, 2003). In the case of developing countries, additional factors include such as lending conditionalities and the increasing emphasis on good governance (Larbi, 2001).

According to ECA (2003), the core paradigm which can be discerned as influential in the development of public sector reforms in the 1980s and 1990s was that public sector provision was inefficient and often ineffective; that it led neither to cost containment nor to quality improvement. With the problems so defined, the paradigm extended to a belief that the public and private sectors did not have to be organized and managed in fundamentally different ways. Indeed, it would be better for the public services if they could be organized and managed as much like the private sector as possible. The focus of the NPM movement, therefore, was on creating institutional and organizational contexts which mirror what is seen as critical aspects of private sector modes of organizing and managing. These reforms, according to Kaunda (2004), were administrative (structural and procedural) and political. Administrative reforms introduced new institutions and procedures. Political reforms introduced processes of decentralization and participatory or community development, as well as various forms of state direction of political, economic and social processes. According to the Civil Service Commission of the Philippines (2000), these reforms usually involve a listing of do's and don'ts; the setting of norms and standards of behaviour, and the establishment of institutions and mechanisms to monitor and compel compliance and impose punitive measures when such norms and standards are transgressed.

In line with this, many African countries such as Ethiopia, Ghana, Mauritius, Senegal and Uganda have embarked on comprehensive public service reforms aimed at improving the quality of life of their citizens, and creating new government machineries to establish efficient and effective management systems (ECA, 2003). However, as noted in ECA (2003), despite the tremendous efforts made by African countries and resources allocated to reforms to improve the performance of their public sectors, the results achieved remain somewhat poor and the socio-economic situation of many African countries that have undertaken reforms has even deteriorated in many cases. This source also noted that the performance of public services in many African countries has not improved owing to factors such as the politicization of the civil service, coupled with corruption, misconduct and lack of effective accountability mechanisms that undermined not only professionalism but also competence. Africa's efforts at modernizing its machinery of government have also been constrained by the formulation and adoption of inappropriate reforms as well as poor and ineffective implementation of the reforms.

The study further indicates that there is a broad consensus that a deficit of ethical norms and a weak practice of accountability measures are major contributory factors to the inefficiency of the civil services and the inability of the state to manage development. Especially in Africa, declining public service ethics has been identified as one of the major challenges to public sector management reforms. In line with this, ECA (2003) identified declining social values, declining civil service morale, and corruption as major impediments to the successful implementation of NPM techniques in Africa. These major impediments are briefly discussed below.

Evidence suggests that important social values such as integrity, honesty, dependability, helpfulness, impartiality, courteousness, and fairness are gradually disappearing from the African public services (Agere and Mendoza, 1999 as cited in ECA, 2003). Regrettably, in most African societies, there is no effective system for reinforcing these values. The argument regarding the declining civil service morale is that public sector reform is unlikely to be successful if public servants regard themselves as being involuntarily pledged to perform to externally imposed standards without commensurate remuneration, which is apparent in many African countries.

Many institutions and researchers (OECD, 2000; UN, 2000; Anello, 2006; Wolford, 1998; Omolewu, (2008); McDougale, n.d.; Demmke & Bossaert, 2004) have tried to develop what are generally known as core ethical values or practices (other than corruption), which showed slight differences. While they agree that the ethical values can differ from culture to

culture, almost all of them revolve around the following: avoiding conflict of interest in jobs and activities outside the organization, impartiality, avoiding use of public resource and time for personal gain, non-disclosure of confidential information, putting forth honest effort in the performance of one's duties, pursuing justice and fairness, being open and transparent, service to the common good, and maintaining truthfulness and honesty.

In many African countries, a variety of measures has been taken to curb ethical violations. This has been done through the development of institutions in the civil service and involvement of the parliament and the judiciary to create the necessary checks and balances. According to Rasheed (1995), Ghana, Namibia, Nigeria, Tanzania, the Sudan, Zambia and Zimbabwe have experimented with the institution of the ombudsmen, anti-corruption bills, and a variety of institutional mechanisms to enforce ethical behaviour. Ethiopia and Nigeria provide good examples of anti-corruption measures being implemented in Africa. In Nigeria, a bill passed in 1999 prohibits and punishes bribery and corruption by public officials. Ethiopia also took similar steps to thwart corruption by creating the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission in 2001 (Rasheed, 1995).

In some cases, according to ECA (2003), anti-corruption initiatives have only been partially successful in achieving some of the objectives behind these measures. It outlined the following reasons for this partial success. In the first instance, many of such initiatives have been introduced in an overall political and policy environment that has not been sufficiently conducive to the success of the measures. The nature of the state and governance and commitment at the highest political level are therefore crucial prerequisites for any successful drive to curb and punish ethical violations. Secondly, some of the anti-corruption measures that have been introduced were partial in nature, focusing mainly on sanctions, and not the source. Third, many of the institutions that were established to promote ethics and accountability often lack the resources, public visibility, impartiality and public support that are critical to their success.

Accounts of administrative reform in developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are relatively scarce, and Ethiopia is not an exception. However, within the wider context of administrative reform in Africa, the reform of public bureaucracies is central to the modernization of public service delivery. In Africa, governance is largely typified by expansion, patronage and authoritarian rule. Bureaucratic rationality is also compromised by the high degree of centralization in decision making within the political executive (Bratton and van de Walle,

1997 as cited in Getachew & Richards, 2006). However, Getachew & Richards (2006) note that by the end of the 1980s, a new breed of civil servants began to emerge within a changing political context that included greater demands for public sector efficiency, institutional capacity and wider democratization. Therefore, with a view to realize comprehensive `state transformation` and `total system overhaul` and in line with recommendations forwarded by the World Bank, as in the case of African countries in general, the Ethiopian government has embarked on multiple public service reforms from the early 1990s. Such reforms were also influenced by the international NPM trend, and reforms in New Zealand in particular (Peterson 2001 as cited in Getachew & Richards, 2006).

From the on-going discussion, it can be discerned that public servants globally operate in a changed and changing environment. They are subject to greater public scrutiny and increased demands from citizens, yet they are also facing stricter limits on resources. They have to assume new functions and responsibilities as a result of devolution and greater managerial discretion; increased commercialization of the public sector; a changing public/private sector interface; and changing accountability arrangements. In short, they have to adopt new ways of carrying out the business of government (OECD, 1996).

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (1996) further elaborates that while public management reforms have realized important returns in terms of efficiency and effectiveness, some of the adjustments may have had unintended impacts on ethics and standards of conduct. This is not to suggest, the study argues, that changes have caused an increase in misconduct or unethical behaviour. But they may place public servants in situations involving conflicts of interest or objectives where there are few guidelines as to how they should act. There may indeed be a growing mismatch between the traditional values and systems governing the behaviour of public servants and the roles they are expected to fulfil in a changing public sector environment.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

These days, in most countries, there are increasing expectations from ordinary citizens, business leaders and civil society organizations that governments will provide better services to meet growing demands. They further expect that governments will establish and institutionalize high degree of ethical standards in the civil service and other public agencies on which the dream of improved services greatly depends (Whitton, 2001). According to Whitton (2001) such

expectations are, in part, the result of better-focused media attention and public scrutiny, and increasing impatience by ordinary citizens and civil society, whose members want to see an end to the corrupt practices and systems of the past.

To meet the increasing expectations of the public, enhance the capacity of public institutions, and create an ideal environment for investment and economic growth in Ethiopia, the public sector has gone through a series of reform processes including the civil service (Getachew & Richard, 2006). A brief glance at the historical development of the Ethiopian civil service is imperative to understand the dominant values and their impacts on contemporary work ethic in the public sector. This historical account is briefed in the following paragraphs, while a more elaborate overview is provided in Chapter Four.

The civil service reform in Ethiopia specifically began in 1994 with a serious task of assessing the situation. In 1996, assessment reports identified ethics as one of the areas requiring attention and thus, from the onset it constituted an integral part of the Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) (Larbi, 2001). Reports further suggested that while corruption was not institutionalized in the machinery of government, there were concerns that petty corruption was gaining ground due to declining ethical standards among the civil servants (Larbi, 2001). Sensitized by these and other problems, the civil service reform was initiated with the aim of creating an accountable, transparent, efficient and ethical civil service through organizational restructuring, improving systems and procedures, and human resources development (Ministry of Capacity Building, 2003; World Bank, 2004). Despite the reform efforts that have been going on for over a decade, there are still concerns that the institutional and organizational arrangements for checking corruption and enforcing ethics in government institutions are weak (Larbi, 2001). Indeed, while the Ethiopian government underlined that ethics reform is one of the major components of the CSRP, the effectiveness of its implementation has not been checked through research. Design of the ethics improvement sub-program of the CSRP and its actual implementation seems to indicate that it mainly focuses on combating grand corruption practices in the Ethiopian public service. Despite no counter argument why the government and its development partners focus their efforts on fighting corruption, the little attention the reform design and implementation paid to other behavioural components of ethics is considered to be a big gap in promoting standard values and norms towards improved public service delivery. Nor are there progresses in the implementation processes. For instance, developing institutional

charters and an ethics management system, developing a civil service code of conduct, and provision of legislation on asset registration and protection of whistleblowers are important set of plans aimed at improving the ethical dimension of the reform (WB, 2003; UNDP, 2008). However, other than the legislation on asset registration and protection of whistleblowers, which still focus on fighting corruption, the others have not yet been materialized or at most they are still on process. This coincides with Whitton's (2001) observation in which he stated that many governments still equate public sector ethics with anti-corruption efforts, and limit their engagement with professional practice and behavioural manifestations.

According to ECA (1996), there is also a void in respect of what constitutes the body of ethics for civil servants in Ethiopia. Elements of ethical standards are scattered in various documents and are not accessible or known to many civil servants. Whitton (2001) argues that publishing a code of ethics by itself is not sufficient to achieve the desired standards of ethical behaviour. This is because government and society cannot promote and enforce ethical behaviour solely through the utilization of ethical codes of conduct or through the promulgation of a plethora of legislations (Raga & Taylor, 2005) unless they are accepted by the civil servants, and maintained, cultivated and implemented with vigour (Demmke & Bossaert, 2004). Writing a code of conduct is one thing, ensuring that everyone is acting in accordance with its values and standards is another. This is to say that implementation of a code is equally important as setting the values and standards. As Moilanen (2007) noted, one important way to promote better standards of integrity within the organization is to integrate the code with management systems, especially with policies on human resources management. This has, however, been often neglected.

Taube and Patz (2008) stated that the much-criticized poor performance of the Ethiopian public administration is due to the attitude and behaviour of civil servants. This same study showed that although many managers and salaried employees are said to have adequate technical qualifications, they lack the will and commitment to deal with uncertainties and conflicting interests constructively and to enable them to shape change processes. There also exist widespread perception that unethical practices are rampant in the civil service including acceptance of gifts or favours; engaging in outside employment or activities that conflict with one's official duties; disclosure of confidential information; not having a good attitude and care with regard to one's work; using organization's work time for conducting personal business;

unauthorized use of organizational resources for personal gain; getting to work late and going out early; wanting less work, more fun, and quicker promotion; taking no initiative when one sees problems in the workplace; cheating with regard to leaves, absenteeism and others; stealing; and the like. There is a widespread conviction among the public that work ethic is declining in the country in general, and in the civil service in particular. ECA (1996) also noted that ethical behaviour seems to be in a state of decline in the country.

In spite of such serious problems circumscribing the Ethiopian public sector, rigorous academic and empirical research has not been conducted to understand the nature and depth of the problems. Moreover, as is indicated in the background section, the theoretical discourses in the general literature also emphasize on the structural and procedural issues of ethics, giving little focus to the behavioural components or dimensions of ethics of civil servants. It is, therefore, imperative to examine critically the effect of the reforms on the ethical behaviour of the civil servants, and the consequences of focusing on mechanistic and structural reforms while relatively neglecting the behavioural components of ethics in the empirical landscape.

1.3. Research questions

In light of the problems identified above, the research attempted to address the following questions:

- What is the nature of the work ethics of civil servants in Ethiopia today?
- What are the key factors influencing the ethical behaviour of civil servants in the country?
- What is the perceived influence of the civil service reform (particularly the ethics sub-program) on the ethical behaviour of civil servants?
- How do the reform efforts that are underway for years affect public trust or confidence?
- What is the ethical and legal environment within which the public sector operates in Ethiopia? What human resources management policies are put in place to create an enabling ethical environment?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

General objective

The general objective of this study was to investigate and critically analyse the nature and dynamics of work ethic in the Ethiopian civil service, and to assess the ethical environment within which the public sector operates in the country.

Specific objectives

More specifically, the study aimed to achieve the following set of specific objectives:

- To investigate and critically analyse the nature of work ethic of civil servants in Ethiopia, and the key factors influencing it;
- To investigate the influence of the on-going ethics improvement subprogram on the ethical behaviour of the civil servants;
- To investigate the influence of the ethics improvement subprogram on public trust or confidence in the public service delivery system;
- To identify and analyse the legal frameworks and specific enforcement mechanisms put in place to promote and ensure appropriate work ethics in the civil service;

1.5. Scope of the Study

The study of ethics can be seen from different perspectives including its social, cultural, and religious aspects. However, this study looked into work ethics from the human resource management perspective only. Furthermore, the study was limited to the identification and analysis of the ethical conduct of career civil servants, that is, employees and lower and middle level managers in the work place; it does not include ethics of top public officials as well as organizational ethics. The study also dealt only with selected civil service institutions operating at the federal level. Institutions operating at the regional state and city administration levels are excluded from the study. The federal institutions are selected for the reason that they are the ones which can give a relatively comprehensive view of the nature and dynamics of the work ethics in the public sector.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This research project is a pioneer in the Ethiopian public sector ethics in general and in work ethic in particular. The study has thus laid the groundwork or reasserted in the area that relatively received little attention despite its critical importance to the country that is in a situation of transition to vibrant economy that greatly depends on ethical and effective civil servant. The findings of the study will have significant implications on policies and legal frameworks to promote and enforce desirable work ethics in the Ethiopian public sector. That is, the findings will provide insights for designing and implementing interventions to develop civil service ethics congruent with the cultural environment in which employees find themselves. The findings are

also believed to contribute in human resource management policy making by the federal government. By way of synthesis and reflection on empirical findings, the study is also believed to contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the area.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents review of the literature pertinent to the work ethic. It mainly describes the nature, characteristics, and dynamics of the work ethics and establishes the key findings of the literature. More specifically, the purpose of this literature review is to: (a) identify the origins and historical development concepts of work ethics; (b) provide a theoretical review of work ethic, and (c) explore its nature and dynamics.

Accordingly, the first three sections describe issues related to the meaning of work and work ethic, work centrality, and the historical development of work ethics. The fourth section takes a detailed account of the theoretical or conceptual perspectives of the work ethics. The last section is devoted to ethics in the public sector.

2.2. Meaning of Work and Work Ethics

The ideology and culture of work has been the driving force behind capitalist society for centuries (Beder, 2002 as cited in Mailler, 2006). A primary motivation to work stems from the economic requirement to trade labour for financial reward, which subsequently facilitates the satisfaction of material needs and wants. However, as Mailler (2006) noted, work also helps to define who we are and has therefore assumed a powerful role in shaping our social relationships. She continued to argue that the importance of work transcends the economic imperatives of daily existence. According to her, work provides admission to cultural life and, rightly or wrongly, it helps to define our role in society.

Consequently, the desire to work is usually perceived as a wholesome trait and this virtue is embodied in something we call the work ethic. To varying degrees, work has become imbued in our lives with both material and spiritual meaning (Beder, 2002 as cited in Mailler, 2006).

In line with this, Applebaum (1992) argues that work is a necessary part of the human condition, and regardless of how it is viewed - past, present or future - it is essential to human life, not only to guarantee material necessities, but because work is a human activity just as much as thinking and other human characteristics.

Despite all the attention the concept has received over the past years, little agreement exists in the literature on how the work ethic should be defined and conceptualized. Although there is no unifying definition of the work ethic, many researchers have made significant contributions to the understanding of the term.

As Heller and Ruiz-Quintanilla (1995) pointed out, the everyday usage of the term 'work ethics' is almost indistinguishable from work satisfaction or simply attitudes to work. They further noted that since most adults in any society are expected to work and most do in order to make a living, the work ethics in this popular use of the term is, on average, positive for most people. Nevertheless, they noted that there are bound to be variations in this average and in the distribution around the average for different groups of people.

According to Heller and Ruiz-Quintanilla (1995), social scientists tend to define the term with greater precision and want to compare and contrast the emphasis people tend to give to work with their valuation or preference for other activities in their lives, most obviously leisure, but also religion, community, the family, hobbies, and so on. In such an approach, the authors argue that human activities are seen to offer choices. That is, while working may still be very central, but at the margin, people will have other preferences and the margin may be different for a variety of reasons that are interesting to explore.

Another approach is to differentiate attitudes that regard work as an obligation – something they owe society - or an entitlement - something society owes them (Heller and Ruiz-Quintanilla, 1995).

As will be discussed in a later section in detail, probably the most influential writing on the work ethic comes from the sociologist Max Weber, who has been frequently credited with contributing to the success of capitalism in western society with what became known as the Protestant work ethic (Hill and Petty, 1995). In connection to this, other researchers also assert that the work ethics is a descendent from the Protestant work ethic, first conceptualized by Weber that the Puritans brought with them to America (Rodgers 1978; Bernstein 1997; Applebaum 1998; Ciulla 2000 as cited in Heacock, 2008). Max Weber defined work ethic broadly as a value held by Protestants that equated hard work with success in the marketplace (Fowler, 2004).

Other researchers described work ethic as both a social expectation or norm and as a set of characteristics of an individual worker. Work ethics as a social norm places a positive moral value on doing a good job and defines work as having an intrinsic value of its own (Cherrington, 1980; Yankelovich & Immerwahr, 1984). As a social norm, work ethics is an example of one of the many unwritten rules that govern such aspects of life as work, sexual behaviour, or the obligations of family members to one another (Yankelovich & Immerwahr, 1984). Like other social norms, researchers, practitioners, and employers refer to work ethic as an attribute with multiple dimensions. As noted by Fowler (2004), in his study of the work ethics, Weber identified four distinct elements of the concept: work as a calling; work as a means for success; asceticism; and rational control over life.

The term work ethics has also been used to define certain characteristics of an individual worker. Research from this perspective continues to build on Weber's definition. For example, Furnham (1990) concluded that work ethics is a multi-dimensional attribute linking hard work and success. Cherrington (1980) also suggests that beyond a social norm, work ethics is an attribute promoting personal accountability and responsibility for one's work, with work having an intrinsic value exclusive of the external rewards. Hill and Petty (1995) also suggest that work ethics is a multidimensional factor focused on the work-related attributes of individuals, which include dependability, ambitiousness, consideration and cooperation.

2.3. Centrality of Work

Work centrality is defined as the degree of importance that work, in general, plays in one's life (Paullay et al, 1993). It specifically refers to the importance that an individual places on his or her opportunity to work. Work has always been central to western life in general and American life in particular (Quinn, 1983; Applebaum, 1998). So central is work that psychological studies have found that individuals often express feelings of guilt if they are unable to work, or if they are unable to work as hard as they would like to.

Work centrality has been explored by a variety of researchers across a number of cultural settings, and the finding that work plays a central and fundamental role in the life of an individual has been supported empirically in most industrialized countries (Brief &

Nord, 1990; England & Misumi, 1986; Mannheim, 1993; Mannheim, Baruch, & Tal, 1997 as cited in Arvey et al, 2004). Arvey et al (2004) further noted that work has been found to be of relatively high importance compared with other important life areas such as leisure, community, and religion, and has been found to rank second in importance only to family (Harding & Hikspoors, 1995; Harpaz, 1999; as cited in Arvey et al, 2004). Research has also been conducted to explore the antecedents and consequences of work centrality, showing that work centrality is related to a number of personal, demographic, job and organizational characteristics.

As cited in Furnham (1990), a research team, M.O.W. (1987), carried out a high eight-nation study that in many ways could be seen as a modern, partial test of the Protestant Work Ethic. The group found evidence of considerable attachment to work – 86% of the combined sample (of about 15,000) said they would continue to work even if they had enough money to live comfortably for the rest of their life without working. Over a quarter placed work above all four of the following roles: family, community, religion and leisure.

2.4. Historical Development of Work Ethics

A brief historical backdrop of work ethics is useful to put the contemporary issue in focus. As mentioned in the preceding sections, early concepts of work were very different from more familiar and recent ones.

During the classical period, work had been widely regarded by many societies (the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans alike) as a burden and as something that has to be avoided (Hill, 1996). As Lipset (1990) observed, Rose (1985) wrote that the Bible portrays that the Hebrew belief system viewed work as “a curse devised by God explicitly to punish the disobedience and ingratitude of Adam and Eve”. Tilgher (1931) also noted that the Talmud too teaches that “if man does not find his food like animals and birds but must earn it - that is due to sin.”

The Greeks, like the Hebrews, also regarded work as a curse (Lipset, 1990). For them, manual labour was for slaves. The cultural norms allowed free men to pursue warfare, large-scale commerce, and the arts, especially architecture or sculpture (Rose, 1985). For the Romans as well, work was meant to be done by slaves, and only two occupations were worthy of a free man--agriculture and big business (Tilgher, 1931). A goal of these

endeavours, as defined by the Roman culture, was to achieve an "honourable retirement into rural peace as a country gentleman" (Tilgher, 1931:8). Any pursuit of handicrafts or the hiring out of a person's arms was considered to be vulgar, dishonouring, and beneath the dignity of a Roman citizen (Hill, 1996).

In the Middle Ages, primitive Christianity still perceived work as punishment by God for man's original sin, but to this strictly negative view was added the positive aspect of earnings which prevented one from being reliant on the charity of others for the physical needs of life (Tilgher, 1931). Wealth was recognized as an opportunity to share with those who might be less fortunate and work which produced wealth therefore became acceptable (Hill, 1996).

In the Medieval Period, work still held no intrinsic value. In line with this, Tilgher (1931) suggests that work is never dignified as anything of value in itself, but only as instrument of purification, of charity, and of expiation. The doctrine of that period, he noted, recognizes no value in work itself. Generally, work was considered as a part of the economic structure of human society which, like all other things, was ordered by God (Hill, 1996).

In short, work for much of the ancient history of the human race has been hard and degrading. Working hard - in the absence of compulsion - was not the norm for Hebrew, classical, or medieval cultures (Rose, 1985). It was not until the Protestant Reformation, a period of religious and political upheaval in Western Europe during the sixteenth century, that physical labour became culturally acceptable for all persons, even the wealthy (Hill, 1996).

The traditional views which believe that work was a curse and punishment for original sin (Lipset, 1990) were later swayed by the powerful influence of religion. In particular, a more positive view of work developed out of early Christian experience (Yankelovich and Immerwahr, 1984). Such positive development transformed the negative views of work by promoting it as a means of redemption (salvation). Work came to be regarded as a virtue, and leisure was seen to undermine morality and promote evil. This was a significant departure from previous thinking (Lipset, 1990).

As Hill (1996) noted, with the reformation came a new perspective on work. Two key religious leaders who influenced the development of western culture during this

period were Martin Luther and John Calvin. For Luther, work was a way of serving God, a “calling,” whereby one did the work of the Almighty; idleness was unnatural and a barrier to salvation (Natale and Rothschild, 1995). Luther also emphasized that people could serve God through their work; that the professions were useful; that people should try to work well (Lipset, 1990). He further argued that even though the emergence of Protestantism brought a major shift in the western attitudes toward work, early Protestantism, as envisioned by Martin Luther, did not directly pave the way for a rational profit-oriented economic system as Luther showed contempt for trade, commerce and finance. This is because he did not believe that they involved real work. Luther also believed that each person should earn an income which would meet his basic needs, but to accumulate or horde wealth was sinful (Hill, 1996).

John Calvin, building on the doctrines of Luther, played a significant role in making a radical departure from the Christian beliefs of the Middle Ages. According to Hill (1996), Max Weber contended that Calvinism produced a significant new attitude toward work. Calvin taught that all men, even the rich, must work because to work was the will of God. It was the duty of men to serve as God's instruments here on earth, to reshape the world in the fashion of the Kingdom of God, and to become a part of the continuing process of His creation (Braude, 1975 as cited in Hill, 1996). Men were not to lust after wealth, possessions, or easy living, but were to reinvest the profits of their labour into financing further ventures (Hill, 1996). In line with this, Calvinists, as Lipset (1990) noted, concluded that earnings must be reinvested repeatedly, *ad infinitum*, or to the end of time. However, being charitable and helping others violated God's will since human beings could only demonstrate that they were one of the Elect through their own labour (Lipset, 1990).

2.5. Theoretical Perspectives of Work Ethic

2.5.1. Nature of Work Ethic

As indicated earlier, the concept of work ethic has its roots in Weber's writings, in which he broadly equated work ethic with the Protestant ethic and linked this attribute with capitalism, noting that business leaders and owners of capital were overwhelmingly Protestant (Fowler, 2004). Weber's premise is that the influences of Protestant

Christianity, especially Calvinism, intersected to elevate work as a sense of duty and obligation (Tubbs, 2008).

As noted by Fowler (2004), Weber developed the theory of work ethics by drawing on the ideas of Martin Luther, who had asserted that men are “called to work” and work was a “calling”. According to Martin Luther, Protestants used “calling” to define a life task or field of work. Work was a task set by God, and Martin Luther taught that doing excellent work was living in a manner acceptable to God. This indicates that a commitment to work was equated with serving God and formed a significant part of the Protestant lifestyle (Fowler, 2004).

Over this extended period, as Tubbs (2008) noted, the theological undertones and implications have been largely forgotten or set aside, and the "Protestant work ethic" came to be seen simply as a driving force for individual responsibility and opportunity. What is more, work was seen as something a Christian should do, not for his or her own edification, but to the "glory of God."

Another important concept is that Weber believed success in the marketplace was linked to Protestant work attitudes. According to Fowler (2004), Weber’s basic hypothesis in this regard was that the Protestant work ethic provided the moral justification for the accumulation of wealth. Accumulation of wealth was equated with living a life that was pleasing to God. If a person worked hard enough and was committed enough to work, then God would reward this person with riches (Furnham, 1984 as cited in Fowler, 2004). Fowler further cited Buss (1999) as indicating that Weber’s definition of capitalism was the pursuit of profit by hard work and peaceful exchange.

As Fowler (2004) noted, Weber specifically stated that the owners of capital, higher skilled individuals or more technically trained personnel, were overwhelmingly Protestant and concluded that adherence to Protestant Doctrine resulted in wealth. He believed that Protestants developed an economic drive toward profit not observed in other religious groups, and concluded that the explanation for these differences was due to an intrinsic factor in the religious beliefs of Protestants.

Protestant belief in the importance of work as the way to serve God was central to the Weber theory. Weber, as noted in Fowler (2004), suggested that the Protestant drive

to accumulate wealth promoted the development of capitalism. However, present day scholars view the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism as “one of elective affinity instead of causation” (Buss, 1999 as cited in Fowler, 2004). Protestants tended to be better educated and more likely to inherit wealth than Catholics, and scholars view these factors as more significant contributors to economic success than the adherence to Protestant beliefs. However, regardless of the viewpoints of different scholars, the concept of work ethic formulated by Weber continues to be associated with success in the marketplace (Fowler, 2004).

According to Furnham (1984 as cited in Fowler, 2004:19), there are four key themes to Weber’s Theory:

- i. *The Doctrine of Calling.* Calling was the idea that God was pleased by hard work. Working hard brings an individual closer to God and to a higher place in heaven. Work is a calling and the reward is in the work itself. As a result, “Called” individuals take initiative to do a good job and are resourceful in finding ways to improve in their job.
- ii. *Predestination.* Predestination suggests that God’s grace is found in the success that results from working hard. Furthermore, predestination assumes that successful people are part of God’s elect group. Success of the employee is related to a willingness to be devoted, loyal, and hardworking.
- iii. *Asceticism.* Asceticism stresses saving, thrift, and a drive to work hard as the ends and not the means of accumulating wealth. There is a rejection of spending wealth on vices and luxuries. This third element includes the idea that the more work done, the less time for vices. If an individual is working, then there is less time for sin. Strong asceticism is supreme self-control that dominates the actions of the individual. Through those actions, the individual serves God. Independence, conscientiousness, accuracy, honesty in the workplace, and dependability are manifestations of this asceticism.
- iv. *Doctrine of Sanctification.* Sanctification stresses rational control over all aspects of life. Individuals should choose to do good work, and the work is accomplished in order to honour God. Individuals should control all of the activities in daily life

and spend all their time working in order to be pleasing to God. Self-control is manifested in the interpersonal skills of the individual.

Tubbs (2008) asserted that the Protestant work ethic is a controversial concept even to this day. Yet, he recognized, virtually all historians accept that it deeply influenced the founding and colonization of the United States and the shaping of western civilization in general.

2.5.2. Secularity of the Work Ethic

As mentioned in earlier discussions, work ethic used to be closely associated with religion in western societies for many years. Especially, people used to associate it with Protestantism. The concept of the PWE was advanced by Weber who proposed a causal relationship between the Protestant work ethic and the development of capitalism in Western society. In his Essay, as cited in Miller et al (2002), Weber advanced the thesis that the introduction and rapid expansion of capitalism and the resulting industrialization in Western Europe and North America was *in part* the result of the Puritan value of asceticism and the belief in a calling from God. The Puritan value of asceticism involves achieving personal discipline through the scrupulous use of time and strict self-denial of luxury, worldly pleasure, ease, and so on.

Weber's theory related success in business to religious belief. He proposed that the Protestant-Calvinistic faith had a spiritual thrust towards capitalism and was based on the assumption that work and financial success were means to achieve not only personal goals but religious goals as well (Yousef, 1999).

Despite Weber's original thesis, the premise that work ethic is a religiously oriented concept was contested, then and since, with the result that the word "protestant" tends to be dropped from the nomenclature in contemporary dialogue (Mailler, 2006; Miller et al, 2002). According to Miller et al (2002), Weber himself argued that while the Puritan ethos might be the origin of work ethic, which in turn partially drove the rapid expansion of capitalism, once established capitalism would no longer need the support of the religious beliefs that helped create it. As cited in Miller et al (2002:453), Weber stated "Today, the spirit of religious asceticism...has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer". In short, people would strive for success and wealth because the values associated with the

work ethic would become entrenched in society, and therefore considered expected behaviour and not aligned with any one set of religious beliefs (Weber, 1958 as cited in Miller et al, 2002).

Based on the foregoing argument and by citing several researchers, Miller et al (2002) argued that research has failed to find a consistent relation between religious orientation and work ethics beliefs. Ray (1982 as cited in Miller et al, 2002) concluded that all religious orientations currently share to the same degree the attributes associated with the work ethic. He further stated that the Protestant ethic “. . . is certainly not yet dead; it is just no longer Protestant”. This, as noted by Miller et al (2002), coincides with Pascarella’s (1984) contention that all major religions have espoused the importance of work. Finally, Miller et al (2002) suggest that what was conceived as a religious construct is now likely secular and is best viewed as general work ethic and not a Protestant work ethic.

Strengthening this assertion, Hill & Petty (1995) state that the work ethic, as is known today, is a secularized construct derived from Weber’s Protestant work ethic (PWE) theory. They argue that the PWE, asserting that Calvinist theology encouraged accumulation of wealth, has been widely used as an explanation for the success of capitalism in Western society. They, however, acknowledge that attitudes and beliefs supporting hard work have blended into the norms of western culture over the years, and are no longer attributable to a particular religious sect. Today’s concept of the work ethic is, thus, less allied with any particular religious faith and although the word “Protestant” might still come to mind, contemporary discussion of the work ethic tends to be secular (Mailler, 2006).

In connection with this, many researchers pointed out that throughout the development of Western society, the Protestant work ethic gave way to a more secularized, general work ethic. Applebaum (1992) argued that as industry and manufacturing developed in the 19th century, the concept of work became secularized and was viewed as an activity worthy in itself and capable of giving satisfaction to individuals. Rose (1985) also indicated that religiously-inspired notions of community gave way to an emphasis on individualism. Rose (1985) and Applebaum (1998) further argued that in the 20th century work began to be viewed as only one aspect of a fulfilling

life and that hard work would allow for increased leisure. Thus, the work ethic has shifted from an early focus on religious duty to the modern emphasis on individuals' getting ahead in life. Despite this secularization, however, central aspects of the work ethic such as the importance of hard work, an opposition to idleness, the normative and moral virtue of work, and the achievement of success through hard work have largely remained unchanged (Heacock, 2008).

2.5.3. Current Trends in Work Ethic

A recurring theme in the contemporary literature on work has been a declining work ethic (Applebaum, 1992; Bernstein, 1988; O'Toole, 1981 as cited in Hill, 1997). According to Lipset (1990) concern about this issue was raised in a widely cited report produced by a task force of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entitled *Work in America*. This report found that "significant numbers of Americans were dissatisfied with the quality of their working lives" and that "dull, repetitive, seemingly meaningless tasks are causing discontent among workers at all occupational levels". Numerous other reports of declining work ethic and concern about work attitudes have appeared since that time (Boardman, 1994; Miller, 1985; Sheehy, 1990; Stanton, 1983 as cited in Hill, 1997).

Within this context, as noted by Miller et al (2002), more and more members of the business community are also expressing concerns about the work ethic of present and potential employees. They further state that some employers believe that work ethic is declining in many industrialized countries including America. As noted by the authors, concern has been expressed by employers that the decline in work ethic corresponds to lower levels of job performance, higher levels of absenteeism and turnover, and increases in counterproductive behaviour ranging from unauthorized breaks to employee theft. Others have, however, argued that work ethic is not in decline; rather, the work ethic among those classified as "Generation X" is different from that of previous generations (Miller et al, 2002).

Because the decline of the work ethic is perceived as a modern phenomenon, criticism is often directed at young people who typically occupy entry-level positions

(Mailler, 2006). In relation to this, she suggested that there is a tendency for the older generation to believe that the younger generation possesses an inferior work ethic orientation and perhaps cognitive dissonance is at work in relation to this phenomenon. Quoting Ciulla (2000), Mailler (2006:55) pointed out:

“One curious thing about the work ethic is that members of almost every generation think that the next generation does not want to work as hard as they do. This revelation usually strikes people about the time they reach middle age. If each generation were right, then the work ethic would have died out a long time ago.”

Lipset (1990) also argued the conclusion that work ethic is declining is simply not sustained by the available evidence. He asserted that while he has few doubts that the work ethics is less prominent now than it was in the 19th century, the available facts do not justify bad-mouthing it. Many researchers believe that there has been no general decline in the adherence to the work ethic (Lipset, 1990). They, however, note that a differential reconstruction of work values, with increased emphasis on more interesting work, more participation, and less managerial control exists.

On the bases of the previous debate, research identifies three schools of thought regarding this change in work ethics and indicates how this change should be dealt with (Rose, 1985; Hamilton-Attwell, 1998). The three schools are, it belongs to the past; we can teach them; and different strokes for different folks. The basic thoughts of the three schools as adopted by Hamilton-Attwell (1998) are indicated below.

- i. *It belongs to the past:* This is by far the most widely accepted perspective of work ethics. It is assumed that, at some earlier age, things had been different, that advanced societies actually possessed a coherent set of social values, and that the majority were socialized into accepting these values. These social values exerted a toxic influence on work and the quality of workmanship. However, changes were brought about by higher education levels, competition among the workforce, affluence and the psychology of entitlement. This hypothesis postulates that most employees just abandoned the whole principle of work ethics. The followers of this school feel disillusioned and see themselves as the last of a dying breed with no solution to offer.

- ii. *We can teach them:* This school also believes that things used to be better and there is an elite group that is still committed to work. Members of this school feel that there still is an appropriate work ethics and given enough power, they could instil this work ethic in the workforce – especially the youth. This approach was often referred to during the political careers of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. They made no secret of their feeling that the “good old Protestant work ethic” ought to be re-established – especially by means of indoctrination. A lot of trust is put in the educational system: it has to produce literate, numerate people who have been taught how to be responsible and committed employees.
- iii. *Different strokes for different folks:* The followers of this school of thought believe that there has never been a time that employers and employees felt the same about work. They feel that values, derived from economic, religious, political and social factors determine the work ethic. No one could expect each value to have the same effect, and changes in the work ethic are caused by changes in the economic and social structures. Despite your particular view of the way the work ethic changed over time, we all agree that it did change. Work ethic is a dynamic force in the workplace and it has been contemplated since the beginning of civilization.

2.5.4. Factors Shaping the Contemporary Work Ethic

A review of the relevant literature suggests there are many factors that affect the development of an individual’s work ethic. The following factors are considered by many researchers as having a significant influence in shaping the work ethic of an individual – socialization experience during childhood and adolescence, schools, the family, and work experience and supervision.

i. Socialization experiences during childhood

Previous studies have shown that childhood experiences impose important influence in the development of the work ethic of an individual. Cherrington (1980) in this regard stated that the forces that cause some people to feel pride in craftsmanship and internally rewarded for performing an excellent job are to be found in the developmental experiences of early childhood and in the present work environment. He went on arguing that the values of adults are largely shaped by childhood experiences, and that these

values include not only work values but also other values such as honesty, compassion, and altruism. According to Cherrington, firm discipline, obedience and self-control play a major role in the development of strong work ethic in an individual's early life. In his research, Cherrington (1980) identified adults with a high level of work ethic and found out that the best predictors of the work ethic were childhood experiences. Based on the examination he made on the childhood background of adults in his study, Cherrington (1980) concluded that the development of an individual's work ethic is strongly influenced by childhood experiences.

Braude (1975), as cited in Fowler (2004), also stated that children learn to place a value on work as they are assigned chores with increasing responsibility and greater expectations of the outcome. Work ethic is positively influenced by expectations of good performance from both those assigning the chores and other family members (Fowler, 2004). As a child gets older, the attitudes toward work become internalized, and the work performance of the child is less dependent on the reactions of others.

Children are also influenced by the attitudes of others toward work (Hill, 1996). If a parent demonstrates a positive attitude toward work, then the child will tend to believe that work is worthwhile. Parents who demonstrate a strong work ethic tend to impart a strong work ethic to their children (Fowler, 2004).

Moreover, Mulligan (1997) noted that the willingness to work is influenced by habits, childhood experiences and attitudes. He argues based on his research output that an adult child may work regardless of his wage and nonwage income because he observed his parents working as a child.

It can, thus, be observed from the on-going discussion that childhood experiences affect the resulting work ethic of an adult. As Fowler (2004) suggested, if the child sees a parent with a positive attitude toward work, the child will likely have a positive attitude toward work as a grownup. The expectations placed on the child about work also have an effect on the resulting adult work ethic. Children who are reared with expectations about completing work and doing work well, as Fowler (2004) notes, will likely perform well as adults.

ii. *Socialization in the workplace*

Another significant factor shaping the work attitudes of people is socialization which occurs in the workplace. As a person enters the workplace, the perceptions and reactions of others tend to confirm or contradict the work attitudes shaped in childhood (Braude, 1975 as cited in Fowler, 2004). The occupational culture, especially the influence of an “inner fraternity” of colleagues, has a significant impact on the attitudes toward work and the work ethics, which form part of each person’s belief system (Fowler, 2004).

iii. *Schools*

Research findings have also suggested that schools have a major impact on the development of work ethic (Braude, 1975; Cherrington, 1980; Hill, 1992, Severinsen, 1979 as cited in Fowler, 2004).

Among the mechanisms provided by society to transfer the culture to young people is the school. Mailler (2006) cited Beder (2000) as pointing out that formal attempts to provide instruction in the work ethic have been particularly important in schools since the 19th century. It may be true that one of the functions of schools is to foster student understanding of cultural norms, and in some cases, to recognize the merits of accepting them. However, in the absence of early socialization which supports good work attitudes, schools should not be expected to completely transform a young person’s work ethic orientation, but enlightening students about what the work ethic is, and why it is important to success in the contemporary workplace, should be a component of school teaching. In line with this, Hill (1997) stated that whether or not it should be a function of schools to impart cultural norms to the young is a point on which educators and policy decision makers disagree. As Hill noted, most would however concur that an important part of preparing someone for employment is to facilitate the understanding of job requirements and practices, which typically lead to success. In this regard, Hill pointed out that the topic of work ethic should be a key element of any career preparation program. Hill finally indicated that for schools and other work preparation programs to address properly the issue of work ethic and work attitudes, an understanding of its status in the contemporary workplace is needed.

Mailler (2006) noted that some educational programs attempt to address the work ethic in a structured way, but it is questionable to what extent the complexity of the concept receives consideration. Equally uncertain is, Mailler (2006) further asserted, the extent to which attempts to modify a person's work ethic are informed by knowledge about the work ethic state with in which the person presently functions; a principle derived from moral development theory.

The conclusion that can be drawn here is that the work ethic in whatever form can be found in schools, and this has ramifications for teachers and teacher education.

iv. Parents

As discussed earlier, the family is suggested as providing the most important influence in shaping a person's work ethic during the formative years. In line with this, Mailler (2006) argues that parents are influential in the cultivation of their children's work ethic, but they have not been entrusted with sole responsibility for this task.

Cherrington (1980) argued by citing Baumrind (1966) that authoritative parents also contribute to the development of work ethics. Baumrind, as Cherrington noted, reviewed 12 child rearing studies and concluded that those children who experienced high demands of obedience from their parents were the least hostile or delinquent. Parents who demanded that children perform chores and other household responsibilities were also likely to be involved in the child's welfare. This review also showed that self-reliant children came from parents who exhibited firm control.

Careful analysis of these child-rearing studies reveals that parents could be divided into three types: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive. Cherrington (1980), based on Baumrind's research, noted that the behavioural differences between authoritative (those who set boundaries and explained those boundaries) and authoritarian (those who set boundaries without explanation) parents were rather small.

However, these two sets of parents produced a significant difference in the behaviour of the children. The study further asserted that both kinds of parents took an active role in shaping the children's behaviour. While both exercise power to obtain obedience; exert firm discipline and rule enforcement; and disapprove of children's defiance, they differ in the extent to which they encourage independence and individuality. Cherrington (1980) further noted that authoritative parents defined the

child's individuality clearly, encouraged intimate verbal contact, displayed empathetic understanding and gave reasons for their directives while authoritarian parents did not. Children with authoritarian parents did not retain the acceptable behaviour upon removal of the parental presence. Baumrind (1966), as noted by Cherrington, concluded that independence and individuality develop not by the absence of control, but by appropriate controls that help children master their environment. A high level of work ethic includes these characteristics of independence and individuality.

In this similar study, Cherrington (1980) noted, permissive parents were non-controlling, non-demanding, and relatively warm, but they did not produce independent children. The children of permissive parents were the least self-reliant, the least explorative, and the least self-controlled. Furthermore, the children of permissive parents were generally lacking in social responsibility (Cherrington, 1980).

v. *Supervision and Work Experience*

Mulligan (1997) suggests that factors other than childhood experiences also contribute to a person's willingness to work. In connection to this, Fowler (2004) stated that an individual's experience as an employee is also a factor influencing one's willingness to work. A person who has successfully arranged transportation, childcare, and other critical family factors will have a higher willingness to work than individuals without these arrangements in place. She further argues that individuals with problem-solving skills that include managing the multiple priorities associated with working have an increased sense of willingness to work. Good supervision also plays a role in developing this attribute as well (Cherrington, 1980). High quality work supervision can have a dramatic impact on work values.

According to Cherrington (1980), supervisors who hold high expectations of employees, including a commitment to excellence, are more likely to develop employees who exhibit a strong work ethic. He further stated that the expectations of supervisors influence performance by changing the worker's self-concepts, personal aspirations and goals. With effective supervision, he noted, employees develop personal commitment and exercise individual choice, which leads them to become willing and enthusiastic workers – workers with a strong work ethic.

In summary, the development of work ethic within an individual seems to be influenced by childhood experiences, family background, school, work experience and supervision. A more comprehensive consideration of this issue will be made in the conceptual framework section (see pages 55-59).

2.5.5. Leisure versus Hard Work

As stated in previous discussions, the work ethic is closely linked with hard work, and idleness was considered as a sin. According to Modrack (2008), Calvin insisted that idleness and waste of time lead to certain condemnation, while hard work and frugality gave evidence that one was among the elect. Modrack further argues that at the heart of the Protestant ethic are hard work and profit seeking, paired with strict avoidance of any worldly pleasure, idleness or waste of time.

While the Judeo-Christian tradition in western thought placed strong emphasis on the ideology of work, another western tradition - that of the ancient Greeks - did not (Applebaum, 1992). According to Applebaum, Aristotle promoted a 'leisure ethic' rather than a work ethic. He viewed leisure not as idleness, but as active self-fulfilment of one's time as one is released from work. Use of the mind for contemplation was for Aristotle the highest of all human endeavours.

In his discussion on the future of work and leisure, Applebaum (1992) explains that choice and control are crucial to structuring individual lives and both are involved with work and leisure. Work is more than just another aspect of life. According to him, modern work determines individual income, which influences quality of life and free time, the precondition for the free play of our full human potential. There is growing awareness of the need for change based on advancing new technologies. Change could involve more choice between working time and free time, with enlarged choices for human beings as individuals, not just as consumers. Futurist theorists, as Applebaum (1992) noted, see the possibility of changing the work ethic as modern technology offers the chance to reduce the amount of work necessary for sustenance and expanding the free time available for individuals to pursue lives of greater self-fulfilment.

During the 20th century, industrial societies have experienced a dramatic rise in the amount of free time as compared with work time. The result has been a rise in leisure, leisure industries and leisure goods (Applebaum, 1992). Dumazedier, as cited in Applebaum, asserts that leisure and health are the fastest growing spending sectors in the economies of Western Europe

and the USA. Without the goods, services and employment of the leisure industries, industrial nations would be in a severe depression. Leisure is no longer the province of the rich.

Applebaum (1992) further indicates that the creation of leisure time rests on work and economic performance. The more that is produced in less time, the greater is the amount of time available for free time - 'free' because it is based on one's own choice. The old duality of work and leisure, he asserts, is no longer adequate to examine this important dimension of life. Applebaum (1992: 341-342) further argues that

The allotment of time to work and to leisure is not yet on the political agenda. Neither is the issue of how much time we owe to society, to family, and to ourselves. Still, many theorists believe we are on the threshold of being able to create a society in which an alternative or complementary value to the work ethic can be developed. Work in the future and the future of the work ethic is related to the future of leisure, and the one social activity cannot be discussed without bringing in the other one.

Applebaum (1992) lists the contrasting meanings of work and leisure as: work involves effort, exertion and pain, while leisure is effortless, easy and pleasurable. Work is done through compulsion, while leisure is unforced. Work is a means to an end, while leisure is an end in itself. Work is time spent for others, while leisure is one's own time. Work is socially useful and an obligation to society, while leisure is individually enjoyed. Work is rewarded, while leisure is its own reward. Work is routine, while leisure is liberating and free from routine. Work is organized by others and synchronized by clocks, while leisure is self-organized and free from schedules and regimentation. Many of the prescriptions for work in the future are based on lessening the unpleasant aspects associated with work and increasing the pleasant aspects associated with leisure.

In short, it can be discerned from the on-going discussion that in our modern societies, the relationship between work and leisure is dependent upon quality of life issues, and varies with each individual depending upon their choice of work. For some groups of people, leisure is considered an extension of their work activities. Leisure activities can be presumed to be related to job satisfaction and involvement in work. Work also provides the financial means with which to participate in leisure activities.

2.6. Ethics and the Public Service

As noted in the previous sections, while differences exist in the literature regarding the definition of *ethics*, it is useful to think about ethics as the behavioural extension of morals. Ballard (1990) maintains that morals are beliefs about right versus wrong. Ethics, then, is the behavioural practices which put morals into action. Fundamentally, he further argues, public policy ethics is the question of how individuals should behave in organizational and social settings (Ballard, 1990).

Anello (2006) also explains that moral values have to do with what is believed to be good and of primary importance to human civilization, and are often articulated as ideals. Moral values inform judgment by defining right from wrong and good behaviour from bad. Ethical principles are the operational expression of moral values and provide guidance to decision making and action. Along this same line of reasoning, Lewis and Gilman (2005) relate these concepts to public service in that ethical principles are guides to action; they operationalize values and cue behaviour befitting public service.

The ethical dimension of public administration has engaged the attention of scholars, donor agencies and public servants. Indeed, the concern for ethics in the public service has become a significant issue in both the developed and developing countries (Ayee, 1998). Although there is no agreement on the increase or otherwise of the level of unethical, unprofessional or corrupt behaviour, there is evidence to suggest that more publicity is now being given to such behaviour than in the past. In both the developed and developing countries, the public's perception of widespread wrongdoing has helped to undermine public trust and confidence in governments. As a response to this widespread concern with unethical behaviour, governments all over have designed mechanisms aimed at promoting and preserving ethical conduct by public officials.

The need to build confidence in governments in light of the increased concern on corruption and unethical behaviour of their civil servants prompted governments to review their approaches to ethical conduct. According to UNDP (2007), there are two broad approaches by which governments attempt to improve public service ethics. These are compliance-based ethics management and integrity-based ethics management. While the former approach depends on rules and enforcement and seems more appropriate to situations in which unethical behaviour is

rampant and will be difficult to change widespread corruption, the latter is based on inducements and support and appears more appropriate to situations in which there is a strong, shared sense of values and a higher degree of homogeneity. However, in reality countries in most cases take a mixed approach (UNDP, 2007). The same document further elaborates that successful ethics management generally requires a balanced package that combines elements of compliance as well as integrity-based approaches and their adaptation to the cultural, political and administrative traditions of the particular country. Adopting new laws including code of conduct by itself does not go very far without implementing the spirit and the word as well as political will as noted in the document. Experience from the cases reviewed in the report reveals that governments have attempted to promote ethical behaviour in their civil service through solidifying legal structures and by 'aspirational' efforts such as a code of conduct for the civil service, ethics campaigns, training, the introduction of 'citizens' charters', and the implementation of transparent control and accountability systems at the community level. This entails approaching the issue of ethics management from both the state as well as citizens' angles in order to encourage the check-and-balance system (UNDP, 2007).

Ethics is important in modern bureaucracies and public services because ethics translates in practical terms into the use or abuse of power (including political, professional, governmental, organizational, and personal power) and legitimate authority. The power of people in public service compared to those they serve is behind the idea that "public service is a public trust" and explains why so many governmental and professional codes impose strong obligations on public servants who, as temporary stewards, exercise public power and authority. Their position is neither theirs to own, nor is it theirs to keep (Lewis, 2005).

Why Public Sector Ethics?

The public sector or the state is the government with all its ministries, departments, services, central/provincial/local administrations, parastatal businesses and other institutions. Amundsen and Andrade (2009) note that the public sector is composed of two core elements. At the political level there are the political institutions where policies are formulated and the major decisions are made, and at the administrative level, there is the public sector administration, which is in charge of implementing these policies and decisions. This implementing level is also called the civil service or state administration or bureaucracy. The distinction between politics

and administration is not entirely clear though; because the administration also have quite some discretionary powers.

Ethics is rarely a matter of concern in the ideology debate on the role of the state, but ethics is a natural concern in the discussion on the actual role of the politicians and the state administration. No matter how big and what role the state is playing (and supposed to be playing), both politicians and civil servants have discretionary powers; they make decisions that affects many people. Therefore, these decisions ought to be based on some form of ethics. For instance, the public (a nation's citizens) will normally expect the country's politicians and public servants to serve in the public interest, and to serve in a rational and efficient way. They will not want them to pursue narrow private, personal, or group interests.

Professional, public sector ethics of civil servants and politicians are somewhat different from the personal ethics of individuals. In addition to the personal ethical values and principles of individuals (like respect for others, honesty, equality, fairness, etc.), the professional public servant faces another context and an additional set of values and principles. Although the public sector is a labyrinth of agencies with different tasks, reporting lines, levels of responsibility and ethical cultures, we are looking for these "universal" or basic principles of public service.

According to Kinchin (2007), the ethics of public service is (should be) based on five basic virtues: fairness, transparency, responsibility, efficiency and no conflict of interest. There are, however, other principles in operation, and public servants face several dilemmas, for instance, when the bureaucrats' private ethics collide with his professional public work ethics or organizational cultures.

The Infrastructure of Public Sector Ethics

The combination of ethical standard setting, legal regulation and institutional reform has been called "the ethics infrastructure" or "ethics regime" or "integrity system". Each part is a source of public sector ethics. In other words, public sector ethics emanates from several different sources. These sources range from the private ethical character of the individual public servant, via the agency-internal regulations and culture of the agency and national legislation, to international conventions with written standards and codes of conduct. The most efficient ethics regime is when these three sources work in parallel and in the same direction.

International Norms and International Legislation

A large number of international agencies have developed Codes of Ethics or Codes of Conduct for their employees and for public servants in general. Some have also made Codes of Conduct for politicians and elected power-holders. These ethical standards can be important sources of national legislation and regulation, when properly implemented into the national ethics regime. Most of the international standards are based on the Weberian bureaucratic principles of legitimacy, rationality and meritocracy.

Historically, Max Weber was one of the first philosophers and political scientists to describe the principles of government authority and the bureaucracy. Weber was the first to explain the three aspects of government authority as charismatic, traditional, or legitimate (legal-rational) forms of authority upon which political leadership, domination and authority can be based. Charismatic authority stems from idealism and religious sources (authority people believe in and accept because they are convinced about “the message”). Traditional authority stems from patriarchy, patrimonialism, feudalism and other traditional authorities that people accept because of tradition. Finally, the rational-legal authority stems from modern legal principles, which people accept because they are universal, rational and democratic. These three forms of authority are important to recognize also as sources of ethical standards.

Furthermore, it was Weber who began the studies of bureaucracy and whose works led to the popularization of the term. According to Weber (1922), the classic, hierarchically organized civil service of the European type is only one ideal type of public administration and government, but by far the most efficient and successful one. Although Weber did not like it particularly much himself, he outlines a description of the development of this bureaucracy that involves rationalization (a shift from a value-oriented, traditional and charismatic organization and to a goal-oriented and rule-based bureaucratic organization structured on a legal-rational authority).

According to Weber, the attributes of modern bureaucracy include its impersonality, concentration of the means of administration, and implementation of a system of authority that is practically indestructible. Weber's analysis of bureaucracy outlines the following seven principles of the bureaucratic organization:

1. Official business is conducted on a continuous basis
2. Official business is conducted with strict accordance to the following rules:

- a. The duty of each official to do certain types of work is delimited in terms of impersonal criteria
 - b. The official is given the authority necessary to carry out his/her assigned functions
 - c. The means of coercion at his/her disposal are strictly limited and conditions of their use strictly defined
3. Every official's responsibilities and authority are part of a vertical hierarchy of authority, with respective rights of supervision and appeal
 4. Officials do not own the resources necessary for the performance of their assigned functions but are accountable for their use of these resources
 5. Official and private business and income are strictly separated
 6. Offices cannot be appropriated by their incumbents (inherited, sold, etc.)
 7. Official business is conducted on the basis of written documents

Thus, according to Weber, a bureaucratic official is appointed to his/her position on the basis of merit and conduct, he/she exercises the authority delegated to him/her in accordance with impersonal rules, and his/her loyalty is enlisted on behalf of the faithful execution of his/her official duties. Furthermore, his/her appointment and job placement are dependent upon his/her technical qualifications; his/her administrative work is a full-time occupation, and a regular salary and prospects of advancement in a lifetime career reward his/her work.

An official must exercise his/her judgment and skills, but his/her duty is to place these at the service of a higher authority, and therefore he/she is responsible only for the impartial execution of assigned tasks. Furthermore, he/she must sacrifice his/her personal judgment if it runs counter to his/her official duties.

Meritocracy is at the core of the modern bureaucratic system. Meritocracy is the principle wherein appointments are made and responsibilities are given based on demonstrated talent and ability (merit; usually education and acquired skills), rather than by wealth (plutocracy), family connections (nepotism), class privilege (nobility and oligarchy), friends (cronyism), or other historical determinants of social position and political power.

Although the Weberian approach to bureaucracy has been severely criticized and modernized, many aspects of modern public administration go back to him, and the main principles of an efficient bureaucracy are still validated. The ideal bureaucracy is characterized

by impersonality, efficiency and rationality; published rules and codes of practice; decisions and actions based on regulations and recorded in writing; plus the elements of meritocracy and a strict separation of private interest from public office.

Institutionalizing Ethics in Organizations

Sims (1991) notes that ethics in organizations is one of today's hottest topics as evidenced by the plethora of articles in the literature. In addition, the institutionalization and management of ethics is a problem facing all types of organizations: educational, governmental, religious, business, and the like. Brenner (1992 as cited in Jose and Thibodeaux, 1999) also points out that all organizations, whether they know it or not, have ethics programs. Most often, these programs are not explicitly created, but are inherent in the cultures, systems, and processes of the organization. According to Sims (1991), institutionalization should be examined in terms of specific behaviours or acts; and Goodman and Dean (1981 as cited in Sims, 1991) define an institutionalized act as a behaviour that is performed by two or more individuals, persists over time, and exists as a part of the daily functioning of the organization.

Sims (1991) further explains that ethical principles can be institutionalized within organizations in a variety of ways by considering both long- and short-term factors. For the long-term, organizations should develop their organization's culture so that it supports the learning and, if necessary, the relearning of personal values that promote ethical behaviour. For example, when decisions are made, managers should explicitly and publicly explain the ethical factors that accompany each alternative considered. An organization should create and continue to nurture an organizational culture that supports and values ethical behaviour. This can be done, for example, by encouraging organization members to display signs of ethical values through whistle blowing. In the short term, organizations can make public statements that ethical behaviour is important and expected. The goal of such activities is to ensure that ethical concerns are considered in the same routine manner in which legal, financial, and marketing concerns are addressed. Jose and Thibodeaux (1999) indicated that Brenner (1992) distinguished between explicit and implicit programs of institutionalizing ethics. The explicit aspects of all ethics programs include codes of ethics, policy manuals, employee training materials, employee orientation programs, and ethics committees. The implicit aspects include corporate culture, incentive systems, leadership, promotion policies, and performance evaluation.

The Explicit Forms

Among the explicit forms, creating top-level committees to monitor the ethical behaviour of the organization is the first mechanism used to institutionalize ethics (Sims, 1991). The second mechanism for institutionalization of ethics within an organization is the use of a code of ethics. The third method, which has gained in popularity in recent years, is the implementation of ethics training programs. According to Jose and Thibodeaux (1999), corporations should reinforce their codes of conduct with ethics training so that employees can see how the generality of codes can be used in specific, day-to-day work situations. Other explicit methods of institutionalizing ethics include ethics offices, ombudspeople, hotlines, newsletters, and committees.

The Implicit Forms

Jose and Thibodeaux (1999) outline organizational culture, ethical leadership, reward, promotion, and performance evaluation systems; and top management support as the implicit forms of institutionalizing ethics. They indicated that there is a direct relationship between ethical behaviour in organizations and corporate cultures because corporate cultures set the moral tone for organizations. Ethical leadership is another implicit method by which organizations instil ethics. O'Boyle and Dawson (1992) opine that role models are important in setting a positive ethical climate because humans as social beings are influenced by others. Jose and Thibodeaux (1999) point out that reward systems are the most important formal influence on people's behaviour. Top management support is also essential to the successful implementation of any ethics program.

Often times, most of the attention is given to the explicit methods of institutionalizing ethics. The increase in the number of corporate ethics codes, ethics offices, and ethics officers attests to the importance of the explicit methods of institutionalization. However, the results of the study by Jose and Thibodeaux (1999) indicated that implicit methods of institutionalizing ethics are more important than explicit means. Managers involved in the study overwhelmingly emphasized the importance of corporate culture, ethical leadership, and open communication channels in any effort to institutionalize ethics. The study showed that organizations should follow up their ethical strategy not only with structures such as codes, ombudsperson, and committees, but also with their systems, such as performance evaluation, promotion, and reward and cultures. This study also reaffirmed the important role that implicit forms, such as corporate

culture, leadership, top management support, and communication play in any strategy implementation process.

2.7. Overview of the Ethiopian Civil Service

2.7.1. General

According to the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs website (www.mfa.gov.et), Ethiopia is the oldest independent country in Africa. It resisted colonisation by Italy and achieved international recognition in 1896 as a traditional monarchy, led by Emperor Menelik II. For much of the 20th century, Ethiopia was ruled by Haile Selassie, crowned as Emperor in 1930. His long rule ended with the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam emerged as the leader of the Provisional Military Administrative Council (known as the Dergue) in 1977 which established a socialist state. Ethiopia was wracked by civil war for most of the Dergue period, including a secessionist war in the northern province of Eritrea, an irredentist war with Somalia, and regional rebellions - notably in Tigray and Oromia. The population experienced massive human rights abuse and intense economic hardship, including acute famine in 1984-5. The Dergue was overthrown in May 1991 when rebels of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) captured Addis Ababa. Ethiopia's current constitution was adopted in December 1994, with executive powers vested in the prime minister. In a decisive break with Ethiopia's tradition of centralised rule, today's institutions are based on the principle of ethnic federalism, designed to provide self-determination and autonomy to Ethiopia's different ethnic groups.

2.7.2. Historical Development of the Ethiopian Civil Service

The Civil Service in the Menelik II Period

Modern administrative system in Ethiopia is believed to have been established on the turn of the first decade of 20th century during the reign of Emperor Menelik II. Prior to this period, the country was under traditional administration and the different Ethiopian monarchs had failed to build any kind of administrative framework through which they could exercise their absolute power (Paulos, 2001). As part of the effort to modernize the country's public administration, the Emperor established nine ministries which marked the beginning of European style administration. According to Paulos (2001), the ministers were not salaried and appointment was

based on loyalty and the number of followers that they could mobilize during wartime. The civil service was also small in number and was primarily engaged in maintaining law and order.

According to the MSC (2012), at that time the public administration was implemented based on the free will of the kings and lords without any pertinent rules and regulations. People were hired based on the personal acquaintances and friendships they had with the nobility. Anyone who did not have some kind of relationship, no matter how competent he/she was, was denied services and employment. It was therefore a widely accepted culture among the public to pay tribute and bribe to the nobility to get any type of service from public offices. This source also indicated that judges and local officials were under the influence of the nobility; and therefore, justice was easily and obviously violated based on the quality and amount of bribe paid. Generally, however, the setting up of the ministries by Menelik was the beginning of a new era in the administrative development of the country and the inception of the civil service (Paulos, 2001).

The Civil Service in the Imperial Period (1930-1974)

According to Paulos (2001), Emperor HaileSelassie had the best claim of instituting modern public administration in Ethiopia, which was started by his predecessor. It was during his reign that the process of centralising and modernising the state reached a relatively advanced stage and the modernisation of the state was promoted. Here are the administrative reforms undertaken during Haileselassie's reign.

- *The Administrative Regulation Decree No. 1 of 1942* which ended the strong power and autonomy of the provincial governors by instituting the appointment of governors-general, directors, governors, principal secretaries and police to each province by the centre. The governors-general and the officers were attached directly to Addis Ababa and received their salaries from the central treasury.
- *Order No.1 of 1943 to define the Powers and Duties of the Ministries and Order No.2 of 1943 to amend the Ministers (Definition of Powers) were issued.* Through these two orders the Council of Ministers was created. Twelve ministers were listed, their powers and relations were defined, and the Office of the Prime Minister was established. The Office of the Prime Minister was made head of all ministries and was responsible for the

good administration of all the work in the ministries, harmonising their duties and transmitting the Emperor's orders.

- *The revised constitution of 1955* made a clear distinction between posts of confidence and career posts. In Article 66, it states that the Emperor has the right to select, appoint, and dismiss the Prime Minister and all other ministers and vice-ministers. The appointment, promotion, transfer, suspension, retirement, dismissal and discipline of all other government officials and employees was to be governed by regulations made by the Council of Ministers, to be approved and proclaimed by the Emperor.
- *The establishment of the Imperial Institute of Public Administration in 1952* as a joint venture of the Ethiopian Government and the technical assistance program of the United Nations. Its objectives included training of civil servants, consultation and research.
- The establishment of the Central Personnel Agency by Order no. 23 of 1961 and subsequent amendment by Order no. 28 of 1962.
- The enactment of basic regulations governing the civil service through the Public Service Regulation no. 1, 1962 and the Public Service Position Classification and Scale regulation no. 1, 1972.

According to Paulos (2001), the creation of the Central Personnel Agency was a landmark in the proper formation of the civil service administration. The agency's primary objective was to maintain an efficient, effective and permanent civil service based on a merit system.

ECA (1996) noted that the basis of a modern administrative system and the moral basis of the state were laid in the imperial period. Hence, this period constituted a period of high moral values on the part of the population and civil servants. On the other hand, as the study argues, the emperor and the aristocracy in this period had a dominant influence on the governance processes and this usually served to undermine ethical direction and consistency in the civil service. Kassahun (1998) argues along the same line and asserted that Public Administration under the monarchy suffered from irregularities that resulted from the rampancy of several ills, which included, among others, cronyism, discretionary interventions, prevalence of political clientelism, and the taking effect of individual and group interests to the detriment of established rules and procedures. Kassahun (1998) went on to argue that such malpractices militated against the smooth functioning of the civil

service thereby reducing its prowess to gear the development of work ethic in the desired direction. Moreover, Paulos (2001) stated that the absence of strict adherence to the civil service rules and regulations, and political interference in administrative affairs were seen as chronic problems of the time.

The Civil Service in the Dergue Period (1974-1991)

In 1994 a self-proclaimed socialist government came to power through coup d'état. It was a highly centralised unitary government following a Soviet-inspired centralised economic planning and command economic system. The Dergue exerted all it could to radically redesign the administrative machinery in line with its socialist/central-planning ideological ethos. According to Kassahun (1998), within few years of its incumbency, the Dergue politicized the civil service by fusing the single party within the institutions of state and government. This resulted in the proliferation of parallel party structures and appointment of party functionaries to key civil service decision-making positions. In such processes, merit and professionalism gave way to political clientalism and patronage. The ever centralization of administrative decision making in the hands of political decision makers witnessed a situation where corruption, inefficient service delivery and increased neglect of due process of law in matters of public concern became a routine exercise (Kassahun 1998). Furthermore, the Dergue regime questioned the basis of the accepted norms and codes of behaviour within and outside the civil service (ECA, 1996). It attempted to foster new socialist ethical foundation in the society and the civil service, which culminated in a state of moral confusion and turbulence ultimately undermining ethics in the hearts and minds of the people (ECA, 1996).

The Civil Service in the EPRDF Period (1991- to date)

By the time the incumbent government assumed power in 1991, it has inherited an administrative system that labours under the cumulative legacies of these two earlier phases of aristocratic, authoritarian and capricious management of the civil service. In light of these difficulties, Kassahun (1998) noted, the government undertook a number of measures deemed instrumental to reverse previous arrangements that it considered undesirable. This was expressed in effecting a policy of transition from the old practice of single party

hegemony to the multiparty system, and changing the centrally planned economic model to the market variant. Both signified the ushering in of a formally liberalized environment (ECA, 1996; Getachew & Richard, 2006). The Civil Service was once again called upon to meet another set of new challenges accruing thereof (Kassahun, 1998). Therefore, reforming the civil service constituted one of the top priority agenda of the government (Adebabay, 2011).

Following the fall of the Dergue regime, the EPRDF-coalition Government embarked on a long term strategy of “state transformation” characterized by bold attempts to implement multiple reforms in parallel; the massive scale-up of institutional development efforts across tiers of government; and the deliberate expansion of the scope of public sector capacity building initiatives (World Bank, 2004). Spanning nearly a decade, Ethiopia’s transformation agenda has evolved over three phases in response to growing awareness that pervasive deficits in capacity have hampered the ability of the state to secure the fundamentals of poverty reduction and democratic development such as responsive service delivery, citizen empowerment, and good governance. As part of its national transformation drive, the government has embarked on a national capacity building programme with fourteen key components under it. Within the framework of the national capacity building programme, the Government initiated a comprehensive civil service reform programme (CSRP) in 1996 as an integral part of a broader programme of multi-faceted reforms intended to build and strengthen public sector capacity for the attainment of the Government's socio-economic development goals and objectives.

According to MSC (2012), the total number of civil servants in the country reached 926,716 by the year 2012. Different sources (e.g., Capital Newspaper, July 14, 2014) estimate the number to have increased to 1.3 million by 2014.

2.7.3. The Ethiopian Civil Service Reform Programme (CSRP) in Brief

The CSRP was initiated with the aim of creating an enabling environment which will allow the civil service to function effectively and efficiently. It focuses on the development and implementation of appropriate legal and regulatory frameworks, and institutional and human resources as well as the introduction of improved management systems and best practices. The overall purpose is to build a fair, effective, efficient, transparent and ethical civil service through

institutional reforms, systems development and training (Hana, 2014; Husnia, 2004; World Bank, n.d.). The CSRP consisted of five components: (i) Expenditure Management and Control, (ii) Human Resource Management, (iii) Service Delivery Improvement, (iv) Top Management Systems, and (v) Ethics. The Ethics subprogram was mainly designed to address corruption and other impropriety.

According to Arsema (2010), the Government of Ethiopia began the task of a Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) with the establishment of a taskforce comprised of 23 senior government officials and civil servants to examine the overall management system and operation of the civil service at all levels of government. Arsema further noted that at the conclusion of its 15-month study, the taskforce came up with a comprehensive report on the performance of Ethiopia's civil service. The study revealed that there was a lack of a coherent strategy for ensuring ethical standards in the civil service. In order to carry out a comprehensive reform, under the ethics sub-program, the following six projects were designed: (i) development of codes of practices and a legislative framework; (ii) establishment of a government central body on ethics; (iii) strengthening of the capacity of police, prosecutors, and the judiciary; (iv) strengthening the capacity of the mass media; (v) ethical education; and (vi) a corruption survey. The above-mentioned projects were further subdivided into a series of components.

Based on the recommendations of the taskforce and as one component of the ethics subprogram, the Ethiopian Government established the Federal Ethics and Anti - Corruption Commission (FEACC) in May 2001, which is the first of its kind in the Country's history. According to the revised 433/2005 establishment proclamation, the Commission is entrusted with the following objectives:

1. In cooperation with relevant bodies, to strive to create an aware society where corruption will not be condoned or tolerated by promoting ethics and anti-corruption education;
2. In cooperation with relevant bodies, to prevent corruption offences and other improprieties;
3. To expose, investigate and prosecute corruption offences and impropriety.

Additionally, according to Arsema (2010), seven of the nine regional states have established their own ethics and anti-corruption commissions to fight and prevent corruption in their respective regions since 2007.

As noted in Arsema (2010), the FEACC has adopted Hong Kong's three-pronged approach to fighting corruption, which includes the functions of ethics education, corruption prevention, and law enforcement, and has tailored the model to fit the Ethiopian context.

In its fight against corruption, Ethiopia attaches a significant premium to international and continental conventions (FEACC, n.d.). As a result, the country is a party to both the UN convention Against Corruption (UNCAC) and the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption AUCPCC. According to the report, it has also been actively participating in various initiatives such as the Construction Sector Transparency Initiative (COST) and the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Research Paradigm

Dictated by the nature of the questions raised, this study has adopted a mixed research approach. A mixed method enables the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study, which in turn promotes the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research (Creswell et al., 2003). Plano-Clark and Creswell (2008) further elaborated the mixed-methods approach as a research design with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. The central premise of the mixed-methods approach is that the combined use of quantitative and qualitative approach provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone. Johnson and Turner (2003) cited in Jonson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) also argue that employment of the multiple methods is likely to result in complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses.

Generally, there are five primary purposes proposed in the literature for using mixed methods design: confirmation, complementarity, initiation, development, and expansion (Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2006). Mixed methods research is, however, not limited to a single purpose for conducting a study as there may be multiple reasons for using this methodology (Andrew and Halcomb, 2009).

This study used the mixed methods research design so as to explain or expand the quantitative findings with the qualitative data (complementarity); to confirm and increase the validity of the quantitative findings (confirmation or triangulation). It is imperative to understand that there are different types of mixed methods research designs. Andrew and Halcomb (2009) provided six primary mixed methods research designs: sequential explanatory, sequential exploratory, sequential transformative, concurrent triangulation, concurrent nested, and concurrent transformative. The sequential explanatory design was chosen for this study the detail of which is provided in the next section.

3.1.2. Data Type and Collection Methods

As indicated earlier, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected due to the mixed research approach adopted for the study. Qualitative and quantitative data can be collected either

sequentially or concurrently. In sequential studies one data collection method follows after the other, whereas, in concurrent studies, the qualitative and quantitative data are collected at the same time (Andrew & Halcomb, 2009). This research adopted the sequential explanatory approach where quantitative data were first collected from service users and employees through questionnaire survey, followed by collection of qualitative data through an in-depth interview from selected key informants. The preliminary quantitative results obtained were useful in providing ideas for subsequent qualitative interview questions. Findings from the qualitative study component were then used to explain and contextualize the results from the quantitative study component.

In terms of the sources of data, both primary and secondary sources were approached to collect the necessary data for the study. Primary quantitative data were collected through questionnaire survey from two groups of research participants – civil servants and the service users; whereas primary qualitative data were collected through in-depth face-to-face interview. However, not all qualitative data are one and the same. According to Ritchie and Lewis (2003), a key distinction is made between naturally occurring and generated qualitative data. The main methods involved in working with naturally occurring data are observation, documentary analysis, conversation analysis, and discourse analysis; whereas the main methods used in dealing with generated data are in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

While the choice of data collection methods mainly flows from the research questions, it may also be influenced by the context, structure, and timing of research (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). According to the authors, generated data collection methods allow participants to describe the personal or organizational contexts in which the research issue is located and how they relate to it. But, they also note that if context is such a fundamental aspect of the research phenomenon that observing or experiencing the research phenomenon in its natural context is critical to understanding, then naturally occurring data is likely to be preferred.

Furthermore, as noted in Ritchie & Lewis (2003), a key distinction between naturally occurring and generated data is the role of the researcher and participant interpretation. Naturally occurring data relies on the researcher's interpretation of what is observed or read. While the meaning that the research issue holds for a participant is embedded in their enactment of it, it is the researcher and not the participant who draws out that meaning and makes it explicit. Generated data collection methods, on the other hand, give participants a direct and explicit

opportunity to convey their own meanings and interpretations through the explanations they provide, whether spontaneously or as an answer to the researcher's probing. The generated data may be further interpreted by the researcher, but the participants own interpretation is seen as critically important.

Based on the preceding discussions, the generated qualitative data collection method fits well with the context, structure, and nature of this research. This is the reason why the researcher opted to use an in-depth interview as instrument of collecting primary qualitative data. The human resource department heads, and ethics office heads or officers from each selected institution were taken as key informants, and an in-depth face-to-face interview was administered.

The secondary sources of data included various official reports of the institutions relating to reform and ethics, study reports, proclamations, regulations, directives, and other relevant documents.

3.1.3. Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study includes all individual male and female employees working in the civil service sector at the federal level, and the citizens getting services from the sector.

3.1.4. Population and Sampling

Study population

The population for this specific study included all permanent female and male employees and middle and lower level managers working in the various federal institutions of Ethiopia, key experts in the field and the citizens getting services from them.

Sample frames

The sampling frame for this study is the list of ministries, agencies, commissions, and other institutions operating at a federal level and governed by the Federal Civil Service Proclamation.

Sampling scheme and sample size

According to Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007), once a decision has been made about the mixed method purpose and design type (i.e., time orientation), the next step is for the researcher to select a mixed methods sampling design. Two criteria are useful here: time orientation (i.e.,

concurrent vs. sequential) and relationship of the qualitative and quantitative samples. These relationships either can be identical, parallel, nested or multilevel. Since the research took different samples from relatively different categories of populations, the multilevel relationship fits very well here. A multilevel relationship involves the use of two or more sets of samples that are extracted from different levels of the study (i.e., different populations) (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007). The five groups involved in the study included civil servants, managers, service users/citizens, key experts, and officials from the supervisory institutions. The first two groups were drawn from the institutions selected for the study; the third group was taken from the citizens who come to the institutions to get the services they desired; the fourth group was selected purposively from the pool of key experts in the field, and the last group constituted managers from two supervisory institutions – the Ministry of Civil Service (MCS) and the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC).

Currently, there are a total of 20 federal ministries (several agencies, commissions, and other institutions under them) according to Proclamation No. 691/2010. There are also several agencies and institutions which have their own independent existence, and directly reporting to the Prime Minister's office. Five institutions, namely: the Ethiopian Revenue and Customs Authority, Agency for Government Houses, the Federal Transport Authority, the Social Security Agency, and Documents Authentication and Registration Office were selected for the study using random sampling. The criteria used for selecting the total list of institutions were the high level of public interface they have with all categories of citizens (ordinary citizens and businesses) as defined in their duties and responsibilities; and the nature of service they provide. By the nature of service, it is meant whether the service is accessible to all citizens and whether it involves face-to-face contact between the individual civil servant and the service recipients. Initially, all the federal institutions were clustered into two categories: those which provide direct service to users and those which play an overall coordinating role. The sample for the study was then taken randomly from those institutions which are considered to provide direct service to users.

The specific employees involved in the survey were selected from the administrative records or databases of human resource departments of the selected institutions using proportionate sampling method. That is, the overall sample was divided into two groups based on

gender, and the relative number of respondents from both sexes was determined proportionately; and each individual respondent from each category was selected using simple random sampling.

The service recipients were selected from the institutions involved in the study using a convenience sampling method. That is, the researcher and the hired enumerators took a random visit to the institutions, and filled the questionnaire on the spot where the citizens were waiting to get the desired service from the public institution as it was very difficult to utilize other means.

An in-depth interview was also used to gather qualitative data from a group of key informants (managers and key experts). Accordingly, ten informant managers – two from each of the five institutions involved in the study were taken. The purposive sampling method was employed in selecting the managers from the selected institutions. This is because the selected research participants were believed by the researcher to be rich in information as far as the ethical behaviour of employees in the workplace is concerned. This makes sense since the primary goal in qualitative research is to select information rich cases. In addition, two key informants were selected from the Ministry of Civil Service and the Federal Ethics & Anti-Corruption Commission, which have a supervisory role. These key informants are desired because the organizations they work for are basically the main stakeholders of the research at hand, and are expected to have deep knowledge about the topic. Furthermore, four key experts were purposively selected from the general public. The opinion of such experts is much desired because they are believed to critically evaluate the issue based on the long years of experience they have as practitioners and researchers in the area. Altogether, a total of 16 key informants were planned to be involved in this study. However, during the interview, two additional resource persons were included by the choice of the selected managers for interview. The Director of the Ethics Coordination Directorate of the ERCA brought a senior expert with him for the interview with the intention to supply the researcher with rich information. Similarly, the Head of the Ethics Office in the Agency for Government Houses also suggested that the former head of the ethics office also joins the interview for the incumbent was relatively new to the post. Finally, the researcher in consultation with the supervisor decided to include the State Minister of the Ministry of Civil Service to reflect on the views expressed by the research participants as a government representative. This makes the total research participants 19 less one ethics officer from the Social Security Agency who was not available for interview because the post was vacant.

In the words of Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007), the choice of sample size is as important as the choice of sampling scheme because it also determines the extent to which the researcher can make statistical (quantitative) and/or analytic (qualitative) generalizations. They emphasize that the size of the sample should be informed primarily by the research objective, research question(s), and, subsequently, the research design. Accordingly, the authors proposed minimum sample sizes for several of the most common research designs. For example, for correlational, causal-comparative, and experimental type of research designs, they recommended a minimum sample size ranging between 21–84 participants. Taking this into account, the sample size¹ for employee respondents is decided to be 130 (26 from each institution), and 125 (25 from each institution) for the service recipients. These sample sizes are also justifiable in the sense that the research is not seeking for representative samples as users are very large in number; instead it is seeking representative views from different categories of stakeholders, i.e. employees, managers, service users and key experts. From the 130 questionnaires distributed to the employees, 128 questionnaires were properly filled and returned with the response rate of 98.5%. Similarly, while 125 questionnaires were planned to be filled by the service users, actually 126 questionnaires were filled with more than 100% response rate. This very high response was attributed to the well planned and organized approach applied during data collection. The employee participants were asked to fill the questionnaire by themselves, while they were collected by the enumerators from the respondents' offices in the agreed time and date. The questionnaires for the service users were filled by the enumerators by interviewing the participants on the spot. A very close supervision was made by the researcher during both surveys.

3.1.5. Data Collection Instruments²

Questionnaire: A questionnaire survey instrument was used to collect information from civil servants and citizens about the ethical behaviour of employees in the workplace. Closed-ended questions were developed with the fully anchored 5-point Likert scales, rankings, and checklist response categories. Two separate questionnaires were developed to be filled by the selected civil servants and citizens. The filling and collection of the questionnaires was facilitated by the

¹ The samples taken from each institution by gender is shown in Appendix F

² Refer Appendix B for the data collection instruments used in this study

enumerators hired for this purpose under the close supervision of the researcher. Both the questionnaires were first prepared in English and translated into Amharic as it was expected that there may be some respondents who do not understand the English language. All questionnaire items were designed to measure perceptions of respondents, not absolute values.

Before the actual data collection began, a questionnaire testing was made. Ten people were made to fill the two types of questionnaires, five each. The purpose of the questionnaire testing was two-fold. First, it was to determine in advance whether it enables us to collect all the necessary data we need. Secondly, it enabled us to ensure that the respondents have understood the questions fully. Some minor adjustments were then made based on the lesson learned during the testing.

Interviewing: Qualitative interviews can be an important addition to a survey in order to gain a deeper understanding or explanation of the quantitative findings (Brannen and Halcomb, 2009). To that end, semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used where list of open-ended questions were developed based on the responses obtained from the employees and citizens during the survey, and based on the topic areas the researcher intended to inquire. The open-ended nature of the questions was believed to provide opportunities for both the interviewer and interviewee to discuss certain issues in more detail. The in-depth interview was fully administered by the researcher. Three similar checklists were prepared to the three groups who were involved in the study – the managers from the involved institutions; managers from the supervisory bodies; and the key experts. The checklists were prepared both in English and Amharic, and given to the interviewees well in advance of the interview date to give them time to reflect. Both languages were used to enable the participants feel at ease in their reading, and check for themselves that there was no inconsistency in the intent of the questions. The interview was conducted in the respective offices of the research participants, and each interview took about 1:30 hours on average. The offices were conducive to conduct the interview without any interference. All interviewees expressly allowed the use of a recorder during the interview³.

3.1.6. Data Analysis

As noted earlier, the most common purposes for which separate sub-studies are designed are triangulation, complementarity/expansion, initiation, or development. The purposes of using

³ Refer Appendix D for detailed interview information

mixed methods in this particular study were triangulation and complementarity. According to Andrew and Halcomb (2009), whenever the purpose of the researcher in using more than one method is for corroboration or convergence of results, then both data gathering and analysis for each method are necessarily conducted separately. Thus, it is only after the analyses have been completed that an assessment is made regarding the level of convergence in the results, with conclusions drawn based on all sets of data.

Andrew and Halcomb (2009) further noted that expansion or complementary designs employ one method to explain, extend or compensate for the other and that in such designs data might be gathered either concurrently or sequentially. Here again, the analyses are usually undertaken separately with integration occurring at the point where results are being discussed and conclusions are drawn. As a result, the integration of both quantitative and qualitative data was done in the interpretation stage of the research process.

The quantitative data from the questionnaires was analysed using descriptive statistics. That is, the common measure in descriptive statistics - frequency distribution - was employed.

Similarly, a qualitative data analysis was made on the qualitative data collected. Qualitative data analysis (QDA) is the process of interpreting and understanding the qualitative data that have been collected (Taylor, 2004). Taylor and Gibbs (2010) also explain that QDA is the range of processes and procedures whereby we move from the qualitative data that have been collected into some form of explanation, understanding or interpretation of the people and situations we are investigating. It is usually based on an interpretative philosophy.

The literature concerning qualitative data analysis indicates that there are several strategies that are in use. These include the constant comparative analysis, phenomenological approaches, ethnographic approaches, narrative analysis, and discourse analysis. Analysis of each strategy or approach by the researcher revealed that the phenomenological approach best fits with the study under consideration. This approach seeks to discover some of the underlying structure or essence of human experience through the intensive study of individual cases instead of being oriented toward finding patterns and commonalities within that experience like the constant comparative analysis does. In line with this, Throne (2000) explains that the analytic methods that would be employed in this approach explicitly avoid cross comparisons and instead orient the researcher toward the depth and detail that can be appreciated only through an exhaustive, systematic, and reflective study of experiences as they are lived. This is exactly what this research has done. That

is, by immersing oneself in data, engaging with data reflectively, and generating a rich description, it tried to uncover the deeper essential structures underlying ethical behaviour.

It is indeed important that a systematic approach be used for analysing the collected qualitative data, and the following major steps were followed during data analysis (Taylor, 2004).

Reviewing the data – as an entry point, reading and re-reading of the collected data (the interview transcripts) was made until the researcher gains a general understanding of the content.

Organizing the data - as qualitative data sets tend to be very lengthy and complex in nature, the researcher organized the data so that they are more manageable and easy to explore. This organization or grouping was done by the questions asked.

Coding the data – the researcher identified and labelled themes within the data that corresponded with the questions the research desired to answer. Themes are common trends or ideas that appear repeatedly throughout the data (Taylor, 2004).

Interpreting the data – finally attaching meaning and significance to the data was done.

The kinds of meaningful data collected using qualitative methods tend to be very lengthy and require intensive examination, understanding and reading that only humans can do. In order to keep a clear mind and not become overwhelmed by the sheer amount of data and analytic writings, the researcher needed to be organised. Researchers tend to approach this organisation in one of two ways - either manually or using a computer software package. According to Taylor (2004), manual analysis is typically the best method for analysing a relatively manageable amount of qualitative data, which is collected periodically. On the other hand, use of a computer software package is ideal in situations where we have large amounts of qualitative data, which are collected very frequently. Given the volume of data to be handled, the researcher preferred to use the manual method of data analysis.

3.1.7. Methods of Validating Research Results

As noted by Giddings and Grant (2009), it is important that when designing and undertaking a mixed methods study, the strategies used to ensure the overall validity of the work are made explicit. Curry, Nembhard, and Bradley (2009) add that the core concepts of validity, reliability, and generalizability that are essential markers of sound quantitative research apply to some degree in qualitative studies as well. They noted that analogous principles in qualitative research

are known as credibility, dependability, and transferability, respectively. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also posit that trustworthiness of a research study is important to evaluating its worth. They noted that trustworthiness involves establishing credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability. Credibility is about confidence in the 'truth' of the findings. Dependability means showing that the findings are consistent and could be repeated. Transferability requires showing that the findings have applicability in other contexts. Finally, confirmability is the degree of neutrality to which the findings of a study are shaped by the respondents and not researcher bias, motivation, or interest. Curry et al (2009) further noted that a number of specific techniques are recognized by qualitative and mixed methods experts to enhance credibility, dependability, and transferability of qualitative research. These include strategies for study design, data collection, analysis, and reporting. They, however, quote experts as cautioning that the rote use of these techniques does not necessarily confer rigor, and that principles and assumptions of qualitative research design and analysis must be applied consistently. Guidelines should be used with judgment and integrity and with the primary aim of conducting scientifically sound research (Curry et al, 2009). Since data validation is something that should be done throughout the research study, the researcher made every effort to ensure that these criteria are consistently met and the results of the research provide convincing evidence sufficient to answer the research questions. More specifically, the researcher used several techniques such as prolonged engagement, triangulation, thick description, and audit trail to establish credibility, dependability, transferability, and confirmability of the research findings. The researcher tried to have prolonged engagement with the institutions involved to become oriented with the situation and build trust with them. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) development of rapport and trust facilitates understanding and co-construction of meaning between the researcher and members of the study setting. Triangulation is also used to check out the consistency of findings generated by different data collection methods and different data sources. The quantitative and qualitative data collected in the study elucidated complementary aspects of the same phenomenon, and on the points where these data diverged they provided the most insights. The fact that different categories of respondents were used during the study was also an important means to ensure credibility and dependability of the research findings. Thick description as opposed to thin description was used to ensure transferability. Thick description is considered as a way of achieving a type of external validity (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). By describing a

phenomenon in sufficient detail one can evaluate the extent to which the conclusions drawn are transferable to other times, settings, situations, and people. Finally, audit trail technique was used by way of a transparent description of the research steps taken from the start of the research project to the development and reporting of findings.

3.1.8. Ethical Considerations

Since this research involved human subjects entirely, due attention was given to ethical issues. First, the identities of those taking part in the research were kept anonymous to the people other than the researcher. Second, participants were fully informed about what is expected of them in the process, and were asked for their consent to participate in the study. In addition, participants in the interview process were specifically asked if they allow the use of a tape recorder by the researcher during the interviews and discussions. In using the tape recorder, the researcher considered the disadvantage of doing so. That is, the interviewees may not be comfortable knowing that they are being recorded, and they may be very careful and formal in their responses, concealing their real feelings. To avoid this, the researcher explained beforehand in detail the purpose of using the recorder to the interviewees. It was only after we reached a consensus that the interview proceeded. Third, the obligations of the investigator were clearly spelled out in the informed consent form designed by the researcher, and lastly, information obtained from the participants is kept strictly confidential and is used only for the purpose of the study. That is, the direct or indirect attribution of comments, in reports and presentations, to identified participants was avoided.

3.2. Conceptual Framework

Managing ethical behaviour is one of the pervasive and complex problems facing organizations today. According to Stead et al (1990), employees' decisions to behave ethically or unethically are influenced by a myriad of individual and situational factors. These factors include background, personality, decision history, managerial philosophy, and reinforcement, among others.

Trevino (1986) argues that previous approaches to the study of ethical decision making in organizations have tended to emphasize on either the individual role or situational variables in producing ethical or unethical behaviour. She further noted that neither approach has captured

the important interfaces among individual and situational variables. As a result, the author proposed an interactionist model that recognizes the role of both individual and situational variables. The proposed interactionist model posits that ethical choices made by individuals are influenced by the interaction of both individual and situational components. Based on the interactionist model, Stead et al (1996) developed a modified model of ethical behaviour which they call it an integrative model. Many other researchers came up with their own improved models. For the purpose of this research, the General Behavioural Model for Ethical Decision Making developed by Wittmer (2005) is taken which is reproduced below.

After reviewing previously suggested ethical decision-making models including Rest (1986) and Trevino (1986), Wittmer (2005) proposed a general behavioural model for ethical decision making. The model consists of seven components: ethical situation, ethical sensitivity, ethical judgment, ethical choice, individual influences, environmental influences, and ethical behaviour. The model explains that ethical decision making is the function of ethical decision processes, individual attributes, and environmental factors. The decision process comprises ethical sensitivity, ethical judgment, and ethical choice.

The following sections discuss the individual and situational factors identified in the current literature which seem to influence employees' decisions to behave ethically or unethically at work.

Wittmer's general model posits a cognitive process for resolving moral or ethical decisions. The theory presents a process that begins with awareness, perception, or sensitivity to the moral issue.

According to Wittmer (2005:185), ethical perception and sensitivity is defined as "the relative awareness or recognition of the ethical dimensions within an ethical situation". A decision maker then proceeds through judgment as to what is reasoned to be the "ethically justified" course of action to a decision or choice of action, ending with the actual behaviour of the decision maker. While cognitive processes occupy centre stage, the model incorporates both non-cognitive individual variables (e.g. ego strength) and environmental variables internal and external to an organization (e.g. ethical climate or reward/punishment structures).

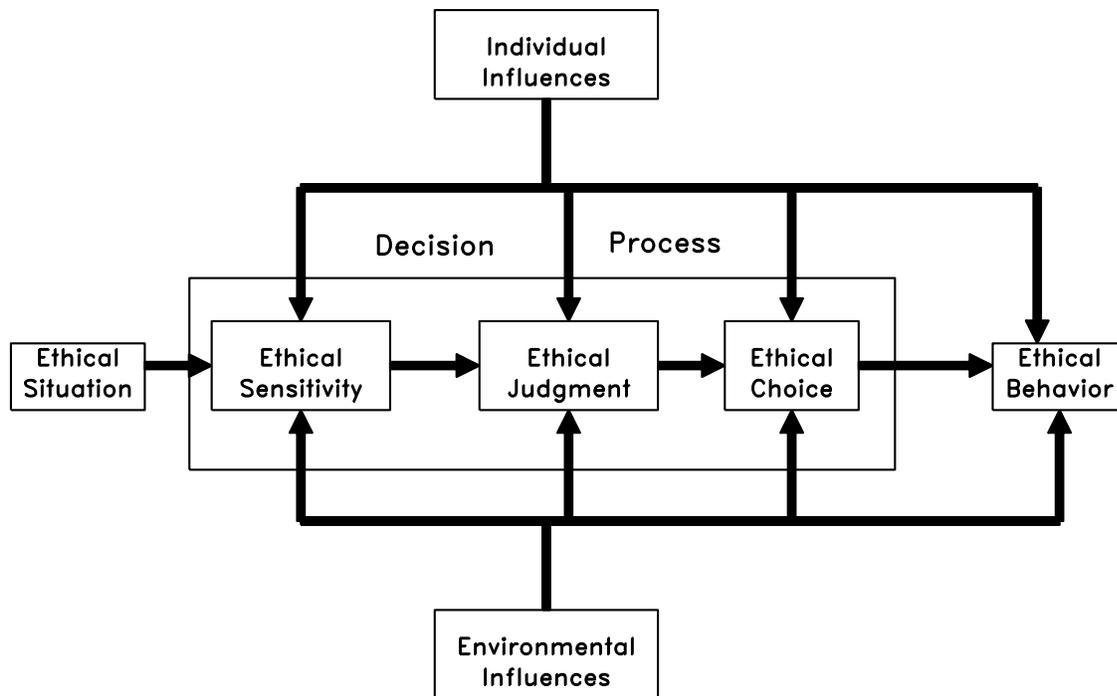


Figure 3.1: General Behavioural Model for Ethical Decision Making (Wittmer, 2005)

Individual influences

Besides an individual’s level of cognitive processes, the general model assumes that there are individual influences that can affect different elements or stages in the decision process.

Researchers (Stead et al., 1996; Trevino, 1986) have suggested three personality measures that may influence individual ethical behaviour – ego strength, Machiavellianism, and locus of control. Ego strength is defined as an individual’s ability to engage in a self-directed activity and to manage tense situations (Crandall, 1973 in Stead et al., 1996). Machiavellianism is a measure of deceitfulness and duplicity (Robinson, 1973 in Stead et al., 1996). Locus of control is a measure of whether or not a person believes that his/her outcomes in life are determined by his/her own actions (internal) or by luck, fate, or powerful others and institutions (external) (Stead et al., 1996).

Environmental influences

Besides individual or personal attributes, the general model of Wittmer explains the influence of various environmental variables on the various stages in the ethical decision making process. These include reward (and punishment) structures, significant or referent others, organizational

policies and code of conduct, top management commitment, ethical work climate, and other environmental variables such as ethics training programs.

One of the most obvious factors influencing ethical decision making, according to Wittmer, is the organizational sanctions, or rewards and punishments. Another important and intuitively obvious environmental variable is the behaviour and attitudes of others in the organization or one's peer group, which researchers referred to as significant or referent others. A critical socialization factor for managers, according to Stead et al (1996), is the influence of significant others. According to him, research in social learning theory strongly supports the idea that we learn appropriate behaviour by modelling the behaviour of persons we perceive as important – parents, siblings, peers, teachers, public officials and the like. Managers no doubt represent significant others to employees, and thus the ethical behaviour of managers will certainly influence the ethical behaviour of employees (Stead et al., 1996).

Another organizational factor expected to influence ethical/unethical decision making concerns the policies and codes of the organization. The articulation of clearly stated organizational policies is considered important in providing guidance to decision makers. Wittmer (2005) further argues that a serious commitment of top management, as well as appropriate sanctions, must accompany any organizational code of conduct for it to have a positive effect on ethical decision making and behaviour.

Other factors that have been studied in more recent years are organizational culture/ climate and ethical work climates. According to Wittmer (2005), Victor and Cullen (1987, 1988) developed a framework that was empirically tested. Following the idea that organizational culture involves shared beliefs, customs, and values, they conceive of ethical climate as the “shared perceptions of what is ethically correct behaviour and how ethical issues should be handled”. Wimbush (1999) argues that ethical climate, similar to any other organizational climate, is created and sustained based primarily upon supervisory initiatives. Through their action and inaction on ethical issues, supervisors convey to subordinates the values to embrace and resolution processes to use when dealing with ethical dilemmas.

Besides the factors reported above, other environmental variables such as ethics training programs and organizational size have been examined in terms of their impact on ethical decision making and ethical behaviour (Wittmer, 2005).

After making a careful analysis of the body of empirical research on environmental influences, Wittmer concluded that there is a general support that ethical decision making is affected by the behaviour of peers and associates, by the actions of supervisors and top management, by the existence of policies and codes of conduct, by the rewards and punishments, and by the general atmosphere or climate of the organization.

This model is used as a conceptual framework guiding the study. Ethics is the dependent variable as its practice is dependent up on several factors-both individual and environmental. Individual traits and beliefs, and organizational and other external factors are taken as independent variables as they closely interact with each other and influence human behaviour.

3.3. Key Concepts Related with Ethics

Corruption

Corruption is defined by the World Bank (1997:8) as “the abuse of public office for private gain”. According to the World Bank, public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets, or the diversion of state revenues.

Transparency International (2014) also defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. According to TI, corruption can be classified as grand, petty, and political depending on the amount of money lost and the sector where it occurs.

Grand corruption consists of acts committed at high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense the public good. Petty corruption refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low-and-mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies.

Political corruption is a manipulation of policies, institutions, and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status, and wealth.

The World Bank (1997) underscores that corruption opposes the bureaucratic values of equity, efficiency, transparency, and honesty. Thus, it weakens the ethical fabric of the civil

service and prevents the emergence of well-performing government capable of developing and implementing public policies that promote social welfare. This supports Whitton's (2001) argument that ethics and corruption are the opposite sides of a coin.

Good governance

Good governance is defined as the manner in which power is exercised in the management of a country's economic and social resources for development (World Bank, 1992). IFAC and CIPFA (2014) also indicates that governance comprises the political, economic, social, environmental, administrative, legal, and other arrangements put in place to ensure that the intended outcomes for stakeholders are defined and achieved. Good governance is a broader concept encompassing several elements. In order to deliver good governance in the public sector, both governing bodies and individuals working for entities must act in the public interest at all times, consistent with the requirements of legislation and government policies, avoiding self-interest and, if necessary, acting against a perceived organizational interest. Acting in the public interest implies a wider benefit to society, which should result in positive outcomes for service users and other stakeholders.

Key Principles of Good Governance in the Public Sector

According to IFAC and CIPFA (2014), the function of good governance in the public sector is to ensure that entities act in the public interest at all times. Acting in the public interest requires strong commitment to integrity, ethical values, and the rule of law; and openness and comprehensive stakeholder engagement. In addition to the requirements for acting in the public interest, achieving good governance in the public sector also requires defining outcomes in terms of sustainable economic, social, and environmental benefits; determining the interventions necessary to optimize the achievement of intended outcomes; developing the capacity of the entity, including the capability of its leadership and the individuals within it; managing risks and performance through robust internal control and strong public financial management; and implementing good practices in transparency and reporting to deliver effective accountability.

Strong Commitment to Ethical Values

The discussion in IFAC and CIPFA (2014) clearly indicates that ethics is an important element of good governance. It underscores that ethical values and standards should be embedded throughout an entity and should form the basis for all its policies, procedures, and actions, as well as the personal behavior of its governing body members and other staff. Having a code of conduct for governing body members and staff is a key element of good governance. Developing, reviewing, and communicating a code that illustrates what the values mean in specific circumstances helps to make visible (a) how the entity operates; (b) how it embeds its core values, such as by reflecting values in communications, processes, and behavior; and (c) how it relates to its key stakeholders. Codes also help reassure stakeholders about the entity's integrity and its commitment to ethics.

Conflicts can arise between the personal interests of individuals involved in making decisions and the decisions that the governing body or employees need to make in the public interest. To ensure continued integrity and avoid public concern or loss of confidence, governing body members and staff should take steps to avoid or deal with any conflicts of interest, whether real or perceived (IFAC and CIPFA, 2014).

This same document also pointed out that some entities have a separate ethics policy and code of conduct. In such cases, an entity's ethics policy typically sets out values and principles while a code of conduct outlines standards of behavior and practices.

IFAC and CIPFA (2014) further noted that it can be difficult to measure objectively factors affecting an entity's performance in leadership, ethics, and culture, or to identify ethical problems before they manifest in organizational performance. However, according to the document, it is important that entities seek to understand and maintain their performance in these areas. Useful evaluative approaches to gauge performance include staff surveys, performance appraisals, administrative reviews, and leadership self-assessments. Stakeholders can also provide important feedback on how an entity is performing in leadership, ethics, and culture. This can be solicited formally or be received through comments and complaints. Complaints can form a vital part of feedback and should be handled and resolved efficiently, effectively, and in a timely manner so that lessons learned are used to improve the performance, both ethical and general, of the entity and its services.

Finally, the document emphasized that whistleblowing processes should also be established whereby individuals or groups are able to draw formal attention to practices that are unethical or violate internal or external policies rules or regulations and to ensure that valid concerns are promptly addressed. These processes also reassure individuals raising concerns that they will be protected from any potential negative repercussions.

Rent seeking

Rent seeking is a concept used to describe the activity of individuals or firms who attempt to obtain or maintain wealth-transfers, primarily with the help of the state. More specifically instead of making a productive contribution to an economy, a rent seeker attempts to obtain benefits for themselves by manipulating the political environment. Rent seeking has also been defined as the process whereby one is able to obtain a greater rent, i.e. return, than would have been possible on the free market, through activities such as government lobbying or taking advantage of other connections to the state. Rent seeking is seen as unproductive or a wasteful activity, as it results in wealth being transferred from productive individuals and firms to the rent-seekers. Examples of rent seeking include things such as obtaining government bailouts, subsidies or having the state enact and enforce barriers to entry. The formulation of the concept is credited to Gordon Tullock (1967), while the idea of the phrase "rent-seeking" is credited to Anne Krueger (1974).

“Rent seeking” is often used interchangeably with “corruption,” and there is a large area of overlap. Both are searches for privilege and personal gain through the political process. Rent seeking is distinguished from corruption in that while corruption involves the misuse of public power for private gain, rent seeking derives from the economic concept of “rent” - earnings in excess of all relevant costs (including a market rate of return on invested assets). Rent is equivalent to what most non-economists think of as monopoly profits. Rent seeking is then the effort to acquire access to or control over opportunities for earning rents. These efforts are not necessarily illegal, or even immoral. They include much lobbying and some forms of advertising. Some can be efficient, however, economists and public sector management specialists are concerned with what Bhagwati (1974) termed “directly unproductive” rent seeking activities, because they waste resources and can contribute to economic inefficiency (Rose-Ackerman & Coolidge, 1995).

Mbaku (1998) noted that in many developing countries, legislatures either do not exist, or function poorly. Incumbents rule by decree, with the legislature serving at their pleasure. The bulk of rents created are channelled by civil servants – the majority of whom are members of the politically-dominant group – to group members. Since the incumbent ruler and the civil service strictly control the allocation of rents, competitive interest groups often do not invest directly in the creation of rents, as is common with groups in democratic societies. Instead, interest groups in developing countries invest their resources either in capturing the rent-creating apparatus of government or in influencing the civil servants whose job it is to channel the rents to the incumbent's supporters. The two most important rent seeking behaviours in the developing countries, then, are political violence and bureaucratic corruption. The latter involves the paying of bribes and the use of other forms of pressure to persuade bureaucrats to grant entrepreneurs access to economic sectors closed by government regulation, to minimize the burden of government regulation on an individual's enterprise, and to receive a public subsidy, or a transfer from the state.

Civil Servant

According to the Civil Servants Proclamation of Ethiopia, civil servant means a person employed permanently by federal government institution; provided however, that it shall not include the following (Civil Service Proclamation, 515/2006):

- a) government officials with the rank of state minister, deputy director general and their equivalent and above;
- b) members of the house of Peoples' Representatives and the House of the Federation;
- c) federal judges and prosecutors;
- d) members of the armed forces and the Federal Police including other employees governed by the regulations of the Armed Forces and the Federal Police;
- e) employees excluded from the coverage of this Proclamation by other appropriate laws.

CHAPTER 4: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This part of the chapter attempts to present the results of the research undertaking revolving around the explicit and implicit aspects of institutionalized ethics as discussed in the literature review chapter. More specifically, the code of conduct, ethics training, ethics liaison offices, and the citizens' charter are presented as parts of the explicit aspects of ethics; whereas organizational ethics culture, ethical leadership, ethics reward/punishment systems, and communication are presented as implicit aspects.

4.1. Profile of Questionnaire Respondents

Demographic characteristics of both the employee respondents and user respondents are presented first as follows.

Profile of employee respondents is presented under Table 4.1 which shows that the sample was made up of a bit higher male respondents than their female counterparts; however, adequate weight was given to female respondents as well. The majority of the respondents were first degree holders (68.75%), and the age group of the respondents is widely disbursed between 18 and 55 years. The result also showed that a considerable number of the employee respondents (43.45%) stayed in the organization from 1-5 years; and 78.13% are in the manager, professional, or sub-professional category.

As is shown in Table 4.2 below, the male-female representation in the user survey is similar with that of the employee respondents. About 46% of the sample were female participants. The majority of the user respondents (63.49%) were diploma and first degree holders; more than half of them (57.94%) were in the age range of 26-45. Most of the service users (63.29%) were from the private sector.

Table 4.1: Profile of Employee Respondents

Demographic Features	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	67	52.34
Female	58	45.31
Missing	3	2.34
Total	128	100
Educational Qualification		
12 th complete	5	3.91
Diploma	29	22.66
First Degree	88	68.75
Master's Degree	5	3.91
Other	1	0.78
Total	128	100
Age		
18-25	24	18.75
26-35	41	32.03
36-45	34	26.56
46-55	25	19.53
56 and above	2	1.56
Missing	2	1.56
Total	128	100.0
Length of experience		
6 months – 1 year	12	9.38
1-5 years	56	43.45
5-10 years	14	10.94
10- 20 years	17	13.28
More than 20 years	29	12.66
Total	128	100.0
Position classification		
Official/Manager	19	14.84
Professional	60	46.88
Sub-professional	21	16.41
Clerical	19	14.84
Labourer	1	0.78
Missing	8	6.25
Total	128	100

Table 4.2: Profile of User Respondents

Demographic Features	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	68	53.97
Female	58	46.03
Total	126	100
Educational Qualification		
Below 12	11	8.73
12 th complete	21	16.67
Diploma	38	30.16
First Degree	42	33.33
Master's Degree	6	4.76
PhD	1	0.79
Other	7	5.56
Total	126	100
Age		
18-25	24	19.05
26-35	48	38.10
36-45	25	19.84
46-55	14	11.11
56 and above	15	11.90
Total	126	100
Occupation		
Civil servant	32	14.84
Private sector employee	35	46.88
Self-employed	42	16.41
Business person	10	14.84
Unemployed	2	0.78
Other	5	6.25
Total	126	100

4.2. Explicit Methods of Institutionalizing Ethics

4.2.1. The Code of Conduct

This section presents and discusses a number of issues relating to the code that include: the level of institutionalization and awareness of civil servants, enforcement methods and their effectiveness, and the rigor and process of review of the Code of Conduct.

Though a comprehensive code of conduct for civil servants is not yet approved at national level, it was found that each federal ministry and institution adopted its own code. All the five federal

institutions which were involved in this study indicated in similar terms that they have adopted a code of conduct to civil servants. Some of the institutions claim that they have developed the code based on the ethics regulation promulgated by the council of ministers; while others assert that they have developed it based on a code developed by the Ministry of Civil Service. However, the FEACC offers a different version. C13⁴ from the commission indicated that earlier the initiative to prepare a code of conduct at national level was taken by the Commission, and that it had submitted a draft to the Council of Ministers but for some reason it was not adopted. He further elaborated that the Ministry of Civil Service took the responsibility but up to now it has not been able to have a formally approved code at national level. The State Minister of the Ministry of Civil Service also confirmed during the interview that the code of conduct for civil servants has not yet been approved and not implemented to date. The reason he provided was that the government is trying to build a developmental civil service that is aligned with the developmental state paradigm it follows. As a result, it is first needed to adequately understand the concept of the developmental civil service before adopting a national code of conduct. Given this situation, C13 from the FEACC indicated that they “encouraged all civil service institutions to prepare their own code of ethics at an institution level based on the 12 ethical principles. And most of them have done that.”

However, Article 62 of the Federal Civil Servants Proclamation clearly stipulates that “...the Council of Ministers shall issue a detailed code of conduct regulations of the civil servants.” A draft code was also prepared as part of the report produced by the task force for ethics improvement subprogram in 2002. Probably, this could be the document some institutions claimed to have referred in developing their own code. But up to now no nationwide code is adopted by the Council of Ministers for reasons mentioned above. The Council of Ministers’ regulation that provided for the establishment of ethics liaison offices under Article 7(3) however indicated that “an ethics liaison unit shall prepare and cause the adoption of the code of conduct of officers and employees of the public office or public enterprise in collaboration with appropriate departments; and follow-up its implementation”. This partly indicates that the government seems to have decided that each institution could develop its own code of conduct for its civil servants at least for some time.

⁴ Interview participants are given codes (C1-C18) to avoid reference of names during presentation of findings. See Appendix C for the assignment of codes.

In order to understand the awareness level of civil servants, respondents were asked if they know the very existence of the code of ethics in their own institutions. As shown in Table 4.3, though majority of the respondents (61.7%) said they are aware about the code's existence; a significant number of them (30.47%) did not know about its existence. As a follow-up question, respondents were asked if the code is effectively communicated to employees and other stakeholders by the organization; only 41.41% replied yes; while about one third (33.59%) of the respondents did not respond to this statement. Furthermore, they were also asked how they rate their knowledge of the institution's ethics rules. A significant number of the respondents (49.21%) rated their knowledge of ethics rules generally as average and above (see Appendix A).

Table 4.3: Awareness level of employees about the code of conduct

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Yes	No	Don't know	Total
1	Existence of code of conduct	Freq.	2	79	9	39	128
		Percent	0.78	61.72	7.03	30.47	100.00
2	Code is effectively communicated to employees	Freq.	43	53	19	13	128
		Percent	33.59	41.41	14.84	10.16	100.00

Interview results with managers of the institutions involved in the study revealed that they believe that majority of their employees have a fairly adequate level of awareness about the contents of the code. They stated that the code of conduct is made available to the employees so that they can read and make themselves aware about ethical issues and take the necessary precaution (C6). The code of conduct is issued to new civil servants during hiring, and they are made to sign on the code as a sign of agreement to abide by the rule of law (C3). C10 and C11 also noted that beyond issuing the code to all employees, it is made part of the training programs provided periodically, and awareness raising programs on the general ethical principles are also frequently arranged to communicate the code to the employees. But C11 admitted that though some employees may refer to the code periodically, others may not; it depends on the individuals. Capitalizing on the last point, C6 argued that even though the code is issued to all employees, most of them do not even know where they dropped it; let alone to read it. This indicates that much effort has to be done. It is necessary to reinforce the efforts currently underway.

The participants of the interview invariably believed that the employees have a fairly adequate level of awareness about the code of conduct. This, as to them, is the result of the efforts made in terms of issuing the code to all employees, communicating the code through training and awareness raising programs, and the like. However, they added that the employees do not use the code as a guide in their day-to-day work. A considerable number of the employee respondents (41.41%) acknowledged that the code is communicated to them; although many of them remained indifferent. They also felt that their knowledge of ethics rules is average.

Beyond the adoption of the code, organizations need to ensure that it is fully and effectively implemented. Having ethical rules and statutes are not sufficient tools to ensure governance in the civil service; mechanisms must be put in place to ensure its fullest implementation and enforcement. In recognition of this, employee respondents were presented with a set of questions as shown in Table 4.4. As exhibited in the table, 35.16% of the respondents remained neutral to the statement which proposed that the code of ethics is fully enforced when violations occur in the agency irrespective of who committed the violations (management member or a career civil servant). An additional 17.97% disagreed; while 20.31% agreed. A significant number of the respondents (44.53%) felt that employees can ignore ethics and still get ahead with no consequent measure. Likewise, a significant number of them (30.47%) believed that actions are rarely taken to redress reported unethical conduct in their respective institutions (though 36.72% believed otherwise). More than half of the respondents (53.91%) believed that their institutions did not put in place a mechanism to discipline employees that violate the code of conduct or ethics policies. Similarly, 39.85% of them opposed to the proposition that employees who fail to properly observe ethics rules are disciplined. The overall finding shows that the code of conduct is weakly enforced.

Several related questions were presented to the respondents in different ways. The purpose was to cross-check their responses. However, their responses happened to be somehow contradictory. Despite this, the survey result seems to indicate that a significant number of employees feel that their institutions did not put in place mechanisms to discipline employees who violate the code; that appropriate measures are not taken on reported ethical violations, and that ethics issues are not seriously taken in the civil service institutions.

Table 4.4: Enforcement of the code

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Code is fully enforced when violations occur	Freq.	34	7	19	45	19	4	128
		Percent	26.56	5.47	14.84	35.16	14.84	3.13	100.00
2	You can ignore ethics and still go ahead	Freq.	4	17	40	30	32	5	128
		Percent	3.13	13.28	31.25	23.44	25.00	3.91	100.00
3	If unethical conduct is reported action is taken	Freq.	4	16	31	38	32	7	128
		Percent	3.13	12.50	24.22	29.69	25.00	5.47	100.00
4	Mechanism to discipline employees put in place	Freq.	4	8	14	33	61	8	128
		Percent	3.13	6.25	10.94	25.78	47.66	6.25	100.00
5	Employees violating ethics are disciplined	Freq.	3	15	31	28	39	12	128
		Percent	2.34	11.72	24.22	21.88	30.47	9.38	100.00

The interview participants were asked what procedure is followed if the organization believes an ethical misconduct has occurred; and how they evaluate implementation of the ethics code in their organization. The participants explained that a system of enforcement is established in their respective organizations. According to them, when it is found that an ethical offence has occurred, it is handled following the procedure specified in both the code of conduct and the civil servants' proclamation. That is, when violations of ethics are reported, they are first investigated; then depending on the severity of the violation, appropriate measures are taken.

From the interview discussion, it can be discerned that a system of enforcing the code of conduct is put in place in all the civil service institutions. When ethical transgressions are detected, actions are taken following a predetermined procedure. However, majority of the employees do not agree with the views expressed by management. Many feel that no appropriate measures are taken to remedy reported transgressions.

Both interviewees from the ERCA's Ethics Directorate (C1 and C2) believed that implementation of the code is effective; notwithstanding its limitations. They asserted that a lot of improvement on the ethical behaviour of employees is observed after its implementation. Before the issuance of the code, they indicated that there were instances where violators were not charged. This had encouraged employees to continue with their ethical misconduct. Since the issuance of the code however, C2 argued, we have witnessed that it has at least created a sense of fear on those employees who would desire to involve in some unethical activities.

But C1 admitted the negative influence the issuance of the code created on the civil servants. He felt that some employees view the code as a threat. He argued that they should not be terrorized by the existence of the law as this was not the objective of the code. They should be made to believe in it. They should develop confidence on it, and honestly believe that people who would like to prosper through improper means should be penalized. Because of these limitations employees develop fear over the code instead of having trust in it. Both C1 and C2 further explained that misunderstanding and ambiguity is created on the intention of some articles of the code of conduct; and this misunderstanding is deterring the effective implementation of the code.

C1 further explained the reason why the Authority is different from other institutions stating that employees (officers) deal with issues that involve millions of birr. If this code were not put in place, the officers and civil servants would have been more exposed to rent seeking practices. For example, if you take a school teacher he/she deals with relatively small things such as stationery and other office materials but an officer in our authority deals with transactions involving huge sum of money, he argued. So, the code is prepared taking the unique nature of the institution into consideration.

C5 from the Federal Transport Authority felt that he would not say the code is fully implemented at this time; though the organization is making extensive efforts to ensure its effective implementation. He believes that a lot remains to be done. The code itself is put into practice very recently, and the Ethics Directorate is not yet equipped with the necessary human resources.

The manager from the Government Houses Agency, C8, reflected the view that he did not think the points included in the code are contextualized with the nature of the organization. The central idea behind the code of conduct, according to him, is the twelve ethical principles. If

these principles were internalized by everybody, the organization's ethical performance would have been in a better position. If they are internalized fully, attitudinal change will ensue. To that end, he went on, employee handbook, with the main highlights of the code included in it, was prepared and issued to all employees. But the extent to which the employees understand and internalize the code is questionable. This is the biggest challenge, according to him.

He further noted that taking action on transgressors based on the provisions of the code is not very much common. If action is taken, it is mostly done based on the civil service proclamation. Hence, he concluded, as far as the code of conduct is concerned, it is difficult to say it is fully understood and fully implemented in our organization. C9 from the same organization endorsed the opinion reflected by C8 also adding that the code of conduct and the civil service proclamation are normally issued to the employees, but they do not have the habit of maintaining and referring it periodically.

The procedure followed to update the code of conduct is similar across the institutions involved in the study. Revision of the code is normally initiated by the Ethics unit, and approved by the top management of the organization. Concerning the periodic review of the code, the result is mixed. Some of them such as the ERCA and the Federal Transport Authority were in the process of review during the interview; while others such as DARO have updated it once. Still others such as the Government Houses Agency have not made any revision so far. The reason provided for the low performance in this regard is that the code is adopted recently and that no serious problem is encountered so far that called for its revision.

4.2.2. Ethics Training

This section discusses issues related with the form and frequency of training provided to civil servants, the content of the training programs, and the behavioural change brought about as a result of the training programs.

When the civil servants were asked if their organization provided training to all employees on the code of conduct and ethics policies on a regular basis, 46.10% of them disagreed (Table 4.5). They were also asked on the frequency of training they received over the last five years; 50.01% of them said they have received training at least once (Appendix A).

Table 4.5: Training on code of conduct given to employees

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Training on code of conduct regularly provided	Freq.	3	13	24	29	52	7	128
		Percent	2.34	10.16	18.75	22.66	40.63	5.47	100.00

Participating managers were asked on whether training is provided to employees on a regular basis, whether the code of ethics is included in the training, and to what extent the training has resulted in the desired behavioural change.

Both C1 and C2 from the ERCA agreed that ethics training is provided to employees and managers regularly by the organization itself, and in collaboration with the FEACC. Political appointees are provided training by the FEACC together with other officials from other civil service institutions.

When the researcher mentioned about employees’ disagreement with this remark, C1 responded as follows:

Employees usually complain about the lack of professional training. But they cannot complain on ethics training. In fact, sometimes it is excess. But to what extent the training is internalized by the employees is questionable. We can agree on this issue. The training may not be well organized, and it may not be delivered in such a way that it brings about attitudinal change. The trainees may forget it easily. Otherwise, regular training is given to employees at least on a quarterly basis. For example, this year we have provided five round trainings. Hence, there is no problem in the number of trainings provided. But what attitudinal change has the training brought is the right question. As said earlier, the employees may complain on lack of training related with their professional career; whereas on ethics I do not think they have serious complaints.

C3 of the same institution agreed with C1 in that employees at all levels get training. Ethics training, according to him, is considered as one core task of the institution. Training is one of the reasons why the Ethics Directorate was established. As a result, he underscored, over the years the institution has worked vigorously to develop the capacity to train its management and employees.

Moreover, he noted, the training task is done even at the branch level. There are enough and capable people in the branch offices. If additional people with special skills and knowledge are needed, then the head office provides support. He, however, felt that all branches may not have equal performance. Due to different reasons, there is discrepancy among the branches. Some of them do it regularly with maximum commitment; while others show weaknesses due to negligence and lack of capacity. The training outcome may vary depending on the capacity of the executive body in each branch, and the attention it gives to the training.

As a way of summary, he asserted that there is no other area in the institution that received attention as ethics training especially after the establishment of the Ethics Directorate. Training issue is not considered generally as a problem. But he admitted that there are still gaps in terms of relating it to the code of conduct, supporting it through research and systematic approach and the like.

C2 also added that training is provided on the two regulations: the civil service law, and the code of ethics, and after completion of the training, every employee makes an oath on the code of ethics, and is made to sign on it as evidence of his/her agreement.

Both C4 and C5 of the Transport Authority also mentioned that two-round training is provided to managers at all levels and employees in collaboration with the FEACC. In addition, they noted that all employees are provided short-term ethics training periodically by the institution itself. The code of ethics is made as part of the training, they added.

C7 and C9 from the Government Houses Agency also shared similar view. They mentioned that the institution provided training to management and all employees once in collaboration with the FEACC not only on ethics but also on governance issues. In addition, they indicated that a professional trainer from the National Tobacco Corporation provided ethics training to managers last year. C9 further noted that a continuous orientation on ethics and corruption issues is provided by the organization as well. As a result, he claimed, most employees are aware about these issues. Acknowledging that it is not sufficient; he underlined the need to expand their efforts in this regard.

C6 of the Social Security Agency also elaborated that their ethics officer provides some ethics awareness programs or orientations sometimes including to the top management (whenever the need arises). But he admitted that if training is given once, unless new employees

are hired, they do not normally give training. This implies that the training is not given on a regular basis.

C11 from the DARO indicated that different trainings are provided to employees and managers at all levels every year in collaboration with the Ethiopian Management Institute. In fact, he pointed out that the organization deserves appreciation in this regard. C10 also emphasized that ethics training is provided not only to supervisors or officers but also to all operative employees.

The responsibility of coordinating the various ethics training endeavours at the federal level rests upon the FEACC. The Ministry of Civil Service does not directly involve in ethics training; it rather provides training on general reform issues. For example, the Ministry's ethics officers get ethics training from the FEACC together with other ethics officers from other institutions. This is the opinion reflected by C12 from the Ministry.

All the interview participants confirmed that ethics training is provided to employees regularly. There was no exception on the part of the managers in this respect. However, a significant number of employee respondents felt that ethics training is not provided to them regularly.

In the interview made with C3, it is found that one of the major points included in the training is the code of ethics. Second, there are several training materials developed by the FEACC and other local and international agencies that work in the area. Such materials are used as tools for conducting the training. Third some studies are conducted by the Authority itself related with ethics problems and corruption. The results of these studies are communicated to the employees through training. However, the content of the training provided is not usually tuned with the cultural background and interest of the trainees. The other institutions also indicated that more or less the same things are included in their training programs.

The interviewees were asked for their opinion on whether the training programs had brought about changes on the ethical behaviour of employees. In response to this question, C3 of the ERCA had to say the following:

Taking the expectation of the society and the depth of the problem into account, I would say we have not achieved so much. But on a limited scale - such as creating awareness and sense of collaboration - there are changes. Sometime back, it was not possible to talk freely about ethical problems, corruption, rent seeking and the like. There was a serious resistance on the part of the leaders. They did not want to hear anything of that sort. But now you do not see such

tendencies. In fact, some employees even go to the extent of fighting openly with leaders who show ethical misconduct. There are some that even got imprisoned for that cause. Generally, even though there are gaps that need to be addressed, there is good progress in this regard.

Moreover, he noted while the number of employees remains almost unchanged, their productivity is increasing significantly from time to time. Productivity is calculated as total revenue divided by the number of employees. For instance, while one employee used to collect about 7 million Birr per annum some years back, this has now reached 15 million Birr on average. His colleague, C1, is also of the same opinion. According to him, a lot of training is given to all employees including the supervisors. In fact, he believes, excess training is given. But when we see the outcome, he argued, it is not as expected - the desired level of behavioural change is not yet achieved. The main problem is that the ethics training is not designed in such a way that it brings about attitudinal change. As a result, he concluded that the outcome of the training was not satisfactory. He further asserted that bringing about attitudinal change is not an overnight task; it is the result of a long-term effort.

4.2.3. Ethics Liaison Offices

This section provides highlights of the reporting relationships of the ethics liaison offices, the monitoring and follow-up mechanisms put in place, and the autonomy of the ethics officers as perceived by the interview participants.

The study found out that ethics liaison offices are established in all civil service institutions with the responsibility of coordinating ethical issues and advising the heads of the institutions. All civil service institutions are legally required to establish ethics liaison units, by the Council of Ministers No.144/2008 regulation to provide for the functioning of ethics liaison units. Their organizational structure may differ from institution to institution; it may be given a directorate level, a process level, or a section level but an institution should at least have an ethics officer. The ERCA, Transport Authority, and the DARO have established the ethics unit at a directorate level; while the Government Houses Agency and the Social Security Agency established it at process and ethics officer levels respectively. Of all the five institutions, the ERCA seems to be well equipped with the necessary staff. One exception is the fact that the Social Security Agency has established the unit at an officer level but it still remains vacant due to shortage of labour in the market. According to the manager, C6, the institution tried to run

activities of the ethics unit by temporarily assigning a person from other departments. When the interview was conducted, the position was vacant; even there was no person delegated. Hence, there was no body to oversee ethics related issues.

According to C13, to ensure implementation of its major objectives, the FEACC helped establish ethics liaison offices in all civil service institutions. Those institutions who have not established one, the commission provides them the necessary support to establish their own offices. To those who already established ethics offices, the relevant department monitors and provides them support to ensure that they are carrying out their duties and responsibilities properly. The ethics liaison units are established with the duty to deal with ethics issues; examine working procedures that are prone to corruption in their respective institutions; facilitate the anti-corruption struggle; and advise the management on fighting corruption (FEACC, n.d.).

Civil servants were asked if their agency has an ethics officer, ethics committee or any other unit responsible for handling ethics issues. This question was designed so as to learn the extent to which the employees are aware about the existence of the unit in their own institution. 82.03% replied that a body is established to oversee ethics issues in their respective organizations (see Appendix A).

When asked about the reporting relationship of the ethics officers, the interviewed managers indicated that the ethics officers are made by law directly accountable to the institutions' top executive. These offices are also made to have a functional relationship with the FEACC. The ethics officers in the branch offices report directly to the branch manager. This is clearly stipulated in the regulation issued by the Council of Ministers, and is confirmed by the managers during the interview. Hence, there is no ambiguity about the reporting relationship of the bodies involved. Their independence is also ensured by law.

In response to the monitoring and follow-up mechanisms employed by the institutions, C13 of the FEACC indicated that about 300⁵ ethics liaison units are established under the federal institutions and these units have officers. These officers follow up ethical issues in their respective institutions, and frequently meet to jointly evaluate their activities. As to him, the majority of them carry out their duties properly though there might be some with problems. He further noted that the commission also periodically monitors their performance through direct

⁵ Official figures show that 267 ethics liaison units are established in public offices and enterprises.

supervision, periodic reports and provision of continuous training so as to build their capacity. This task is undertaken by the Ethics Infrastructure Coordination Directorate of the FEACC.

The interview participants were also asked to what extent they think the ethics officers carry out their duties without fear of retaliation from managers. C1 from the ERCA revealed that formerly the situation was not convenient for employees and ethics officers to freely air their views without fear. It was not possible to criticize one's boss. With the new management, he continued, these things are changing. For example, employees were seen criticizing top management in a series of forums arranged recently. He therefore felt that there is a positive trend in this regard; though a lot remains to be done. He added that they are consciously working to equip their ethics officers with this line of thinking.

C4 of the Transport Authority also noted that initially there was resistance on the part of some managers; the attitude was not good. Especially, he recalled, there was a problem from some members of the ruling party. They were trying to use their membership as a camouflage to resist our efforts. According to him even there were some individuals who had tried to intimidate him personally. This issue was taken to the top management, and later through party lines, when the ruling party took corrective measures on the individuals who wanted to abuse their position; we were encouraged by that measure he added. Currently, he claimed, we perform our tasks as ethics officers freely without any fear of retaliation. His colleague, C5, complemented this view in the following way:

In fact, our managers usually criticize us for not working as expected. In other institutions I hear that managers intimidate ethics officers usually. But in our institution, we are often blamed for not catching people who violate ethics rules. They encourage us to push forward with the fight against unethical practices. Hence, there is no any negative influence. We are free”

C6 from the Social Security Agency strengthens this point. He affirmed that the ethics officer works freely with the management - the director as well as other managers in general. On the contrary, according to him, it is rather the employees who reflect some negative attitude on the ethics officer. They even give him a nickname with a negative connotation (“Anti-corruption person”).

C7 of the Government Houses Agency also agrees that there is no any negative influence on ethics officers by institution managers. This is partly the result of the ethics unit efforts to

make the managers at all levels aware about ethical issues, she argued. C9 also complemented C7's idea by claiming that they had not encountered such influence so far.

C11 of the DARO reflected that the Ethics Directorate staff themselves were exemplary. As a result, everybody accepts them. He added that the ethics officers on their part perform their duties without any fear. Whenever problems arise, he explained, they are openly discussed and as a result there is nothing to fear. C10, however, disclosed that there are some limitations on the part of ethics officers from the branch offices in terms of freely pushing forward with their cause.

Responding to the same question, C13 of the FEACC indicated that it is clearly indicated in the code of conduct that ethics officers are protected by law; not only them but any whistleblower. But in practice, he explained, some officers easily accept harassment by managers and keep quiet due to their weak personality. They easily give up to pressures and compromise their responsibilities. According to him, there are some officers who come to the Commission complaining that they are being targeted (in terms of salary cuts and intimidation) because of their whistle blowing. But, he said; when you start investigation and look for concrete evidences the whistleblowers usually lose their case because the bureaucracy is much stronger and smarter than them. You do not get any evidence and in the absence of sufficient evidence one cannot take actions. Due to these, he regretted, many people blame the Commission for failing to take action on the individuals who tried to retaliate. There are however some cases supported by evidences where the Commission took action and reversed the retaliatory decisions. In short, he noted, the legal framework is there; but there are still gaps in its implementation.

C12 from the Ministry of Civil service had the following reaction. He indicated that this may depend on the individual. According to him, there are some ethics officers who consider themselves as faultfinders; while others behave properly and try to do their jobs as expected. Similarly, he continued, there are some managers who are willing to cooperate with ethics officers and avail themselves for support. They believe that ethics officers are there to support; and as a result, they create conducive environment to the ethics officers in terms of providing them with the necessary resources to carry out their duties. But again there are few managers who do otherwise. He finally made the following remarks:

So, there are problems on both sides. The ethics officers themselves may not be ethical after all. First of all, as an individual when you assume the responsibility as ethics officer, you must be prepared to meet whatever challenges you are bound to face. To sum up, on one hand, the managers must have a positive attitude on the ethics officers. They must consider them as their partners. On the

other hand, the ethics officers must alleviate themselves from any kind of fear, and must be ready to carry out their duties honestly. They must be prepared to pay any sacrifice as long as they are confident on what they are doing.

Regulation No.144/2008 issued by the Council of Ministers has a provision which protects whistle blowers against retaliation. Article 9(7) requires the head of the institution to ensure that a system for the protection of whistleblowers is established; and notices explaining the rights and duties of whistleblowers are clearly posted at conspicuous place. Article 9(7c) also stipulates that reprisal on a person who discloses unethical behaviour or corruption entails administrative and criminal liability. Article 21 specifically prohibits taking reprisal measures against ethics officers due to their performance of the functions entrusted to Ethics Liaison Offices.

4.2.4. The Citizens' Charter

In the ethics improvement subprogram report (1994), a draft national citizens' charter was developed and submitted to the relevant government body. A guideline for the preparation of institution level citizens' charter was also proposed in the report. Similarly, in a study conducted by ECA (1996), it was suggested that all government organizations in the country should be encouraged to adopt Citizens' Charter which will define the relationship between these government organizations and the citizens who are the consumers of their services. However, for unknown reasons, the development and adoption of the citizens' charter at national level have not been realized so far despite the fact that a few institutions have recently started implementing citizens' charters. The Ministry of Civil Service had launched its own charter in 2012. However, the issuance of citizens' charter seems to have been left to the individual institutions. For instance, it is found that all the institutions involved in the study have prepared their own citizens' charter. As detailed in the handbook produced by each institution, the charter contains several sections including the kinds of services provided by the institution, requirements to be fulfilled by users, service standards, values, addresses of key institution officials and the like. The contents are found to be similar across the institutions.

As a follow-up to these developments, C12 from the Ministry of Civil Service was asked whose responsibility it is to ensure that all institutions have developed the charter and have put it into implementation. He explained that the citizens' charter for the Ministry was launched in 2012 making it the first institution to develop the charter in the country. He further indicated that

the Ministry has revised the citizen's charter recently taking into account the new mandate of governance issues given to the Ministry. He noted however that the citizens' charter developed by the Ministry is developed for its own use. It only provides support to the civil service institutions in developing their own taking the Ministry's charter as a basis. They may now need to revise it to align it with the new one, he added.

It is, however, found out that the institutions are left to implement the citizens' charter according to their own pace. For instance, C3 of the ERCA indicated that the document is ready for implementation after incorporating the client feedback collected from the institution's stakeholder. However, he disclosed that since they have not yet finalized the necessary preparations in terms of facilities and other aspects; they have intentionally delayed its implementation.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service was also questioned on whether ethical issues are addressed in the charter. He said that they are not directly addressed but he would assume that if the service delivery process is improved it indirectly contributes to ethical conduct. The State Minister also explained that the charter is one important tool in ensuring ethical conduct in organizations because ethics cannot be seen in separation from other organizational activities. For example, he mentioned that when you work to ensure efficient service delivery by setting standards in your charter, you are obviously addressing ethics issues. In the proposed guideline for the preparation of institution level citizens' charter, it is clearly indicated that the ethical principles and thus the code of conduct should be made part of the citizens' charter. When asked if developing a citizens' charter is mandatory to all civil service institutions, both C12 and the State Minister confirmed that they all are required to formulate and implement a citizens' charter. If institutions do not develop, they explained, it is the responsibility of the Ministry to make the follow-up and provide them the necessary support in case of capacity problems. C12 further indicated that there was a joint forum where all the ministers meet and he assumed this issue was addressed in that forum as well.

4.3. Implicit Methods of Institutionalizing Ethics

4.3.1. Organizational Ethics Culture

The ethics culture of organizations is believed to have a direct influence on the ethical conduct of their employees. Organizational ethics is the result of different concerted efforts that

is built through time. The issue of ethics culture is addressed in terms of whether open ethics discussion by employees is encouraged in the institutions; whether ethics is focused during decision making; whether the institutions make serious follow-up of ethical concerns reported by employees, and take appropriate measures to address the concerns; whether role modelling is emphasized by leaders at all levels, and many more. As a result, the discussion of the ethical culture of the civil service institutions in this study is embedded with the other implicit aspects of ethics in the following sections. It is not treated separately.

4.3.2. Ethical Leadership and Top Management Support

4.3.2.1. Exemplary Leadership

The employee respondents were presented with a series of related questions designed to check their perception of leaders' ethical conduct. Table 4.6 shows 54.69% of the respondents disagreed with the proposition that they often encounter senior managers with unethical behaviour in their respective institutions, which means they believed that managers are usually ethical. A considerable number of them (36.72%) also felt that their institutions top leadership routinely strives to make ethical decisions; though a considerable number of them disagreed. Similarly, half of them perceived that managers in their institutions keep their promises and commitments; only 15.63% disagreed. However, when they were asked if managers or supervisors set a good example of ethical behaviour, 42.97% of them disagreed and only 25% agreed.

The finding shows a mixed result. A fairly significant number of the civil servants believed that managers and supervisors fairly exhibit ethical behaviour; and that they keep their promises and commitments. Conversely, a considerable number of them did not believe that managers can be taken as ethically exemplary leaders. It however indicated that there is a widespread perception that a lot remains to be desired as far as exemplary leadership is concerned.

Table 4.6: Exemplary Leadership

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Senior managers sometimes show unethical behaviour	Freq.	2	9	17	30	56	14	128
		Percent	1.56	7.03	13.28	23.44	43.75	10.94	100.00
2	Leaders strive to make ethical decisions	Freq.	1	12	35	35	34	11	128
		Percent	0.78	9.38	27.34	27.34	26.56	8.59	100.00
3	Managers keep their promises	Freq.	2	17	47	42	14	6	128
		Percent	1.56	13.28	36.72	32.81	10.94	4.69	100.00
4	Managers set a good example of ethical behaviour	Freq.	11	11	21	30	43	12	128
		Percent	8.59	8.59	16.41	23.44	33.59	9.38	100.00

Similarly, participants of the interview were asked whether managers or administrators in the Ethiopian civil service institutions set a good example of ethical behaviour. C1 noted that it cannot be said leaders were exemplary few years back. However, there are some indications that the current management is trying to change the situation. He specifically forwarded the following reflection:

The government had recently made change in the management or leadership of the Authority just before the interview was conducted. The former management could not be taken as exemplary. It was overwhelmed with rent-seeking attitude and practice. However, the current management, though it is early to say, is trying its best to fight unethical practices. Furthermore, the former management was not participative, and did not have interest to listen to complaints.

C2 sees the issue by dividing the management into two (somehow he provided an opposing view). According to him, top management is committed. It tries to provide support to ethics related issues including the former top management. However, the commitment of the middle and lower level managers to ethical issues was, and is, relatively poor.

C3 of the same institution provided more or less similar reflections which are provided below:

In my opinion, management of the institution has not created convenient environment. The institution had serious problems in its leadership culture, its relationship, and quality of leadership. As a result of its overall leadership failure, the institution's top leadership was changed recently. This is an indication that its leadership was not appropriate. Hence, I can safely say that the management did not create convenient environment. This, of course, is an official position of the government. After the change, even though it is too early, some efforts are being undertaken to change the situation. The new management has tried to identify the problems, and take corrective actions on the transgressors. The leadership is making conscious efforts to lead the change, but this is a process. It takes time to see the result.

C4 from the Federal Transport Authority noted the following:

Initially, when we started the process, the challenge was not easy. There was a lot of resistance. The challenge was coming from the management itself. It did not have positive attitude on the Ethics Directorate at the beginning. However, we tried to engage them by arranging several forums. We attempted to convince them that we are here to support them; that we are not faultfinders. Our efforts eventually enabled us to see managers who could be taken as exemplary, and who seriously fight ethical misconduct hand in gloves with us. So, currently we can say that management has created good environment. Even though there are some managers who still resist; most managers are jointly working and supporting us.

C5 from the same institution shared the comments forwarded by his colleague. He explained that top management is committed to ethical issues. According to him, the management makes regular meetings every two weeks; and in these meetings ethical issues are addressed, and whenever there are reported violations timely measures are taken. Even some issues are taken to the court depending on their level of severity. Due to the nature of the institution, he noted, there are a lot of complaints coming from clients, and it becomes necessary to address the issues. Hence management is compelled to address them duly. He also indicated that top management makes serious efforts to capacitate employees so that they perform their duties ethically and serve clients properly.

C6 espoused the view expressed earlier in the following way:

By its very nature- the organization is responsible for supporting senior citizens who served the country at various capacities and now retired. I believe that management can be considered as exemplary. In most cases managers are exemplary leaders. But on the part of some employees there are problems. In short, we can say that managers in this institution are exemplary to employees.

C7 of the Government Houses Agency reiterates that most of the managers including the top management are exemplary in her institution. She went on to say:

They are transparent. They are committed in the use of their official time. They work longer hours and the like. You even find some managers working on Saturdays and Sundays. In my opinion, most employees consider their leaders as their role models. They treat clients and employees alike properly.

C11 of DARO expressed the exemplary leadership of managers in his institution positively. He had to say the following:

In general, the organization's management can be taken as exemplary. This can be seen in terms of coming to office early, carrying out one's duties and responsibilities properly, empowering their subordinates so that they perform their jobs independently and make decisions by their own. Even there is financial empowerment to some extent. This is an indicator of good governance. To strengthen the exemplary leadership capability of managers, training is provided continuously. Every manager tries to carry out his/her responsibility by taking extra time. As a result, employees consider their leaders as role models. Hence, we can safely say that managers are exemplary to their employees in most cases.

He further noted that the organization is able to provide efficient service to its clients partly because managers are committed. Even the employees do not depend on whether the boss is around or not. What matters to them is their work. They do not even worry about the extra time they spend doing their jobs. However, his colleague C10, preferred to see this issue with caution. He mentioned that though some managers can be taken as exemplary on ethical issues, there are still some limitations.

C13 of the FEACC mentioned that the management of civil service institutions is expected to be a role model to subordinates. A leader who does not come to work on time cannot be an exemplary leader to his/her subordinates. Similarly, he noted, the leader should be exemplary on the use of public property, and in doing one's responsibility diligently and many more. Finally, he expressed his belief that majority of the leaders can be taken as role models, though there may be some with problems.

C14, the key expert, reflected the following view relating to the existence of exemplary leadership in the civil service.

Yes and no. There are some leaders who walk the talk, and lead by example. But there are also others who do otherwise. These other managers may not do it intentionally; they may be forced by some inconvenient environment.

C15 also expressed in the same way as follows:

This is related with what I said earlier. Some of the leaders are serious which you can take them as role models. Not in talks but in practice. Being a role model is

the key characteristics (or quality) of transformational leadership. Hence, there are some leaders who can be taken as role models. But since majority of the leaders are not role models, there is frustration on the part of employees, honestly speaking. If there is no role model, followers will move to different directions. There is no leader who is capable of leading them in unison. Hence, it is very difficult to say that majority of the leaders are role models. In this case as well there is a mixed perception. A lot remains to be done.

C16 also manifestly noted that the leadership in the civil service is not exemplary.

The reaction of the interview participants to the issue of exemplary leadership also seems to be somehow mixed. While some of the manager respondents boldly expressed that management can be taken as exemplary; others agreed only partially. The latter ones indicated that it differs from individual to individual; some are exemplary leaders, while others are not. Most of the managers believed that top management of the civil service institutions is largely committed and exemplary. The key experts on their part believed that majority of the managers are not exemplary leaders; though they admitted that there are few managers who can be taken as exemplary. All however underlined that a lot remains to be desired as far as exemplary leadership is concerned.

4.3.2.2. Focus to Ethical Issues During Decision Making

To understand how the civil service institution leaders consider ethics issues in the decision making processes, several interrelated questions or statements were presented to the employee respondents.

The survey result in Table 4.7 shows that a sizeable number of the respondents felt ethics is not a focus in the managerial decision process (41.41%), and that ethical conduct is not considered in regular employee performance appraisals (56.25%). Although many respondents remained indifferent to the question of whether human resource hiring decisions involve favouritism; about 31.25% disagreed; while a bit more than that agreed.

Table 4.7: Focus to ethics during decision making

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Ethics is focused during decision making	Freq.	2	15	26	32	39	14	128
		Percent	1.56	11.72	20.31	25.00	30.47	10.94	100.00
2	Ethical behaviour is made part of performance evaluation	Freq.	3	7	22	24	56	16	128
		Percent	2.34	5.47	17.19	18.75	43.75	12.50	100.00
3	Managers hire relatives	Freq.	3	15	23	47	24	16	128
		Percent	1.56	11.72	17.97	36.72	18.75	12.50	100.00

The interviewed managers believed that ethics issues are taken into consideration in most managerial decision making processes, though the degree may differ from institution to institution. However, they agreed that much remains to be done to ensure their effective implementation. They specifically noted that no system is put in place to reward ethical conduct, and punish otherwise. The interview result is presented below.

C3 of ERCA confirmed that ethics issues are well taken into account during recruitment and hiring, induction training, and after hiring. He aired his view as follows:

Some years back it was not easy to talk about ethical problem; it was like a taboo. It was a neglected issue for long time. But now attempts are made to include it in almost all aspects of work. It is used as one measure or criterion in evaluating the performance of employees. For example, ethics is considered in employee recruitment, selection, promotion, and training processes. But we are still not able to effectively link ethics with such variables; we have a long way to go.

He further elaborated that employee evaluation in their institution is conducted based on 60% - 40% proportion. 40% is allocated for ethics related issues, and the remaining 60% is for work related performance. This indicates the high value accorded to ethics issues, he claimed. But encouraging, motivating, and rewarding employees based on the result of this evaluation still lacks. For example, he argued, we do not see employees with good ethical behaviour being rewarded or being given educational opportunities.

He also made the following intervention regarding the hiring process in his institution:

When we hire new employees, we make the employment decision based on two major criteria – their competence and integrity. In measuring competence we use their academic achievement as a selection criterion (2.75GPA for men, and 2.50 for women). To determine their integrity, we check the ethical behaviour of the candidates. We ask them to bring evidence letters from their former employers. In addition, the candidates are investigated for their ethical behaviour before a hiring decision is reached. Existing employees are also similarly investigated for their ethical behaviour. This practice has become part of our system. This is however a recent phenomenon, as a result, it has not reached the desired level yet. Through time we hope to significantly improve the situation.

In the Federal Transport Authority ethics issues seem to be managed haphazardly. While the respondents noted that ethics issues are well incorporated in training programs, they explained that ethics is not formally taken into consideration in hiring and procurement. C4 for example noted that the Ethics Directorate is not still participating in the hiring process. He further explained that they have officially requested the management to allow them participate in the process, and are hopeful that they will eventually succeed. He also added that they are not involved in the procurement process as well. But, he noted that they evaluate the process after procurement decision is made (whenever problems are reported). There were even times when they reversed procurement decisions that were found to be illegal. The reason why they are not involved in the procurement process is due to lack of manpower (there are only three people in the unit), as he claimed.

C6 of the Social Security Agency briefed that their recruitment and selection process is transparent. The employees who register the applicants treat them ethically and honestly. In written exam administration and during interviews ethical issues are well taken into account. The exam is job related.

C7 of the Government Houses Agency recalled that in earlier times, there was a system of checking the applicants' ethical background before a hiring decision is made. But later, this practice was abandoned, as to her, for reasons she did not know. She still believes that this practice needs to be re-instated. She also indicated that orientation on ethical issues is provided, among others, to newly hired employees before placement. Concerning procurement, she noted that whenever there are complaints on procurement and hiring, they are investigated and if they are found to have some problems they can be reversed.

According to C10 of the DARO, during the hiring process, the Ethics Directorate makes the necessary follow up to ensure that ethics issues are duly considered. When new employees

are hired, the directorate makes background investigation of their ethical behaviour from their former employers. C11 also complemented on this idea as follows:

Hiring is done in a transparent and accountable manner in our institution. Above all, it is done based on existing HR policies and procedures. No complaints are reported on this issue.

However, C10 complained that the Ethics Directorate is not participating in the employee evaluation and procurement processes so far.

The interview participants indicated that there are some initiatives in their respective institutions to consider ethics issues during decision making. The degree of consideration differs from institution to institution. But the interview result shows that it is only a beginning; ethics issues have yet to be taken seriously in selection, promotion, evaluation, and other human resource decisions. Due to some reasons the ethics units are not actively participating in such processes; and the issues do not seem to be taken seriously by the concerned departments as well.

4.3.2.3. Whether Management Gives Focus to Ethical Issues

As is shown in Table 4.8 below, a large number of the respondents (40.62%) are of the opinion that top leaders do not provide ethics related incentives, guidance, and advice to encourage high standards of ethical behaviour. Similarly, 42.97% of them felt that managers do not include discussions of ethics when talking with their subordinates.

Table 4.8: Ethics guidance given and discussions made

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Leaders provide incentives to encourage ethics	Freq.	1	18	41	16	41	11	128
		Percent	0.78	14.06	32.03	12.50	32.03	8.59	100.00
2	Managers discuss ethics with their employees	Freq.	1	12	39	21	45	10	128
		Percent	0.78	9.38	30.47	16.41	35.16	7.81	100.00

The employee respondents were presented with questions relating to leaders' focus to ethics as compared to efficiency and effectiveness. As is shown in Table 4.9, 55.47% of them agreed that leaders care more about getting the job done than ethics. Similarly, 67.18% of the respondents agreed with the general statement that supervisors do not pay attention to ethics. Hence, most of the respondents felt that organizational efforts are focused at increasing efficiency and effectiveness rather than both at increasing efficiency and ethicizing administration in the civil service.

Table 4.9: Focus given to ethics compared with efficiency

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Leaders care more about getting the job done	Freq.	1	14	57	13	36	7	128
		Percent	0.78	10.94	44.53	10.16	28.13	5.47	100.00
2	Supervisors do not pay attention to ethics	Freq.	2	19	67	15	22	3	128
		Percent	1.56	14.84	52.34	11.72	17.19	2.34	100.00

A related question was posed to the research participants: whether the management of the civil service institutions at all levels gives focus to ethical issues. The response of the key experts is presented as follows.

C14 is of the opinion that ethics issues are given focus at the top management level. The initiatives taken to establish an institution responsible to oversee ethical issues shows commitment at government level. As its name indicates, he continued, the FEACC has been established with twin objectives. However, it seems that the corruption issue received very high attention; while the other ethical issues are neglected. Probably the government officials are fearful of the fact that corruption is talked about in everyday life of the people; or it may be due to the fact that there is no sufficient awareness about the behavioural components of ethics; I do not know, he claimed. Well, he went on, the fact that ethics officers are put in place in every institution may seem at the face of it that ethics is given emphasis.

He further noted that strategic plans are developed by public institutions with vision, mission, and values. However, he explained that these plans are not cascaded to lower levels of

the institutions in the first place. Second, the ethical issues may be mentioned in the values but they are not implemented in an integrated manner. He commented that they may be mentioned in the documents, but in practice they are not put into action complemented by detailed plans. “At least I have not seen this happening; I may be wrong”, he admitted. He further contemplated that this may be the reason why the desired level of change is not realized. He again underlined his belief that there may be the willingness to do this at the top management level but the question of how to cascade these downwards is not addressed adequately. He also expressed his doubt that awareness may not be there on the part of the management. The managers are not ethics experts, they work based on general principle. He continued,

The question is whether people down the line are adequately trained. Do we have qualified people with the required capacity? For example, the ethics officers installed in the institutions, what capacity do they have? Do they have the necessary capacity to support the top leaders? How are they picked up? Is it due to their political affiliation or on a merit basis? These things need to be seen. I believe they do not have the capacity; I could be wrong.

Another expert, C15, provided his view in the following way. Most of the time, he argues, top management is the key to the success of any program in any institution. These officials in the civil service are usually political appointees; while the middle and low level managers are usually placed based on merit. Top management has its own system of governance. But this does not mean the top managers do not have influence on the civil service. Their living style, their leadership capacity and the focus they give to their work are indicators of their commitment to the reform program. He further indicated that he conducted a small study about this issue earlier. The result of the study according to him was mixed. Most people believed that top officials give focus to ethics issues. But some believe that top officials do not give focus to ethics issues rather they are doing it because it is an order issued by the government. It does not emanate from within (it is not internalized). Continuing with his argument, he underlined that unless the ethical issues are not addressed adequately and timely, the consequences will be damaging. These things reside in the minds of people, he said. Whatever technology you use, whatever beautiful offices you have or whatever policies you design, unless you are able to change the attitude of people on ethical issues it will be a futile exercise. However, he admitted that it does not mean that there are no exemplary leaders at all levels. Hence, he summarized that the outcome in this regard is mixed.

C16 agreed that the top leadership has commitment to support the lower levels. But there is no effective leadership or guidance. He insisted that it is not a matter of not accepting the ethical principles; rather it is a matter of lack of effective follow up, lack of effective supervision, and lack of effective implementation. He said that he does not think the top officials know the implementation problems encountered on the ground.

Here is the elaborate explanation C17 provided on the same issue.

When I was the civil service commissioner, I used to be a member of the Council of Ministers. I had the opportunity to work with them by then. I have a very adverse opinion. I believe the top officials give priority to political rather than ethical issues. It may be my personal opinion. The higher you go up the ladder the more they become political animals. The top guys I mean. I will give you one example. When a foreign sponsored short-term training or meeting opportunity comes, everybody desires to grab it. Finally, the person who has the best link (or connection) will be picked up. A person who you think is relevant, taking objective criteria, would not be the candidate. This is the game everyone plays, and stays safe. The top leadership gives importance to political issues and gaming. Well in such kind of issues it is difficult to generalize. There are very honest top guys who are role models; their life also shows that. But majority of the top officials are not role models. In fact, I would say, they are mostly bad examples. So, I have a negative attitude. The way they use public resources such as vehicles, houses and the like is bad. I do not know if things have changed now. But during my time this was the reality. From what I hear, even today I do not think this has changed.

In responding to degree of attention given by the middle and supervisory level management to ethical issues, he recalled the historical pattern of the civil service and held the view that even during the Dergue regime the civil service was relatively depoliticized. Of course, he also admitted that there could be some party members; but largely the employees were civil servant proper. According to him, the civil service by then was neutral; apolitical. In fact, it was also highly inefficient. He believed that most civil servants made a living by the salary they used to earn. It is not because they were trained but because of their personality built by their religious orientation and the way they were brought up, and the like. He further argued that their life style was simple; they lived a decent life. Notwithstanding that people from this generation are still around, he felt that they are disappearing slowly; they are being diffused. He argued that new players have come into picture. The civil service now is being dominated by young people who would do their best to associate themselves with the ruling party, and look for short-cuts to climb through the organization ladder. When they become party members (or cadres), they feel

that they are empowered. They start looking down at people. Their cause is not to serve the people, but to gain personal power in any way possible. Hence, he concluded that the middle and supervisory level management is getting diluted slowly. It is changing slowly with the change in generation. As a result, the ethics issue is getting less attention.

The interview result shows that most of the key experts believed there is a commitment at the top management level; however, ethics issues are getting less attention as one moves down the organizational hierarchy. The interviewees largely felt that ethics issues do not get the required focus at the lower and middle levels of management. As discussed above the employee respondents also have similar view. One key expert however opined that even the top leaders are not committed to ethical issues in the civil service. The State Minister on his part said that the issue of exemplary leadership differs from individual to individual. There may be some top leaders who do not behave ethically. However, he accepted that role modelling decreases as one moves down the hierarchy. For instance, he noted that there may be some middle and lower level managers who are involved in outside work due to low salaries. He, however, felt that there is an overall improvement in this respect.

4.3.2.4. Communicating the Importance of Ethics

The following sets of questions in Table 4.10 were presented to employee respondents with the aim to learn their perception about management's communication of ethical issues in the organization. As the survey result shows, many respondents (46.09%) felt that leaders in the civil service institutions do not make ethics communication a priority. More importantly, a great majority of the respondents (83.60%) felt that the 'central principles of civil service ethics' are not clear. This shows that even though the ethical principles are enshrined in the code of conduct for civil servants, and they are posted in the walls of their offices, the employees do not have clear understanding of such principles. Similarly, majority of the respondents (60.16%) revealed that the ethical expectations of the organization were not communicated to them when they were hired. But the interviewed managers reflected that organizational expectations are made clear to new employees during hiring.

Table 4.10: Communicating importance of ethics

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Leaders communicate ethics as a priority	Freq.	2	9	34	24	51	8	128
		Percent	1.56	7.03	26.56	18.75	39.84	6.25	100.00
2	Ethical culture ingrained in agency's brochures	Freq.	1	12	41	21	39	14	128
		Percent	0.78	9.38	32.03	16.41	30.47	10.94	100.00
3	Ethics principles are made clear	Freq.	2	3	9	7	70	37	128
		Percent	1.56	2.34	7.03	5.47	54.69	28.91	100.00
4	Ethical expectations are communicated	Freq.	3	3	31	14	53	24	128
		Percent	2.34	2.34	24.22	10.94	41.41	18.75	100.00

4.3.2.5. Integration of Ethics Issues with Organization Policies, Objectives, and Processes

The interview participants were asked about the extent to which the ethics program is integrated into the organization's goals, processes and strategies. Their response is transcribed as follows.

C1 provided a positive view regarding the integration of ethics issues into organizational objectives. He noted that all the systems they implement are aimed at safeguarding the organization's objectives. According to him, their institution is highly exposed or vulnerable to rent-seeking practices, corruption, and other forms of ethical misconduct. One officer usually makes decisions worth millions of birr which exposes him/her to malpractices. As evidence to this, he claimed that the institution is identified as one of the areas prone to corrupt and unethical practices by the federal government. As a result, the ethics program is given high attention in policy design.

C4 of the Transport Authority also recognized that the ethics program is designed based on the organization's problems. While the organization develops its plans, detailed goals are articulated, and one of such goals is ethics at organization as well as at directorate or departmental level. His colleague, C5, also reiterates that a five-year strategic plan (2003-2007E.C.) is developed for the organization. He clarified that an annual plan is also developed

based on the strategic plan; and ethics issues are made part of the plan. According to this informant, this indicates that the ethics program is integrated with the organization's objectives.

C9 of the Government Houses Agency agreed that ethics issues are well integrated into their organizational objectives by claiming that the very purpose of designing the ethics program after all is to achieve the goals of the Agency and that of the employees.

The same question was also presented to the key experts to know their perception. C16 rejected the idea outright by saying “It is least integrated. Had it been integrated we could have been able to see positive results.”

C15, while acknowledging that there may exist on paper, is of the opinion that they are not implemented. Here are his reflections:

Yes, it is there on paper. Almost there is no institution which does not have a strategic plan. In this plan, institutions provide their vision, mission, and values. The values are in one way or another linked with ethical issues. They all are there on paper. For example, the 12 ethical principles are posted everywhere in public institutions. But are they really implemented? Honestly, these issues should not be posted for propaganda purposes. These are made by proclamation, and thus they need to be implemented. It is not a joke. I think there are gaps in implementation. They can be there on papers, but largely remain as mere slogans. The fact that you have made them part of the strategic plan does not mean they are implemented. There is a need for designing detailed policies, programs and projects to effectively implement them; but these things are lacking.

C17 also reflected similar view as follows:

This will unfortunately take us back to the design issue. As you know, sometime back strategic planning and management was seriously taken as an agenda in the country. Values are usually part of strategic plans. This exercise was really useful. The values were posted everywhere. Even some organizations had prepared guidelines of how to implement the values. But largely the strategic plans remained only a paper exercise. The plan was simply put on shelves. One argument we had with my bosses sometime back was which should come first; strategic plan or business process reengineering (BPR). One side (me in it) argued we should start with strategic plan and then focus on processes and use BPR as a tool, if necessary. The other side took the position that we should start with BPR. I think this is because these people were ordered from the top to implement BPR, and they were trying to comply without asking why.

C13 of the FEACC had to say the following regarding the issue.

When the institutions prepare their code of ethics they do it based on the twelve ethical principles. During the development of the code, they ensure that it takes the nature of their institution into account. In addition, when they develop

institutional plans, ethics issues are made part of it. Therefore, I can say that the ethics program is well integrated with the goals, objectives, and processes of our institution.

Almost all the managers involved in the interview believed that the ethics program is integrated with their respective organizational goals, objectives and processes. The manager from the FEACC also reflected the same view. The key experts, however, felt that it mainly remained a paper exercise; they are not really integrated during implementation.

4.3.2.6. Allocation of Resources to Ethics Issues

Both C1 and C3 of the ERCA agreed that enough resources are allocated by their institution. This is because the top management believes that the key problem of this institution is unethical behaviour and practice. Hence, they confirmed, there is no problem in terms of budget or resource allocation. Enough budget is allocated to make an all-round effort to reduce or eliminate the effects of unethical practices through automating the system, establishing calling centres, training employees, and many more. In fact, they claimed that no other governmental institution has allocated budget as big as their institution to handle ethics issues.

Notwithstanding that ethical issues were not getting the attention they deserve in the past, C4 of the Transport Authority revealed that currently, they do not have any problem in terms of resource allocation. According to him, whatever requests the Ethics Directorate makes for ethics activities, it is granted without any problem. In fact, he claimed that they are given priority. He further indicated that they had easy access to the Executive Director. As a result, they easily get resources required for their program implementation. This is what he said: “The Director’s office is always open and accessible to us, which shows the attention top management gives to ethical issues in our organization.”

Regarding this issue, C5 of the same institution says the following:

Yes. We recently introduced what is called programming budget developed by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. Every department develops its annual plan together with the required budget. Hence, the Ethics Directorate follows this system, and is allowed the necessary budget. In terms of human resource due to shortage in the domestic labour market, there are some vacant positions. But this is not due to lack of budget.

C6 of the Social Security Agency also reflected similar stand. He mentioned that his institution had opened an ethics officer position, which is entrusted with overseeing ethical

issues. But he mentioned that due to labour shortage in the market, it was not possible to hire a professional to the post. As a result, the institution tried to assign a person temporarily from other departments. A separate office is also established with the necessary budget. Training is also provided to employees continuously. Hence, he concluded that adequate resource was allocated to undertake activities related with ethical issues.

C7 of the Government Houses Agency also revealed that they have not faced any resource constraint so far except human resources. Currently, she explained, one officer and one head are working in the ethics unit. But this is not enough. There is, however, a plan to undertake restructuring, and we are hoping that after the restructuring this situation will be improved. She also indicated that complaint handling is also performed by this unit which makes it difficult to accomplish with the existing work force. Her colleague, C9, also complemented her view by saying that the required budget is allocated to the ethics unit, and there is no any resource constraint.

C11 from the DARO also agreed that their organization did not have any problem of resource to run their ethics related activities.

This question was designed in order to learn the perception of concerned managers about resource allocation exercises practiced by their respective institutions. It was intended to find out the focus given to ethics issues by the government and the respective institutions. All interview participants invariably agreed that there is no problem as far as resources are concerned.

4.3.3. Reward, Promotion, and Performance Evaluation Systems

The research participants remarked that ethics issues are not taken into consideration in promotion decisions. They also noted that no reward or punishment system for ethical performance is put in place in all institutions. No system is put in place that discriminates employees based on their ethical conduct. Though some institutions indicated that 40% weight is allocated to ethical behaviour in their employee evaluation systems, many did not use it.

4.4. The Present State of Civil Service Ethics

4.4.1. Use of Public time and Resources for Personal Gain

A series of interrelated statements were proposed, as shown in Table 4.11, to the employee respondents with the aim to learn the perception of civil servants about misuse of official working hours on a five-point Lickert's scale questionnaire. 56.72% of the respondents

expressed their agreement with the statement getting to work late and leaving early is a normal practice in the organization they work for. In a similar manner, 47.66% of them expressed their agreement to the proposition that it is a common practice in the office to surf the Internet for non-work related matters during work time. A great majority of them (83.59%) felt that calling in “sick”, if one wants to take a day-off for rest, relaxation, or recreation is okay as long as it is not super busy at work. Generally, the finding shows most civil servants believe that misuse of official time is commonly observed in the Ethiopian civil service.

Service users were also asked for their opinion on how often civil servants misuse official time. 35.71% of them felt that they do it very frequently, and 35.71% frequently, 20.63% sometimes, and 7.14% never. Majority of the service users believe that civil servants misuse official time (see Appendix A). Hence, both civil servants and service users have similar perception about the inappropriate use of official working time.

Table 4.11: Misuse of official working time

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Late arrival and early departure is common	Freq.	1	29	45	18	24	11	128
		Percent	0.78	22.66	35.16	14.06	18.75	8.59	100.00
2	Employees misuse official time	Freq.	1	18	21	16	56	16	128
		Percent	0.78	14.06	16.41	12.50	43.75	12.50	100.00
3	Surfing Internet for non-work matters	Freq.	1	25	36	25	30	11	128
		Percent	0.78	19.53	28.13	19.53	23.44	8.59	100.00
4	Taking false sick leave is okay	Freq.	0	57	50	10	5	6	128
		Percent	0.00	44.53	39.06	7.81	3.91	4.69	100.00

Reference to the codes of ethics adopted by the civil service institutions indicates that civil servants should endeavour to ensure the proper, effective, and efficient use of public resources. Civil servants are required to take proper and reasonable care of public funds and organizational property and not to use them, or permit their use, for unauthorized purposes. This

being what is written in the books, to understand what is happening on the ground the following statements and questions were presented to the research participants. First, a more general statement of employees inappropriately using public resources for personal reason was proposed to civil servants. The result in Table 4.12 below indicated that 34.38% agreed, 32.03% disagreed, and 32.81% were neutral. More than half (54.69%) of the employee respondents expressed that taking home some supplies such as printing paper, pens and staples from office is common. Similarly, 45.31% of them agreed that using the agency's vehicle for a personal purpose is an accepted practice. Finally, 64.84% of them believed that it is normal to make phone calls and play computer games during working hours when the boss is away.

Table 4.12: Misuse of public resources

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Employees often misuse public resources	Freq.	1	14	30	42	33	8	128
		Percent	0.78	10.94	23.44	32.81	25.78	6.25	100.00
2	Taking office supplies home is common	Freq.	1	26	44	27	24	6	128
		Percent	0.78	20.31	34.38	21.09	18.75	4.69	100.00
3	Using vehicles for personal purpose	Freq.	1	26	32	40	22	7	128
		Percent	0.78	20.31	25.00	31.25	17.19	5.47	100.00
4	Making phone calls and playing games is common	Freq.	0	32	51	10	23	12	128
		Percent	0.00	25.00	36.84	7.81	17.97	9.38	100.00

Service users were asked for their opinion on how often civil servants misuse public property/resources for a personal reason/benefit. 48.42% of them responded frequently and very frequently; while 33.33% said sometimes, and 15.08% said never (see Appendix A). The survey result indicates that both the civil servants and service users similarly believed that there is misuse of public resources in the civil service.

Further reference to the code of ethics adopted by the civil service institutions revealed that civil servants cannot at any time engage in, or be connected with, any outside employment or activity which would in any way conflict with the interests of their institutions, or be inconsistent with their official positions, or tend to impair their ability to carry out their duties as civil servants. For this reason, civil servants intending to be engaged in or connected with any outside business or employment during working hours are required to inform their institution of such an intention. As shown in Appendix A, 36.72% of the employee respondents believed that some employees are engaged in outside employment or activities that conflict with their official duties, while 25.89% of them disagreed.

Managers were asked how they evaluate the ethics of civil servants in their institution in terms of using public resources and working time for personal benefit or gain. Both managers from ERCA (C1&C2) explained that front office employees are highly engaged with their clients, and as a result they do not have the possibility to abuse official working time. The nature of the job compels them to commit their time for the service of their clients. But both admitted that there is a gap on the part of the support staff. There are few employees who waste official time albeit on a limited scale. For example, employees in the head office are more relaxed than those in the branches where most operations are carried out. As a result, there are employees who waste their working time moving from office to office, or who do not appear to the office altogether. They further noted that the organization attempts to discipline those employees who show such unacceptable ethical behaviour; it usually takes disciplinary measures extending up to firing of employees with repeated absence from their duties.

Regarding misuse of public resources, C2 elaborated that there is an accountability system put in place for those employees who try to use organizational resources beyond the allowed limit. For example, he argued that an employee who conversed over the office telephone for personal purposes in excess of the reasonable limit will be asked to pay for it. C1 from the same institution preferred to treat this issue from a relatively different perspective. According to him, using office vehicle sometimes for personal purposes is not a problem; the law also allows it. But he admitted that there are also other items which are exposed to abuse. He suggested that this thing needs to be studied in its own instead of generalizing from perceptions. Without evidences supported by such a study, it will not be possible to definitively conclude that there is misuse of resources or otherwise. It needs a detailed study, according to him.

The response of employees on the survey especially concerning the use of the Internet was highlighted to the managers during the interview. In response to this, 47.66% of the respondents accepted that they surf the Internet during official working time. C1 argued that no Internet service is provided to employees during working hours in the organization. Only limited number of staff is allowed to surf the Internet for work related activities. He went on to explain that the employees rather complain about the restriction made on them regarding the Internet service. So, there is no way where employees can spend their working time browsing the Internet.

The question that dealt with the misuse of resources and time was posed to managers of the Transport Authority as well. C4 expressed that there are some ill-practices the current civil service inherited from the past. For example, getting employees work in the superior's personal house, using organization vehicle for personal purpose, and the like were common. On the other hand, if the manager likes you or you are related with him/her in some ways, he/she can inappropriately allow you get some benefits such as an extended paid leave. However, from time to time, things are becoming better thanks to the reform efforts. In a separate interview made with another manager in the same organization, he remarked that the use of public resources (even a single pen) is strictly controlled. Every resource is given to employees based on plan. So, the resources are strictly used for their purpose. Nothing is given out of the plan. As an example, he mentioned that fuel consumption is strictly controlled by the relevant manager where the vehicle is located. Fuel consumption control is centralized at the department level. All vehicles are required to stay in the organization premises in the night. Every car is controlled by the miles it travelled. We do not use a pool system unlike the other public institutions (C5). The two managers from the same institutions provided contradicting views about the use of public resources for personal gain.

C6 from the Social Security Agency had the following to say regarding the question proposed earlier. He explained that coming to work late and going out early, and taking pens and notebooks for family use is common. According to him, some employees even sign on the attendance sheet illegally as if they came on time or make somebody sign for them in their absence. He also indicated that there are some people who use organization vehicle and fuel for personal purposes. He further elaborated the efforts they are making to minimize these practices (which are labelled as sources of rent seeking behaviour) through several mechanisms. One

example he mentioned was that the one-to-five network structure introduced recently in the organization is being used to create awareness on the effect of these malpractices. On the other hand, he acknowledged that there are employees who serve the organization honestly and with maximum commitment.

Responding to the same question, C8 from the Government Houses Agency agreed that these things are common. Supporting his argument, he provided the following detailed explanations. For instance, using government working hours for personal gain is common. There is generally a feeling on the part of the employees that the salary they get is low. So, many of them have to work somewhere else to cover the income gap. They are, for example, engaged in the repairing or fixing of water pipes and others in private homes using organization's resources and they accept money in return. Using the organization's computers for writing research papers, and the like is also observed.

He also suggested the following which he believed can help alleviate the problems. The solution to this problem is, as every individual has to make maximum care to his/her personal resources; the same level of care should be exercised in the use of public resources as well. We must be able to develop a sense of national feeling. We have to work on transforming the attitude of the employees.

He further indicated that it is good to improve the working condition of the civil servants by, for example, improving salaries and other benefits. He reflected that civil servants are number one citizens. They are the ones who effectively implement government policies, and make the society happy or satisfied. Hence, he continued, there is a need to give them due attention. He believed that creating a good working atmosphere will complement the on-going change efforts. He further argued that making efforts to transform their minds without complementing it with fair remuneration will be a futile exercise. It will be unfair to talk about big visions of the organization (and/or the government) while the employees are earning salaries that do not satisfy basic personal and family needs. He explained what happened in his organization as an example. According to him, his organization was a public enterprise previously. As a result, employees used to get 10% salary increment every year. But starting from 2000 E.C.⁶, the organization was made to operate under the civil service law, and thus, the increments were stopped. As a result, there is a wide range of resentment on the part of many

⁶ E.C. stands for Ethiopian Calendar. Ethiopia still uses the Julian calendar which is eight years behind the Gregorian calendar.

employees. They want to see that the previous system is reinstated. According to him, they have simply closed their hearts and their minds; they lack any interest to listen and implement what is expected of them. Hence, it becomes apparent to see employees engaged in using government time and resources as much as possible for personal gain. While the employees are thinking about how to increase their daily bread, he argued, one cannot expect them to implement institutional plans with the necessary commitment in an ethical manner. He finally concluded his remarks with the following statement:

To summarize, we need to focus our attention on mind transformation and building national feeling, as well as creating conducive working atmosphere. It is difficult to bring about change in this respect without answering the many questions in the minds of the employees. You cannot lecture them about space science, while the employees are leading a low living standard - at least at perception level.

C9 from the same institution reflected similar views with C8. He indicated that using resources such as papers, pens and other stationery materials for personal benefit is common; it is like an accepted culture. Coming to work late and going out early is also common. According to him, lack of transportation facilities in the city is contributing to this problem. On the part of the organization, he emphasized that there is the need to make facilities available before one starts controlling employees. One need for example is arranging transport service. It is difficult to strictly control them without first fulfilling the required facilities.

Furthermore, he noted that the practice of surfing the Internet during working hours is not a major problem in their organization. The office layout which they introduced through Business Process Reengineering (BPR) is contributing in reducing this problem; they have open offices where everybody can easily see who is doing what. He stated that they are even trying to convince employees not to listen music, watch films, and the like during working hours; and there is improvement in this regard.

C11 from the DARO provided similar reflection with that of the managers from the ERCA concerning the misuse of official time. He asserted that misuse of government time is not common with employees working in front office operations because of the nature of their work since service users usually wait for them making queues. Even then there may be few employees who still come late. This is partly caused by the severe transportation problem that we observe in the city. The tardiness problem, however, gets worse when it comes to the support staff.

C11 further indicated that statistical data about the absence record of employees are maintained every month, and submitted to the executive director. The statistics is then directed to the relevant departments so that they take appropriate measures on the employees with such problems. This issue is also discussed seriously in the general staff meetings periodically. Hence, even though the number of employees with tardiness problem is quite small, since the trend is not good, measures need to be taken periodically.

Concerning care to organization resources, C7 believed that sense of ownership is more seen on the part of senior employees who worked in the Agency for longer period than the younger ones. C9 from the same institution believed that the low salary that employees are getting may have its own negative influence on their ethical behaviour regarding such issues. As opposed to C7, he felt that most employees are sensitive in taking care of organization resources. According to him, since management also tries to accommodate employees' needs, they have developed a sense of belongingness. He claims that the management's relationship with the employees is not a superior-subordinate kind. Most managers treat them as their partners. As a result, employees consider organizational resources as their own.

C13 of the FEACC explained that our culture is influencing the attitude of people. He specifically said:

These things are accepted in our society. It is like the priest preaching his followers to do holy things but when they complain why he does otherwise, he tells them "do not do as I do, do as I say". Similar things happen in the civil service as well. So, coming to work late and going out early, use of public resources for personal gain, not taking care of public property and the like are widely seen. We are trying to improve this situation through training and education and we know this process takes time.

Expert opinion was sought on the question at hand. One of the key experts involved in the study, C16, agreed that there is abuse of public resources. For example, he mentioned that it is customary to see government vehicles being used for personal business by officials on weekends. He is also quoted as saying:

A system of property management needs to be put in place. Honestly speaking, there is inappropriate use of public property and doing personal business during official working hours. Hence, I would say the problem is wide spread in the civil service.

Another key expert, C14, also asserted that coming to work late and/or going out earlier is also a common experience. According to him, even some civil servants can also be absent for

the whole day excusing themselves for sickness or lack of transport or other reasons. The system does not seem to concern itself in disciplining them for their violation. Sometimes, he added, you also see some employees playing computer games during government working hours.

C15 also explained that some of the ethical problems observed on the part of the civil servants are technology induced. This is what he remarked:

Experts spend most of their time on social media such as face book until their eyes turned red. These are educated people; they are not ordinary people. This thing spoils their altitude. It is a serious problem but less attention is given to it. This in fact is not unique to experts; there are some managers who are also engaged in such activities. We should not be misled when a manager spends his weekend in the office or if he/she comes too early to work or goes out late. Is he working for the institution or for his personal gain?

As can be inferred from the discussion above, almost all the research participants agreed that there is abuse of official time to a varying extent; that the use of public resources for private gain is common; and that civil servants are engaged in an outside work during (and out of) official working time due to the low income they earn. Representatives of three institutions argued that due to the nature of their work, use of the Internet during working hours is not a major problem especially when it comes to the frontline employees. Some managers, however, explained that various efforts are underway to minimize such unwelcome ethical practices. The expert opinion, the managers' reflection as well as the survey result showed a similar perception.

4.4.2. Abuse of Official Power

Civil servants are not allowed to use their official positions to benefit themselves or others with whom they have personal, family, business or other ties. This is clearly stipulated in each of the ethics codes adopted by the respective institutions. Regardless of what the law says, employees were asked for their opinion on the issue of employees misusing their positions for a personal benefit to themselves or others. As shown in Appendix A, 31.25% of the respondents agreed; while 45.31% disagreed. Similarly, service users were asked for their belief on how often civil servants misuse their positions for a personal benefit to themselves or others. As shown in Table 4.13 below, 60.32% of them believed that civil servants misuse their positions frequently and very frequently; 30.95% felt that they do it sometimes.

Table 4.13: Misuse of power - clients' response

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Very frequently	Frequently	Sometimes	Never	Total
1	How often do civil servants misuse their positions?	Freq.	3	43	33	39	8	126
		Percent	2.38	34.13	26.19	30.95	6.35	100.00

The interview participants were also asked how they evaluate the ethics of civil servants in their respective institutions in terms of using one's position to inappropriately benefit oneself and other acquaintances. The responses were as follows:

C2 of the ERCA believed that there are some corrupt officers in their institution. He explained that the government is publicly taking legal actions on these individuals, and that this is a real manifestation of abuse of power. He however admitted that there are many employees and managers who carry out their duties honestly and exercise their legitimate power only. The concern he explicitly raised is that many of these employees are not willing to collaborate with the institution in exposing individuals who are engaged in ethical misconduct. C4 from the Transport Authority also confirmed that there are instances of power abuse. He, for example, mentioned that some managers abuse their power by denying employees promotion opportunities, exercising verbal abuse, suspending employees who antagonize with them, giving annual leave to favourite employees inappropriately and so on. He, however, believed that there are some improvements.

The discussion above revealed that there are indications of improper use of powers vested in the office for personal gains. Though a significant number of the civil servants denied there exists abuse of power, a considerable number of the employees and majority of service users believed that there is abuse to a varying degree. Some managers also agreed with the users' view.

4.4.3. Accepting or Giving of Gifts, Favours, and Other Benefits

It is stipulated in the ethics codes adopted by the institutions that civil servants are prohibited from receiving and/or soliciting gifts of any kind (money, goods, hospitality, or any other personal benefits) from a third party which are believed to influence their judgment or

action on a case they are dealing with or will handle in the future. However, it is found that the respective institutional ethics codes did not include any provision for giving gifts. In line with this, the following statement was proposed to the employees in the survey: “It is usual for employees in my agency to accept gifts or favours given to them because of the work they do in their jobs”. As shown in Table 4.14, 53.14% of them expressed their agreement; only 14.85% disagreed. 44.38% of the employees also felt that civil servants improperly benefit financially from the work they do in their jobs. In a similar vein, 45.31% of the employee respondents believed that civil servants improperly give gifts or favours to their supervisors or accept gifts or favours from their subordinates.

Similarly, the institutions’ clients were asked for their opinion on how often civil servants improperly accept gifts given to them because of the work they do in their jobs. The finding indicated that 45.24% of them said sometimes; 13.49% believed that they do it frequently; 8.73% very frequently, and the remaining 23.81% said never (see Appendix A).

Table 4.14: Accepting or giving gifts and/or benefits

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Employees accept gifts from clients	Freq.	1	22	46	40	15	4	128
		Percent	0.78	17.19	35.94	31.25	11.72	3.13	100.00
2	Employees improperly benefit financially	Freq.	9	15	29	41	29	5	128
		Percent	7.03	11.72	22.66	32.03	22.66	3.91	100.00
3	Employees give gifts to supervisors	Freq.	2	23	35	52	8	8	128
		Percent	1.56	17.97	27.34	40.63	6.25	6.25	100.00

The survey result indicates that both the civil servants and service users felt accepting of gifts and/or other benefits is observed in the civil service. A significant number of the employees also agreed that giving gifts to superiors or accepting gifts from subordinates is also observed. As can be seen above, many employee respondents remained neutral in their response to the series of questions presented. This result was shared to the managers during the interview. They felt that the neutral response given by many employees (in the survey) may be an indication of their fear or their desire to stay safe.

When asked if employees give gifts to their superiors in order to influence the latter's decisions, both C1 and C2 reiterated that giving gifts to superiors (or bosses) is not common, but it is not also impossible. They are of the opinion that there might be some employees who practice this. They both believed, however, that clients giving gifts to employees or managers is rather a commonly observed practice. Especially, foreigners take it as a token of appreciation for getting a better service. To the interviewees' surprise, there are even gifts coming from the Ethiopian public enterprises.

When the interviewees were asked how they evaluate the ethics of civil servants in their respective institutions in terms of improperly accepting gifts or favours from service users, their reaction was as follows:

The interviewees from the ERCA invariably underscored that no employee is allowed to accept any kind of gift (directly or indirectly) in exchange for a good service provided; because this practice opens the door for unfair treatment of service users. Furthermore, they affirmed that the organization takes action that goes up to firing, if evidence is found on an employee who inappropriately receives a gift. However, they also agreed that until recently it was common to accept gifts such as chocolates, whisky, neck ties, coupons and the like especially from Chinese and Indian users; admitting also that there might still be some employees who secretly accept gifts outside the premises of the organization.

They however complained that despite the legal prohibitions introduced and the repeated actions taken, wide unethical practices are still observed. C3 especially noted that a lot is said about people accepting gifts in kind; and that there are even people who were caught red-handed and sent to jail. Hence, he continued, there are still problems despite efforts exerted by the institution in terms of clearly stipulating what are allowed and what are prohibited; and implementing the law strictly. Problems still persist, according to him, due to several reasons which include:

- First is the working environment. We are part of the bigger society. Within the society, there are people who are willing to give gifts or other benefits. Our employees cannot be free from the influence of such environment.
- Second, the low income of the employees might tempt them to accept gifts that come in any form.

He finally noted that, at this time, it is not possible to eliminate these altogether. We can only work to reduce them to their minimum through time.

C4 of the Transport Authority explained that there are some issues which are under investigation. It is believed that some employees get or solicit to get inappropriate benefits in their dealing with other institutions representing the organization. The law prohibits accepting a gift in any form from an institution that you oversee, that is, an institution that you control and/or give a work permit. It is an offense to accept gifts (such as an air ticket) from such institutions. But these things sometimes happen. C5 from the same organization added that clients sometimes report on suggestion boxes that some employees request them for a favour if they want to get the desired service. Some of the allegations are found true, and based on evidence, the organization takes appropriate measures. But some of them are found to be unfounded, and thus difficult to prove. In short, some practical measures are taken based on information provided by the public. In any case, he admitted, there are occurrences of such malpractices. C5 went on arguing that their institution has made all organization expectations clear to employees through several means. What their duties and responsibilities are, whom they are going to serve, for how many hours, and so on is made clear. It is posted on the notice board for anyone to see. There are also standards set so that the employee knows what conditions service users should fulfil to get the service. If clients feel that they do not get the service they deserve, complaint handling system is put in place. He, however, admitted that there are some people from the service users who would like to use the short-cut. That is, they try to bribe the employees and get a preferential treatment. While they can get the desired service through legal means by waiting two or three minutes, they prefer to use the illegal means. So, the society itself is also contributing to the problem. Hence, the problem emanates from both sides. He, however, underlined that through time, these problems will be solved.

But C9 from the Government Houses Agency and C11 from the DARO reflected a different opinion. C9 claimed that accepting gifts and other corrupt practices are not a problem in his organization. Similarly, while he admitted that problems are observed on some employees related with coming to office late, and going out early; C11 underlined that they have not encountered any problem so far in terms of accepting gifts and abuse of power.

Expert opinion was also sought on whether civil servants accept gifts or other benefits from citizens in return for a service they rendered. The key experts who gave their views on

these issues agreed that these practices are generally observed in the Ethiopian civil service. Here are the transcripts of their reflections.

C14 started his view by admitting that it is difficult to generalize. He felt that in some institutions you may find only few of these practices; while in others you may find all. When one goes to one of the public institutions to get a service, he/she finds some civil servants exercising these ethical infractions. Especially, getting some benefits in return for a service provided has become very common. Furthermore, he indicated that in some institutions such as the municipality; when service seekers approach an officer to get a certain service, he/she will probably tell them that the service requested might take some two weeks, but that he/she would find some means to shorten the time and he/she asks them for their telephone to call them in case it can be facilitated. He, thus, concluded that the officer is openly asking the users to pay something and if they do that, they will get the service in two or three days. According to him, the citizens also seem to have accepted this practice. There exists a general perception that nothing can be done without giving something in return. It has almost become institutionalized.

C15 also had to say the following:

It differs from institution to institution. There are some institutions which are corruption prone such as the Revenues and Customs Authority and the Municipality. There are again other institutions which are relatively free of such abuses.

Coming to the issue of accepting gifts or favours, he noted that there is no clarity in the law about accepting of gifts or favours. Should one, for instance, accept a mobile device, or a pen or a necktie when a service user offers him/her as a gift in return for the service you provided? These things need to be clearly indicated. Given this situation, he suggested that if the employee accepts a gift, he/she should acknowledge it through having it registered in the relevant office. Otherwise, he claimed, there is no upper limit in the law to the amount of gift one should accept. For example, to some people a vehicle can be considered as a small tip. To others this is a huge sum of money. In some cultures giving and accepting gifts is normal or acceptable; for example, in Japan and China. In other cultures, it is not. So, given this, it needs to be cleared which gifts are acceptable and which ones are not. Notwithstanding the difficulty involved in tracing these practices, he concluded that they do exist in the Ethiopian Civil Service.

C17 also believes that these practices are observed in the civil service, and gave his reflection in the following way. He pointed out that it is a function of gaps in the system. That is,

when the government puts too much pressure and makes serious follow-up of it, these things become less practiced. On the other hand, when such pressure and follow-up becomes loose, they become rampant. He further noted that from the feedback he gets from his clients, employees are usually ready and willing to use when the opportunities are available. So, it becomes a kind of rat and cat game. When there is serious follow up, the practice of accepting gifts and/favours reduces significantly. When there are gaps in this regard, they get aggravated. Hence, when an effective system is put in place, these problems can be curbed.

He further elaborated that the good thing he sees on the side of the government is, it has made the reform process a nonstop agenda. He had to say the following:

The government has been doing the reform process for the last fifteen or so years. It is also an agenda today. It will continue to be so in the future as well. There is no doubt that there is a declared policy that the government is intolerant when it comes to these unethical practices. So, I would say the government is doing a good job to solve or reduce these problems. To what extent has it become a priority, how uniformly is it implemented, and what factors may change the priority given to such issues over time may be questionable but if the government continues to implement them strongly and consistently there will obviously be improvement.

He further underlined that these practices will gradually decrease if the government complements its efforts by putting effective system in place. But he felt that at present the incidences are there. For example, even judges are caught red-handed while accepting bribes. Almost everyone expects something. He commented that this does not usually have any justification; but economic downturn (or pressure) could be one reason.

In addition, accepting gifts or bribes are specially observed in areas such as land, licensing, renewal, and tags. According to him, these are sensitive areas. He finally made the following remark:

Hence, these things are very common. For instance, if you take the Indians and Chinese, they explicitly request me (as their consultant) to facilitate their case by paying bribe; especially, the Indians. It is really sad. It is normal to give gifts or bribe to get the service they desire in their own countries. They even threaten to switch to another lawyer if you do not do what they want (i.e. facilitate their case through bribing civil servants). This practice is becoming normal for Ethiopian service users as well. When their issue is delayed for some reason, they usually resort to bribing the officer and get the service they desire.

In relation to this, the officer from the FEACC, C13, had to say the following:

Most people assume that only getting involved in corruption is considered crime. Many people do not think that abusing power; delaying client issues inappropriately and the like are illegal practices. Our institution is making efforts to raise people's awareness on these issues. Beyond creating awareness, we are also taking individuals involved in such practices into court. Petty corruption is widely observed. These days, though, many employees are collaborating with their respective institutions in exposing ethical misconduct committed in such areas as in bidding processes, promotion of employees, use of public property and the like.

The observation of C12 from the Ministry of Civil Service on the issue is slightly different from the opinions reflected by managers and key experts alike. He generally believes that there are positive changes partly due to the efforts exerted by the incumbent government through the civil service reform program which has been going on for a relatively long time. Though he could not rule out that accepting gifts or favours is observed in the system; he believes that significant improvements are observed. He pointed out that he is inclined to believe that in most cases it is improved. He, however, admitted that these practices may vary from institution to institution depending on their nature of work. Those institutions which are directly engaged in delivering service to the public may be more vulnerable to such malpractices than those institutions which do not have this much contact with the public.

4.4.4. Upholding of the Ethical Principles⁷

C1 of the ERCA is of the opinion that majority of the employees are in good condition with respect to the upholding of ethical principles; while he recognized that there are still some problems. C2 of the same institution agreed with this view by saying that majority of the employees are relatively free of such problems; but again admitting that there are some indications of non-compliance. He also indicated that inappropriate use of public resources, as mentioned earlier, is not much of a problem in their institution. But problems are observed in terms of improper handling of public resources, for example, in the use of company vehicles, computers, and offices.

C3 of the same institution came up with a divergent view than his colleagues. This is what he had to say:

I want to see the transparency issue from different perspectives. First, there is the working system of the institution; that is the proclamation, regulation, and the

⁷ For a detailed account of the twelve ethical principles refer Appendix E.

code of ethics. Do the civil servants really know them? In Kenya (our neighbour) when they hire new employees from the universities, they provide them extensive pre-employment training with the objective of making them clearly aware of the laws of the institution. These trainings usually last for about two years. Well, we also give a one- or two- month training when we hire new graduates. But, I do not think this is enough to create the necessary awareness and clarity. One cannot expect them to be transparent without them clearly understanding the various laws. Let alone to master the laws and organizational expectations through a one or two-month training, there are employees who worked for more than 10 years and yet do not understand them fully. Hence, most employees are not clear to themselves let alone to be transparent to others. There is a big gap in terms of this issue. The second point has to do with the behaviour of tax payers. Tax payers in this country are roughly categorized into three: those who would like to comply hundred percent with the tax law at any cost; those who like and try to comply but lack the capacity to do so; and those who would do anything to evade the tax law. The last two categories will have their own negative influence on the transparency issue.

The client respondents also reflected similar view with C3 on the issue of transparency. When they were posed with the question of whether the activities of civil servants are open enough, 53.97% of them felt it is hard to say; where as 24.60% believed that their activities are not transparent (see Appendix A). However, as shown in Table 4.15, 76.99% of them provided a positive response to the question of whether most civil servants are impartial and honest in the handling of their jobs. Similarly, 86.50% of the client respondents believed that most civil servants treat all users fairly. The finding of the service users is somehow mixed; while majority of them are indifferent about transparency, they have a positive attitude about impartiality, honesty, and fairness of the civil servants in the dealing of their official duties. This finding however contradicts with the opinion of most managers and the key experts who believed that the ethical principles are not fully respected by the civil servants; and that they are largely missing in the civil service sector. Detailed account of such views is provided in the following paragraphs.

Table 4.15: Upholding of the ethical principles – clients’ response

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Most civil servants are impartial and honest	Freq.	1	38	59	20	0	8	126
		Percent	0.79	30.16	46.83	15.87	0.00	6.35	100.00
2	Civil servants treat all people fairly	Freq.	4	10	20	51	36	7	126
		Percent	3.13	7.81	15.63	39.84	28.13	5.47	100.00

Continuing with his discussion, C3 indicated that some efforts are being exerted to ensure impartiality in the institution. But he underlined that there are still problems. He boldly claimed:

Violations of the ethical principles listed in the interview checklist are present. We are not yet free of them. In short, all the problems listed are without any doubt there. The level and character may differ but they are there.

He argued that these problems are created not because employees of the institution are naturally bad mannered; rather it is because of the nature of work the employees are handling. The tax system is a very complicated one by its nature. He further noted that this sector is suffering from the following problems: limited capacity of the employees, behaviour of the tax payers, overall attitudinal problem of the society at large, and the existence of illegal brokers in the system. He concluded his remarks as follows: “In short, the problems are very clear. They do exist; they are real. You should not doubt about that.”

C4 from the Federal Transport Authority strongly supports the opinion reflected by C3 earlier. The transcription of his interview is as follows:

Well, in those institutions that are highly vulnerable such as the ERCA, institutions involved in Land Administration, and even in our institution there is no transparency. I would say, in such institutions lack of transparency has even worsened. Besides, there are some institutions which do not have an ethics unit at all. But again I believe that transparency has improved in some other institutions.

Concerning the impartiality of the civil servants, his response was as follows:

Yes, there is discrimination. In fact, it is deep-rooted. If there is no transparency, one cannot expect impartiality and honesty. Money can buy anything in this country. If you do not pay money, you cannot get any service; you are discriminated against. Earlier discrimination was believed to be race-based. But now it is money. In short, to a lesser extent awareness is created but the follow up made is not consistent. As I mentioned earlier, the FEACC is not doing its job properly. Leaders must be held accountable. Charging career civil servants who were involved in wrongdoings is not enough. What was the leader doing when such unethical practices were being done? I believe that the key problem is inability of the system to hold the leaders accountable.

C6 from the Social Security Agency argues that several efforts are underway to increase awareness of the civil servants about the ethical principles they should abide by. He recognizes that the employees are there to serve, not to be served. According to him, the organization continuously makes efforts to aware its employees about this. They are regularly reminded not to make any discrimination among clients. They are periodically trained how to treat all clients equitably without any discrimination. They keep telling them that it is not allowed to engage oneself in such practices. But despite the efforts, he conferred, there are still problems. There are some employees who practice these things. It is not rampant but it is observed in some employees. Measures are taken periodically to correct the wrongdoings. These all are also incorporated in the code of ethics.

On the other hand, he explained that quick wins are introduced to improve the service delivery to their clients. Citizens' charter is also developed showing obligations of the institution to its clients. He claimed that it is already made public, and the clients know it. He took these factors as indicators of the organization's attempt to be transparent.

C7 from the Government Houses Agency gave her reflections by stating first that she does not know much about what used to happen in the past. But since she joined the organization, she felt that the management is trying its best to bring about change in this regard. For example, she said, a system is introduced whereby rented houses are fairly allocated to applicants based on decisions made by management committee. Previously this decision used to be solely made by the Executive Director which makes it open to abuse.

She further explained that they have introduced the one-to-five network structure. In this network, issues related with good governance including ethical issues are discussed openly among the members. The change management team also makes several efforts to address these

ethics issues. Hence, while she admitted that there may still be some individuals who are not free of such problems, she generally believes that there are improvements.

She went on explaining that complaints handling mechanisms are put in place and that service users can freely talk directly to the director or deputy director on any issue. This was not the case in the past (at least it was not consistently applied). She also indicated that as part of their effort to ensure a transparent and accountable system, they adopted a citizens' charter this year. This document clearly stipulates what the obligations of the service provider are and what is expected from service users. Service standards are set. Hence, concluded that there are visible improvements.

C11 from the DARO explained that their institution is in a continuous change process, and as a result, customers are currently being served by a modern queuing machine. So, there is no way that an employee can favour one client over the other. He believed that if any problem occurs, the clients will freely come forward and tell them. Hence, he concluded that their institution does not generally have serious problems in this regard. His colleague, C10, however, believed that though it is difficult to get concrete evidence about employees' lack of honesty and impartiality, these things are occasionally reported.

C13 from the FEACC expressed his view in the following way. While he felt that this has to be identified through systematic research, he agreed that there are still gaps in terms of strictly respecting the ethical principles. There are complaints that come from citizens. But the difficulty is to what degree they are present in the system. They do exist but what is the proportion? Is it significant? This is difficult to judge, according to him.

C12 from the Ministry of Civil Service provided similar line of argument as follows. Secularity is improving from time to time in the civil service sector. Institutions are adopting citizens' charter and this is believed to have its contribution in ensuring transparency and accountability. Periodic plans of the public institutions are made to incorporate mechanisms of ensuring transparency and accountability. As a result, he is of the opinion that such efforts will gradually result in positive changes. In short, he continued, there are some improvements; but could not take the idea that the ethical principles are fully ensured in the civil service.

The interviewed managers including those from the supervisory institutions believed that there are still gaps in terms of strictly respecting the ethical principles; though they acknowledged that there are some improvements.

The same question was also forwarded to the key experts who participated in the study. And as it is detailed below, their view is similar with that of the managers though a bit stronger. The interview results of each expert are discussed below:

C14 felt that it is very difficult to generalize; because this will vary depending on the nature of the public institutions. He asserted that violation of such ethical principles is frequently seen in institutions that have a direct and frequent contact with service users. Here is what he said:

In fact, in such institutions it is very difficult to believe that the ethical principles are present at all. Their way of doing things is not transparent; you do not know what is expected of you, you are kept in the darkness. Sometimes they intentionally hide important information or at best they release it to you bit by bit so as to induce you to do something in their favour.

As a result, he expressed his reservations regarding the prevalence of honesty, impartiality, transparency and other ethical principles in the Ethiopian civil service. He concluded his remark by saying: “I find it very difficult to believe this. Though I cannot generalize that all civil servants are similarly involved, institutions that have close contact with service users would have such problems.”

C15’s reflections on the ethical principles are provided next. He believed that this is the key problem in the Ethiopian civil service. He provided the following explanations for taking this position.

We see these ethical principles posted in the walls of every institution. These principles have largely remained either in the shelves, in strategic plans, and/or posted on the walls. They have measurement gaps, and they are not taken seriously. Transparency, honesty, equity and all the other principles are part of a system you establish. For instance, working honestly means doing your job honestly whether or not your boss is around. You are expected to do your job being honest to the law and the constitution, and doing that in an impartial way. These things, I think, are largely missing. There are big gaps. They are the key problems that drive service seekers crazy more than paying money. There are of course some developments everywhere in all sectors. But our culture in this respect is not yet developed. Development does not mean only infrastructure and other physical things. Unless we complement such development with cultural change, it will be a futile exercise. In fact, sometimes it becomes difficult to identify them and set your goals. Again the fact that they are relative makes them difficult to interpret and understand clearly. They are also very difficult to measure.

He also indicated that respect to these ethical principles is even given 40% weight by law in employee's performance evaluation. This would have been good if it had been implemented in a proper way. This is because the ethical principles are not usually found in the curriculum vitae of an individual. In short, he concluded that the ethical principles have largely remained as slogans. Their implementation is full of problems. There are big gaps that need to be taken seriously.

C16 also endorsed the belief reflected by the previous experts. He had to say:

My opinion is that I do not think. Do not ask me why, but I do not think. By the way the questions are related with one another. So, if you say there is an abuse in the use of public resource you cannot now say that the civil servants are transparent, impartial, and honest.

The response of C17 went as follows:

This is what I said earlier. A civil servant means by definition a person from department head to the janitor. But if you are referring to civil servants who are directly serving the users (the citizens) I would say no; they are not. Taking myself as a service user, I do not believe that civil servants in this country are transparent, impartial, and honest. I can tell you, for instance, all the bureaucratic red-tape I had to pass through when I bought a piece of land and built my residence. You can't believe the hardships I had to pass from the beginning to the end.

The expert opinion also reveals that the ethical principles have largely remained as mere slogans; their implementation is full of problems; there are gaps that need to be taken seriously. They felt that violation of the ethical principles is usually seen in institutions that have a direct and frequent interface with service users. They added that it is very difficult to believe that the ethical principles are present at all in such institutions.

4.5. Monitoring and Follow-up Mechanisms

4.5.1. Procedures Followed

According to C13, the FEACC has established a system whereby people having ethics related complaints on the civil service are entertained. All civil service institutions have established such mechanism. Since it is the Commission's mandate, he noted that they provide support to the institutions that will enable them carry out their responsibilities properly. Other kinds of complaints are handled by separate bodies (or committees) established by the Ministry of Civil Service. This is a clear indication of lack of integration between the two institutions.

Ethics related complaints are handled by the ethics units; while other complaints related with service delivery are handled by compliant hearing units established by the MCS.

C1 of the ERCA reiterated that their institution focuses on proactively preventing problems before they occur. However, he also recognized that monitoring & evaluation systems are put in place to regulate system performance on a continuous basis. For instance, he mentioned that:

- In each branch, an ethics liaison office is established with up to three ethics officers in it.
- Periodic evaluation (monthly, quarterly, and annually) is conducted throughout the organization where ethical issues are among the agendas discussed.
- Key organizational systems are automated using technologies such as cargo tracking and scanning machine. The fact that our systems are automated (which is used as a controlling mechanism) enables us to easily identify who did what.

Furthermore, he elaborated that employees who violate ethical standards (found through evaluation) are disciplined all the time. However, according to him, the key challenge in the fight against ethical misconduct is changing the attitude of people or employees. This is the central issue. Using sophisticated technology alone will not solve the problem unless peoples' attitude is changed. His colleague, C2, also noted that the legal requirement for officers and employees to register their personal property is another regulatory mechanism put in place.

C1 further explained that there are clear procedures put in place in his institution. According to him users present their complaint initially to relevant lower levels of management, and they can proceed as high as the Executive Director if they believe that their complaint is not adequately addressed. There is an appeal system from bottom to top of the organizational hierarchy. They can even go to the court if they are not still satisfied with the decision of the organization. He further indicated that there are suggestion boxes placed in the premises of the head office as well as all the branches. In addition, the existence of the appeal system is communicated to the public through mass media. If the complaint is ethics (or service delivery) related, he further elaborated, clients can directly come to the Ethics Directorate. He further noted that:

An appeal (or complaint handling) system is put in place, and clients are using it. Many clients come forward and tell us freely, and appropriate actions are taken. But one piece of problem we are encountering is when you seek for further

information (or evidence), some of them shy away. This becomes a stumbling block for us to take action on employees with the alleged problem. Sometimes, clients abandon the issue by making secret deals with the charged employees.

C5 of the Transport Authority revealed that two ways of complaint handling mechanisms are put in place in his institution: through the citizens' charter and whistle blowing.

In relation to this, employee respondents were asked if their institutions have put in place control and monitoring processes to ensure exposure of employees' ethical misconduct. Accordingly, 46.88% disagreed with this statement; while 25.78% remained neutral; and only 24.22% agreed (see Appendix A).

4.5.2. Mechanisms Put in Place

Suggestions Boxes and Notebooks

As can be seen below, all the institutions which are involved in the study have installed suggestion boxes and/or notebooks. The extent to which these tools are used by clients varies from institution to institution. For instance, in the ERCA each work unit or branch has its own suggestion box. According to C1, the suggestion boxes are managed by their respective offices. The Ethics Directorate at the centre administers bigger and more serious issues. In the Transport Authority as well, monitoring and follow-up mechanisms are put in place to gauge ethical practices. The mechanisms include: suggestion boxes where users can write down their opinions and feelings; service users can also come in person and present their complaints face to face or can give their tips over the telephone; or they can use the organization's web site (C4);

The Social Security Agency has also established its own monitoring mechanisms. According to C6, the Agency has prepared suggestion boxes; where he felt people usually use it. Second, he said, there is also a suggestion register where clients write their feelings freely-be it positive or negative. He added that many clients use the register book more than the suggestion box. He generally believed that today's clients are courageous enough to express their feelings. They no more have fear of reprisal. The culture is slowly changing. He however admitted that there are some clients who still adhere to the old way of doing things where they try to bribe employees in order to get what they want. Though this is a rare phenomenon he insisted that there is the need to strengthen the fight against such unethical conduct. C5 from the Transport Authority also expressed a similar feeling. He specifically mentioned that suggestion boxes and register books are available, and clients are using it regularly. These days, he argued, the clients

have become more aware about their rights. As a result, they are ready to expose unethical practices in the Agency. Some of them even go directly to the FEACC. They do not have any fear of retaliation. He went on explaining that the suggestion boxes and record books are regularly visited by both the ethics office and reform office; and the relevant bodies are communicated, and appropriate actions are taken.

C10 on his part explained that an appeal system whereby service users can use is put in place. According to him, clients can submit their complaints in writing or orally as they see it fit. Depending on the severity of the complaint, they are addressed within a period of 10 minutes to two days.

A follow-up question was posed on how actively the relevant bodies make a follow-up of the suggestion boxes and notebooks.

In the Government Houses Agency, according to C7, the ones located at branch offices are opened and seen by the respective public relations offices as in any civil service institution. The public relations office then channels them to the concerned bodies. The Ethics Office at the headquarters does not have access to the boxes. She indicated that the ethics office makes regular follow up of the ones that are instituted at the head office. But she admitted that most clients do not write on the notebook or suggestion box. They have the habit of telling their dissatisfaction or satisfaction by telephone or sometimes in person. There is no culture of writing. So, she said, many clients do not use it. C9, her colleague, agreed that suggestion boxes and register books are made available to employees as well as clients; and that these tools are usually visited by the public relations office. Hence, the responsibility to visit the boxes rests up on the public relations office rather than the ethics liaison office.

In the DARO as well it was indicated that suggestion boxes, notebooks, and complaint submission forms are made available so that clients and employees can use them. In addition, according to C10, a system is put in place where whistleblowers can give their complaints face-to-face, via toll free phone, and over the company's web-site. It is also indicated that the organization tries to communicate all these whistle blowing mechanisms to clients and employees on a continuous basis. Confidentiality of whistleblowers' identity is also maintained.

C11 from the same institution also pointed out that a general employee meeting is called every quarter where all employees of the institution make performance evaluation. One of the issues discussed in detail is client satisfaction. For instance, he explained, one report seen during

the meeting is client suggestions compiled from each branch. This is an indication that the institution gives due attention to its clients, and that it follows it up seriously. In addition, all branch managers visit clients' suggestions on a daily bases. There are even some clients who go to the branch manager in person to air their complaints. This enables the managers to take corrective measures immediately.

C13 of the FEACC also is of the opinion that conducive environment is created for citizens to expose wrongdoings by employees. He specifically noted that suggestion boxes are made available; the ethics units provide telephone numbers and email addresses to all interested; and some mangers even encourage citizens to expose ethical misconduct and try to convince them that they are legally protected.

Asked what he believes on how frequent the suggestion boxes or notebooks are visited by the concerned bodies, C15 responded as follows:

I remember when I was director of the National Library and Archives; we used to have a register book where users can write their suggestions. Some users used to tell us the positive things and improvements we made. Some of them would also complain that they have repeatedly told us our weaknesses but to no avail. Our civil service office used to organize (or cluster) the complaints of users, and while small complaints were immediately resolved by the office the more serious ones were presented to management for decision. This is how we used to address them. I do not believe that they are regularly visited in many institutions. Let alone the top manager, even the manager who is directly responsible does not visit them. Let alone in public institutions, even in the private sector they are not usually visited. Even in banks you see such gaps; even a single page is not filled where thousands of citizens are served daily. This is an indication of how users have lost hope in the tools.

C13 of the FEACC shared C15's views in the following way:

Well, sometimes suggestion boxes are made available only for the sake of formality. Where the boxes are located also matters. If it is located near a manager's office, people may fear to use it. Again if the ethics office is also located near managers offices, people may be hesitant to go to his/her office and submit their grievances. Some clients also complain that even though they give suggestions repeatedly, no feedback is provided by the institution. To solve this problem, we usually discuss over the matter with the respective civil service institutions and provide them the necessary support.

Websites

Some of the interviewees mentioned that their institutions have developed their own website where people can use. But two problems are reported: many people do not use them, and

the websites are not regularly updated for current information. For example, C8 noted that his Agency has its own web site, but many people do not use it. Hence, he admitted that they should do more on the information technology issue. ERCA has also its website but its content does not very well address ethics issues (C1). C4 also mentioned that his Authority has a website.

Whistle Blowing and Whistleblowers' Protection

The Ethiopian Witnesses and Whistleblowers' law provides protection to public and private employees as well as the wider public for making internal disclosures or lawful public disclosures of evidence of illegality, such as the solicitation of bribes or other corrupt acts, gross waste or fraud, gross mismanagement, abuse of power, or substantial and specific dangers to public health and safety. The law also specifically bars appointed or elected officials and public servants from making direct or indirect reprisals against whistleblowers.

In this respect, Ethiopian civil service organizations need to provide formal mechanisms so that employees can discuss ethical dilemmas and report unethical behaviour without fear of reprimand. This might include creation of ethical officers, use of suggestion boxes, suggestion notebooks, hotline numbers, and provision of legal protection against retaliation. In light of this, the following sets of questions were presented to the questionnaire respondents, shown in Table 4.16. When employee respondents were asked on whether whistle blowing is encouraged by their institution's management to expose wrongdoing without fear of reprisal or retaliation, 36.72% disagreed with the proposition; and 35.15% agreed. To the subsequent question of whether the institution has an established way of reporting observed violations anonymously, 33.60% disagreed, and 23.44% agreed. Similarly, 36.72% expressed their disagreement to the proposition that agencies make serious attempt to detect unethical behaviours and actions.

Table 4.16: Whistleblowing

No.	Item	Value	Missing	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Total
1	Whistle blowing is encouraged in the agency	Freq.	5	18	27	31	40	7	128
		Percent	3.91	14.06	21.09	24.22	31.25	5.47	100.00
2	My agency has an established way of reporting	Freq.	4	10	20	51	36	7	128
		Percent	3.13	7.81	15.63	39.84	28.13	5.47	100.00
3	My agency attempts to detect unethical behaviour	Freq.	5	9	33	34	36	11	128
		Percent	3.91	7.03	25.78	26.56	28.13	8.59	100.00

Conversely, as is shown in Appendix A, 49.21% of the client respondents felt that exposure of employee misconduct by citizens is encouraged by the agencies' management.

The survey result indicates that while a considerable number of the employee respondents believe that the encouragement by management to whistle blowing is poor; a significant number of the clients believed that management encourages whistle blowing. A sizeable number of the employee respondents also felt that the whistle blowing mechanisms put in place by the civil service institutions and their implementation are relatively poor.

A similar set of questions was also posed to interview participants: whether whistle blowing by employees and/or clients is encouraged in the civil service organizations; whether a formal procedure exists to report suspicions of integrity breaches; whether whistleblowers are legally protected; and to what extent the whistleblowers' protection regulation is known and implemented by the institution and the employees.

C1 stated that his institution has an established system that encourages whistle blowing admitting also that there may be a gap in terms of whether employees know it or not. He further noted that the system also encourages clients to expose wrongdoings by civil servants. He also recognized that there is a whistleblowers' protection regulation; though there are some gaps in its full implementation. He explained that some whistleblowers initiate a process, and when you probe them for further evidence, they back up. Fear of retaliation is widely observed on the part

of the clients. He further revealed that they have established a web-site but it does not adequately address how clients can expose ethical wrongdoing.

C4 of the Transport Authority is also of the opinion that employees and clients are encouraged to expose ethical misconduct through various means such as brochures, awareness creation forums, suggestion boxes, notebook, telephone, and web-site (the Internet). He further noted that whistleblowers names and identity is kept confidential to ensure their protection. Some employees are bold enough to come openly and expose ethical misconduct. He, however, regretted that sometimes some employees get involved jointly on unethical practices, and then one of them comes to expose the other (probably when they disagree over something). Later both of them become victims. So, the driving force behind this kind of whistle blowing is not healthy, he underlined.

He also underscored that they encourage their clients to expose ethical misconduct seen on the part of some employees, as part of the efforts underway at national level. As a result, he feels that today, more than ever before, most clients know their rights. They are mostly ready and willing to expose ethical misconduct, he commented. He, however, felt that unethical practices are becoming widespread in the Ethiopian society regardless of the efforts. This is what he said:

But to be frank unethical practices are becoming rampant in our society in general. There are some clients who try to corrupt employees to get unfair advantages. They want to buy their rights with money (or by bribing employees).

C5 of the same institution supports the claim reflected by C4. He agreed that whistle blowing is encouraged and whistleblowers are protected by law in their organization adding that they always orient their employees about the protection they have.

The opinion of C6 of the Social Security Agency is not different. According to him, whistleblowers are encouraged (and the law also guarantees it) to expose unethical practices. Most employees report wrongdoings they observed by their own initiative because, as to him, they are recognized as champions of whistle blowing. Most importantly, he emphasized, whistleblowers are protected by law, and their identities are not disclosed to anybody. They are, however, requested to appear before the law and give their witness. He further clarified that if the disciplined person tries to threaten the whistleblower on grounds of the decision passed, the organization makes sure that further legal action is taken for the consequent behaviour. Hence, he concluded that employees do not refrain from exposing unethical behaviour due to fear of retaliation; they are well protected. But he also acknowledged that some employees may not be

willing to expose their colleague because they may be sympathetic to him/her or due to their 'why should I' attitude.

In relation to this view, employees were presented with the proposition "I would not tell the truth if one of my colleagues would be fired because of my testimony". 57.82% of them agreed with the statement; 17.19% disagreed, and 24.22% remained neutral (see Appendix A). The employees' belief seems to match with the view expressed by C6 above.

According to C8, employees in the Government Houses Agency are encouraged to expose any ethical misconduct. He indicated that suggestion boxes are put in place in all branches, and suggestion boxes and telephones are usually used by whistleblowers. But he also underlined the need to strengthen such efforts noting that it is necessary to increase the awareness of employees and clients (in which he mentioned that brochures and other means are currently used).

He also recalled that though they have not encountered any retaliation attempt so far, there is an atmosphere of fear of retaliation in the organization. Many have a "what should I care; I better keep quite" attitude. He mentioned that our culture has its own influence on this issue. Hence, he uttered that it is important to aware whistleblowers that they are legally protected, and nothing will happen to them. He emphasized the need to do more on these issues.

When asked to what extent the clients use this opportunity, he explained that some of them use it, and some do not. He, in fact, noted that many prefer to go to the FEACC than to their organization. In such a situation, he noted that the Commission forwards the issue to them so that they take appropriate measures. He went on to explain that many clients do not think the Ethics Directorate of the institution operates freely and independently. That is why they prefer to go to the Commission. They do not have trust on the Directorate because it is part of the Agency. They think it is the Commission that can address their grievances. Hence, he concluded that clients do not frequently use the whistle blowing opportunity. This may be caused, as to him, by fear of retaliation and/or absence of well-organized communication system that builds the confidence of clients.

C7 of the same institution, however, disagreed with C8 on this last statement. She stated that clients have awareness on whistle blowing, they do not have awareness problem. She asserted that whistleblowers may not come to the Agency may be due to lack of trust, but not due to fear of reprisal. According to her, even though they may not do it face-to-face, they at least do

it by telephone. Their colleague, C9, also noted that clients blow whistle usually involving issues related with rented houses. These issues are handled by a management committee established for handling of complaints. But he admitted that most of the time, clients have dissatisfaction on the way the Agency handled their issues. There is a gap in this regard. Issues may not be solved on time. He further explained that recently a complaint handling system is put in place where the issues are seen by concerned officers starting from team leader to the Executive Director. But, there is still dissatisfaction on the part of clients. This, according to him, is due to resource limitations and lack of timely feedback to client complaints. Finally, he mentioned that the institution had put in place a whistleblower protection system; and so far, they have not encountered any offence that threatens whistleblowers' security.

Responding to the same question, C12 from the Ministry of Civil Service indicated that a whistle blowing system is installed in all civil service institutions.

He explained that an inspection visit was made nationally up to the wereda (or district) level in 2006 E.C. during which it was observed that a system for whistle blowing is put in place. In all institutions suggestion boxes and registers are made available. To what extent the system is being actively utilized is another issue; otherwise the system is put in place, he added.

As to the question of whether civil servants are encouraged to whistle blowing, he said that it all depends on the individual managers. There are some managers who encourage civil servants, but there are also some who are not happy when civil servants are vigilant of ethical wrongdoing. Again, he said, the whistleblowers may sometimes be ostracized for exposing wrongdoings by fellow civil servants.

Asked if civil servants are communicated about the existence of the whistle blowers' protection law, he stated that he himself hears announcements made by the FEACC on the media. Other than that, he said, he never heard of any orientation given to employees.

Concerning the effectiveness of the whistle blowing system, the key experts provided their opinion which is discussed in the next few pages.

C14 agreed with the opinion of the managers in that the structure or the system of whistle blowing is there. He underlined that this fact cannot be denied. Here is a detailed presentation of what C14 said during the interview:

You see a notice posted informing citizens that they can submit their complaints whenever they have one. The question is to what extent citizens use it. If citizens see that their complaints are addressed properly, they will definitely use it. If not,

they will lose hope in the system and keep quiet. Personally, when I am even abused, I would prefer just to keep quiet and leave. I am not going to bang my head against the wall. You cannot do anything. Where do you go? If you go to the boss, he/she may take you back to the very person who is the source of the complaint. But it is his/her responsibility to see to it that the problem is properly addressed or not. Hence, the system or the structure is put in place. In our country the problem is not the absence of systems or policies. The problem is in their implementation. I am sure; the government develops good systems or policies based on experience benchmarked from abroad. However there is a problem of properly implementing the policies adopted.

C15 also agreed that the whistle blowing and protection is there; the FEACC is using it. All sorts of whistles are blown to the Commission; though some of them may not be clear in terms of mandate. But he felt that the system is not so strong and dependable.

As to the question of whether citizens use the system, he said that very limited number of them uses it. According to him, most of the suggestion boxes are empty; the notebooks are not used. If some of them give suggestions, it is small but critical. Some of them air their anger in front of the employees and go away, he illustrated.

He further explained that the institutions may tell their clients that the institution follows an open door policy, and that they can even go up to the Executive Director or the Minister level. They can even tell them to report anonymously. But, he doubts, some of them may have fear of retaliation, and others may feel that nothing will change, and may refrain from reporting. They may feel, “What change am I going to bring all alone”.

Notwithstanding that the system encourages citizens for whistle blowing; he asserted that many of them do not use the opportunity especially at the institution level. Whistle blowing to the Commission is relatively better than to the respective institutions. He further noted that he usually hears some ethics issues being raised even at the federal parliament when the concerned institutions are presenting their performance report. How the complaints reached the MPs can be further investigated, but complaints of citizens are sometimes raised. Finally, he argued that there is obviously a gap in terms of making aggressive efforts to expose wrongdoings by civil servants; this is lacking on the part of citizens.

C16 provided his reflection on this issue in more general terms as follows:

On the part of the organization, there is an obligation to communicate the decisions reached and measures taken based on the whistle blows to the public openly. If this is not done, the negative perception that exists on the part of the citizens will remain. When citizens see positive developments, they will

collaborate with the institution. If not, they will do otherwise. So, there is a need to explain to the public that progress has been made because of their collaboration. Such exercise will obviously build public trust.

C17 preferred to offer his view by linking it with the historical context of the Ethiopian civil service. He emphasized the need to put the relationship of an individual with the state machinery in perspective first. Looking back to the history of civil service in Ethiopia starting from Emperor Menelik, he stated that it is largely based on a feudal mentality. According to him, the public office was considered like the leaders' own home, and the employees were treated like his/her personal servants. The leaders could do whatever they desire. That element is, he believed, still observed in our current system. A government official (or appointee) is practically seen as a king or ruler. Hence, he concluded:

One finds it difficult to believe that citizens will have the courage to expose an official who is involved in ethical misconduct. I really doubt this. To realize this there is a need to bring about a paradigm shift. In the developed world, the citizens have the upper hand over the civil servant. They are empowered. In our case, there are some exceptions. Some people, for example the rich ones, who have empowered themselves, can get done whatever they want. But these are only exceptions. Generally, the impoverished, the voiceless, the silent majority do not have such opportunity. Hence, from this background, I do not believe that citizens are using the opportunity given to them.

The finding indicates that the whistle blowing system is there largely on paper; but it is not implemented to the desired level. They all felt that the employees and service users do not actively use the whistle blowing mechanisms such as suggestion boxes and notebooks that are put in place. They provided a variety of reasons for this minimum use: lack of writing habits on suggestion boxes and/or notebooks; loss of trust on the system that nothing will change; the absence of paradigm shift in the attitude of people about the leadership relationship in the civil service; and the like.

Other Monitoring Mechanisms

A kind of team arrangement where a group of employees are brought together to jointly carry out their organizational duties is recently introduced in all public sectors at federal and regional levels. All civil servants in the public sector are organized into groups, each group consisting of five members. This team structure is usually known as the one-to-five network. This network is meant to be led by one person selected from the group members based on his/her outstanding performance in the institution who is considered a role model.

The State Minister of the MCS explained that the one-to-five network structure introduced in the institutions is used as one important tool used to control the ethical behaviour of employees. Each network is required to make periodic face-to-face evaluation among its members. Though the overall follow-up of implementation of the networks is made by the Ministry; daily implementation is mainly monitored by the networks themselves. Such networks are lead by role models who are selected from members of the given network. The participants of the interview believed that the one-to-five network structures introduced in their respective institutions are serving as a supporting tool in the effort to improve the ethical behaviour of employees. They further explained that the network members meet every week, and they are expected to make critical evaluation among one another. In these weekly evaluative meetings, it is expected that ethical conduct of members is openly discussed. Employees are encouraged to forward their advice to fellow employees when they see any unethical conduct. They also noted that every two weeks the network chairpersons meet with reform office and ethics office heads to discuss on common issues and reach understanding.

Regarding the effectiveness of the network structure, C11 commented that, most of the time in the discussions, strengths are more emphasized than weaknesses. He, however, recognized that it is a good start. When evaluation results are filled by the group to an individual member, they try to openly tell weak points to the person being evaluated. While he suggested that there are some improvements in the network's performance, he admitted that they have not yet reached the desired level, and that there is a long way to go.

C12 of the MCS was asked to what extent the one-to-five network structure is being used by institutions to support the fight against ethical misconduct. He emphasized that the network members are in principle expected to raise several issues related with their job responsibilities, and to evaluate network performance. In practice as well, according to him, ethics is one of the issues that are discussed in their evaluative meetings. Network members are expected to resolve any ethical misconduct of their fellow member. If they could not resolve it internally they can take it to the relevant body in the institution. However, he mentioned that in practice they have never encountered any such incidence raised by networks. Conversely, one of the key experts felt that the so called one-to-five networks are one of the instruments used by the government to put its political influence on the civil service.

4.5.3. Responsibility for Monitoring and Follow-up of Ethics Issues

As explained by C13 of the FEACC, there are institutions given the responsibility to monitor ethical issues; the Commission being one of them. Broadly, it has the following responsibilities:

- Providing awareness raising education to citizens so as to foster ethical culture in the country.
- Investigating impropriety; preventing such practices from occurring; taking corrective measures when improprieties occur, and establishing enabling systems.
- Handling disclosures; designing and implementing legal framework to prevent corruption and other ethical misconducts.

According to C13, to ensure implementation of these major objectives, the Commission helped establish ethics offices in all civil service institutions. Those institutions which have not established one, the Commission provides them the necessary support to establish their own offices. To those who already established ethics offices, the Commission monitors and provides them support to ensure that they are carrying out their duties and responsibilities properly. It periodically monitors their performance through supervision, periodic reports and provision of continuous training so as to build their capacity.

He further elaborated that the ethics officers are made directly accountable to their institutions' top managers; but at the same time they are also made to have a functional relationship with the Commission. This is clearly stipulated in the regulation issued by the Council of Ministers Regulation (No.144/2008) as well.

As a follow-up question, he was asked about the extent of collaboration that exists between the Commission and the Ministry of Civil Service in such endeavour. He pointed out that the Ministry has gone through several transformations over the years. Taking the recent changes only, he explained, few years back it was re-established as the Ministry of Capacity Building; then changed to the Civil Service Commission, and now it is renamed as the Ministry of Civil Service. The implementation of the CSRP was being, and is still, led by the Ministry. But there was no much leadership in this respect from the Ministry, he noted.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service was asked the same question. He recognized that the FEACC has its own responsibility entrusted to it by proclamation which it is working on. It has, for example, established ethics offices in all civil service institutions. However, he noted,

monitoring the implementation of the overall CSRP is the responsibility of the Ministry. As the ethics subprogram is one component of the CSRP, he agreed, it is also the responsibility of the Ministry. For instance, complaint handling as part of the service delivery subprogram is coordinated by the Ministry. Civil service institutions have opened units that are responsible to oversee complaint management issues with guidance provided by the Ministry. Ethical misconduct is one source of complaint. As a result, he felt that their ministry is also working on ethical issues.

When asked about the working relationship of the Ministry with the Commission, he provided similar opinion with C13. This is what he said in his own words:

I assume at the top management of both institutions have a joint forum where they discuss about ethics issues. But when you go down the hierarchy, I do not see much working relationship on ethics issues. I am however hopeful that this relationship will get strong in the future because the reform also requires that.

When again he was asked about the domain of responsibility of the Ethics Directorate established in the Ministry, he categorically stated that it is established to serve the Ministry only. It does not support other civil service institutions as this is the responsibility of the FEACC.

4.5.4. Implementation and Enforcement of the Monitoring Mechanisms

The key experts were asked to give their overall evaluation of the effectiveness of the monitoring mechanisms put in place by the civil service institutions. All the experts expressed the view that the system of monitoring is well in place; but there are wide gaps in implementation of them. Detailed account of the interview transcript is presented as follows.

C14 first asserted that the monitoring systems are there on paper; but they are not being implemented properly. He listed the following as reasons for taking this view. First, despite the pointer information that you usually find at the gates of the institutions, you find no body in the office to serve you. It seems for him that they do it just to pretend. Second, if by chance you find them, you put your complaint and you do not usually get satisfactory solution. This makes you lose hope and you question the credibility of the system. Third, he continued, many users as rational human beings may refrain from submitting their complaints or tips for fear of reprisal not only from the alleged person but from his/her friends as a way of solidarity. Here is what he said in his own words:

Hence, if the system was credible and effective then one would be encouraged to complain and seek a solution. Otherwise, if your complaints are not listened or you do not get fair solution, then you lose confidence in the system. It is not a credible system and you don't use it. When you for example go to pay tax to the revenue authority it is usually a mess. When you try to go to the upper management and complain, you find that the manager becomes defensive. In such a case, you just consider yourself a loser, convince yourself that there is no way you can bit the bureaucracy, and you leave it.

He further reflected the following as a way of conclusion:

In short, yes formally there are systems (structures) of complaints put in place. But in reality you do not see them being used properly. It would be interesting, if possible, to assess in the public institutions how much complaints were submitted by service users in the year, and how many of them were resolved. For example, almost all the institutions use suggestion boxes. But in most cases many of them were never opened. They are simply there just for the sake of formality. Had they been used properly, they would have relieved some of the problems of users.

He finally noted the problem related with frequent meetings that he believed are causing delays in the execution of users' issues. Here is what he reflected:

Another problem you see in the system is that most of the time employees are in a meeting, while the users are waiting to get a service. It seems that the subordinate-boss relationship has vanished from the system. A lot of meetings take place because decisions are usually made collectively. You get the feeling that the hierarchical relationship does not work. The boss does not boldly make decisions; rather he/she waits for the committee or group to meet and decide. Does the boss have the authority to make a decision and oversee its implementation? Hence, in such situations, complaints will not be addressed on time and in a proper way. Of course, making the bureaucracy participatory and involving people in decision making is desired but at some point there has to be a boss; somebody has to decide. But you get the feeling that this is not the case.

C15 on his part had to say the following:

I would say in most cases the system is put in place. For instance, when you go to the public institutions you see that there are information desks and complaint handling systems. So, largely the system is there. By the way, the institutions are required to do so by law. But the problem comes when we see their effectiveness. First, the continuity of the implementation is not ensured. Secondly, follow-up of its implementation is not research-based. For example, you receive a complaint form users. You may try to resolve the complaint. But what is next? What are the sources (causes) of the complaint? Is it caused by people, or is it due to gap in the law, or is it a capacity problem, or is it caused by external interface, and the like. A modest assessment (or research) needs to be done periodically. But this is not the case. Hence, the system is there, and sometimes it seems it is a fashion of the

day. But you do not see much change. This is because complaints usually take long before they get resolved. In fact, sometimes the system reverts back let alone to go forward. So, the system is more or less there but its implementation is not as expected. There is a gap.

Likewise, C16 reflected his view as below:

Formally, the system is there. For instance, there are suggestion boxes; there are ethics offices and the like. Hence the structure is put in place. But to be honest users (or citizens) do not use them. This is because citizens do not believe that their complaints will be properly resolved. They perceive that their complaints will not be heard; there is no body to resolve their complaints. Complaints should usually be directly channelled to the top manager or to a unit directly concerned with the complaint. But when we see the practice, this is not the case. It is being handled haphazardly. Most of the time, if you see, the suggestion box is put at the gate when it should have been placed near the manager's office. It is important for his/her follow up. The efforts made by management to read and take corrective actions based on suggestions of the citizens are almost non-existent or are very little. No proper follow up is made. But if the complaint or suggestion is forwarded directly to the top management, I believe that things will improve. This is because they are getting the direct attention of the manager.

Responding to the same question, C17 recalled that one of the things included in the service delivery subprogram of the CSRP was grievance handling mechanism. This mechanism provides access to users; it gives them information on where and how they can submit their complaints; it is clearly put. As a result, he recognized this as a big step forward. He believed that the system of monitoring is there but he also expressed his doubts as follows:

Hence, as a system it is put in place in almost all public institutions. But the question is to what extent citizens are encouraged to openly air their complaints. They are not typically encouraged. On the contrary, some civil servants' behaviour might be discouraging. In the first place, you are made to give your suggestions in an open space where everybody sees. You are not required to put your name but it is not difficult to trace who said what. This may create some uneasiness or worry on the part of the complainer for fear of reprisal. So, the system is there but I don't take the idea that it encourages citizens.

Commenting on the systems effectiveness, he is quoted as saying the following:

Regarding the effectiveness of the system, it needs a bit of research. What complaints were submitted and how many of them were resolved? What is the trend? These and other similar issues need to be studied specially across institutions. However, I think, it has a deterrence value on a limited scale. It at least creates a sense of fear on the part of the civil servants, and hence makes them take necessary caution. Furthermore, when the performance of a civil servant is appraised, it is important that clients' feedback is taken into account as

an input. I do not think the clients' feedback is taken into account in practice. So, from this perspective, I question the effectiveness of the system. I am only questioning it. I am not making any conclusive remarks. To arrive at such conclusion, some samples need to be taken, and a kind of study needs to be done. What kinds of complaints were submitted, how many of them were resolved, was a feedback given to the complainer? All these things need to be addressed through study. Information on this can be collected from the system's side or from the user's side.

4.6. The Perceived Influence of the Ethics Subprogram on the Ethical Conduct of Civil Servants

4.6.1. Perceptions of the Overall Ethics Program Effectiveness

The respondents to the interview were asked what they think is the impact of the ethics subprogram on the ethical conduct of civil servants, and whether there is any change positive or negative. Most of the respondents believed that a fairly positive change is observed in the ethical conduct of civil servants though it is not commensurate with the series of change efforts exerted and resources incurred by the government and other stakeholders. The details of the responses are accounted for as follows.

C1 of the ERCA strongly argued that implementation of the Civil Service Reform in general is a matter of survival. It must be implemented. According to him, the reform program emanated from the belief that unless democracy and good governance are ensured, the very survival of our country is at stake. He thus indicated that the CSR in general, and the ethics subprogram in particular, is an important tool to ensure good governance and democracy.

In terms of outcome, he felt that visible progress or improvement is achieved. IN relation to this, he opined:

This program has taken us a long distance. The change is paramount. We see it practically on the ground. For example, processes are made shorter (which used to be taking longer time), most complaints are addressed properly and so on.

He, however, admitted that despite the improvements registered, there are still many problems which are not yet addressed noting that change does not come by one side effort- the civil servants and service users- only. There is a need to bring about societal behavioural change. Hence, he concluded that when it is seen from this perspective a lot remains to be done; the change is still low when compared with what the country and the general public expects. He listed some of the gaps that he believed need to be addressed as follows:

- the service delivery process is still marred with problems;
- the various laws (rules, regulations, and procedures) promulgated are not accessible to and known by the public; only professionals have some awareness.
- there is a deliberate delaying of tasks by civil servants

He explained his belief that the very low remuneration paid to employees is considered as one problem in the fight against ethical misconduct. He mentioned that many employees have this feeling, and they always raise it as one important issue. Putting pressure alone on employees to properly serve their clients and effectively implement the program will not produce the desired result, he added. The issue of equitable remuneration needs to be taken into consideration. According to him, failing to meet the salary expectation of employees is bound to negatively affect their ethical behaviour. He further explained that beyond fair salary, they also expect some other benefits put in place. For example, he stated that lack of transport is the real problem especially in Addis Ababa that compelled employees to come to work late and leave early. Acknowledging that there might be some people who argue otherwise, he believed that the absence of fair remuneration will have its own negative influence on the ethical conduct of employees.

Commenting on the effectiveness of the ethics subprogram, C1 shared his belief that the ethics sub-program has brought about some improvements in his organization. Due to its implementation, they have been able to carry out their duties much better, he claimed. He further explained that from what he hears informally, in other public institutions the ethics unit is created; the necessary manpower is allocated but is not functioning properly. All public institutions do not seem to have given it equal focus. It is not applied uniformly and consistently in all institutions. He believed that the program is implemented in a relatively better way in his organization. He, however, indicated that there are problems in their case as well despite the improvements. He mentioned for instance that while several efforts are made by the organization to increase the ethical awareness of its employees, the latter do not seem to have given it the necessary attention. When compared with other professional trainings offered by the institution, he gathered, the attention they give to ethical training is minimal. According to him, most employees do not appreciate the importance of ethics, and do not try to capacitate themselves through availing themselves in the training programs. They do not consider that failing to meet or exceed government and public expectations is an ethical failure, he concluded.

C3 of the same institution on his part believed that the ethics sub-program implemented at national level did not bring significant change. His reason for this firm stand was that the changes the institution managed to introduce were not induced by the national level ethics subprogram. At the organization level, however, he felt that some limited changes have been registered. According to him, this change was the result of the institution's own efforts. It was not due to the leadership given to them at national level as part of the ethics subprogram. Rather it emanated from the sensitive nature of the institution and the depth of the problem it was in. Such changes were achieved due to these unique characteristics of the institution. In short, he was of the belief that the change initiatives taken by the institution were not closely tied with the implementation efforts that were being made at the national level. There was no integration at all. According to him, the national level ethics subprogram suffers from the following:

- Lack of owner who closely monitors and evaluates the program's implementation;
- Inability to put detail implementation procedures in place; according to him, there are people appointed but they do not have the necessary authority, not more than information gathering.

He finally concluded that their institution was in a better position to implement the reform due to the fact that it was given a better legal authority that extends up to charging individuals in the court of law, and investigating issues by its own.

C4 of the Transport Authority believed that the ethics subprogram is a turning point. He indicated that its implementation has at least created two important developments:

- It created awareness on the part of employees that they are there to serve; not to be served. They know that the chair they sit on is not theirs, and that responsibility rests up on them;
- At the same time, its implementation helped raise the awareness of service users. They now know their right to get appropriate service.

But he did not deny that problems still remain. He underscored that most people think that fighting against ethical misconduct is the responsibility of the Ethics Directorate or ethics officers only. Most managers do not think that it is also their responsibility to follow up the ethical activities of their subordinates, and take appropriate action on employees with an ethical misconduct. He further disclosed that no system is established that makes managers accountable on ethical issues. Ethics regulations are mainly used to hold operative employees accountable, if

any. Hence, he emphasized the need to have a system of accountability where all employees and managers are held responsible regardless of their position in the organization. He pointed out that if the managers were to take these issues seriously, unethical practices would obviously have been minimized significantly. As a result, he suggested that managers at all levels be involved actively in such efforts; and the Ethics Directorate should focus on ethics issues that are beyond the capacity of line managers. He, therefore, suggested that whenever occurrences of unethical problems are observed, the relevant manager must first be held accountable.

In short, he concluded that implementation of the ethics sub-program has created a positive influence; but the influence is not yet deep-rooted. His colleague, C5, as well agreed that the ethics subprogram has brought about a significant improvement though much remains to be desired.

The other issue addressed by C4 is the deterioration of ethics standards in our society from time to time. He explained that he does not know the real cause but currently there is deterioration in ethical values. Most service users, according to him, are inclined to buying their own rights through money or bribe rather than getting it through the proper means. Many clients are involved in the violation of ethical standards. They are sometimes the ones who are tempting employees to engage in ethical misconduct. Hence, he underlined the need to establish a system where both the giver and the receiver are punished.

The other implementation problem he observed was that whistleblowers do not sometimes get the required protection. They can be fired from their jobs in retaliation for their reporting; or they can suffer several other negative consequences. He blamed the FEACC for not providing them the necessary support in this respect. This is what he said:

When we seek support for issues that are complicated and deep, he noted, they are not ready to support. Let alone to support us on their own initiative, there are times when they are not willing to respond to our requests. They are deteriorating from year to year. Some people even allege that the FEACC sometimes covers-up some issues that are exposed by whistleblowers. It is, in fact, labelled as a "toothless lion". Hence, the active movement that the Commission used to make at the beginning seems to be weakening from time to time; it is gradually becoming passive. In fact, some people perceive that it is committed more to silencing political dissent than punish real corrupted officials.

C5 of the same institution, however, felt that implementation of the national level ethics subprogram is satisfactory. According to him, implementation at the institution level has also

shown a significant improvement especially in some institutions such as the DARO and his own institution. Taking the DARO as an example, he indicated that it is becoming a role model to many of the civil service institutions. However, since ethics is a subjective and complex issue, he admitted, a lot remains to be done.

C6 of the Social Security Agency felt that the ethics subprogram helped employees gain at least some awareness; though a fundamental change is not yet brought about. He further noted that the attitude of the young generation is changing slowly for the better due to the fact that they are getting civics and ethical education at schools. Hence, according to him, even though no fundamental change is realized, there are some positive changes. He listed the following as the causes for the less level of achievement:

- Lack of continuous training and education to employees;
- The low standard of living of most civil servants – he suggested that the living condition of the employees be improved so as to complement the efforts underway to bring about attitudinal change through education and training.
- Lack of consistency in the implementation of the program. There is a need to make sure that all the efforts being made (such as training & education) are implemented consistently. This must be done not only in the office but also at schools.

C8 from the Government Houses Agency saw this issue from a broader perspective. He stated that petty as well as grand corruption exists in the country. He further insisted that unless an ethical society is built, corruption will continue to exist. He emphasized the need to transform the society in general and the civil servants in particular, and the need to work in the software rather than in the hardware. And, according to him, the software is winning the hearts and minds of the people. To that end, he suggested that concerted efforts be exerted to transform the general public if real change is going to be registered. Of course, he also recognized that transformation needs time and effort, and that it does not come with simple wish or slogan. This effort needs to be started from schools at kindergarten level. Ethical values need to be inculcated to the overall society starting from children. It is a matter of building a national feeling among the citizens. An ethical society will naturally have a strong national feeling. This needs a prolonged struggle; quick fix does not bring about the desired outcome, he concluded.

C7 on her part believed that there is some positive change. She stated that at least nowadays people are talking about ethics problems openly in forums organized by their

respective institutions. This is a step forward. However, she expressed her disappointment that a new generation is also on the making that aspires to prosper through illegal; short-cut means. She complained that she usually hears people appreciating or envying individuals who prosper through unfair or illegal means (rather than condemning them). She could not tell the reason for this trend; but she suggested that it needs to be studied. Her colleague, C9, commented that a lot of efforts have been exerted with several management tools applied. But the question to him is whether they are actually applying it as desired. He felt that despite its implementation for long period of time, there still remains a lot to be done. This thing requires, he continued, frequent and continuous communication and follow-up. He for example mentioned that the guideline provided by the MCS requires that the one-to-five networks, process leaders, and others meet frequently and discuss common institutional challenges including ethics. And he insisted that all civil service institutions have to implement this since communication is the key. In light of this, he concluded that he would not say the implementation of the ethics sub-program is effective.

C11 of the DARO also believed that his institution has seen some improvements in the ethical behaviour of civil servants though he admitted that comparatively they have registered better achievement in service delivery than ethics.

The opinion of key experts on the implementation of the ethics subprogram follows in the following paragraphs. C14 recalled that he had written an article entitled ‘Civil Service Reform in Ethiopia’ when the CSRP was initiated. He summoned:

It was at that time which I saw the ethics subprogram. Since then I didn't follow it closely. But the development of the civil service always bothered me because I do not hear too much about ethics. I used to wonder what happened to it. Of course, the Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission is there. And ethics and corruption are related in some way. But probably because corruption is politically sensitive, and many people give it focus, the government might have given it priority. But you do not hear the other aspects of ethical issues. To tell you frankly, I really don't know if there had been anything worth of consideration. It may be my ignorance because I did not have the opportunity to closely follow-up the process. But from what I see, I don't think the other ethical issues are given similar focus accorded to fighting corruption. Even though my opinion is not supported by facts, my general perception is that the ethics subprogram seems to have been lost in the process, and corruption seems to have taken over completely. I really do not see any concrete thing in the other ethics issues.

He went on explaining that at a government level, for the last fifteen years or so a lot of reform initiatives have been undertaken. One is started, and another takes over. Though some

people argue that reform should be continuous; he argued that it should not also be permanent. It has really become a day-to-day activity. He further asserted that there is a certain level of outcome that one expects from the program, and that the outcome is not comparable with the efforts exerted. According to him, the outcome is not as such satisfactory. The government even admits that. In fact, he took caution not to wrongly compare the ethics situation in the past with the present. This is what he said:

In fact, it is sometimes difficult to compare and contrast the past and the present. The conditions may not be hundred percent the same. Previously, during the Dergue regime, the bureaucracy was somehow narrow. The government's involvement in the economy was different. Even though the government tried to control every sector of the economy, it was not successful. The economic activity was not that much active. There was a war. Presently, there is a significant change. The economic activities have expanded significantly and there are a lot of things that came with this reality. Hence, consideration of the ethics issues will also change accordingly. With the broadening of the bureaucracy, it may be seen as exaggerated. But when you see the change in the ethical environment, it is not that much satisfactory. The employees' ethical behaviour, how they treat clients, their courtesy, and the like are still poor. You can raise a lot of questions in this regard. Given the efforts exerted, the money incurred, and the priority given to it by the government for the last fifteen years, one expects concrete changes. I am not saying there are no changes at all but the change is not commensurate with the efforts made and the resources used. Of course my opinion is not research based, as I mentioned earlier. It may be formed based on a negative encounter you face when you go to a public institution. In fact, when you discuss with other people, they reflect the same opinion. Employees' ethical behaviour is not good. In fact, it is deteriorating from time to time. This is the general perception that exists. Of course, perceptions may not necessarily be correct.

In short, C14 underscored the following key issues: the fact that the behavioural components of ethics are lost in the process, and that corruption reined completely; that there is positive change in ethical conduct but not commensurate with the efforts made and resources spent; that the 'permanent' change has resulted in reform fatigue; and that employees' ethics is deteriorating from time to time (or at best it is still poor).

C15 viewed the ethics situation of the Ethiopian civil servants from the following perspectives. First, he noted that when the ethics subprogram was initiated the employees' level of awareness about ethics was low; even talking freely about ethical misconduct was not possible. The concept itself was not properly understood. According to him, it was also the time when ethics issue received high attention by the government; it was taken seriously and handled in a planned way. Prior to that time this was not the case. When the incumbent government

designed this program, he clarified that its key aim was to create a society that has little or no tolerance to corruption. This was its vision. Hence, he concluded that the level of awareness about ethics is far better now than before owing to the various efforts exerted by the government and other stakeholders. The efforts included provision of training to civil servants, educating the public at large through different media outlets, and distribution of brochures, pamphlets, and newsletters, and the like. Because of this, civil servants, he presumed, have at least started taking caution when dealing with ethical issues. They are also a bit afraid of the consequences of involving oneself in ethical misconduct. They are even afraid of committing smaller offences such as coming to office late and going out early. According to him, these days the civil servants know that there are several eyes watching them. There are, for example, ethics officers in their own organizations who follow-up their activities, internal auditors, external inspectors from the Ministry of Finance, external auditors from the general auditor, the ombudsman, the human rights commission, the media and many others. Hence, this situation calls for caution on the part of the civil servants. In the previous regime there was only political fear; such institutions were non-existent.

He also felt that the maladministration part (other than corruption) is not given much attention. The issues such as mistreating clients, denying information to clients, failure to entertain user complaints properly, poor self-management, addiction, abuse of working time, not respecting the rule of law, and the like are all ethical misconducts. It is not only about stealing money from government coffers or from projects.

Continuing with his discussion, C15 reflected the following concerning the positive impact of the ethics improvement subprogram:

I would say with confidence that the ethics subprogram has had a positive impact on the ethical behaviour of civil servants. I see it positively. This is because it is a process that demands prolonged time and concerted effort. It is a life time process. Human beings are greedy by their nature. As a result, we can only aspire to reduce ethical misconduct to a minimum level through prolonged struggle; we cannot eliminate it totally. All the efforts that are underway are bringing about visible improvements. So, the reform effort has brought about several good things. I personally see it positively.

He at the same time revealed the problems observed in the implementation of the program in the following way. He first mentioned the capacity problem that exists in the system in terms of structure and human resource. He argued that the existing civil servants in general

have capacity problems in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes starting from the Ministry of Civil Service itself. According to him, even the ethics officers in the civil service institutions do not possess the required capacity. They only work taking orders from superiors. They do not internalize them.

The second problem he reflected was lack of collaboration between managers in the public institutions and the ethics officers. He noted that managers sometimes create excuses to weaken the ethics officers even though there is undeniably some level of fear on the ethics officers themselves.

The fact that corrective legal measures are not taken on top management bodies is the third problem. According to him, if some are taken, they are not consistently applied. This creates on the part of civil servants the feeling that nothing will happen to them even if they commit similar ethical misconduct. This in turn creates a kind of frustration. He further argued that since they have not seen any action taken on the violators at the top, they would like to follow suit; or at best they will try to dissociate themselves from involving in such things and do not care about what others are doing. They may even develop the belief that being good does not help anything. He, however, underscored that since such problem is the result of capacity constraints, it will be improved through time.

As a way of summary, C15 felt that the level of awareness about ethics is far better now than before; and that the program has at least made the civil servants take caution when dealing with ethical issues. The existence of watchdog institutions such as the ethics officers, internal and external auditors, the ombudsman, and the like has contributed in this respect. Generally, he is of the view that all the efforts that are underway are bringing about visible improvements. He felt that the ethics subprogram has had a positive impact on the ethical behaviour of civil servants. He, however, identified the existence of capacity problem in terms of structure and human resource systems; failure of institution managers to effectively collaborate with ethics officers; and failure of the system to hold top management bodies accountable as the key constraints that inhibited the effective implementation of the reform. He also believed that the maladministration part of the ethics improvement subprogram is not given much attention.

C16 provided his view on the matter as follows:

I believe that the ethics situation in the country is very low. The ethics subprogram has very little positive influence in my opinion. There are some reasons for the program to have limited influence. Has it been effectively

implemented in the first place? Beyond implementation, have we created the necessary awareness through adequate training and education in the civil servants? Or are other issues that should complement the program implementation adequately fulfilled? It is a matter of changing attitude. We are living in a society with “Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal”⁸ belief. It is a matter of changing this culture.

Commenting on the positive side of the program’s implementation, C16 believed that there was certainly a political commitment at the highest level of government; this was a big strength. But he regretted that the problem arises in the implementation of the program. According to him, the implementation is honestly weak; the political commitment at the top was not turned into implementation.

C17 on his part gave his intervention as follows:

It is better to start from how the program was designed. From this perspective, I do not believe that indicators to measure the effectiveness (or outcome) of the program were clearly defined. So, looking back this makes it difficult to measure the effectiveness of the program. Hence, my opinion will be largely a perception.

But he gave the following explanation why he believes that his perceptions are valid.

When the ethics subprogram was being initiated as part of the CSRP, I was part of it. I was working on the supply side of it. Even after I stopped working for the government, I closely follow it as a service user. Not only as a user but also as a consultant representing clients, I usually come into contact with various civil service institutions. In addition, I can complement this from what I hear from other people and from what I read. I have some knowledge of what is happening there especially in investment and commercial areas.

Based on his experience, he provided his perception on the issue as follows:

It is not possible to say that there is improvement on a sustainable manner. But when there is active government pressure or when there is a hot pursuit, civil service institutions happen to deliver fast service with better ethical conduct. But when government control is loose, or when the internal control of the institution is weakened, ethics gaps are observed. For example some of the clients whom I represent are openly requested for money in return for the service they get. Or they are made to repeatedly visit the employee’s office by creating several unacceptable excuses (such as we can’t find your file), and by creating deliberate delays.

⁸

This is an Amharic saying which suggests that someone who does not engage in corrupt practices when in a position of power will regret it when he/she no longer has that power. Using the standard International Phonetic Alphabet it would be written as sišom yalbälla sišar yak’ocčäwal.

Finally, he forwarded the following:

I know it is difficult to generalize. There are for instance some institutions which are exemplary. But these are only anecdotes. They are not what you see widely (or uniformly). So I feel that the outcome is somewhat mixed. There are some institutions where civil servants exhibit good ethical behaviour and are effective; while others are doing the opposite. Hence, we have to see where we are in terms of the goal and the indicators put when the program was designed. The perception can be different. In short, some of them are positive and others are not. Sometimes they become good, and at other times they go backward. They are not consistent.

Commenting on how effective the implementation was, he listed the following strengths of the system. The fact that the government takes ethics issue as an agenda; the fact that the government tries to gather best practices from the rest of the world; and the fact that ethics units are established in the public institutions. In his own words, this is what he said:

To be honest, in some institutions there are some visible or measureable results. You see civil servants trying to serve clients with courtesy. These are the basic strengths of the implementation, in his view.

He also provided a list of limitations that hindered the effective implementation of the system. Lack of integration is the first limitation. The ethics sub-program should be implemented in close integration with the other programs of the CSRP. He did not believe that they are well integrated. Reform fatigue is the second problem he saw in the implementation of the sub-program. For him when a reform takes too long, it becomes boring - unless there is something that motivates you. But, the motivation is almost non-existent. According to him, for the employees to develop ethical culture, in addition to the trainings, financial compensation needs to be put in place to sustain the effort. But, this element is missing. If it exists, it is not seen being implemented in a systemic way. Politicization of the civil service is another problem he pinpointed. According to him, sometimes the program is used as a weapon to target individuals. This practice creates bad impression on the part of the public. This subprogram is a sensitive one. It has a problem of legitimacy. It is not free of government hands.

The capacity and real commitment of the reform agents (or champions) who implement the subprogram is limited. This is the fourth limitation he outlined. He underscored that these people are largely there to personally benefit by simply echoing what the government officials said like parrots. This is really bad. This weakens the program. This is because if the

implementer is not a role model (or not ethical), it is problematic. If a teacher is not ethical, one cannot expect his/her students to be ethical.

The exemplary leadership of the top officials is also highly crucial, according to him. The leaders should be hard working and highly committed. He supported his position by saying:

It is, for instance, sad when you see a government official causes a car accident (because he/she is drunk), and gets it maintained using government budget. A minister's children driving a government vehicle for personal use is also observed. These practices are not acceptable. They send a wrong message. Many people lack trust on him/her.

He, however, stated that he does not mean all top officials are not exemplary or trustworthy. There are some leaders who dedicate their life for public cause. But there are also many officials who are deeply involved in rent seeking behaviour and practice.

As a way of conclusion, C17 elaborated that during program design indicators to measure the effectiveness of the program were not clearly defined, and this makes evaluation of its effectiveness difficult. He, however, felt that when there is a hot pursuit by the government, civil service institutions happen to deliver fast service with better ethical conduct. But when government control is loose, or when the internal control of the institution is weakened, ethics gaps are observed. He further noted that the outcome is somewhat mixed; there are some institutions where civil servants exhibit good ethical behaviour and are effective; while others are doing the opposite. On the negative side, lack of integration of the ethics sub-program with the other components of the CSRP; reform fatigue; absence of fair compensation; politicization of the civil service; lack of capacity and real commitment of the change agents; lack of exemplary leadership on the part of most of the top leaders were mentioned as factors that limited the programs effective implementation.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service noted that previously before implementation of the ethics subprogram, most civil servants did not consider themselves as servants of the people. Rather they used to assume that they are there to serve themselves. At this time he believed that this attitude has changed significantly due to the series of reform efforts that are underway. According to him, most civil servants today believe that they are servants of the people; and that they are hired to serve the public interest. Hence, he concluded that the reform has positively influenced the ethical behaviour of civil servants. C13 of the FEACC also agreed that civil

servants have a better understanding of ethical issues today thanks to the concerted reform efforts that are underway.

4.6.2. Awareness of Civil Servants on Ethical Issues

Managers of the institutions involved in the study were also asked for their opinion on the level of awareness of civil servants about ethical issues and on the efforts exerted by their respective institutions to raise the awareness of the civil servants. Excerpt of the interview result is provided below.

C1 started his explanation by noting that civil servants as part and parcel of the larger community are obviously exposed to the rent seeking behaviour and practice that is widely observed in the country. They are victims of such unwelcome behaviour. He further noted that there is a positive change concerning the awareness of civil servants about ethics due to the concerted efforts made so far. However, he felt that it has not been taken to the desired level.

Furthermore, he elaborated that since most employees are young with limited monthly income, they easily get trapped by external pressure. In addition to their personal ethical problems, they are tempted by pressures coming from some clients. According to him, majority of the clientele attitude does not support the struggle against rent seeking. Hence, he emphasized the need to solidify efforts to change both the internal weakness and the external pressure that comes from the wider society. He supplemented the view that there is a significant change by referring to the evaluative meeting that was held last summer in their institution. He mentioned that they have seen clear positive changes in the evaluation. He is of the belief that most employees of the institution are relatively free of such problems. According to him, from the more than 10,000 employees of the Authority, only 59 were fired due to their involvement in some unethical behaviour. C2 of the same institution added that the improvement in the ethical misconduct of most employees is due to the fact that the employees are made to have adequate awareness about ethical issues. He further noted that the most important thing they see on the employees is that everybody tries to distance themselves from getting involved in ethical misconduct. However, he disclosed that most employees are not willing to expose ethical wrongdoing by fellow employees. Most of the employees would prefer to stay safe and keep their relationship smooth. This weakness is widely observed, according to him. He, however, recognized that some improvements are being seen due to the efforts that are underway in the

organization. Some employees have started talking about this openly, he underlined. Lastly, C1 made the following remarks regarding the awareness issue:

Well, as I mentioned earlier the awareness is there. Employees largely know ethics issues. But if we raise the questions “To what extent do they make it operational? To what extent have they internalized it?” there are still gaps. Again, as an institution whether we have made adequate efforts to address the issues is also questionable. I, in short, feel that the initiative is good but in terms of what we have achieved, a lot remains to be aspired. There are good things being done like the establishment of one-to-five network structure.

C3 from the same organization reflected a similar view with that of his colleague.

Though it is difficult to objectively measure, he said, awareness of the civil servants is relatively okay. We cannot say we have achieved so much; but there is some progress. It requires continuous efforts but we have made visible progress. There is an increasing trend in terms of ethical awareness. The following are some indicators he provided supporting his remarks: the understanding observed on issues (among organizational members), the valuable comments and recommendations the employees provide, and the initiatives taken to confront problems especially in areas where ethical problems are rampant. These issues indicate the awareness level of employees.

C5 of the Transport Authority on his part stated that he does not believe there is lack of awareness on ethical issues. He explained that this is the result of the efforts such as provision of trainings and inductions, issuance of the code of conduct, and making it available in the library for reference. He further elaborated that most employees usually try to carry out their duties responsibly and ethically, and they are mostly willing to expose other employees with ethical misconduct. Some employees even report ethical wrongdoings to management in writing. According to him, majority of the employees are changed for the better especially from 2013 onwards, though there may still be some employees with ethical problems. Hence, he concluded that there is wide ethical awareness on the part of employees.

Similarly, C6 of the Social Security Agency believed that it is not about lack of awareness. According to him, almost always ethical issues are communicated through several mechanisms such as repeated trainings, mass media broadcast, issuance of code of ethics, and the like. He further argued that employees who violated ethical principles (including top executives) are reprimanded and punished, and this serves as a lesson to other employees as well. He

asserted that if employees commit ethical transgression, it is not because they lack awareness; rather it is due to their carelessness or negligence.

C8 of the Government Houses Agency gave the following reflections on the issue of ethics awareness of employees.

I would not say that employees lack awareness on ethical issues. They have gained the information and the knowledge through various means including the media. In addition to the training and awareness creation programs we provide; their religious background also has its influence. The information disseminated through the printed and electronics media and the awareness raising efforts carried out by the FEACC also play their role in increasing the awareness of the civil servants. The problem is, regardless of the awareness, they have not been able to transform their minds and hearts. Transformation is not an easy thing- it is a very challenging and difficult process. It involves a change from one state of being into another. When a white paper is turned into ash, it is transformed. It cannot return to its original state. The same applies to employees who transformed themselves into possessing ethical behaviour. It is possible to build a corruption-free society. For instance, the Scandinavian countries have been able to build such a society. It is possible. The question now is how do we use such experience in our own country? We need to deeply investigate the underlying causes of one's ethical behaviour, and take the necessary remedies.

While she agreed with the comments given by her colleague, C7 provided additional points as follows:

Whatever ethical misconduct is manifested in the Ethiopian civil service, it is not caused by lack of awareness. Probably, I believe, it is due to economic reasons. Most people in my view are tempted to involve themselves in unethical practices due to the financial constraints they face as a result of low salaries. Of course, people with high income and knowledge also do get involved in corruption. But petty corruption is caused due to low income; it results from the individual's desire to get money or other benefits exploiting his/her public position.

Another interviewee from this institution, C9, believed that employees have wide ranging awareness as far as ethics is concerned. He supported his claim as follows:

Recently (in 2014.), we had arranged an evaluation program with evaluators form the Ministry of Urban Development, which involved all employees. In such evaluation program, employees were raising several ethical issues openly. They raised very detailed issues without any fear. This indicates that the employees' level of awareness has become better.

C10 and C11 from the DARO explained that most employees have sufficient awareness on ethical issues. They supported their position with the following evidences: the office arranges different forums periodically with the aim to increase the awareness of the employees;

expectation of the institution is communicated to employees at the time of their hiring; and the twelve principles of ethical behaviour are posted in the head office as well as the branch offices so that employees and clients are reminded all the time. The principles are also incorporated in the code of ethics. C11, however, admitted that he cannot claim all employees are fully aware. This is because some employees leave the organization, and new ones come. Even the existing employees need refresher training regularly. As a result, there might be some gaps in terms of creating awareness on a continuous basis.

The same question was also posed to the key experts, and the expert opinion is found to be as follows. C14's reflections on the issue of ethics awareness are quoted as follows:

I would not say that the Ethiopian civil servants have lack of awareness. Several efforts have been exerted through mechanisms such as brochures, meetings, trainings, and the like to increase their awareness about ethical issues. The question lies on whether they are ready to internalize, and respond to ethical issues. Do they have the interest to implement what they already know? So, the fact that you have told them about ethical issues does not mean that it will result in automatic understanding and acceptance of them. It also needs one's willingness to accept. This worries me.

Continuing with his insight, he pointed out that ethical issues are sometimes complicated. They involve philosophical, political, economic, social and many other issues. In connection to this, he noted:

As a result, he noted, one would not expect to inculcate ethical issues in the minds of people through a onetime encounter in a meeting. There should be a mechanism whereby the ethical issues are continuously reinforced; it should not be a one-shot affair. It should be done on a continuous basis. You have to keep on reminding people about those things. It is a way in which you mobilize your employees. You are appealing to the vision; you are appealing to the values, you are appealing to the employees on a continuous basis. One time publishing of it in a magazine or posting it in a notice board will not have so much influence.

Finally, he indicated that these efforts need to be supported through ethics training on a continuous basis. He further suggested that the training interventions should be made in such a way that they bring about attitudinal and skill change, so that the employees will internalize them, and consider them in their day-to day activities.

C15 also agreed that it is not a matter of lack of awareness, but viewed it from a relatively different perspective. This is what he stated:

I do not think that there is a gap with respect to ethics awareness. This is because so far a lot of efforts have been made to raise the awareness of civil servants. For example, brochures, code of ethics, and the like are used as awareness raising mechanisms. The question rather is whether the civil servants are converting the ethics awareness they have gained into practice. The problem is lack of inaction on the part of the employees. I get surprised when some people claim there is no attitudinal change. Attitudinal change means putting what you have gained through several means into action. Hence, I would ask these people whether the employees are putting what they already know into action. This is the key problem. There is no problem of awareness.

C17 also provided a similar view:

I believe that civil servants have adequate awareness. In fact, the government has done a lot in this area. Even though we sometimes exercise hair splitting, the government has done a commendable job. In fact, sometimes I feel it is too much. It has used all media such as electronic and print media to raise the ethical awareness of civil servants. Sometimes government officials were even using some aggressive words such as 'the civil service is paralyzed' and the like. In short, in terms of creating ethical awareness, enough is done; if not excess. So, whatever problem is observed in the civil service sector, it is not due to lack of awareness.

C16, however, believed that civil servants lack awareness about ethical issues; their knowledge is very limited.

C13 of the FEACC also expressed his support to the view that the present civil servants have fair awareness by providing data as follows:

We have annual plans to conduct awareness raising training programs. We believe that this task is not a one-time shot. It must be conducted on a continuous basis. It is about bringing attitudinal change. For instance, in 2014 we planned to provide training to 30,000 civil servants in collaboration with the civil service institutions themselves. Again in 2015 our plan was to train 40,000. But the institutions were able to train more than the planned number. We provide them support and closely work with them. As mentioned earlier, we do this regularly. As a result, the awareness of employees about ethics issues is increasing from time to time due to the concerted efforts the Commission and the institutions are making jointly. But still we may not have achieved the desired level of satisfaction. Though their awareness is improving gradually, bringing about complete attitudinal change takes much time and effort.

All the participant managers, the manager from the FEACC and the expert opinion with one exception invariably agreed that civil servants at present do not have awareness problem. They appreciated the various efforts made by the concerned bodies so far to increase employees' level of awareness. As a result, all are of the opinion that whatever problem is observed in the

civil service, it is not due to lack of awareness. Some argued that it is the inability and lack of willingness of the civil servants to put what they know into practice that is largely creating problems. Problems in the implementation modality (e.g., considering it a one-shot affair) are also mentioned by some.

The interviewees were also asked for their view on the efforts made so far and the outcomes. C15 felt the efforts that are being exerted by the institutions are good; though it is usually ordered from above. The government makes pressure on the institutions. For example, ethics officers are institutionalized in all public institutions. These officers coordinate training programs or awareness raising programs either at an institutional level or in forums organized by relevant external bodies such as the FEACC. In some of the institutions, even the top managers make formal opening of such programs showing their commitment to ethical issues. But, he noted that in most cases such trainings do not bear fruit; they are not converted into action.

C16, however, believed that the efforts exerted by the government are limited. He suggested that it was possible to perform better than this. He, for example, mentioned that provision of training, awareness creation, and attempting to bring about attitudinal change is one thing. But in addition to this, recognizing and rewarding ethical employees is very important. According to him, there is no such exercise in the civil service.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service felt that though it may differ from institution to institution, several efforts are exerted so as to increase the awareness of civil servants. He noted that there are some discrepancies in the performance of the federal institutions; some institutions make concerted efforts while others may not do it in a similar scale.

4.6.3. Focus Given to Behavioural Components of Ethics

The interview participants were asked for their opinion on whether the behavioural components of ethics are accorded the same attention as to fighting corruption in the design and actual implementation of the Ethics Sub-program. Their reaction is transcribed as follows:

C8 of the Government Houses Agency believed that corruption receives more attention than the other behavioural aspects of ethics. He felt that this is caused by the fact that the key mission of the FEACC is to build an ethical society that is intolerant of corruption. He then argued that if the country is able to build an ethical society, it becomes apparent that corruption will not have fertile ground.

One of the key experts, C14, on his part felt that the behavioural components of ethics have not been accorded the attention they deserve as compared with corruption. Here are the details of what he said:

Corruption is the first thing that normally comes to the attention of any government. Corruption spoils the image of the government; it may also shake the government if left unchecked. The economic development may not also be as expected when corruption is rampant in the country. So, the government is making concerted efforts to curb corruption. Even though we cannot say the government is able to stop it; there are some efforts underway. The government seems to be committed in this respect for it is even sending its own top officials to jail. Hence, since the government's attention is focused on corruption, I do not think that the behavioural components of ethics have received the attention they deserve. When I look back, I do not remember what components were incorporated in the ethics subprogram. But I believe that it also had parts that took into account ethical components other than corruption. But I do not think this is fully put into practice. I wonder what the FEACC is doing in this regard. Is there anything they do? We know a lot of efforts are underway by the Commission regarding corruption but what are they doing regarding the other behavioural issues? Do they have the components?

In connection to this, he recalled his encounter with the 12 ethical principles as a trainer and narrated it as follows. He once provided training to civil servants in one of the regional states sometime back. After some time elapsed, he went to the same regional state for another mission, and asked the trainees how they are doing with the ethical principles. This was their response, as he put it. "As you told us, we have them posted in our offices including the vision and mission but the ethics situation on the ground has not changed. It is still there as it used to be". He further explained that at one time the principles were like a fad; every institution was having them posted in its office premises. However, according to him, these days the ethical principles seem to have been lost somewhere; they are not seen frequently as they used to be. This is how he concluded his view:

So to put the ethical principles into implementation and for the civil servants to internalize them, there is a need to introduce other complementary issues and efforts. Only posting them on the walls does not bring change. That is my feeling.

C15 also expressed similar view in the following way:

It is difficult to say that the other aspects of ethics are accorded comparable attention with that of corruption. This is because no indicators are put in place clearly to measure their implementation. For example, how do you measure whether a client gets the right service at the right time? At what cycle time are you going to measure? So, the idea is there but how the implementation is going

to be measured is not clearly put. Hence, in such a situation, I find it difficult to believe that these issues are given the attention they deserve. For example, a civil servant may come to work on time but you may find that the person is doing his private consultancy job (moonlighting) using official working time and resource. Or you may find him/her browsing the social media and chatting over the internet. The one-to-five network structure introduced recently may help in this regard. But this initiative itself is facing some problems. The 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours' idiom is becoming common practice. Hence, it is difficult to say the intangible elements of ethics are being properly considered. Idea only is there but it is not put in place in such a way that it effectively measures system implementation. For example, the performance management system itself does not discriminate good performing civil servants from the poor performers. To the contrary, those employees who are poor performers (and are not ethical) but who pretend to be good may get the best evaluation; whereas those employees who are ethical and committed to their work may be evaluated negatively. You see biased (or unbalanced) evaluation. Of course, this thing may need a detailed research but that is how I see it. In short, we better treat this issue as a challenge; much remains to be desired.

C16 again provided his reflection in support of the views expressed earlier by the two experts:

I would say the behavioural aspects of ethical issues are not given the desired level of attention. The critical element in the implementation of the ethics subprogram is to what extent mobilization efforts were made. I do not believe that sufficient efforts were made in this regard. The main problem here is the fact that the government campaigned heavily on corruption without giving the desired attention to the other aspects of ethics. Mostly, I believe, ethical misconduct (or corruption for that matter) is not widely observed at the minister or deputy level. It is rather rampant at lower levels. This is due to the fact that there is no proper control mechanism put in place. What surprises me most is I see the 12 ethical principles posted in every public service institution. But heads of these institutions do not control and follow up the real implementation of these principles. They became a mere slogan. There is lack of effective follow up and supervision. It is very loose. Top management does not give it attention. This is even worse in the relationship between the middle management and the lower level management. Hence, I would say the commitment of the government to ethical principles does not boil down to the institution level.

C17 also chipped in his reflections in the following way:

I do not think that the behavioural components have received the same attention as corruption. As I remember there were about four or five projects⁹ under the ethics subprogram. When the sub-program was designed, some of the projects included establishing the Commission, and incorporating ethics issues in the

⁹ Official documents revealed that there were six projects under the ethics subprogram.

curriculum of schools. I had the opportunity to involve in one way or the other. I was working in the Ministry of Justice by then, and the Minister was assigned as coordinator of the ethics subprogram. The Minister was giving me some assignments. As I see it most activities were focused on establishing the FEACC. Developing the curriculum so that children get education on ethical issues did not receive the necessary attention. Hence, in the design phase the behavioural components of ethics did not receive the necessary attention compared with corruption. During implementation again, I was working on the executive side as the commissioner of the then Civil Service Commission. Hence, relatively speaking the ethics-subprogram, I believe, did not get that much attention as compared with the other components of the CSRP during the design as well as the implementation phases.

He further explained that during implementation a kind of compartmentalization was created. Anything was labelled (behavioural or otherwise) as corruption. According to him, all activities were not mainstreamed; everything of that sort was directed to the FEACC. And yet the Commission was still in the making (even today let alone that time). He further explained that the Commission has done some good jobs especially on conducting corruption surveys. He however felt that as a young institution, it had several challenges. Even its attention was crowded with other issues and its institutional capacity was severely challenged.

Concerning the role of other institutions such as the Ministry of Education, he is of the opinion that no adequate efforts are exerted to educate citizens, and bring about attitudinal changes through schools. In his view, even the ethics officers assigned in the public institutions were focused on fault finding and internal auditing rather than education and awareness raising. Hence, he concluded that the capacity and commitment of the ethics officers is questionable, and that they are not that effective.

Another issue he raised was the fact that the 12 ethical principles are seen posted everywhere in the premises of almost all civil service institutions; but this practice was not supported by bringing them down to earth. He noted:

The conceptual thing needs to boil down to practice. How are the principles explained? How are the principles translated into practice? This needs to be written as a code so that they can easily be understood by everybody. Hence, the effort and the modality used to disseminate these principles are not handled adequately, in my view. Sometimes these things are provided in the form of a campaign to a huge number of people at once. Well, this is one implementation modality but I do not think it is an effective way of dissemination. There is a need to think other effective modalities.

He also mentioned politicization of the civil service as having its negative influence on the implementation of the ethical principles. He argued:

The politics is important in the civil service. I believe that the political involvement in the civil service has changed since I left the sector. I left the sector in 2007, and after that the political involvement has become very aggressive in the civil service (especially after the 2005 general election). People from the ruling party are assigned as public relations officers (three or four in each) in the civil service institutions and there is also the so called one-to-five network arrangement. All these indicate political involvement. Hence, there is a kind of mix-up with the ethical principles and the party's expectation. Well the presence of the ethical principles is alright but when it is linked with the party, naturally people take it as having a political mission and refuse to collaborate.

Besides the key experts, the same question was also posed to the managers from the regulatory institutions. C13 from the FEACC provided an opposing view with the key experts. This is what he had to say:

We believe that both the behavioural components and corruption are given similar attention. The Commission has two major duties: Ethics and Anti-corruption. Probably, if you ask many people to what extent the Commission handles ethics issues, they may not respond positively; while they may be more fairly aware about the Commission's efforts to curb corruption. But as far as the Commission is concerned, the ethical components are given the same attention as corruption. For instance, one of the Commission's responsibilities is arranging and providing awareness creating education. We are aggressively working on this. In addition, we are closely working on this issue with other stakeholders such as educational institutions, religious institutions, chamber of commerce and professional associations. We do this because we believe that we can create greater impact when we work together. For instance, we are working with religious institutions closely. These institutions have many followers or believers. We create regular forums with them so as to discuss on ethical issues. What ethics means, what the government is doing on this issue, how they can educate their followers, and many more topics are addressed. This is done in the form of training. These institutions are thus educating their followers about ethical behaviour on a continuous basis. We also work with the chambers of commerce, professional associations and consumers' associations. We have several forums with these bodies. We, for instance, guide them how to make their employees ethical; we also provide them training and budget support."

Furthermore, he revealed that they work closely with schools in Addis Ababa and Diredawa; and that they have established a formal partnership with the Federal Ministry of Education. He indicated that in the schools they established ethics clubs with the objective of inculcating ethical values on students. He also mentioned that they participate in the

development of school curriculums' which enables them specifically ensure that ethical issues are adequately incorporated in the curriculum design. He also noted that they participate during curriculum revision.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service also shared a similar view. He believed that the government is exerting efforts on the behavioural components of ethics in addition to fighting corruption. The following are examples he provided:

- Several efforts are underway to create awareness about rent seeking behaviour and on ways to fight this behaviour. This is part of the reform program and a lot is being done to change the ethics situation in all institutions.
- Providing services to citizens in a transparent and accountable manner is another issue. This is also part of ethics.
- The fact that many institutions are developing citizens' charter declaring to the public the level of service they are prepared to provide is in itself one way of ensuring transparency and accountability.

Based on this, he concluded that the behavioural aspects of ethics are also given the same focus as corruption. When queried further about the degree of focus, he reflected the following:

Yes, I would say the degree of focus given to the behavioural aspects is not less. Probably, the reason for this perception could be due to the fact that these efforts are not properly communicated to the public; may be the different media outlets are focusing on corruption issues. Usually corruption is emphasized in the media. So, the communication is still poor. This may be the reason; otherwise in this respect the FEACC and our ministry are doing a lot. Another reason could be the nature of these behavioural aspects. The effort to bring attitudinal change on ethics issues takes a long time. Results cannot be seen in a short time. They are not visible. So, the public may think that nothing is being done.

The State Minister of the MCS on his part explained that the government is working on the behavioural components of ethics as well citing the fact that systems such as ethics liaison offices are put in place in each civil service institution to handle ethics issues on a daily basis. He underscored that a system is put in place to handle ethics issues in integration with other daily activities such as service delivery. Its success will differ from institution to institution. Hence, he did not accept the view that corruption is more focused than other aspects of ethics. He agreed with the interviewed managers that the misconception might have been created due to the wide media coverage the corruption issues received.

4.6.4. Influence of the Ethics Subprogram (and/or CSRP) on Public Trust

Client respondents were asked to what extent the ongoing civil service reform has affected the level of public trust. Accordingly, 48.41% of them believed that the reform has affected public trust fairly positively; while 14.29% said very much positively. These add up to 62.70%. They were also asked to indicate how much trust they have on the Ethiopian civil service in general. Surprisingly, only 20.64% said they have very high and high trust, 27.78% very low and low trust, and 50% remained indifferent (see Appendix A). The finding shows a contradicting result. While they felt that the reform has positively affected public trust, when they were asked the level of trust they have on the civil service many of them remained undecided.

On the other hand, the majority of the respondents to the interview (73.33%) believed that the ethics subprogram has influenced public trust fairly positively; while one manager believed that the reform has influenced public trust very much positively. On the other hand, one manager and one key expert believed that the reform influenced public trust negatively; and another key expert felt that the reform had no any influence on public trust. The key experts have provided detailed explanation in support of their position as follows.

C14 hailed the efforts of the government noting that he has never seen a government like the incumbent one in the history of the country that gave high attention to the civil service reform, allocated the necessary resource and exerted so much effort. But he aired his frustration that regardless of the enormous investment and commitment on the part of the government, no satisfactory outcome is observed over the years. There seems to be commitment but no significant change is seen, he noted. As a result, he wondered if the reform is conceptualized properly at all by the executive bodies. He reflected that there is very frequent change of tools which compels one to believe that the civil service reform is not properly conceptualized. In this respect, he is quoted as saying:

Why does the reform keep moving from one tool to another? You start implementing one tool and you suddenly switch to another before even knowing the outcome of the former. First came the general CSRP, then strategic planning and management then result-oriented performance management, then BPR, then BSC, and now Kaizen¹⁰. So, sometimes I wonder if there is a capacity in the government echelon to properly conceptualize the civil service reform and consult

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The **Kaizen philosophy**, defined as a style of continuous business improvement made in small increments, originated in Japan. The idea focuses on improving processes and products while using employee creativity to help define the way procedures and systems can be improved.

policy makers. I know that the top political leaders have very high desire to change this country. Hence, in their effort to change the entire system, when they run into a problem they seem to move to another new tool and try their luck without giving so much thought about it. Again, they get stuck and then move to another. Hence, it is necessary to first properly conceptualize the reform (seeing through all the processes). This may enable us to see better and visible results.

Continuing his argument, he said:

I remember there was an initiative they called “quick wins” sometime back. Because of this intervention, processes which used to take five to six months previously, were getting completed in a few days. The public was highly appreciative of this change but then it started to slide back after a while. Why does this happen? I do not know. Partly, it may be because of ethics problems, and partly it may be caused by other factors. As a result, what inspired the public initially slides back to darkness slowly. This creates grievance on the part of the public. It creates hopelessness. The public gets fade up and lacks trust on the reform. You know, sometimes you tell the public about the outcome of the reform in an exaggerated way and by doing so you raise their expectation. “You promise them the moon but you fail to live up to your promises.” When you fail to meet the expectation, you may lose public trust.

Consequently, he believed that the reform has influenced public trust negatively because the public has become disillusioned. There are a lot of promises, but in reality very little changes are seen.

Furthermore, while he agreed with the frequent public statement made by top government officials that an attitudinal change is required for the reform to succeed, he cautioned that this could not be realized by mere slogans. This is what he said in his own words:

Yes, I agree with this statement. Knowledge and skill will not suffice, if there is no attitudinal change. You could be a PhD holder or you could be highly skilled in your area; but unless that is complemented with the necessary attitude it does not help much. The transition to change of mindset again cannot be successful by making public statements or appeal only. You have to work on it. Attitude cannot be changed overnight. It needs a lot of intervention.

He further questioned how attitudinal change is really measured; what criteria are used - technical, professional and/or political. Sometimes, the criteria could be entirely political which do not take into account other factors. Finally, he underlined the need to evaluate the reform program by an external party with the following statement.

We usually hear in the media positive things reported. For example, recently it has become common to hear that millions of Birr are being saved by public institutions due to implementation of kaizen. I wish this is true. I wish this is

confirmed by external reviewer rather than the institution itself telling us. But the way it is done now the public does not trust it.

C15 on his part believed that the Ethiopian civil service reform is the most comprehensive program by any standards. While admitting that this belief may vary from individual to individual, he forwarded his opinion as follows.

As far as I am concerned, I am positive. Look into the reform programs designed by the government. Imagine what would have happened if the reform programs were not there. The Ethiopian civil service reform is the most comprehensive by any standards. There is nothing which the reform does not touch. It touches service delivery, human resource management, top management systems, ethics, and financial expenditure and management systems. If you widen it to the capacity building program again, the fourteen components incorporated are really great.

In response to the question of whether the reform has had influence on public trust, he opined the following:

If you tell me that the reform has brought about negative influence; it is not fair. The reform has brought about a lot of positive changes. The change is not as expected, though. Otherwise, there are visible changes. I do not mean there are no problems, there are; but this would not make me conclude that the reform has no influence or has influenced public trust negatively. If you see it fairly as a concerned citizen, the Ethiopian reform process has at least fairly positively influenced public trust.

As a way of conclusion, C15 felt that the Ethiopian civil service reform is the most comprehensive by any standards; and that the reform has brought about a lot of positive changes; though it is not as expected. So, he concluded that the reform has at least fairly positively influenced public trust.

While acknowledging that it is difficult to generalize; C16 similarly believed that the reform has influenced public trust fairly positively.

While he was cognizant of the difficulty of making generalizations, C17 responded to this question by taking into account the following three important factors. First, he preferred to assess to what extent the CSRP was demand driven when it was designed believing that this will obviously increase its acceptance on the part of the public. Second, he emphasized the need to measure the extent to which the program was participative in its implementation. Third to what extent the program's results are visible. In his view, these factors were largely missing in the implementation of the reform program. As a result, he concluded that the reform had no any

influence on public trust. This conclusion also follows from views he reflected in our earlier discussions. This is what he said:

Sometimes people feel empowered and you also see the government taking some positive measures to make the system efficient. Therefore, you think that there are some positive developments. But again when all the negative things we raised earlier happen, they create a kind of mistrust in the public on the reform program. In short, the fact that its level of participation is low; its inconsistent implementation; its emphasis on current issues and the like created negative perception.

He further mentioned some activities that he believed have affected public perception negatively as follows:

Sometimes, the government is also involved in some self-defeating practices. Let me give you one example. When I was a commissioner of the Civil Service Commission there was a discussion on whether there should be a salary increment to civil servants. The stand of my commission was to increase the salary. But the top officials (the politicians) took a serious position that there should not be an increase. Their reason was that no visible change is seen so far in the civil service. As a result, the proposal for salary increment was rejected. But when the general election was approaching, the government gave an order that salary of civil servants should urgently be increased. You see! This has huge impact on public perception. Due to these and many other reasons, I am even hesitating whether I should change my mind and say the reform has negative influence on public trust.

Commenting on the frequent change in the reform agenda, he reflected the following:

People usually view the reform process as a fad. They consider it as something that would pass after some time. One tool is implemented and after sometime it is gone and replaced by another. It is just a fad. For example, take the one-to-five network structure that is introduced in all the public institutions. Well, acknowledging that there are some employees who are conformists who try to abide by the rule; I believe the majority of the civil servants (over 95%) consider the one-to-five network as a silly organization that would fade away soon. This is what is happening in reality. At the beginning, it would seem that the system is working well and employees are actively engaged on it. But, after sometime, the implementation of this would be forgotten. And when the minister or another high ranking official comes and tries to inspire them, they would pretend to exercise it and then it goes away again after sometime. Even those who give training and/or orientation about the network structure do not have deep knowledge about it.

The researcher posed a question on whether the Ministry of Civil Service can be taken as a role model in the implementation of the reform program. He felt that the Ministry is weakly organized; it is politicized; it is not made to be neutral; it has low policy research capacity; its

ability to attract and retain competent employees is low; and many civil servants including the middle level managers have an outside work. He is also of the opinion that in many of the change processes undertaken so far, the Ministry used to play a follower's role. It was not involved in the design and development of the reform agendas. It is simply told to implement it. He also mentioned that they had developed a strategic plan for the institution when he was the head of it but for some reason it was never implemented. He hoped that this plan could have played an important role in strengthening the capacity of the institution; however, he regretted that it remained in the shelves. "I do not know what happens to it today", he wondered, "Sometimes, I doubt if the government is really committed to make the institution strong".

As a result, he concluded that the institution has not registered the desired level of development. According to him, it has spent most of the years being quiet and fearful; which is devoid of bringing its own new initiatives, and which only accepts what it is told to do from the top. He maintained that he still has contact with many of the civil servants, and they discuss issues. He realized that they still have a very depressed mood, and argued that its politicization is really a problem.

However, the State Minister of the MCS argued that such opinions are reflected due to misconception about how the government works. He stressed that the incumbent government makes decisions collectively; no decision is imposed by anybody from above. He, for example, stated that the Minister of Civil Service is a member of the Council of Ministers, and that it actively participates in all decisions. This is the working culture of the government. He, therefore, rejected the idea that the Ministry takes the follower's role.

C13 of the FEACC commented that reform takes time; its result does not come out immediately. As a result, he felt that they have not achieved significant success yet. But, he affirmed that the reform has fairly positively influenced public trust. C12 of the MCS also believed that the reform has fairly positively influenced public trust. But he would not say very much positively for there are still gaps especially in the area of good governance, and there still are enormous complaints by the public.

4.6.5. Determinant Factors in Shaping the Ethical Behaviour of Civil Servants

C1 felt that the key issue in the fight against ethical misconduct is a matter of changing the attitude of people. According to him, the attitude of an individual is shaped by several factors. It starts from the family. The family is an institution that shapes an individual's ethical

behaviour. How parents bring up a child is important. Next comes the school. Schools also play a key role in shaping ethical behaviour of people. At a third level comes the community where the individual is brought up. He emphasized the importance of the community by asserting that one cannot expect an individual to be ethical while he/she is living in a community that encourages and appreciates unethical conduct. Hence, if the individual's ethical behaviour is to change for the better, the attitude of the community has also to be changed.

He went on to explain that after the individual joins the labour force, there is the need on the part of the employer to arrange training and awareness raising programs related with ethical issues. Establishing an equitable compensation system, putting in place clear work procedures and supporting it through information technology are also helpful according to him.

C3 on his part explained that the main factor influencing the ethical behaviour of the Ethiopian civil servants is the level of poverty that the society is in, and not clearly understanding the way out. In his view, there is the need for the current generation to pay sacrifice to eradicate or reduce poverty. To alleviate poverty, the present generation needs to strengthen its efforts on a sustainable basis. To this end, he indicated that they usually tell their employees to prepare themselves to make the necessary sacrifice, and that this takes a long time and effort. However, he is of the view that the right way out has not been clearly established, and that a common understanding (or consensus) has not been reached. As a result, he suggested the following:

In the fight against poverty, we need to create a consensus on the part of the civil servants so that everybody develops a sense of ownership. This should be done at all levels of the organization - from top management to lower level operative employees. I believe that this is possible; we can do it. Of course, the role of other factors (such as family, school, and the community) in shaping the behaviour of individuals is crucial. Several efforts are being made to bring about attitudinal change; this has to continue on a sustainable basis. But when we come specifically to the civil service, creating consensus on the ways of fighting poverty is important.

According to C4 of the Transport Authority, the key problem is deterioration of ethics standards in the country. He felt that the military junta that ruled the country for about 17 years played a negative role in this regard. In the current system people are developing the perception that there are short-cuts for personal advancement. People have developed the culture of encouraging and appreciating individuals who get rich through unethical means. He attributed

these negative developments to the coming to power of the military government which tried to change the mind-set of the people with socialist orientation. In the past, during his school days, he recalled that they used to learn morality and ethics, and such practice was helping the society to have a young generation who is mostly ethical. The regime dismantled the curriculum and introduced its own. In his view, partly as a result of the distorted policies of the previous government, a young generation has come into the picture that does not have religious orientation, and without some kind of ethical education. As a result, there is a widespread belief on the part of the society that putting personal interest above everything else is the accepted practice of the day. That is why he was compelled to believe the key problem at present is decline in ethics standards. Hence, he suggested that there is a need to shape the ethical behaviour of people starting from primary all the way to tertiary level education. This will enable the country produce ethical graduates rather than graduates who are also thieves.

C9 of the Government Houses Agency believed that organizational culture has its influences on an individual's ethical behaviour. He explained that, in organizational behaviour, there are three stakeholders: the individual, groups, and the organization. All these three play an important role in the making of the individual's ethical behaviour. He, therefore, recommended that organizations need to work on enhancing ethical organization culture.

All the above recommendations provided by C9 were concerned with post-employment activities. He further recognized pre-employment activities that have influence on the ethical conduct of individuals as follows. According to him, the effort to shape an individual's ethical conduct should normally start from the family. Next, the community where the person is brought up plays a significant role. Peers (or friends) also have their own influence (negative or positive) on the individual. Schools as well have their influence. He outlined the three stakeholders in the school environment; parents, teachers, and the students themselves. All these are key determinants in the shaping of an individual's ethical behaviour.

According to C11 of the DARO, it is generally observed that some employees come to work late, and leave early; some of them are not efficiently using the 8-hour working day; some are deliberately providing inadequate information to clients; and yet whether you work as expected or not you are equally treated. No reward or punishment system is in place that discriminates employees based on their performance and ethical conduct. In his view, this has made the employees to believe that whether they work or not, they are going to be paid any way.

He, however, revealed that currently the government is designing an evaluation and compensation system that he presumed will address or minimize this problem. His colleague, C10, complemented that absence of equitable salary and other benefits, lack of provision of short-term and long-term ethics training on a regular basis and presence of discriminatory treatment are among the factors that influence ethical behaviour in the institutions.

C14 on his part recalled that in his school days morality and ethics courses were given starting from primary school. This thing, he believed, has left quite an impact on many of the pupils. This enabled to inculcate the ethical values in the minds of children. He went on explaining that today's civil servants were children yesterday or today's children will also be tomorrow's civil servants, and unless the children are brought up with ethical education since early childhood it may be a big threat to society. So, the question for him is whether there are efforts made to strengthen the ethical behaviour of citizens at the family level, by religious institutions and schools. He underlined that these institutions have a big role to play in shaping the mindset of individual citizens.

After the individuals join the civil service again, he underscored the need to reinforce their ethical behaviour by taking several measures. In connection to this, he suggested the following:

By identifying issues that may lead individuals to ethical misconduct, we need to design strategies that will enable us prevent those issues from happening. For instance, employees are usually rewarded for good performance of their jobs, he said, but we do not see employees being rewarded, honoured or recognized for good ethical behaviour. He believed that these things are largely missing in the civil service.

He, C14, also emphasized the need for the establishment of an effective system of control and follow-up. He wondered why, for example, employees come to work late, and go out early when there should have been a discipline to be followed or a rule that prohibits these things from happening. Given this situation, he suggested that a system needs to be in place that makes employees accountable for their ethical misconduct. "If you do not have such a system in place you are simply allowing such things to flourish", he concluded.

Concerning the issue of accepting gifts by civil servants, he emphasized the need to investigate the reasons that lure employees to do so. He elaborated his position as follows:

One of the reasons could be the low standard of living of the employees. Employees may be tempted to seek for gifts because of economic pressures they

face in their daily lives. How do we mitigate the factors that put pressure on the employees? When the economic pressures become too much, you are a human being. At some point in time the employee would say I do not care. Forget about ethics. My family matters. I am not going to see my child starve, or drop out of school, or die while I try to be ethical. Secondly, how serious do managers take this issue (the problem of employees) into account? Do they internalize it and try to enforce it? Are they role models in this regard? These things need to be assessed carefully.

C14 further noted that the issue is really complex and one cannot simply attribute it to individual behaviour. He insisted that there are also a number of pressures in society that force individuals to go in that direction. He finally recommended that it would be necessary to consider the interventions that will enable the civil service overcome these problems. The possible interventions could be seen in terms of designing a favourable policy, improving the economic situation of the employees, using positive reinforcement for good ethical behaviour and the like, according to him.

These are the key issues C14 addressed. He emphasized the need for ethical education starting from early childhood; the need to reinforce ethical behaviour of individuals after joining the civil service through several means; the need to honour or recognize employees for good ethical behaviour; the need for putting a system in place that makes employees accountable for their ethical misconduct. Moreover, he emphasized the need to mitigate the economic factors that are putting pressure on the employees to ignore ethical considerations through improving the economic situation of the employees and using positive reinforcement for good ethical behaviour; and the need to develop ethical leaders who act as role models to their subordinates.

C15 on his part, forwarded his opinion by categorizing the issue into political, economic, socio-cultural, institutional and system gaps. On the political front, he believed that there is a very clear political commitment on the government side. This, according to him, is indicated in terms of the legal frameworks put in place, the institutions established, and the amount of budget allocated and implemented. He is thus of the opinion that, as a system, the government has committed itself. But he doubted whether there exists a similar commitment at the individual leadership level. He felt that there is a gap in commitment at the individual institution leadership level. He expressed his doubts on whether individual leaders commit themselves to serve the institution and/or the public or they are simply there to serve their personal interests.

The second reason he elaborately discussed was the economic situation of the civil servants. He is of the belief that the civil servants are not getting adequate salary as compared to their counterparts in the private sector as well as non-governmental organizations in the country. According to him, employees will care less to ethical issues under the circumstances of economic pressures. They will naturally look for other options such as accepting gifts or getting engaged in outside employment during government working hours to cover household expenses. Or at best they become too careless in carrying out their official responsibilities. They may not get any benefit by sitting idle but they prefer to do so killing their potential, and denying their honesty. He insisted that he is not talking theoretical; it really exists on the ground in our daily lives. The same is true with the leaders, he continued, while the ordinary civil servants may be involved in ethical misconduct so as to survive; the leaders usually do it for a better life - to get a better car, better residence, and the like. He, however, acknowledged that the government is not to be blamed. It is the country's level of development or capacity of the government that determines the level of salary paid to the civil servants. But he emphasized that the attention given to the civil service by the government does have its own influence.

The pressure that comes from one's family is another factor which he considered as a socio-cultural influence. He, for instance, mentioned the pressure that comes from one's wife and other acquaintances on the employee to get involved in activities that are considered unethical such as asking him to send one's child abroad; getting his wife hired inappropriately and the like. He, however, hoped that these days because some officials are being charged for ethical misconduct, there may be some kind of fear. But he felt that these practices are prevalent; people still want to benefit inappropriately.

He also expressed his worry that chat¹¹ addiction is also slowly spreading. He explained that it is not unusual to see employees and some managers chewing chat during working hours. Some employees even chew during lunch break. According to him, this is not a thing that is done rarely; it has become a daily encounter. This practice is generally being taken as acceptable. Though such people may claim that it is their individual right to chew chat, he wondered how such civil servants are going to serve the citizenry given its negative influence on their job. He complained that the law is simply bogus in this respect.

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The khat plant is known by a variety of names, such as qat and gat in Yemen, qaat and jaad in Somalia, and **chat in Ethiopia**. It is also known as jimma in the Oromo language. Khat has been grown for use as a stimulant for centuries in the Horn of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula.

Finally, he raised the institutional and systemic gaps that exist in the sector. While recognizing the gaps are being filled slowly; he doubted the capacity and strength of the watchdog institutions such as the FEACC, the Ombudsman, the Human Rights Commission, the Media and the Ministry of Civil Service. He believed that, as it stands now, these institutions are not model institutions; there is institutional gap. The auditing system is not strong; the watchdog institutions are not strong. Notwithstanding that many of such institutions are established with western standards; he argued that there is a wide gap in the implementation. People are not made to have the knowledge, skill and attitude necessary to implement the system. Even those who are capacitated leave the institutions looking for a better pay. So, he concluded that all these circumstances show the institutional gaps that exist in the sector. He also underscored the importance of considering the situation within the institution. The strength of the internal audit system, capacity of the ethics offices, the strength of the management committee, whether the teams are role models, and the like should be seriously evaluated.

He finally reiterated his belief that the low salary paid to civil servants (or poverty) is one factor which is contributing to the implementation gaps. He said he does not mean it is the only factor, but it is the major one. So, he believed that it is appropriate to take poverty as one factor having its own influence on the ethical behaviour of civil servants.

In summary, C15 elucidated that there is a very clear political commitment on the government side as a system, but commitment at an individual leader level is lacking; that the low salary level paid to civil servants (or poverty) is putting enormous economic pressures that push them to seek gifts, look for outside jobs, and the like. The pressure that comes from one's own family, relatives, and friends to benefit inappropriately; the problem of addiction that is prevalent on the part of ordinary civil servants and some managers; and the institutional and systemic gaps that exist in the sector (internal as well as external) are additional factors he listed.

C16 on his part divided the measures that he believed must be taken into pre-employment and post-employment activities. He emphasized the importance of an individual's pre-employment background (such as the way he/she is brought up, socialization, one's schooling and the like). These are predetermined set of factors for him. The absence of fair remuneration that enables civil servants sustain a decent life; the need for a strong organizational work ethic and discipline are the post-employment activities he proposed. He believed people should be remunerated in such a way that they are able to lead a decent life. He mentioned that there are

some employees who even sell government printing paper so as to fill the economic gap they have. He further underlined the need for a strong culture of organizational work ethic and discipline where honouring official working hours, being held accountable for unreasonable absence from work and the like are duly exercised. He also felt that the organization needs to put in place a strong organizational discipline where good and poor performers are identified, and treated accordingly.

To summarize, C16 emphasized the importance of an individual's pre-employment background in shaping individual ethical behaviour. He also underlined the need to reinforce this ethical behaviour through establishing a strong organizational work ethic and discipline and remunerating the employees in a way that enables them sustain a decent life.

For C17 background education or upbringing is the key; any intervention should start from there. He believed that we should teach our children the ethical principles (or basic fundamentals of ethics) including politics. According to him, the way we are governed determines our level of exercise of freedom. While the whole supra structure - political, social and economic issues - needs to be addressed; the focus should be on education to instil ethical values in the minds of children, he believed.

The second issue has to do with creating good institutions, and sustaining them. He stressed the need to build good institutions having effective processes, systems, and procedures. He also maintained that good incentive is part of building good institutions. He would not say incentive alone will bring about change but felt that taking incentive as part of the institution building will give the opportunity to reduce the impact of these situations. Finally, he strongly asserted that leadership plays a critical role in institution building. Here is an excerpt of what he said:

It is a key issue. Institutions in Ethiopia are as good as their leaders. It is sad. There are no institutions. Leaders can do almost anything they want with the institutions; they are the kings. They could destroy or make those institutions. The leader can get away with anything. They can do whatever they want. This should not be the way we build institutions. We are creating institutions that are highly fragile. So, leadership is so critical in institution building. So, so... critical. Hence a nationwide continuous (on-going) human resource development is the key.

In short, C17 espoused that background education or upbringing is the key, any intervention should start from there. Creating good institutions, and sustaining them (good

incentive being part of creating good institutions); the need for capable leadership and continuous nationwide HR development were also emphasized.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service believed that one factor influencing ethical behaviour is organizational culture. He also identified the external environment as a second factor influencing ethical behaviour. He noted that the first institution which plays a role in shaping ethical behaviour is the family. How the individual was brought up in the family matters. Next, he mentioned the significant role played by schools in building the ethical behaviour of individuals. For this reason, he noted, ethics education is made part of the school curriculum in the country. The community where the individual is brought up is also identified as another factor having its own influence. He emphasized the vitality of societal culture in shaping ethical conduct of individuals by reflecting that an individual who is brought up in a society where “sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal” is the accepted norm cannot be expected to be ethical in the work place. Finally, he indicated the key role played by religious institutions in building ethical citizens stating the need for them to preach their followers about good ethical behaviour regularly.

4.6.6. The Biggest Challenges to Foster High Ethical Standards

The service users were asked to rank the biggest challenges, in their opinion, to foster high ethical standards in the civil service from the list of eleven items provided in the questionnaire. They were asked to order the challenges in terms of their severity – from most severe to less severe. Accordingly, the result shows that corruption, bribery and other criminal activities; low salaries of civil servants, and low morale of civil servants were ranked in the order they are listed as the three most severe challenges. Bad working conditions such as poor leadership, low job security, absence of career prospects; political interference, and widespread decline of ethical values on the part of civil servants were ranked from 4th to 6th. The employee respondents were also presented with the same question. They ranked corruption, bribery and other criminal activities; low salaries of civil servants, and bad working conditions as the three most severe challenges. The result is almost the same except that they interchanged the third and the fourth challenges.

The two managers from the regulatory bodies were also asked to give their opinion on the challenges. The attitudinal problem of some managers is identified as one key challenge by C13 of the FEACC. This is what he said:

Some leaders in the hierarchy consider that establishing high ethical standards is a threat to their position and associated benefits. They are fearful that if there is high ethical standard, they will lose their position and/or benefits. They create several excuses to the ethics officers that they are busy and do not want to waste their time and the time of their subordinates. Or they claim that there is no budget to handle ethical issues; they discourage their subordinates from collaborating with ethics officers, and the like. Hence, the key problem is attitudinal problem on the part of some leaders. They do not internalize it. They want to dissociate themselves from such efforts.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service on his part identified the traditional culture we inherited from our ancestors as a challenge. The negative influence caused by the era of globalization is stated as another challenge.

The key experts were also asked for their opinion on the key challenges to foster high ethical standards in the Ethiopian civil service. C14 singled out the absence of professionalism and meritocracy in the civil service, and the adverse economic realities faced by the civil servants as the key challenges. He argued that if the civil service is governed based on professionalism and meritocracy, many of the ethical infractions observed in the civil service would have been minimized significantly. He also suggested that the civil servants' economic difficulties be addressed amicably. This is what he commented:

If a person has difficulties in life (when the economic pressure is too much) there is nothing this person wouldn't do. He/she can do anything to overcome their financial difficulties. Hence, these employees should not be left in such a miserable situation. It should be considered carefully at a government level. At least, they should be allowed salaries that will enable their family survive.

C15 on his part pointed out two important challenges that need to be addressed carefully. First, he raised the problems related to leadership. He seriously questioned whether the institutional leaders are really role models; whether they have the desired vision to implement the reform program designed by the government; whether they consider the organizations' human resource as the most valued resource, and whether innovation, creativity, honesty, and the like are valued. He personally believed that a lot remains to be done in this area.

The second challenge he indicated is lack of fair remuneration. He argued that remuneration and condition of service are vital components of human resource management and they need to be considered seriously. Due to the inadequate salaries employees are earning, many public projects are being robbed; or at best employees prefer to sit idle in the office demotivated by the low salary they earn and so on. He further noted that it is not surprising these days to see

civil servants flowing in flocks to the private sector; though they are not happy in the private sector as well owing to the poor working conditions (They are working there for the sake of money only; especially the educated ones). Thus, he recommended that the issue of remuneration needs to be considered seriously, given its importance. He revealed that the ratio of civil servants with the total population in Ethiopia is one of the lowest in the world. So, it is not much a problem to improve the level of payment given to the employees especially when we see it in terms of its negative consequences. He concluded his remarks with the following comment:

It is not fair to be silent about salary as a researcher. The government should be able to pay as its capacity allows. Again the salary increment should be made as frequent as possible. It should not be on hold for long time. It needs to be adjusted with the level of inflation.

C16 briefly outlined the following factors as the biggest challenges: lack of sufficient awareness about the significance of ethical values; internal organizational weaknesses in terms of spearheading the struggle to foster high ethical standards in the institution; and lack of aggressive campaign and mobilization within and outside the organization regarding the significance of ethical standards in government bureaucracies.

C17 identified the absence of strong institutions as the first challenge. Here is what he said:

Sometimes, you doubt whether the governments really want to create strong institutions. Do they simply associate it with their survival? I do not mean the current government only; just any government. These institutions should always be strong under any government. Hence, the absence of strong institutions is the biggest challenge. When I say institution building I am assuming the compensation system is part of it. It is seen as a package.

The second challenge, according to C17, is the absence of adequate training opportunities - human resource development. He also took politicization of the civil service as a third challenge.

4.6.7. Improving the Civil Service Ethics – the Way Forward

The service users were asked to indicate what measures need to be taken (out of eight named) to maintain and improve civil service ethics in the future. According to their responses, having legislation and other norms, information provision, and taking working conditions into account were equally named as having large effect on civil service ethics (69.8%). The need for internal control mechanisms, exemplary management, and external control mechanisms were

taken as having large effect by 69%, 66.7%, and 65.1% of the respondents respectively (see Appendix A).

Similarly, the interview participants were asked for their opinion on what could be done in the future to improve the level of civil service ethics in Ethiopia, and what different stakeholders should do to foster high level of ethical culture in the Ethiopian civil service. Their response is summarized as follows.

C1 provided two sets of proposals. First, he believed that a training and research institution needs to be established; which can provide rigorous ethics training based on research. He further recommended that salary and benefit issues that are always raised by employees need to be appropriately addressed. This of course should be considered in line with the country's economic development, in his view.

C3 from the same institution, on the other hand felt that leadership is one of the challenges in the Ethiopian civil service. Though he did not claim that it is more serious challenge than corruption, he underlined that the leadership behaviour is yet another critical challenge that needs serious consideration. He mentioned, for instance, that there are some top leaders who possess five or six government vehicles for their personal extravagant use. He insisted that he is saying this from what he personally knows; not a hearsay. According to him, this is the reason why he considered leadership values as the most import issues that need to be addressed seriously. In his view, it is lack of exemplary leadership rather than political interference that is creating problems in the Ethiopian civil service. As a result, he recommended that much effort must be exerted to create committed and exemplary leaders.

Secondly, C3 believed that stakeholders such as the society, the government, religious institutions, and schools have their roles to play. For this to happen, he recommended the following. Firstly, all stakeholders need to define clearly their respective responsibilities. Government alone cannot do everything. The society in general has its own structure, culture, interest, and various institutions. Hence, the role of society needs to be clearly identified. Second, mentioning some non-government institutions such as the association of religious institutions, youth associations, women associations, student associations and schools; he recommended the establishment of an institution that can oversee and provide collective leadership to these various institutions. This body according to him could be governmental (or non-governmental). In fact, he preferred if the coordination role can be assumed by the

government. Thirdly, these institutions need to put in place a mechanism that enables them evaluate their performance jointly on a regular basis.

C4 of the Federal Transport Authority recommended the following as a way forward: The first thing that should be done is providing ethics education at schools effectively. He even suggested incorporating ethics education in each discipline (or subject) rather than providing it only as a separate subject. Secondly, he recommended that a mechanism should be put in place where the public can actively participate in the fight against corruption and other ethical misconducts.

Thirdly, the government should put in place a clear accountability system where all violators, regardless of their position, will be held accountable for their actions. He insisted that leaders (including the top ones) should be held accountable for their actions. What usually happens is the government may fire them from their positions upon allegations of ethical wrongdoing, but they have already accumulated enough wealth through secret illegal means. This creates a bad feeling on the part of the society. Hence, he posited that there must be a mechanism of confiscating the wealth accumulated by individual leaders through illegal means; firing them is not enough.

C7 of the Government Houses Agency also suggested modernizing the overall civil service system; establishing a fair and equitable compensation system; and placing employees on positions related to their field of study.

C9 of the same institution provided the following suggestions as a way forward: He recommended the need to ensure a transparent system that is well understood by all. He also suggested allowing participation of employees on organization matters so that sense of ownership of employees is enhanced. He argued that one should not only impose guidelines downward; employees should be allowed to participate in the making of such guidelines. According to him, this practice has at least two benefits. First, employees will be able to provide inputs to the decision making. Second, the employees will feel that they are part of the decision, and hence develop a sense of ownership.

Moreover, he believed that everybody in the organization should be held accountable. In his view, if violators are not held accountable for their actions, organizations will not be successful in their efforts to improve ethical situation of their employees. He also underlined that

the reform should be implemented effectively. Having a reform program is one thing, and implementing it effectively is another.

The following measures are suggested by C11 of the DARO to promote ethics:

- Capacitating the employees through continuous training,
- Establishing a system of accountability where all employees are equally and fairly held accountable for actions they take.
- Encouraging employees who perform well in carrying out their duties. We need to establish a system of remuneration that discriminates employees based on their performance and ethical conduct.
- Continuing the efforts that are underway by the government to facilitate transport services to civil servants. This will help alleviate some of the ethical problems of employees. This will in a way subsidize their expenses which they used to incur for transport (or taxi service).

He also emphasized that employees should always strive to update their capacity from time to time; must develop a strong national feeling. They must believe that they can personally prosper only when the country shows progress. A competitive and equitable salary cannot be paid unless the country is able to register robust economic growth; so the need for a deep national feeling. He believed that the government is making efforts to inculcate such feelings on the part of the employees through trainings and many other initiatives. As part of these efforts, he underscored that the government needed to strengthen the measures that are currently being taken to punish violators.

Concerning measures that need to be taken before a person joins the workplace, C11 reminded that some efforts are underway by the government with the aim to produce citizens with high ethical values. For example, he pointed out that students are getting civic and ethical education starting from primary schools. In fact, according to him, ethical education is already made part of the curriculum starting from grade five. He appreciated this initiative, and recommended that this be further strengthened. He also felt that the community, the family and religious institutions have also full responsibility of producing ethical and responsible citizens. In short, he concluded that shaping of citizens is the responsibility of all; it should start from early childhood. He felt that all such efforts will enable the country have a better civil servant.

C10 of the same institution provided similar suggestions with his colleague which are summarized as follows:

- Even though civics and ethical education is being provided in schools, it needs to be further strengthened in such a way that it creates a visible impact on the students.
- The existing civil servants should be provided training on a continuous basis to bring about attitudinal change and build their capacity.
- All stakeholders need to work together in close collaboration to alleviate the problems observed in the civil servants.

The expert opinion with respect to this issue is consolidated as follows:

C14 believed that the effort to promote the ethical culture of citizens should start from early childhood – kindergarten and primary schools. Mechanisms should be devised where the ethical values are infused. According to him, attempts should be made to build the ethical culture of citizens step-by-step starting from the foundation, and then when the person joins the civil service some complementary efforts will suffice. He forwarded the following view:

We may not be able to correct much of the existing generation, but I am sure, if we go down to the grass-root level, we will have the opportunity to change 80-90% of the coming generation. Hence, I suggest that stakeholders such as the family, schools, religious organizations, professional associations, and civil society organizations should be able to play their roles in this effort.

C15 also suggested that all the key stakeholders including the government, the private sector, and the general public need to play their respective roles in the effort to build an ethical society. In his view, the government should play a leading role in terms of legislating, creating institutions, providing training and the like. The private sector should also play its role in terms of partnering with the government as it is the primary beneficiary of government's policies, strategies and practices. He underlined that the private sector should make its positive contribution regardless of who is in power for its own good. It can work in partnership with the government through its organs such as the employers' association and the chamber of commerce in terms of respecting the rule of law and the like. Further, he stated that the general public can play its role in terms of standing firm for its rights. If possible, citizens can organize themselves in their locality and contribute to the effort collectively.

Secondly, he emphasized the need to follow the following multipronged strategies: The first strategy is creating good institutions, which can include the watchdog institutions and the

executives. The second strategy is establishing effective systems which should include right policies, regulations, codes, and the like. The third strategy involves producing human resources with the required knowledge, skill, attitude, and ethics. Especially, he stated the need to emphasize on equipping graduates with good ethical values in addition to their professional knowledge. The fourth strategy has to do with establishing fair and equitable salary and benefit system which needs to be adjusted on a continuous basis. Regarding this fourth strategy, he provided the following compliment:

I am not saying the government should pay compensation comparable with the market. But I am rather suggesting that a fair compensation system should be put in place that is in line with the government's paying capacity. Just telling the civil servants that they should refrain from all sorts of rent seeking behaviour and practice; or lecturing them repeatedly about the twelve ethical principles will not produce results unless we support these efforts with a fair and equitable compensation.

He appreciated the government for providing various trainings to employees on a continuous basis, and encouraged for the effort to continue vigorously. He, however, expressed his reservation on the fact that the impact of the training is not evaluated periodically. He stressed the need for a detailed evaluation of what changes the training programs have brought about, whether the leaders at all levels have changed, whether the civil servants have changed, and whether the institution itself has changed as a result of such interventions.

He also pinpointed the need to strengthen the efforts underway to address gaps on ethical issues through auditing, ethics and anti-corruption, the ombudsman and other institutions; but warned that the focus should not be on financial misappropriation only. Other aspects of impropriety should also be given attention. Furthermore, while appreciating the government's effort to form a coalition or partnership with the private sector and the general public with the intention of fighting corruption in a coordinated manner; he warned that the effort should not be limited to corruption only. It should also give focus to other ethical issues related to provision of service to the public other than corruption.

In addition, he advised that the reform should be undertaken on a continuous basis; it should not be done on an on-and-off basis; it should not be a one-time affair; it should not also be taken as a fad; reform by its nature is continuous.

The other problem he observed was the lack of seriousness in the promulgation of regulations and procedures on the part of concerned institutions. He cited the Civil Service

Proclamation adopted in 2006 as an example where there are several provisions in it stipulating that detailed regulations and procedures will be formulated by concerned bodies. However, these laws were never issued.

He also recommended for the government to remedy the inconsistent salary structures that do exist in the civil service; while recognizing that currently the government is trying to rectify the problem after the damage has already been done. Finally, he is quoted as saying the following:

The government has done almost all that is necessary - it has adopted enabling laws & policies; it has allocated necessary resources and it is providing trainings. The only problem is the implementation difficulties created by employees and leaders at different levels. It is not fair to simply blame the government grossly.

Underlining that the behavioural components of ethics are not given the attention they deserve, C16 suggested that the government and other development partners should give the desired level of attention. He further emphasized that it is highly important to strengthen the capacity of watchdog institutions including the parliament, and to undertake public mobilization and effective campaign on ethical principles on a continuous basis. He recognized that there is political commitment at the higher level, but as one moves down the hierarchy things are not implemented the way they are desired. As a result, he urged the government to ensure the desired level of commitment at all levels of the civil service. Finally, he underscored the need for establishing a mechanism whereby ethical employees are rewarded, and those who are otherwise are punished. In short, he concluded that effective enforcement of the ethical principles and code of conduct is highly critical, and that a concerted effort on the part of all stakeholders is needed to bring about a visible change.

C17 on his part recommended the following as a way forward: building effective institutions; education and training of civil servants on a continuous basis; depoliticizing the civil service; strengthening the watchdog institutions such as the FEACC, the ethics officers, the ombudsman, and the media; educating the society at the grassroots level; including ethics issues in school curriculums; and involving the community in the process and making it a culture. Furthermore, here is what he forwarded regarding the need to change the mindset of citizens:

I think the code of conduct is adopted by almost all civil service institutions. Mostly, problems are observed in its implementation. If the executives want to improve this, they should create an environment which empowers citizens, and

make them participate. People should be made to believe that there is no need to fear the government. It is their making. It is there to serve them. They must be encouraged to make their government liable for what it is doing; instead of fearing it. They must be made to believe that the government is their servant. Hence, changing the mind set of citizens is important.

He also reminded that the civil servants must be made aware that they are responsible (or liable) for anything they have done out of the scope of their powers. It should be seriously implemented. Civil servants who violated this must be made liable and this should be made public.

On the need to involve the community, he provided the following remarks:

There is also a need to involve the community through idirs¹², churches, mosques, and the like in the process. But there is a need to engage these parties on a continuous basis. You have to meet them continually and discuss the topic. For example, what is done to control the spread of HIV/AIDS was effective. I am not sure if the anti HIV campaign succeeded because it is non-political. In any case, we are trying to bring cultural change, and this takes time. Therefore, you have to do it on a non-stop basis. And in this regard the government needs to play a leading role. Government officials must be role models. Whatever negative behaviour they show has damaging consequence.

C13 of the FEACC suggested that the efforts to inculcate ethical conduct should start early from childhood rather than trying to change that after the person is already grown up. He explained that efforts are underway by the Commission to involve various stakeholders (e.g., media, schools, mass associations, and religious institutions) in the process.

C12 of the Ministry of Civil Service on his part suggested the following as a way forward: the need to provide continuous ethics training and education to civil servants and citizens; build the capacity of ethics officers working in the institutions; and encourage religious institutions to educate their followers about ethics regularly. Finally, he thought the government should coordinate all stakeholders.

¹² Idirs are local self-help organizations created and operated by their members.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1. The Code of Conduct

It is found out that there is no comprehensive, nationwide code of conduct for the Ethiopian civil servants. In the absence of such code, institutions were left to navigate and adopt their own. As shown in the previous chapter, all the civil service institutions have adopted ethics rules which mainly revolved around the twelve ethical principles. The disadvantages of having agency-specific codes discussed in the literature include (1) different standards in each agency undermine officials' and citizens' confidence in the consistency of the standards – which may be higher, lower, or different among agencies; (2) a patchwork of different codes makes education, understanding, and enforcement complicated, expensive, and maybe even impossible (MENA_OECD, 2010). Moreover, the absence of a formally adopted code by the federal government may undermine its immediate obedience by the civil servants.

The lack of effective communication of the code of conduct (and/or the ethical principles) to the civil servants has also hampered its sound implementation. Many of the participants agreed that several efforts have been undertaken by the institutions and other concerned bodies to raise the ethical awareness of civil servants. All research participants believed that the ethics awareness of civil servants is relatively okay. The civil servants themselves also felt that their awareness level is average. All the managers and the key experts invariably felt that civil servants have reasonably adequate awareness about ethics issues. They however regrettably noted that despite their awareness, no significant change is observed in the ethical behaviour of most civil servants. Some reasons given by the participants include employees' lack of interest and willingness to internalize ethics issues and implement them as desired. They doubted the readiness of the employees to internalize and respond to ethical issues. They felt that most employees do not appreciate the importance of ethics. They also questioned the effectiveness of the communication and training modalities employed by the institutions. For instance, providing the trainings to huge number of people at once within a short period of time could be one problem. It should not be a one shot affair. They indicated that there should be a mechanism whereby ethics issues are continually reinforced in the minds of the employees.

Moreover, the interview participants believed that the code of conduct is not fully understood and effectively implemented to the desired level. They believed that while the ethical principles

constitute the core elements of the code, they are not fully understood and internalized by the employees. Other than distributing them to employees once, they are not widely publicized using various communication channels and forums. The employees consider the code given to them not as their obligation to observe but as something they read once, if at all, and throw it away. They are not made to use it as a guide in their day-to-day official activities. Except in few institutions, the employees are not also made to attest by their signature that they have read and understood it. The research participants additionally felt that the contents of the code are not contextualized with the unique features of the respective organizations. Furthermore, they explained that institutions usually use the civil service law to discipline problematic employees. They give less attention to the implementation of the code of ethics. The employee respondents also reflected similar view on the weak implementation of the code.

From the on-going discussion, it can be concluded that the key problem lies in the inability of management to effectively communicate the elements of the code to employees using the right modalities and tools; and to properly and consistently implement the code of conduct in the organizations. It is therefore not clear whether agencies and ministries held the code of conduct in high regard or consider it important.

Concerning the periodic review of the code, the interviewed managers claimed that there was no reason that called for its revision since the code was adopted by the institutions very recently.

5.2. Ethics Training

A significant number of the employee respondents pointed out that ethics training is given to them occasionally; not on a regular basis. Many of the interviewed managers, however, indicated that several trainings are given to employees either by the institutions themselves or in collaboration with the FEACC. They indicated that the code of conduct is one of the major issues addressed in the training programs. However, many managers disclosed that the contents of the training materials are not contextualized with the unique features of the respective institutions. Furthermore, they are not designed in such a way that they bring about attitudinal or behavioural change on the part of the trainees. Despite the fact that several trainings are provided to employees; they believed that the desired outcome is not yet achieved. So, they suggested that training interventions should be made in such a way that they bring about attitudinal and skill change so that the employees will internalize them and take them as guides in their day-to-day activities. The FEACC also acknowledged that the ethics and anti-corruption education focused

on theoretical and general issues; and failed to support it with practical and real experiences (FEACC, n.d.).

The research participants emphasized the importance of producing human resources with the required knowledge, skill, attitude, and ethics values. More specifically, employees should be given rigorous ethics training on a continuous basis. Some suggested the need to establish a training and research institution that can provide rigorous ethics and corruption related training to civil servants and officials based on research. The government of Ethiopia has established the Ethiopian Civil Service University in 1995 with the mandate to offer specialized undergraduate and postgraduate educational programs, conduct short-term training, undertake research, and render consultancy services. Its objective as stated in its website is to build the capacity of the civil service both at federal and regional levels. However, reference to the short-term trainings and the education programs offered by the University revealed that ethics issues are not its focus. It is mainly focused on equipping its students with the necessary knowledge and skills only. The other institution mandated with ethics training and education is the FEACC; which is also overburdened with other responsibilities. In fact, there is the Ethics Education and Communication Directorate within the Commission which is mandated to “creating an ethical society that does not condone corruption through the expansion and promotion of ethics and anticorruption education” to the general public. The directorate disseminates information to the public using several tools such as the electronic media, posters, fliers, brochures, stickers, bill boards, newsletters and magazines. Ethics trainings have also been provided to the civil servants by different bodies including the Commission and the Ministry of Civil Service as evidenced by the interviewed managers. However, the training and education efforts at national level are being done haphazardly. There is no institution and a training policy guiding the efforts. Hence, the recommendation provided by the research participants makes sense. A body responsible for the provision of rigorous training based on research seems to be a sound recommendation.

In the study by TE (2011), the then Director of the FSCA is referred to have stated that the Ethiopian Management Institute and Ethiopian Civil Service College are organizing and providing trainings to civil servants on how to improve public service delivery in which ethics is an important component. However, an independent expert interviewed in the same study opined that formal training is the least used means to educate and impart ethical values and core principles to new employees. Hence, previous research showed that the training programs

undertaken by the civil service institutions are not guided by a training policy and formal training approaches. This could have contributed to the failure of the trainings in bringing about the desired behavioural change. In connection with this issue, APRM (2008:133) argued:

Although a number of training programs are being undertaken, the first step should be the design and adoption of a training policy. The training policy can provide the justification for a program of training and retraining for every civil servant. It will make a case for the allocation of resources to finance training... The policy can also articulate an appropriate mechanism for providing the training.

The research participants also stressed the need for the periodic evaluation of the on-going ethics training to gauge the impact of such interventions on the civil servants, the leaders, and the institution.

5.3. The Citizens' Charter

It is not the intention of this study to examine the implementation of the citizens' charter in detail. It is rather intended to briefly look into how the exercise of the citizens' charter in the country contributes to the improvement of ethical conduct in the institutions. ECA (1996) recommended that all government organizations in Ethiopia should be encouraged to adopt a citizens' charter which will define the relationship between these government organizations and the citizens who are the consumers of their services. Based on this recommendation, though the process took a long time, the federal institutions have formulated (and some are still in the process of formulating) their own charters since last year. The MCS was the first to officially launch the citizens' charter in February 2012, and it urged other government organizations to develop their own (Fekadu, 2014). As confirmed in this and other studies, a handful of institutions have similarly launched their own, and still others are in the process. But no comprehensive national citizens' charter is yet adopted as originally proposed. Guidelines for formulating the charters as well as a list of do's and don'ts are not developed. Though the officials from the MCS claimed that the Ministry is in charge of ensuring that all institutions have the citizens' charter and implement it effectively, it seems that its administration is loosely managed. It is not centrally coordinated; there is no legal framework guiding the efforts, and so on. The institutions are also adopting the charter on their own pace which leaves room for them to delay its implementation. It, however, seems that there is a general government direction given to them to formulate their own charters.

Introduced in the United Kingdom in the 1990s, citizens' charters are now being used in a wide range of countries with the aim to improve the quality of service delivery and enhance public sector management. According to WB (2011), if designed and implemented correctly, citizens' charters have the potential not only to foster greater public satisfaction with a government's performance, but also to ameliorate corruption-related risks and provide benchmarks that stakeholders can use to monitor government's performance in the realm of service delivery.

5.4. Management Commitment and Exemplary Leadership

Most of the research participants believed that there is commitment at the highest leadership level in the civil service. They, however, complained that the commitment that is shown at the top management level does not boil down all the way in the institutional hierarchy. They argued that the leadership at the middle and lower level lacks the desired level of commitment. This being the dominant perception of the research participants, one key expert argued that even the top officials give priority to political issues rather than ethical issues; "the higher you go up the ladder the more they become political animals", according to him. He, however, admitted that there are very honest leaders who can be taken as role models. In connection to this, a significant number of the employee respondents favoured the view that managers can be taken as exemplary leaders. The interviewed managers as well reflected similar view; but admitting also that this differs from individual to individual – some are exemplary, while others are not. The key experts opined that majority of the managers are not role models; though there might be some. All, however, underlined that a lot remains to be desired as far as exemplary leadership is concerned. Leadership behaviour is therefore pinpointed as a critical challenge that needs serious work. Some emphasized that it is lack of exemplary leadership rather than political interference that is creating problems in the Ethiopian civil service. As a result, they recommended much effort has to be exerted to create committed and exemplary leaders especially at the middle and lower levels of management. Commenting on the need to ensure exemplary leadership at all levels of the organization, Kernaghan (1996) underlined that given the fact that "good" leadership is needed at all levels of the organization, the ethical performance of managers and supervisors below the most senior echelons is important also. Thus, senior managers, in addition to providing an exemplary model of personal ethical behaviour, should communicate their ethical expectations throughout the organization - and they should be held accountable for their

performance in doing so. Ethical leadership at different levels provides the foundation for the entire ethics reform program.

5.5. Creating Strong Institutions

Many research participants believed that there are no strong internal as well as external watchdog institutions that can effectively lead the implementation of the reform program. The external watchdog institutions such as the FEACC, the Ombudsman, the Human Rights Commission, the Parliament, and the media are still in the making; they are not strong. Their institutional capacity is not yet adequately built. The FEACC itself indicated that of all the problems it faces, capacity constraints have remained to be the most serious and critical ones (FEACC, n.d.). It further explained that there is lack of sufficient number of skilled workforce in all areas (ethics education, prevention, investigation, and prosecution). Besides, the Commission noted that there are only a handful of high profile professional trainers in those areas at national level, making it difficult to get their services easily.

The ethics liaison offices established in the various institutions as well are weakly organized. As the interview result showed, many of the ethics officers consider themselves as faultfinders and focus on prosecution rather than prevention. There is a general misconception that the overriding role of ethics officers is to address ethical misconduct, though this is decreasing from time to time. Furthermore, the respondents to the interview felt that most of the ethics officers do not have the necessary capacity, and more importantly they lack personal commitment to their cause, and as a result, the ethics units are generally weak.

On the other hand, the managers believed that most ethics officers carry out their duties without fear of reprisal, and most managers collaborate with the ethics officers and do not usually make negative influences on them. They, however, stated that there are some managers who try to obstruct the efforts of ethics officers. They even mentioned instances where ethics officers officially complained to the FEACC on accounts of retaliation by managers; though the law provides protection to the ethics officers against any form of reprisal measures. As a result, the need to create strong and effective institutions in the civil service sector is highly emphasized. Furthermore, some research participants stressed that even the executive organs such as the individual institutions and the Ministry of Civil Service have capacity problems; and they recommended that such institutions as well should be strengthened. Creating strong institutions requires establishing effective systems in the institutions which include right policies,

regulations, codes, and the like, and more than anything else they underlined the effective enforcement of such laws. In fact, the institutions do not have much problem as far as policies, regulations, and codes are concerned. The key drawback of the institutions in this respect is their limited implementation capacity. The State Minister also shared the view that the supervisory institutions including his own Ministry have capacity problems and emphasized the need to strengthen them. He however opined that what matters most is building the capacity of the executing institutions themselves for they are the ones who implement the programs.

As indicated by WB (1997), building strong institutions is a central challenge of development and is key to controlling corruption. Well-functioning public management systems, accountable organizations, a strong legal framework, an independent judiciary, and a vigilant civil society protect a country against corruption. As a result, institutional strengthening forms a key part of a country's anti-corruption strategies. The document further noted that one of a country's most important institutions is a professional and well-motivated civil service, with selection and promotion based on merit rather than patronage. A well-performing civil service resists petty corruption and provides the staff for many of the institutions that protect integrity in government.

5.6. Hiring Ethical Employees

According to the results of the interview, few institutions indicated that before a new employee is hired they investigate the ethical background of the candidate. Firstly, the candidate is required to bring an evidence of past ethical behaviour from his/her former employer. Secondly, the hiring institutions themselves try to seek further information about the candidate. Accordingly, some candidates are rejected based on such investigation if it is found that they were convicted of some ethical violation. According to the Civil Service Proclamation (2006), a disciplinary measure taken on a civil servant remains in his/her records for two years where the penalty is simple and for five years where the penalty is rigorous. But other institutions involved in the study did not exercise this practice. This indicates that it is left to the discretion of institutions. This seems the importance of ensuring the integrity of prospective employees before a hiring decision is reached is somehow neglected; whereas research indicates that selecting ethical employees is the best way of ensuring ethical organizations (Menzel, 2007). The importance of careful hiring by taking account of ethics and likely reactions to ethical challenges cannot be overlooked.

5.7. Allocation of Resources

All of the interviewed managers unanimously confirmed that enough resources are allocated by their respective institutions to undertake ethics related activities. They comfortably expressed the view that they have no jobs that have not been done because of lack of budget. This could in a way be taken as one indicator of top management's commitment to the fight against ethical misconduct. They, however, mentioned that there is shortage of labour power in the market, which compelled them to leave some positions vacant.

5.8. Upholding of the Ethical Principles

Managers involved in the study generally believed that there have been some improvements in terms of respecting the ethical principles though they also admitted that the improvement is not commensurate with the various efforts undertaken by the respective institutions. Most of them are, however, optimistic that through time things will improve for the better. The two managers from the regulatory institutions also expressed similar feelings. The client respondents also believed that most civil servants show impartiality, honesty, and fairness in their dealings with them. But on the issue of transparency, they reflected a negative view. They felt that the employees are not transparent enough in handling their official duties. The key experts, on the other hand, have boldly argued that lack of respect to the ethical principles is widely observed in the civil service. They believed that there is a long way to go in this respect. All the key experts expressed the view that the twelve ethical principles have simply become "a frame on the wall". They are considered as mere slogans without mechanisms of enforcement. Reference to the codes of conduct of the institutions, however, showed that all the ethical principles are made part of the code and are put in detail. In fact, the entire code revolves around these principles. Each principle explains more fully the meaning of the principle at hand, provides illustrations of violations of the principle and penalties for violations. The problem may probably lie in the lack of effective communication and dissemination of the code to the civil servants and the public at large, and lack of seriousness on the part of the employees to comply with the principles. The principles are not fully internalized by them to the extent that they are used as a guide in their day-to-day work. At best, they only fear the code rather than having trust in it. This seems to have been caused partly by the weak enforcement of the code that is prevalent in the sector. Application of sanctions on ethics violators is limited and inconsistent, if applied. Many of the

employees who participated in the study believed that no appropriate measures are taken to redress ethical violations.

5.9. Fair Remuneration

All the research participants invariably felt that lack of fair remuneration that is commensurate with the civil servants' responsibilities and performance and that enables them to live in dignity is a key problem that has to be addressed. Failing to meet the salary expectation of employees is bound to negatively affect their ethical behaviour. For instance, as a result of poor remuneration, a sizeable number of civil servants including their managers engage in secondary income generating activities which often times clash with their official time. Moreover, they mentioned that the low standard of living could also be one of the reasons that tempt employees and/or officials to accept gifts or other benefits. When the economic pressures become too much on their daily lives, as rational human beings they will be compelled to ignore ethical considerations. They uttered that employees will care less to ethical issues under circumstances of adverse economic pressures. The finding of the interview with key experts also showed that a significant number of civil service employees are leaving to the private sector and others due to low pay. This finding is consistent with the APRM self-assessment country report which indicated that there is a declining number of staff in the civil service due to high turnover, which is highest amongst younger recruits attributed to low pay and poor working conditions and reputation of the Agency (APRM, 2008). The report also added that the Ethiopian civil service suffers from wage erosion, which is unable to keep up with the current level of inflation. It further asserted that although the Government has made continuous salary increment effort in the last fifteen years or so (1993-2007), there is a continuous exodus of the brightest and best out of the civil service into NGOs, the private sector and to international jobs outside the country. Several have also to take a second job to make a living (APRM, 2008). Several studies (such as UN, 2000) also support the view that low salaries and compressed salary scales constitute a major cause for corruption and unethical conduct in the public service. The prevalence of moonlighting by civil servants and other public officials to supplement their inadequate salaries is taken as instance of unethical conduct since it constitutes a major conflict of interest. This was espoused by the research participants in this study as well.

Rijckeghem and Weder (2001) also indicated that there is a broad consensus that low salaries for civil servants in developing countries can create incentives for corruption. According to

them, scholars point out to the negative relationship between the level of civil service salaries and incidences of corruption, contending that poorly paid civil servants are more vulnerable to illicit rent seeking. In addition to creating incentives for corruption, a number of countries identified inadequate pay as a problem in the civil service to attract, retain, develop and motivate men and women of the requisite calibre to be a professional institution (UN, 2000). In support of this study, UN (2000) indicated that in the Czech Republic low salaries of public officials have caused a mass exodus of the most qualified to the private sector.

For the good of both the institutions and the employees, the study participants recommended that the employees should not be left in such a miserable situation. The remuneration issues should be considered carefully at a government level. At least, they should be allowed salaries that will enable their family survive. They therefore underscored the need for the establishment of fair and equitable salary and benefit system which also needs to be adjusted on a continuous basis. Although they acknowledged that fair remuneration alone will not bring change, they felt that improving the living condition of the employees is needed to complement the efforts being made to bring attitudinal change.

Besides remuneration, allowing employees to participate in organization matters is also recommended so as to enhance sense of ownership on the part of the employees. It is argued that one should not only impose guidelines downwards; employees should be allowed to participate in the making of such guidelines.

5.10. Reward or Punishment Systems

While some institutions may be using specific incentive systems to reward their employees' good performance, few included integrity as a criterion in their employee evaluation systems. In the interview, only ERCA indicated that it uses integrity as a criterion in its evaluation systems. But discussion with the State Minister revealed that the 40/60 evaluation weight is adopted by the Ministry to be implemented by all public institutions.

The interview participants shared the view that the Code of Conduct could be more effective if it provided incentives for ethical behaviour in addition to punitive measures for inappropriate actions. Reference to the codes adopted by each institution revealed that while sanctions for ethical misconduct are explicitly indicated, positive reinforcement for appropriate ethical behaviour is missing. Many of the research participants stressed the need to introduce a mechanism whereby employees are rewarded or punished depending on their ethical conduct.

They proposed that employees who are ethical should be honoured or appraised which can take the form of material reward or simple recognition of their ethical behaviour. Similarly, those employees who are involved in some ethical infractions should be held accountable and receive appropriate punishment. Though there are few scholars who argue that there should not be additional incentives to employees for doing what they are supposed to do, several studies confirmed that rewards systems are effective tools for reinforcing ethics programs, particularly when integrated with performance appraisals. Ethical behaviour is influenced by encouragement and reward techniques, so the designers of incentive programs need to be fully aware of the unethical behaviours that can result from poorly-based reward systems (Menzel, 2007). This is also particularly relevant in the Ethiopian context. That is, given the lower level of income the Ethiopian civil servants earn and the high value they give to incentives, it is important to link ethical behaviour and incentive systems.

5.11. Use of Public Resources for Personal Gain

Civil servants are required by law to attend at work as required and not to absent themselves from duty without proper authorization; to comply with the terms of the sick leave regulations; at all times, to act in a manner consistent with the proper performance of the functions of their civil service position and with the maintenance of public confidence in such performance, including refraining from conduct which might impair performance; not to engage in any outside business or occupation during their normal hours of duty. The finding showed that almost all research participants believed abuse of official time; use of public resources for private gain; and accepting of gifts are practiced in the Ethiopian civil service. They felt that there is no problem in the legislation; all such unethical practices are strictly prohibited in the laws – the civil service proclamation and the agency-specific ethics rules. But in reality, these offenses are widely practiced as reported invariably by the research participants.

Article 68(4) of proclamation 515/2006 stipulates that rigorous disciplinary penalties may be imposed on a civil servant for unjustifiable repeated absenteeism or non-observance of office hours in spite of being penalized by simple disciplinary penalties. The respective institutions have also clearly promulgated this in their codes of conduct. While it is expected that employees shall use official time in an honest effort to perform official duties, almost all the research participants are of the opinion that there is misuse of time in terms of late arrival and early departure, doing personal business during official working hours, doing outside jobs, and surfing

the social media and playing games. One exception in the use of social media is that managers from three institutions insisted that due to the nature of their work the front office employees do not have the opportunity to engage in such activities. One key expert, however, argued that it is not uncommon to see many civil servants and some managers spending their time browsing the social media. The civil servants themselves have also felt that surfing the internet during working hours is common. However, all the research participants recognized the efforts that are going on to minimize the occurrences of such unwelcome practices.

Though the codes of conduct adopted by the institutions prohibit civil servants from abuse of official position for personal gain, majority of the surveyed service users believed that such practice is present in the sector. Notwithstanding that many employees denied the existence of abuse of power, a significant number of them also shared the users' belief. Managers also felt that there are instances of abuse of power. Hence, it is revealed through the study that there are indications of improper use of powers vested in the office for personal gains.

Similarly, both the civil servants and clients agreed that accepting gifts and/or other benefits is commonly observed in the civil service. A significant number of the employee respondents agreed that giving gifts to superiors or accepting gifts from subordinates is also observed; some managers however believed that though it is not impossible, it is not common. They rather believed that accepting gifts by civil servants from clients is common. It is particularly so in their dealings with foreign users. The managers underscored that despite the legal prohibitions introduced and the repeated actions taken, such practices remain widespread. The reasons provided for this poor performance include the pressure that comes from the larger society to get services through bribing the employees; and the low salary of the employees which induces them to accept gifts or other benefits from clients. The key experts have added that the citizens seem to have accepted this practice; and that there exists a general perception that nothing can get done without giving something in return. When their tasks are delayed for some reason, they usually resort to bribing the officer and get the service they desire. This finding matches with that of (Sahni, 2005) who stated that because of the scarcity of what people want from the government, they are willing to pay bribes in exchange for jobs, land, licenses, quotas, admissions, passports, utility service connections etc. or even for getting them speedily or illegitimately. They may also bribe administrators for escaping arrests, punishments, fines or major inconveniences. Some managers, however, claimed that acceptance of gifts is not a problem in their organizations.

The key experts are also of the opinion that acceptance of gifts or favours is widely practiced in the civil service; though they recognized that the practice may differ from institution to institution. According to them, accepting gifts or bribes are widely observed practices in those institutions which have frequent and sensitive contact with the public. They reflected the feeling that those institutions which are directly engaged in delivering service to the public may be more exposed to such malpractices than those which do not have this much contact with the public. One key expert also believed that the practice of accepting gifts from clients is a function of gaps in the system. When there is a lot of pressure and a hot pursuit on the part of the executive body, the practices become less evident. Conversely, when the follow-up is somehow loose, they become rampant. Another key expert also explained that there is no clarity in the law with respect to accepting of gifts or favours. The law does not provide details of what is allowed and what is prohibited; it does not also put upper limit to the amount of gift one should accept. Further reference to the codes of conduct reveals that they simply stipulate accepting of gifts or hospitality in return for a service is prohibited. There are no provisions or instructions for evaluating the value of a prohibited benefit. The key experts further reflected that employees are usually ready and willing to exploit whatever opportunities are available; almost everyone expects something. This study confirmed what other studies have reported about many other countries.

The literature (e.g., Quah, 2011) suggests that culture contributes to corruption and other impropriety in a country when cultural practices like gift giving and family ties influence individuals to give or receive bribes. The author also noted that giving gifts in many Asian countries such as Japan, Mongolia, South Korea and Thailand. For example, it is noted that it is difficult to distinguish between a gift and a bribe in Japan because gift giving is an accepted social tradition. Similarly, gift giving in South Korea has gradually evolved from a way of showing respect and reciprocity, into a means of “obtaining business, political election, favours” and “degenerating into bribery and graft”. Similar studies also show that gift giving is common in many African countries. In South Africa for example, as noted by the Public Service Commission (2008), it is a fact of life that public servants are constantly being showered with gifts, sometimes without the civil servant having the opportunity of refusal. According to this report, there is also a persistent argument that gifts from an Afro-centric perspective has grey areas as in most cultures it is deemed impolite not to accept gifts. Therefore, the receipt of gifts

could be regarded as a highly emotive issue. Olivier de Sardan (1999 as cited in Uslander, 2008) also notes that the giving of “little gifts” or “Kola” in Africa is a moral duty and refusal to do so is not only a sign of avarice or of bad manners, but also carries the risk of “attracting misfortune”. Uslander (2008) also argues that the tradition of giving small gifts to people who have been, or who could be, helpful make it easier for people to engage in petty corruption. Owing to these realities, countries across the world have adopted legal provisions dictating the acceptance or refusal of gifts depending on their respective cultures.

5.12. Whistleblowing

Whistleblowing mechanisms such as suggestion boxes and notebooks are widely made available in the civil service institutions; but clients and employees do not usually use them as expected; the institutions as well do not frequently visit them and provide timely feedback. Other whistleblowing mechanisms such as ethics offices and the FEACC are also put in place. But according to the respondents, employees and citizens are not actively involved in whistleblowing. There is a low incident of whistle blowing. Reasons provided for this limited use included limited interest in providing suggestions in writing; loss of trust on the system that nothing will change; and the absence of paradigm shift in the traditional attitude held by people about leader-follower relationship in the civil service. If some are prepared to expose wrongdoing, they prefer to go to the FEACC rather than the concerned institution. This may be due to lack of confidence that the institution will pursue the issue or it may be due to fear of retaliation for sharing their concerns. In connection to this, Barnett (1992) argues whistleblowing studies suggest that employees who believe that management will retaliate for expressing concerns or their concerns will not be taken seriously may be more likely to blow whistle outside the organization.

The incidence of little involvement in whistle blowing may also be caused by cultural context of the Ethiopian society. In connection to this, Johnson (2005, as cited in Menzel, 2007:7) contended that “cultural context, more than any other factor helps explain why in some countries whistleblowers play an important role in opposing corruption and in other countries they do not”.

In the Ethiopian context, the law imposes an obligation on employees to report any act of dishonesty, corruption, or attempted corruption (including the offer of a bribe), or other ethical misconduct that comes to their knowledge (e.g. 7(a) of 144/2008). However, there is little or no enforcement of such laws in cases where employees refrain from exposing a colleague. The laws

do not include possible sanctions or procedures on employees who decline from reporting ethical wrongdoing. As a result, no appropriate measures are taken on such employees, and this in turn, encourages other employees not to collaborate in such endeavours. As suggested by Whitton (2001), failure to report known or reasonably suspected cases may be used as the grounds for disciplinary measures to be taken against civil servants; but in the Ethiopian case, this is rarely practiced.

5.13. Monitoring and Follow-up Mechanisms

The key experts believed that the monitoring mechanism as a system is put in place in all civil service institutions. The problem lies in its proper implementation. They felt that the system of monitoring is severely limited in its implementation. Suggestion boxes are not frequently visited; and hence, appropriate and timely feedback is not given. They also underlined that most users do not use them because they do not think that the institution will address their concern. They also added that complaints take long before they are resolved, and yet if they do, they are not solved satisfactorily. As a result, users lose hope in the system. They also mentioned that where the boxes are located also matters in encouraging or discouraging users to disclose ethical wrongdoings. One factor mentioned as a source of complaint for users is the fact that employees and officials are in meetings most of the time, and cannot give timely decisions. This is, as one expert noted, caused by the fact that decisions are usually made collectively with the effect of denying the individual manager's discretion of making unilateral decisions.

Finally, they forwarded that a research-based follow-up of program implementation is largely missing in the system. A modest assessment of implementation is not done periodically to identify the causes of user complaints: whether it is caused by people, or it is due to gaps in the law, or it is a capacity problem, or it is caused by external interface, and the like. Many of the systems and tools put in place would be doomed to failure unless effective monitoring and follow-up mechanisms are strictly enforced.

5.14. Poor Accountability System

Poor system of accountability is also considered as one of the problems hampering the efforts to foster ethical climate in the country. Especially, some research participants claimed that leaders are not held accountable for their actions. One key expert specifically noted that corrective legal measures are not taken on top management bodies; and if taken at all, they are not done consistently. It is further indicated that no system is established that makes managers accountable on ethical issues. As a result, the need for establishing a system of accountability where all employees including the leaders are equally and fairly held accountable for their actions is emphasized. They also added that removing violators from office for ethical wrongdoing is not enough because usually these people are detected after they have already embezzled money and accumulated enough wealth. Therefore, they suggested for more stringent measures including confiscation of the wealth they accumulated illegally. In this respect, the country has already criminalized ‘possession of unexplained property’ under the 2004 Criminal Code. According to Worku (2014), since the entry into force of the new Criminal Code, the FEACC and the ethics and anti-corruption commissions of some regional states have started prosecuting suspected public officials/servants and other individuals... under Art.419 of the Criminal Code. Hence, the law is already in place; the problem is on how effectively and consistently the law is enforced in the country.

5.15. Professionalism and Meritocracy

Some research participants highlighted the need to make governance of the civil service based on professionalism and merit. According to APRM (2008), a recent survey also showed that a large number of the respondents indicated that the ruling party's politics affect their day-to-day official duties. They expressed their concern on the following issues: appointment from top ministerial level down to department heads is made solely on the basis of party loyalty; promotion and training opportunities are given on the basis of political affiliation; and it is not uncommon for political meetings to be conducted in government offices. Generally, there is no clear demarcation between party politics and government policies. The same report indicated that this point of view seems to be corroborated by another study which concluded that employment in the civil/public service is not totally free from patrimony, with the most important criteria for recruitment, selection and promotion being party, ethnic or personal loyalty (APRM, 2008). Another report indicated that there are sufficient legal provisions that guarantee the

independence of the Ethiopian civil services from unwanted political interference in the processes of recruitment and promotion. Practically however, ever since its establishment, the civil service did not enjoy reasonable independence (Transparency Ethiopia, 2011).

One key expert in this research also repeatedly stressed that the civil service is highly politicized. Another expert also emphasized the need to ensure professionalism and meritocracy in the civil service. However, this issue was not raised by many of the research participants. Political interference was not, for example, taken as a problem by many of them. They, however, highlighted the need to make governance of the civil service based on professionalism and merit which implies that it is not free of political interference in decision making. It was also recommended in a previous study (ECA, 1996) that there should be a clear demarcation between political appointment and merit-based assignment in the Ethiopian civil service. Though the public statements made by government officials indicate that such is the case, it is not supported by appropriate legislation making it open for abuse. For example, many perceive that the 40% weight assigned to attitude in the employee evaluation procedure is being used to favour individuals affiliated to the ruling party. The State Minister, however, indicated in the interview that political leaders are not in any way involved in the evaluation of individual civil servants. He mentioned that the evaluation is done by the network members themselves and reviewed by middle level managers. However, he mentioned that the 40% weight assigned to attitude is being abandoned officially since the Ministry believed that attitude drives performance.

But the key expert mentioned earlier seriously argued that the civil service is politicized more than ever before. He provided three additional justifications that made him believe that the civil service is politicized. First, the one-to-five network structures introduced in all the civil service institutions are designed to enable the ruling party exercise control over the sector. Secondly, members of the ruling party are assigned as public relations officers in each institution to put their political influence on the civil servants. Thirdly, he felt that sometimes the program is used as a weapon to target individuals with opposing political views. These issues made him believe that the civil service is not free of government hands and that it raises a question of legitimacy.

The State Minister denied the view that the civil service is politicized. He argued that the government is working to achieve its objectives through the civil service by adopting appropriate change tools and systems. To that end, it is undertaking several activities to make the civil servants understand government policy and implement them with full commitment. This may be

deemed by some as political. But he argued that this is the duty of any elected government. He, however, acknowledged the presence of such perception.

In a civil service reform paper produced by the UN Public Administration Network, it is argued that the civil service is becoming increasingly politicized in many countries not only at policy-making levels, but also at the level of service delivery. It further elaborated that in many developing countries, civil service autonomy exists only on paper, guaranteed by laws and sometimes by the Constitution, but in practice it is threatened by the actions of individuals who tamper with civil service laws and interfere in day-to-day civil service operations, especially in decisions regarding appointment, promotion, transfer and, sometimes dismissal (UNDP, 1998). Taking the Ethiopian case, Transparency Ethiopia (2011) indicated that despite the fact that the context and the purposes have completely changed, seeking political patronage still perpetuates in post-1991 Ethiopia. Political patronage is considered as an important mechanism to have access to employment and resources such as land, credit services and the like. The report further explained that the ruling party-EPRDF- has long time ago recognized the phenomenon of political patronage and described people with this objective as 'political rent seekers'. It has also vowed in public to clear out such individuals from its membership. According to the report, in spite of such public commitment, the trend of seeking political patronage to secure undesirable benefit does not seem to reverse (Transparency Ethiopia, 2011).

Perception on the One-to-five Networks

The implementing managers believed that the one-to-five network structure is contributing positively in the fight against ethical misconduct. All have a positive attitude about it; though they admitted that strengths are emphasized than weaknesses during their evaluative meetings. But C17, a key expert, felt that majority of the civil servants consider the one-to-five network as a silly organization that would fade away soon. Most of them are just pretending that they are part of the reform, according to him. He generally believed that the network structure is just one of the government's political tools to manipulate the civil service.

The State Minister on his part contended that this practice of organizing employees into one-to-five network is often misunderstood. Since EPRDF is the elected government, it is obvious that it will implement its policies using tools that it deemed necessary. Hence, he could not see any new thing in this practice. He further argued that teamwork is not something that the ruling

party introduced from the blue; it is a scientific tool practiced everywhere in the world - private or public - used to achieve organizational goals. He further underlined that no discrimination is made between the civil servants in the network organization; all civil servants are involved in the network. But he did not deny the negative perception that exists about the networks.

5.16. Involving the Public and Other Stakeholders

The research participants opined that all key stakeholders – the government, the private sector, and the general public – need to play their respective roles in the effort to build an ethical society. For this to happen, firstly all stakeholders need to define clearly their respective responsibilities. Secondly, they recommended the need for the establishment of an institution that can oversee and provide collective leadership to the efforts; suggesting also that it would be preferable if the coordination role is assumed by the government. Currently, this role is being played by the FEACC. Thirdly, the institutions need to put a mechanism in place that enables them evaluate their performance jointly on a regular basis. While appreciating the current effort by the FEACC to forge partnership with the private sector and the general public in the fight against corruption, they warned that the effort should not be limited to fighting corruption only; it should also focus equally on the other aspects of ethics. They also emphasized the need to involve the community through mechanisms such as *Idirs* and other traditional gatherings on a continuous basis. A mechanism should be put in place where the public can actively participate in the fight against corruption and other ethical misconducts.

As part of the effort to involve the community in the process, the research participants stressed the need for changing the mind-set of the citizens. People must be made to believe among others that the government is their own making, and that it is there to serve public interest. They believed that the mind-set in the past and at present is based on fear of the government.

Concerning the collaboration among stakeholders, though it was relatively weak in the past, a study conducted by Transparency Ethiopia (2011) indicated that recently there is improvement in the participation of public sector institutions in anti-corruption efforts. The study identified the Ministry of Education as the best example as it is working with the FEACC by establishing ethics clubs and incorporating civic and ethical education in the formal curriculum of secondary and tertiary levels. Reference to the current school curriculum revealed that civics and ethical education is even included in the curriculum of the second cycle primary school. The FEACC is

also making some efforts to work closely with various religious institutions and civic associations to fight corruption and other impropriety. To that effect, it has established a National Anti-Corruption Coalition in July, 2009. The coalition is comprised of representatives from government organizations, civil society organizations, the mass media, the private sector, and opposition political parties. It is led by an executive committee composed of sixteen members. The Commission's fliers and magazines indicated that the anti-corruption coalition makes annual conferences to evaluate its performance. The Director of the then FSCA is, however, quoted as admitting that forums and initiatives that aimed at bringing together with different state and non-state actors to jointly fight corruption are recent phenomena. Most public institutions have the view that anti-corruption activities are the responsibilities of a single agency within the public sector; i.e. the FEACC (TE, 2011). While appreciating the initiative, Arsema (2010) also indicated that the impact of the coalition is limited as it does not act as a watchdog in challenging the Commission's performance of its functions for it is permanently chaired by a government representative.

5.17. Gap in Leadership of the Subprogram

One manager felt that the ethics improvement subprogram has not received adequate leadership at national level. It is being implemented by the institutions depending on their own capacity and commitment. It is not being implemented in a highly integrated way. He opined that the implementation effort at the national level suffered from lack of owner who closely monitors and evaluates the program's implementation; and inability to put detail implementation procedures in place. This matches with the observation that a gap seems to exist in the responsibility of overseeing the implementation of the ethics subprogram. By decree it is the responsibility of the FEACC; but again as part of the CSR, the Ministry of Civil Service also has the responsibility to ensure its effective implementation. And yet from the interview made with managers from both institutions, it was revealed that no strong working relationship exists between them. The manager from the FEACC reflected that no effective leadership was exercised by the Ministry of Civil Service in the implementation of the ethics improvement subprogram. This view matched with the one reflected earlier by one of the participant managers.

5.18. Changing People's Attitude

Many of the research participants held the view that the key problem in the fight against corruption and other ethical misconduct is people's attitude. Notwithstanding the efforts that are currently underway, they recommended that heavy emphasis should be placed on the effort to transform the hearts and minds of citizens in general and the civil servants in particular. That is, efforts should be directed to changing the attitude of people; and this must start from early childhood in the family and the schools. They underscored that it is a matter of changing the deep-rooted culture of the society where the "Sishom yalbela sishar yikochewal" mentality is widespread. They, however, recognized that the mind transformation process needs time and persistent effort; and that it does not come with simple wish or slogan. All round interventions are required. The FEACC is mandated to educate the people about ethics and corruption issues and create a society that is intolerant of such malpractices. The Commission has been using several mechanisms such as fliers, magazines, electronic media outlets, newsletters, posters, website, and the like to educate the public and bring about mind transformation. It is also attempting to inculcate ethical values in the public in collaboration with religious institutions. However, this is only the beginning; the efforts must be further reinforced.

5.19. No Focus to Behavioural Components of Ethics

The key experts and the managers from the supervisory bodies provided opposing views concerning the focus given to the behavioural aspects of ethics as opposed to corruption. While the expert opinion suggests that the behavioural components are accorded less attention; the interviewed managers from the FEACC and the Ministry of Civil Service believed that both are given the same attention. According to the latter, the reason for the existing misconception could be the fact that the various media outlets provided wide coverage to corruption related activities only. They also mentioned the nature of the behavioural aspects of ethics themselves as another reason for the belief that they are not given focus. That is, the outcome of such efforts cannot be seen overnight; it takes a relatively longer time. The State Minister also aligned his argument with the managers. The key experts, however, felt that the behavioural components of ethics were not given due emphasis both during design and implementation. They particularly emphasized that they are largely overlooked during implementation; they are only given a lip service. They further argued that they are lost in the process while corruption takes over completely. From the on-going discussion, it is clearly seen that there is a void in perception

between the program regulators and the expert opinion. One manager, C8, from one of the institutions also believed that less attention is given to the soft ethics issues, but felt that fighting corruption apparently meant fighting other ethical misconducts as well.

5.20. Impact of the Ethics Subprogram

Most participants felt that the ethics improvement subprogram at least helped civil servants gain some awareness; though a fundamental change in their ethical conduct is not yet brought about. The study showed that there is clearly growing awareness of ethical challenges within the civil service. Some managers also believed that today's clients are aware of their rights more than ever before and are ready to challenge the civil service when they feel that their rights are abused. Some research participants, however, expressed their disappointment that ethics is deteriorating in our society from time to time. The FEACC, in its publication dated March, 2008 also identified deterioration of acceptable moral and ethical values as one cause of corruption in the country (FEACC, 2008). The participants mentioned the emergence of a young generation who would like to prosper through illegal, short-cut means. It is usual to hear the society appreciating or envying individuals who prosper through unfair or illegal means (rather than condemning them). They also added that many service users are bent on getting preferential treatment by bribing officers; and that they are partly responsible for tempting the employees to be engaged in ethical misconduct. This is what is largely termed as rent seeking behaviour by the government. The government believes that the rent seeking political economy is still dominant especially in the urban areas. One manager, however, felt that the attitude of the young generation is slowly changing for the better because they are getting civics and ethical education at schools. But he also admitted that no fundamental change is realized yet. The assertion that students are getting civic and ethical education is true; it is included in the school curriculums starting from second cycle elementary all the way up to universities. This is a big step forward. But the question next is how effective the education system is. Deterioration in the quality of education has its own influence on ethical values. One key expert opined that the quality of education in Ethiopia is deteriorating from time to time, which he believed has its own ramifications on the ethical conduct of students who are also future civil servants. Some also mentioned the reasons for the deterioration of ethics as the absence of religious orientation and the lack of ethical education among the young generation. But there is the need to critically see

whether there is deterioration of ethics or the ethical standards are changing with the new generation.

Concerning the impact of the ethics subprogram on the ethical conduct of civil servants, most research participants believed that there is a positive change, but the change is not commensurate with the efforts made and resources spent. In general, they noted the following positive sides of the reform program: the program has brought about visible improvements in the ethical behaviour of the civil servants; the government has taken ethics as an agenda; the fact that there is political commitment at the highest level of government; and the like. They, however, identified a number of problems that hindered its effective implementation. The downsides of the ethics subprogram include: the ‘permanent’ change that is going on has resulted in reform fatigue; that the behavioural components of ethics are lost in the process, and that corruption reined completely; lack of capacity in terms of structure and human resource systems; failure of institution managers to collaborate with ethics officers; and failure of the system to hold top management bodies accountable for their actions; lack of close integration between the other components of the CSRP and the ethics sub-program; absence of fair compensation; politicization of the civil service; lack of capacity and real commitment of the change agents; lack of exemplary leadership on the part of the managers, and that the political commitment at the top was not turned into implementation. All these pros and cons were discussed in detail previously; the following only warrant more clarifications.

On the positive side, they explained that at least the age long belief of civil servants that they are there to serve themselves has significantly changed owing to the concerted reform efforts that are underway. According to them, most civil servants today understand that they are there to serve the people.

On the negative side, concerning the reform fatigue, the key experts explained that over the last few years a lot of reform initiatives have been undertaken in the country; and that one tool is started, and another takes over after some time. They also mentioned that when a reform takes too long, unless there is something that motivates people, it becomes boring. While in agreement with the belief that reform should be continuous; they asserted that it should not also be permanent. Moreover, they argued that a reasonable level of outcome is expected from the on-going reform which is not the case in the Ethiopian situation.

The research participants also recognized the performance difference in the implementation of the ethics subprogram among the civil service institutions. They indicated that there are some institutions which are largely able to build civil servants with better ethical behaviour and which registered measurable results; while in other institutions there are occurrences of ethical misconduct. Notably, the Documents Authentication and Registration Office has been an award winner for providing better service to users, and this is well known in the general public.

5.21. Influence of the Reform on Public Trust

On the influence of the CSRP in general, and ethics subprogram in particular on public trust, the majority of research participants including the managers felt that it has affected public trust fairly positively. They provided detailed explanations for believing that there is a fairly positive impact. One key expert specifically mentioned that the Ethiopian civil service reform is the most comprehensive by any standards and believed that the reform has brought about a lot of positive changes; though it is not as expected. One key expert, however, believed that the reform had affected public trust negatively. This is because the public has become disillusioned due to the fact that there are a lot of promises for change by the institutions but in reality very little are achieved. The public is told about the outcome of the reform in an exaggerated way and by doing so the institutions raise the expectation of the public. When they fail to meet the expectation, they face the risk of losing public trust. The same expert also questioned whether the reform program is properly conceptualized by leaders at all levels. He referred to the frequent changes that are taking place in the sector as factors compelling him to believe so. He expressed his frustration with the practice of moving from one reform tool to another without even knowing the outcome of the former. Another key expert stated that frequent change in the reform agenda and politicization of the civil service are some of the reasons for the decline of public trust. Though the latter concluded that the reform had no any influence on public trust, he also indicated that he is even inclined to believe that it has influenced public trust negatively. He arrived at this conclusion after his assessment of three factors: to what extent the CSRP was demand driven when it was designed; the extent to which the program was participative in its implementation; and to what extent the program's results are visible. Capitalizing on the frequency of the reform agenda, he reflected that people usually view the reform process as a fad that would fadeout after sometime. One tool is implemented but after sometime it is gone and

replaced by another. The State Minister, however, reflected a different opinion on this issue. He pointed out that the expert opinion is misguided due to probably lack of information. He strongly defended the reform efforts by saying it is not a matter of changing tools; rather it is a matter of introducing a new tool based up on the previous tools. The new tools introduced, build up on the previous tools. So, according to him, the change of tools is not undertaken desperately as the experts thought; rather it is a conscious undertaking. It is a matter of undertaking a series of comprehensive tools mutually supporting and complementing one another. As can be understood from the on-going discussion, there is a clear void on the issues of reform undertaking between the expert opinion and the executive organ. It is, however, clear that the reform efforts lack exercise of effective and constant communication about the intent of the changes to all stakeholders. Unless the stakeholders have a clear understanding of the reform agenda, its successful implementation will be hampered.

5.22. Key Factors Shaping Ethical Behaviour

As discussed in the literature review chapter, the family, socialization experience during childhood and adolescence, schools, and work experience and supervision are widely believed as key factors shaping the ethical behaviour of an individual. Most of the interview participants in this study believed that environmental factors such as one's upbringing in the family, schools, the community, friends, religious orientation and the like are the key factors that shape an individual. These are the pre-employment characteristics that influence individual ethical conduct. They also mentioned post-employment characteristics such as organizational culture, remuneration, reward or punishment systems, continuous ethics training and awareness raising programs; and the like as having their influence on an individual's ethical conduct. The research participants felt that more emphasis should be given to the pre-employment activities in order to inculcate good ethical values in the minds of people starting from early childhood. Efforts to change individuals' attitude after they joined the workplace do not produce the desired impact. As a result, they suggested that all stakeholders must work in close collaboration with one another focusing on the pre-employment activities if a better result is to be achieved.

5.23. Biggest Challenges to Foster Ethical Behaviour

The response of the research participants to the question of the biggest challenges to foster high ethical standards is summarized as follows. The following challenges were listed by the key

experts: the absence of professionalism and meritocracy in the civil service; the adverse economic realities faced by the civil servants in terms of low salaries; the absence of exemplary leadership and role modelling; lack of sufficient awareness about the significance of ethical values; internal organizational weaknesses in terms of spearheading the struggle to foster high ethical standards in the institutions; and lack of aggressive campaign and mobilization within and outside the organization regarding the significance of ethical standards in government bureaucracies; the absence of strong institutions; the absence of adequate training opportunities or human resource development; and politicization of the civil service. The managers from the regulatory agencies identified attitudinal problem of managers, and societal culture as additional key challenges. The most frequently cited challenge is the lack of adequate remuneration to the civil servants. The employee respondents and service users as well ranked low salaries as the most serious challenge next to corruption, bribery, and other criminal activities.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

6.1. Conclusion

Based on the findings presented and the discussions made in previous chapters, the following conclusions are drawn.

Over the years positive changes have been registered on the ethical conduct of civil servants; but the changes are not commensurate with the series of reform efforts exerted, resources incurred, and the expectation of the general public. When such change is seen in comparison with what was there in the past, there is really great achievement. However, the reform efforts need to be seen within context. The current reform is being undertaken in a completely different setting and mind-set of the public. Whatever reforms were undertaken in the previous system, the setting was predominantly inclined to socialist communal thinking and command economy. Today, this thinking is completely changed; in place of it, wealth making has become the order of the day. With the change in the economic, social, cultural and political structures, the societal needs, expectations and value orientations also change. This would mean a greater burden on the civil service for this would bring with it fresh ethical demands. Hence, when the change brought about is seen in terms of the growing demands of the general public, the improvement achieved falls far behind the expectations. In short, the study found out that the ethical conduct of the Ethiopian civil servants has not shown significant improvement despite the reform efforts that are underway. In light of this, it is concluded that though the reform has achieved a lot, the achievement is not to the desired level.

Abuse of official time, use of public property for personal purposes, accepting gifts or favours, and misuse of official position are still commonly observed practices in the Ethiopian civil service. The study also found out that facilitation payment to expedite processes is common in the civil service sector; though it is illegal. A World Bank study also revealed that facilitation payments to avoid deliberate delays in the administrative process is fairly common; though it also claimed that companies expecting to pay facilitation payments [in Ethiopia] is much lower than in other Sub-Saharan countries (World Bank, 2012). In connection to this, it is also found that there is the perception on many members of the public that almost nothing can move without money; they believe that money can buy anything in

this country. As a result, there is still a high level of tolerance for certain ethical misconduct on the part of the citizens. For example, many citizens consider it acceptable that civil servants ask for gifts or money to speedup administrative procedures. It is, therefore, clearly seen that the problem of ethical violation lies in both the giver and the taker. This again calls for taking comprehensive measures on both fronts if the problems are going to be addressed effectively.

The other important finding of this study was that the reform efforts have not been supported by other complementary measures such as creating ethical and exemplary leadership at all organizational levels, creating strong institutions, establishing fair remuneration systems, linking ethical performance with reward/punishment systems and establishing systems of accountability. This gap has seriously constrained the level of outcome of the program implementation.

The view that there is political commitment at highest government level to advance the reform efforts has been emphasized in this research. The fact that the government allocates adequate resources for handling ethics issues; that it established the FEACC so as to fight corruption and other impropriety; that it posted ethics and anti-corruption officers in government offices; that it took the civil service reform agenda as its priority are taken, among others, as indicators of 'the commitment at the top'. However, the commitment at the top has not been effectively cascaded to middle and lower organizational levels. As a result, a rift is created in the overall leadership of the sector, which in turn limited the effective implementation of the reform programs. Many middle and lower level managers in the civil service institutions lack commitment to ethical and other reform issues, and they are not largely role models. Indeed, beyond the problem of cascading commitment of leaders to ethical issues, lack of exemplary leadership (or role modelling) is considered a key challenge in the Ethiopian civil service. It is revealed that civil service leaders do not adequately exhibit role modelling.

Real or perceived there is also a widespread belief that the Ethiopian Civil service is highly politicized. Previous studies (e.g., APRM, 2008; Transparency Ethiopia, 2011) and this research revealed that there are instances of political interference in the civil service. It is not free of invisible government hands, though government officials (e.g., the State Minister) denied it. Many believe that there is a great deal of leeway for political appointment to

administrative positions and that political control structures over the bureaucracy continue to operate. Examples include the institutionalization of the one-to-five network structure and the appointment of political cadres in the institutions as ‘public relations’ officers. The government could argue otherwise, but the issue of the matter is, whether the civil service is really politicized or not, the perception is there. Unless appropriate measures are taken, the perception of civil service politicization will obviously hamper the effective implementation of the reform efforts, and thus, the smooth functioning of government operations. On the other hand, if the civil service is really politicized, this would reflect that there is a clear retreat from the institutionalized merit system that has been the standard way of doing business in the public sector elsewhere.

It is also identified in the study that there is the need for building a stronger working relationship between the Ministry of Civil Service and the FEACC. The finding of the study showed that there is weak coordination between these two institutions in the implementation and follow-up of the ethics improvement subprogram. The working relationship between the two executive organs seems to be baggy. It is not clear how the Ministry monitors the implementation of the ethics subprogram in all the civil service institutions. For instance, there has been confusion in the responsibility of formulating the code of conduct for civil servants. Initially, the FEACC started to develop one; but later the Ministry of Civil Service took over.

There are good initiatives taken by the FEACC to involve different stakeholders in the fight against corruption and other impropriety. For instance, the establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Coalition is a step in the right direction. The coalition makes monitoring and follow-up of its activities through regular forums arranged periodically. Its efforts are, however, focused on fighting corruption only; giving little regard for other ethical issues. The issue of not adequately focusing on the other aspects of ethics is not limited only to the Coalition. All national efforts seem to largely focus on the fight against corruption while other administrative malpractices are relatively neglected; though managers from the supervisory institutions opposed this view.

The finding also showed that the Commission played a key role in the inclusion of ethics and civic education in the Country's formal education curriculum and the establishment of ethics and civic education clubs in schools in collaboration and partnership with the Ministry

of Education. It also participated in the development of textbooks and other materials on ethics and civic education. The outcome of this exercise is, however, yet to be seen in the long-run. In the meantime, the effectiveness of the ethics education, and the positive impact it has created on behavioural change needs to be evaluated through systematic research.

It was also emphasized in the study that the citizens must be actively involved in the reform efforts. There is the need for effective campaign and mobilization of the public in the effort to curb corruption and ethical misconduct. In the absence of the active involvement of the public, the success rate of the reform programs remained limited. Beyond improving the success rate of the reform efforts, the active involvement of the public will have the advantage of improving the government-citizen interface and public trust.

A citizens' charter at a national level is not yet prepared. However, the individual civil service institutions have prepared their own charter separately, and while some of them launched its implementation already, others are still in the process. Though it is too late, the encouragement given by the government for the institutions to formulate citizens' charters will play an important role in ensuring accountability and transparency of civil servants in their dealings with citizens. As suggested by Whitton (2001), improving citizens' access to 'quality of service' by government agencies is likely to have the effect of making government and the civil service more transparent and accountable. This is a big step forward. However, it is in its infant stage requiring careful nurturing and guidance. In the first place, there was no mother or model charter which can be used by the institutions as a guide unless the one developed by the Ministry of Civil Service developed for its own is used as one.

More importantly, the study revealed that the civil service sector is suffering from lack of effective implementation of overall reform program components. The country has no problem of legislation and policy frameworks. The finding showed that systems and legal statutes are largely established in the civil service; however, weak implementation and enforcement of such laws and policies is widely observed in the civil service. Implementation problems due to lack of capacity or willingness of the people working in the institutions are widely cited as the key challenges of the sector. And this incapacity is seriously limiting the reform efforts from producing the desired level of change. Mere promulgation of laws will

not guarantee the success of the reform programs unless they are also complemented by proper implementation and enforcement of the laws.

The finding further showed that program implementations are not periodically evaluated to rectify problems and improve their effectiveness. Ethics training programs, implementation of the codes, adherence by employees to the ethical principles, effectiveness of suggestion boxes, and the like have not been evaluated for years. This limitation makes it difficult to objectively evaluate the implementation progress of the programs.

It is also disclosed in the study that attempts are made to integrate ethics issues with organizational policies, objectives, and processes during planning; however, they largely remained a paper exercise. They are not effectively dealt with during implementation. Incorporating them in writing, but ignoring them in practice is tantamount to not having them at all.

The study also indicated that tools such as suggestion boxes, suggestion notebooks, telephones, face-to-face meeting, toll free numbers, and the like are used by the institutions to solicit suggestions and encourage reporting from both employees and citizens. Only some institutions claimed that they use a toll free number. However, there is a widespread perception that the suggestion boxes and/or suggestion notes are not visited by the institutions regularly; and that they do not give feedback to the complainants. Consequently, clients and employees do not usually use these tools. The culture of giving suggestions in writing is not also very well ingrained in the society. It can therefore be concluded that the tools are made available largely for the sake of formality. Moreover, although most of the institutions have developed their own websites, they are not managed properly and updated regularly. This could be the reason among others why most people do not use them. The possible reasons for this poor state of use by the institutions include lack of technical capability, lack of resources, and little attention given to it by management.

The finding also showed that whistleblowing as a system is already instituted in the civil service organizations. There is also the whistleblowers' protection regulation promulgated by the Council of Ministers. However, it is indicated that employees and service users do not usually use the whistleblowing system probably for fear of retaliation, feeling of futility, sympathetic attitude to one's colleague, and/or lack of appropriate and timely feedback. Regardless of the reality on the ground, there is an atmosphere of fear of reprisal on the part

of both clients and employees. This could have resulted from lack of adequate awareness about whistleblowing system and its protection; though some managers felt that clients know their rights more than ever before. The study indicated that service users or clients have dissatisfaction over the handling of their issues by institutions, indicating again that they are not encouraged to blow whistle for feeling of futility. The Ethiopian witnesses' and whistleblowers' protection regulation, however, is highly general and complicated with the effect of discouraging whistleblowers from easily reporting wrongdoings. It creates "why should I pass through all these hurdles" attitude. It is full of hurdles. The regulation providing for the establishment of ethics liaison offices has comparatively better provisions.

Low salaries are considered by many as negatively affecting the ethical conduct of civil servants and officials in the country. It is also indicated that the perception of low salaries on the part of the employees has resulted in the loss of the most talented individuals in the civil service institutions. In fact, it is also disclosed that the Government has repeatedly revised salary structures over the last years; but these efforts were never matched with equivalent positions elsewhere in the country, and were not regularly adjusted to reflect prevailing market and inflation rates. This situation made the effort to inculcate ethical values in the hearts and minds of the employees a futile exercise.

Finally, the study found out that ethics issues are not linked with reward/punishment, promotion, and evaluations systems of the civil service institutions. As a result, no discrimination is made between the civil servants based on their ethical conduct. Consequently, the employees will have less regard to ethical values for they see no difference in being ethical or not. Admittedly, there are counter arguments to the issues of linking ethical conduct with reward/punishment. Proponents of this view question whether people should be rewarded for being ethical. However, as Mitchell, Schaeffer, and Nelson (2005) argue, there is no reason why ethical behaviour is not rewarded if other types of desired behaviour are rewarded. They underscore that the link between rewards and ethical behaviour is crystal clear and so strong that ignoring the ethical ramifications of rewards can result in serious failure. Hence, they conclude that ethical behaviour is really driven by how it is encouraged and rewarded.

6.2. Policy Implications

Based on the findings of the study, the researcher suggested a few steps in the following paragraphs to improve ethics in the Ethiopian civil service.

6.2.1. Establish a Comprehensive, Uniform, and Enforceable Code of Conduct

To underpin the change process, there is the need to adopt a comprehensive civil service code with an integrated approach to the values, standards and behaviour of civil servants. That is a uniform, nationwide code of conduct applicable to all civil service institutions needs to be adopted. This will enable all civil servants in the country to be guided by the same core principles and values. A uniform code would also facilitate awareness-raising and education programmes for civil service officials, and foster citizens' common expectations for civil servants and officials. However, the uniform code of conduct can be complemented, if necessary, by agency-specific provisions so as to address particular needs of each institution. This approach provides the advantages of a uniform, nationwide code, but acknowledges that agencies may need to supplement the national code with additional standards to address their unique needs through provisions that do not contradict with the uniform code.

As the research finding showed the civil service institutions have adopted their own codes of conduct but their implementation and enforcement have been limited. Regardless of the ethics rules stipulated in the codes, violations of ethical principles have been reported. The current trend is to set aside these codes and perform one's official duties in a manner that suits your personal interest. This is partly caused by the failure of managers at all levels to take appropriate measures to redress observed or reported ethical infractions. Consequently, there is the need to give the code of conduct a legal basis and put in place procedures for enforcement. The institutions have to set up an appropriate enforcement mechanism of the code based on fair and neutral investigations of complaints or violations, in order to demonstrate the consequences of misconduct. Without such backing, the code will not be considered by many as a legally binding instrument and will not be taken seriously. Proportional and timely sanctions in case of non-compliance will however make the code credible. Furthermore, managers at all levels should be able to enforce what is stipulated in the law without any hesitation; and they should be held accountable for their failure to do so. The existing codes of conduct are not contextualized with the unique features of the respective institutions. This was also reported by the interview participants. If this is the case,

the code will be of little or no use. The employees may know the ethics rules, but they may not understand what ethical behaviour looks like in practice. As Kernaghan (1996) suggested ethics rules are not sufficient to ensure that everyone in an organization knows the rules and understands what ethical conduct is appropriate. It is therefore necessary to provide clear descriptions of ethical behaviour in the context of their organizations and their jobs.

Finally, mere implementation of the code by itself is likely to be insufficient. According to Whitton (2001), almost irrespective of the particular content of such codes, it is essential that on-going professional training, effective institutionalization by management, and committed leadership by political and administrative elites, be maintained or strengthened if such codes are to be worth more than the paper on which they are printed.

6.2.2. Reinforce Ethics through Education and Training

Whatever strong institutions we build and effective systems we establish, unless we have people with the required competence and ethical conduct our efforts will never bear fruit. In line with this, the founder of Transparency International concluded that no matter how hard we work trying to strengthen public institutions and implement international standards, little seems to change. The bottom line is that ‘it does not really matter how strong one’s institutions are if the wrong people are inside them’ (Pope, 2005 as cited in Menzel, 2007). An individual’s ethics, however acquired and influenced, cannot be ignored. Thus formal education and training programs provided on a continuous basis are essential to building an individual’s ethical infrastructure. The existing training situation in the Ethiopian civil service warrants for the government to develop an extensive education and training regime with a philosophy of continuous learning. Trainings that are provided haphazardly in the form of campaign to a large group of people have not been able to produce the desired behavioural change. As suggested by ACN-SIGMA (2013), while there is good reason in aiming to provide ethics training to all public officials, in reality only basic training can be provided to all. Hence, there is the need to provide trainings that are tailored with the specific needs of the respective institutions and the individual civil servants involved in the training.

Moreover, the following measures are suggested. First, civil service ethics should not be seen as a separate subject area; but as an integral part of all civil servant trainings. With the help of training, it is possible to coach civil servants to become aware of the significance of ethical issues in their own work (WGM, 2000). Secondly, ethics training is a useful tool for

strengthening ethics and preventing corruption in public administration if applied together with other tools such as fair remuneration, reward/punishment systems, and ethical leadership as part of a comprehensive anti-corruption and pro-integrity policy. Ethics training alone cannot produce sustainable results, especially in countries with high levels of corruption. Ethics training produces observable results only in the long-term (ACN-SIGMA, 2013). Thirdly, Ethics training should be a part of a broader and comprehensive public policy on anti-corruption/integrity and public administration reform, and should be reflected in programmatic documents. However, a requirement to provide ethics training established in policy and programmatic documents alone may not be sufficient to ensure its practical implementation. It is important to have a legislative or other official requirement to deliver and receive integrity training for public officials established in, for example, a Law on Civil Service, an Anti-Corruption Programme, a Code of Ethics and other appropriate regulations (ACN-SIGMA, 2013). Fourth, it is important to evaluate the results of ethics training in order to ensure that the use of public money is producing the desired effects, and to look for ways to improve and to modernize the training approaches to make them more effective. The evaluation of results can focus on outputs and outcomes. Finally, there might be a need to impose requirements for at least ‘minimum integrity education and training standards’ across the public sector to ensure that people, especially leaders, were fully aware of their ethical responsibilities (Brown et al, 2005). More importantly, as suggested by ACN-SIGMA (2013), political support for ethics training should be demonstrated not only through declarations but also through the practical actions of the leadership such as by setting example of ethical behaviour and by allocating funds and staff for implementation of the ethics training programs. Lack of such “leadership from above” undermines motivation for participation in ethics training and thwarts their positive impact on the behaviour of civil servants. This is what is evidenced by some of the interview participants in this study. Many civil servants do not have the willingness to participate in ethics training programs, and if they do, they lack the motivation to make meaningful involvement.

It is also recommended that there is one public agency responsible for the overall framework for ethics education and training, for central planning, program coordination, and evaluation of outcomes. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are public institutions such as the FEACC, EMI, and the public organizations themselves that are currently

involved in ethics training in one way or another. But in the existing arrangement there is no leading agency that can spearhead the national efforts to combat unethical conduct through effective ethics training. As it stands now, the FEACC is supposed to be playing this role; and as indicated in Arsema (2010), through its Ethics and Education Directorate, the Commission provides face-to-face ethics training to a number of civil servants and members of the public. However, the training provided is not rigorous; it does not go beyond mere awareness raising on the concept of ethics and corruption. It is also given to a large group of people at once for a short period of time. Moreover, Arsema (2010) noted that the Commission's staff lack the technical capacity to design and deliver high quality ethics training. The Commission is also overburdened by issues of investigating corruption and prosecuting corrupt officials. However, if the point of establishing an agency is not found economically feasible, this role can be played by the existing institutions with clear formulation of their respective responsibilities and proper coordination among them.

6.2.3. Ensure Ethical Leadership and Commitment

Previous studies confirmed that that subordinates always desire to imitate their leaders. If the leaders are not role models in ethical conduct, one cannot expect the followers to uphold ethical standards set by the organization. O'Boyle and Dawson (1992) opine that role models are important in setting a positive ethical climate because humans as social beings are influenced by others. The importance of the commitment of senior level leaders, particularly the top executives cannot be overstated in the quest for an ethical organisation in which people at all levels lead with integrity. Numerous authors in the leadership field (e.g., Ferrell et al, 1998; Waters, 1988) have referred to the special importance of people at the very top of the organisation, those who hold senior executive roles. It is also confirmed in this research that there is commitment at the top; however, managers at the middle and lower levels are not taken on board. The middle and supervisory level management is an important bridge that links top management with employees. If this bridge is disconnected or weakly connected, problems will normally prevail in the organization. Schaubroeck, Hannah, Avolio, Kozlowski, Lord, Trevino, Dimotakis, and Peng (2012) found in their study that leaders who exhibit a high level of ethical leadership may facilitate the influence of subordinate leaders' ethical leadership on their followers. That is, senior leaders play a significant role in cultivating shared ethical understandings at lower levels, working not only

through direct effects and indirect influences through ethical culture, but also by constraining or facilitating the influence of ethical leadership at lower levels. This indicates the need for the top leaders in the civil service sector to exercise their influences of ethical leadership “not only directly, among immediate followers within a unit, but also indirectly, across hierarchical levels, through the cascading of ethical culture and senior leaders' influences on subordinate leader behaviour” Schaubroeck et al (2012:1053). This embedding of ethical leadership across all hierarchical levels seems to be missing in the Ethiopian civil service institutions. This could be one key reason why the on-going reform efforts are not producing the desired level of outcome. Hence, as suggested by Schaubroeck et al (2012), building the full leadership capacity of an organization requires viewing leadership more as an integrated system of relationships that operate across hierarchical levels, driven substantially by both leader behaviours and ethical culture that are present within and across levels.

Cognizant of this, the government has recently started efforts to change this situation by engaging the entire civil service managers in ‘evaluative trainings’. According to the State Minister of the Civil Service, these trainings are intended to bridge the gap that is observed across the organizational levels in terms of integrated leadership. This needs to continue uninterrupted and in a systematic way.

6.2.4. Establish a Strict System of Accountability

Above all managers at all levels should be held accountable for their ethical conduct. A system of accountability needs to be established where all employees and managers will be held responsible for their actions. If leaders are left unaccounted for their unethical act, employees will lose hope in the system and follow suit. Conversely, if the organization can show its employees that ethics issues are taken seriously and keep its managers accountable for their actions; they will do their best to uphold ethical standards. Commitment to ethical standards therefore requires building an effective internal accountability system. Institutions need to make sure that measures are put in place so that employees and officials understand there are consequences for their actions and omissions.

6.2.5. Establish a Whistleblowing Policy

As it is indicated in the presentation of findings chapter, the country has adopted a witnesses and whistleblowers’ protection law in 2011. This proclamation applies to all

citizens; it provides general protection to individuals who disclose internal as well as external wrongdoing. Regardless of this, employees and citizens are not actively involved in whistle blowing for several reasons indicated in the preceding chapters. The FEACC, the individual institutions, and other relevant government bodies need to critically analyse the reasons, and take necessary actions that encourage whistleblowers to participate in the process with full trust and confidence. To this effect, individual institutions are advised to develop their own formal whistle blowing policies as a way to create the conditions necessary for the effective management of whistle blowing. In such policies, issues such as establishment of clear procedures for employees and citizens to disclose perceived ethical wrongdoing, provision of clear guarantee to whistleblowers against reprisal measures, and the establishment of fair and impartial investigative procedures are of significant importance. The whistleblowing policy should also put strict mechanisms of enforcement and a commitment by the organization to invariably implement it. Moreover, the institutions should commit themselves in practice to fully implement the policy framework they established. These measures will hopefully increase the confidence of whistleblowers to collaborate with the institutions through active involvement in the disclosure of ethical misconduct. They are more likely to feel protected from retaliation and to believe that positive actions will be taken to address their concern.

Furthermore, knowing the venues employees choose for reporting can help organizations understand what motivates them to report misconduct and how to encourage more. Research (e.g., Ethics Resource Centre, 2010) indicates that the decision to report to one's direct supervisor versus higher management is related to the ethical culture and climate of the workplace. In strong cultures – with a tone at the top which makes clear that ethics matter, where supervisors aggressively reinforce the ethics message, and where employees and managers alike are truly held accountable to high standards - more employees report to their direct supervisor. Conversely, reporting to higher management increases in weaker cultures and among employees who feel pressure. Hence, the Ethiopian civil service institutions are advised to evaluate their respective organizational ethics climate and culture, and design appropriate approaches of reporting ethical wrongdoing accordingly.

As suggested by Bilhim and Neves (2005), there is also the need to establish hindrance-free procedures for receiving complaints and appeals from aggrieved citizens and for protecting the petitioners. This is particularly important for the Ethiopian citizenry where

there is little interest to involve in whistleblowing. It is also recommended that penalties or sanctions be imposed by law on employees or citizens who failed to report ethical wrongdoings to concerned bodies. Failure to report is significant because low reporting rates mask ethical problems and allow them to fester unattended.

6.2.6. Incorporate Ethics to Evaluation Systems, and Reward Ethical Conduct

McCarthy et al (2011) stated that it is important for organizations to incorporate ethical considerations into performance evaluation and reward systems. Many authors also emphasized the importance of making ethical behaviour a component of periodic performance evaluations, including incentives for compliance and sanctions in case of breaches. For example, Whitton (2001) argued that human resource strategies which link ethical performance with entry and advancement, and ethical ‘under-performance’ with disciplinary processes are needed. It is therefore recommended to establish a system in the civil service that entails consequences for failure to act ethically, just as there are, or should be consequences for failure to achieve results. Similarly, the system should also be able to reward those employees who demonstrated ethical performance. The reward may not necessarily be in monetary terms. Organizations can build ethics values into non-monetary reward programs. An outstanding and courageous demonstration of ethical conduct can for example be an award worthy event in a recognition program. In this respect, McCarthy et al (2011) proposed that rewards for ethical conduct might be presented in the form of long-term rewards such as promotions, or as symbolic rewards (for example, recognition and praise) rather than pecuniary rewards (for example bonuses) so as not to diminish the status of ethical behaviour in the mind of the person who acts ethically. It is essential according to them for employees to feel that over time people of integrity are the ones who get ahead in the organization. It is also important to use evaluation of ethical performance as a basis for appointing and promoting all members of the civil service; but especially to its leadership as suggested by Kernaghan (1996).

6.2.7. Introduce Ethics Counselling

None of the research participants mentioned about the existence of ethics counselling or advice in their respective institutions. Many employee respondents felt that their organizations did not put a mechanism in place for them to seek advice on ethical matters.

Hence, the ethics advisory task is missing in the Ethiopian civil service. Employees must be given the opportunity to seek advice when they are faced with ethical dilemma in their daily work encounter. It is recommended to install an ethics counsellor, ombudsman or committee to provide advice on ethics rules and ethics issues within a single department or agency (Kernaghan, 1996). This responsibility can be given to the already existing ethics officers provided that the officers themselves are adequately capacitated.

6.2.8. Introduce Technology-Based Reporting Options

The finding showed that institutions are using only traditional mechanisms of reporting such as suggestion boxes and/or notebooks to encourage employees and citizens to disclose wrongdoings. Introducing new channels of communication such as provision of a confidential hotline and SMS messaging facilities that civil servants can use to discuss concerns about their personal ethical behaviour or that of others is also important. Such technology induced avenues can also be used to encourage citizens to give their views or tips to the institutions. Making it easy for people to give feedback and empowering them to report things that are not working, without having to escalate it into formal complaint mechanism can create a powerful feedback loop for public services. Feedback mechanisms should be set up that are built around what people already use and like, for example, mobile phones. The institutions should also be able to visit the reporting tools regularly, take appropriate measures, and provide timely feedback to the grieved individuals.

6.2.9. Improve Employees' Remuneration

Research has shown that fair remuneration can reduce unethical conduct on the part of public officials and civil servants. Conversely, according to UNDP (1998), a perception of pay unfairness can result in corruption. More importantly, the general public may share the feeling with civil servants; thus they show sympathy towards corrupt officials, which complicates a government's anti-corruption efforts. As indicated in this paper, government wage policy does affect corruption. If fair wages are paid, officials tend to forgo opportunities for corruption, particularly when strong internal and external controls operate as well. Often it is not a question of paying an official enough to make him incorruptible, but rather a matter of not paying a salary that encourages him or her to be corrupt so as to meet reasonable living costs and other expectations UNDP (1998).

In a study conducted by Rijckeghem and Weder (2001), it is found that the public sector pay is negatively and significantly associated with corruption. That is, high pay can play a crucial role in ensuring clean government. Similarly, the “fair wage model” contends that officials engage in corruption only when they see themselves as not receiving a “fair” income, a perception that could be eliminated through higher salaries (Mahmood, 2005, as cited in Lindner, 2013). Abbink (2002) also suggested that low salaries in the public service attract only incompetent or even dishonest applicants, which results in an efficient and non-transparent corrupt administration.

Taking these realities into account, as suggested by Whitton (2001), civil service salaries must reflect the cost of an adequate standard of living, both to minimize individuals' temptation to corruption, and to maximize the civil service's ability to attract and retain talented employees who can make a contribution to their community. The civil service runs the risk of losing its talented employees and retaining those who are unethical and hence could not find employment elsewhere. It is, therefore, recommended that a fair remuneration be paid to officials and ordinary civil servants, which should also be adjusted on a regular basis based on prevailing market conditions. Given the limited scale of public sector salaries and benefits, however, it is also necessary to emphasize on non-monetary incentives, recognition systems and group-oriented rewards so as to build morale and preserve the public sector ethos. This calls for equity in such non-wage benefits as transportation, housing, medical and educational facilities UNDP (1998). It is, however, important to complement the remuneration improvement with other measures if the efforts are to succeed.

6.2.10. Provide Focus to Behavioural Ethics Issues

Ethics and corruption are two sides of a coin. The interplay between these elements is important. One breeds the other. For example, UNDP (1998) indicated that pervasive corruption has resulted in the lowering of ethical standards and the decline of professionalism in public services worldwide. Similarly, Tesfaye (2007) argued that deterioration of acceptable moral and ethical values is among the main causes of corruption in Ethiopia. There is, therefore, the need for a balanced approach in the fight against these malpractices. The issue of giving more focus to corruption than to the behavioural components of ethics has been highlighted in this research by the expert opinion. It was also emphasized that there is a widespread perception in the public for several reasons that this is the case. Studies also

showed that governments and development partners across the world have largely focused their efforts on fighting corruption. A recent study by Bossaert and Demmke (2005:3) noted that “the focus in national public administrations and the media is on corruption, fraud and conflicts of interest, but much less on unethical behaviour in general”. Taking the Ethiopian case, it is clearly expressed in the preamble of the Commission’s Amended Establishment Proclamation that “it has become necessary to make the attention of the Commission focused on grand corruption” (Federal Negarit Gazeta, 2005:2997). In the area of research as well the study of ethics is not very common. Instead, according to Demmke (2007), many experts, academics and civil servants are more interested in the fight against corruption and fraud. Though the regulatory bodies of the ethics subprogram believed that equal emphasis is given to both issues, many perceive that this is not the case in Ethiopia. The FEACC is more focused on fighting corruption than the other aspects of ethics. All its campaigns and tools are directed at fighting corruption. Its awareness creation and education efforts are also largely focused on the general public. Although the fight against corruption and fraud are an important part of ethics strategies, the FEACC and other stakeholders should give more focus to the ethical behaviour of civil servants as well. This focus is desired because it will have a direct contribution in the effort underway to thwart corruption.

6.2.11. Address Implementation Problems

The study generally found out that the legal framework applicable to ethical problems in the civil service is already vast; although its actual implementation is weak. That is, the policy and legal framework is to a large extent well designed. The very essence of the problem lies in its insufficient implementation. As a result of implementation difficulties, an appreciable gap between expected outcome and actual achievement has been widely observed in the overall reform efforts. It is, therefore, important to define a methodology for the strict and effective implementation of statutory provisions and programmes that are already in force. The importance of having a system of accountability becomes apparent whereby relevant leaders and employees are held responsible for their failure to enforce the laws and properly implement programmes. In connection to this, some specific instances of weak enforcement and possible remedies are suggested next.

It is reported earlier that the code of conduct, and hence, the ethical principles are weakly implemented in the Ethiopian civil service. The code of conduct is simply not used by

employees as a guide in their daily work; and the ethical principles have largely remained as 'frames on the wall'. Establishing statutes only does not bring the desired outcome unless they are strictly implemented, and sanctions are not seriously imposed on violators. Changing people's ethical behaviour cannot be achieved by mere introduction of laws or codes of conduct, and a rare training of the employees. Such endeavours should be supported by, among others, proper implementation and strict enforcement of the laws. In this regard, UNDP (1998) stated that corrupt practices usually flourish in the absence of strong accountability and control mechanisms, as well as strong criminal justice systems.

When incidences of ethics violations are encountered, organizations should be able to develop practical mechanisms where they can take prompt and decisive action to handle misconduct and poor performance. In the absence of such measures, employees will feel that nothing will happen to them and will be encouraged to get involved in more ethical misconduct.

Ethiopian civil servants are also required by law to avoid outside work, whether paid or unpaid, which may affect the performance of their official duties or lead to a conflict of interest, and are required to apply for permission before taking up any paid outside work during or outside working hours, or unpaid work during working hours. However, as the result of this study showed many civil servants and even managers are engaged in outside employment, and yet no corrective measures are taken by concerned bodies. The civil servants and managers alike are engaged in outside employment due to the low income they earn. Again, corrective measures are not taken because usually the managers responsible are not themselves free from involvement in such practices.

All these instances show the weak enforcement and/or implementation of different relevant laws in the civil service. This calls for the need to strictly enforce the laws. In line with this, Whitton (2001) underlined that a civil service organisation which fails to implement, (through adequate and effective training and management leadership) and enforce (through effective leadership, disciplinary and management action) its Code of Ethics in practice, can expect to be ineffective in controlling corruption, and inefficient or incapable of providing services to the public.

The problem observed in the area of the use of public resources for personal gain is largely failure of the concerned organizational management members to enforce the law. As

evidenced in this study, there are several legal provisions that forbid employees the exercise of these undesirable practices. However, there is weak enforcement of such prohibitions. Hence, appropriate mechanisms of law enforcement need to be put in place in the public institutions together with strict system of accountability.

6.2.12. Improve Legislation

Although prohibitions are stipulated in the institutional codes of conduct; issues related with accepting of gifts, conflict of interest, and the like remain to be highly general. In the absence of specificity, difficulty arises in understanding which one is allowed, and which one is prohibited. The absence of detailed guidelines or regulations is a gap that needs to be addressed. It is not enough to put prohibitions or permissions in general terms for it will leave room for abuse. It is, therefore, recommended that issues related with acceptance of gifts and conflict of interest be specified in detail in such a way that they provide practical guidance to employees when they are encountered with ethical dilemma. In the case of accepting gifts, for example, a limit may be imposed on the amount or kind of gifts that are permissible; and a mechanism should also be sought whereby the employee is required to disclose the amount or kind of gift accepted beyond the allowed limit.

Similarly, there is the need to legislate a law prohibiting citizens from giving, offering, or promising a civil servant anything of value with the intent to influence any official act. In the absence of such law, only prohibiting employees not to accept gifts or favours will not produce the desired outcome. The issue of conflict of interest should also be covered in detail so that the employees will have a better understanding of what is allowed or prohibited.

6.2.13. Define Responsibilities of Citizens in Dealing with Public Agencies

As is disclosed in the study, citizens also are involved in encouraging or tempting employees to involve in ethical misconduct. To minimize such practices, it may be necessary to introduce formal requirements that must be observed by citizens. In relation to this, Whitton (2001) indicated that recently some governments are introducing legal provisions requiring citizens to refrain from deceptive, dishonest or fraudulent conduct, to report any actual or suspected corruption or misconduct to a proper authority, and to refrain from making frivolous or vexatious complaints or demands. In the event of failure by citizens to meet the expectations, mechanisms of sanctioning the violators need to be put in place.

Whitton (2001), for example, proposed imposition of an administrative penalty such as withdrawal of service provided by the organization for limited time. He, however, reminded that such penalty should be subject to independent review to prevent abuse of the power to impose penalty.

6.2.14. Work to strengthen public trust

Though many of the research participants believed that the ethics improvement subprogram has influenced public trust fairly positively, some were of the opinion that the way the public sector implemented the program a sense of disillusion on the public. For instance, the frequent change of reform tools and the elevated promise of outcomes by institutions and their little achievement of the outcomes have resulted in public distrust. In line with this, studies (e.g. ISS, 2015) suggest that the extent to which an organization behaves in line with public expectations determines how trustworthy it is perceived to be. Improving public trust starts with understanding how trust is shaped and how value is defined for a wide range of stakeholders. This includes taking into account the views of citizens, employees, private sector actors, and others. Each of these stakeholder groups expects something from the public sector, and their expectations continually change. It is therefore evident that the government continually follow-up public expectations and work to maintain positive public trust in a sustainable manner.

6.2.15. Effectively Communicate Government Policies

Achieving clarity of purpose is an obvious prerequisite for success in any reform drives. This involves creating a shared understanding of the reform programs. As can be discerned from the on-going, middle and lower level leaders as well as the civil servants do not seem to have understood and internalized government reform programs. It seems that they are working there just to earn salary and sustain life by doing the minimum of what is expected from them. But it should be made clear to the officials and civil servants that they are duty bound to fully understand government policies and implement them accordingly. They are expected to conscientiously serve the duly elected government of the day and the general public in the performance of their official duties. But at the same time they should be able to advise and implement policy impartially and be conscious of the need to maintain independence necessary to give. To that end, continuous efforts are required on the part of

the political leadership to involve and engage the employees and officials both in policy making and implementation. Such exercise is believed to make it easier for the government to garner wider support and implement its policies and underlying objectives effectively.

6.2.16. Depoliticize the Civil Service

In the benefit of professionalism and meritocracy there is the need to depoliticize the Ethiopian civil service. There is a general perception that the civil service is not made to be neutral in its functioning. It is generally believed that there are invisible hands manipulating the day-to-day operations of civil service institutions. There are opposing views globally about how ‘free’ should the civil service be as discussed in the literature review chapter. In this study, it is proposed that a combination of principles of meritocracy and integrity with political realities in administering the civil service be exercised rather than providing a greater degree of political isolation to the civil service. To that end, there is the need to clearly define the demarcation between political appointment and merit-based assignment. More importantly, the government needs to carefully address the perception that the civil service is politicized. Hence, in addition to defining the boundaries between meritocracy and political influences, there is the need to practically change the perception through taking appropriate measures. Apart from trying to change the perception of people, it is also important to critically look into areas in the bureaucracy which are causing the perception and take practical measures to address practices that undermine the merit-based system.

6.2.17. Create Strong and Effective Institutions

Developing good policies and writing codes of conduct alone will not ensure success, unless there are strong and effective institutions that can properly implement such statutes. Committed and ethical leadership; competent, committed, and ethical employees; effective systems of accountability; and appropriate enforcement mechanisms are some of the important requirements for having strong and effective institutions. Political will added to these efforts will also contribute a lot in creating institutions with the necessary capacity.

6.2.18. Accelerate the Adoption of the Citizens’ Charter

Service charters, as they are sometimes called, are considered a powerful tool for fostering change and require the organization to focus on services delivered, to measure and

assess performance, and to initiate performance improvement (IIPA, 2008). As discussed in the previous chapter, citizens' charters are launched in many of the civil service institutions. However, they are still in their infant stage. As WB (2014) notes, while drafting a citizens' charter is a step in the right direction, the effectiveness of the citizens' charter interventions ultimately depends on engaging stakeholders and establishing a clear commitment to making the charter part of an organizations "DNA". Consequently, the following measures are suggested to ensure their effective implementation and functioning. First, there is the need for wider publicity of the charter through different media such as websites, posters, brochures, and the like. Second, the institutions should make the necessary preparations before launching to ensure compliance to the promises made. This may even include changing their organizational structures. Third, there is the need for periodic review and evaluation of program implementation so as to improve performance. Fourth, replication of best practices (or role modelling) from domestic institutions is vital. Finally, it is important to assess and evaluate the implementation of the charter by an external body periodically.

6.2.19. Strengthen Partnerships with Stakeholders

The FEACC is currently working with several stakeholders mainly through the established National Anti-Corruption Coalition. While it is suggested to further strengthen such partnership, there is also the need to forge strong partnerships with other watchdog institutions such as the Ethiopian Institution of the Ombudsman, the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission, and the Auditor General.

6.3. Contribution of the Study to Understanding and Knowledge

This research project is a pioneer in the Ethiopian public sector ethics in general and in work ethic in particular. A number of researches were conducted on corruption and the Civil Service Reform Programme in Ethiopia by local researchers, the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission and international organizations such as the World Bank. The studies on corruption focused on making corruption perception surveys by citizens and domestic and foreign companies. Some researches have also been conducted that tried to evaluate the level of performance of the on-going Civil Service Reform in the country. Research in the area of the ethical conduct of civil servants is however scarce, if not non-existent, in the Ethiopian context. No comprehensive study such as this one was conducted so far. As a result, little was known

about the ethical situation of the civil service. Of course, there was a widespread belief in the society that there are all sorts of administrative malpractices. This research therefore confirmed the existence of such unethical practices, and pinpointed the key challenges impeding the effective implementation of the ethics subprogram in the sector through rigorous and systematic research.

Moreover, while ethics was clearly identified as one of the five key components in the Ethiopian Civil Service Reform Program requiring utmost attention; national and international efforts so far are largely focused on fighting corruption; giving very little attention to the other aspects of ethics issues. It is correct to give the highest attention to the fight against corruption for it has serious negative consequences on the social and economic performance of the country. However, unless the other administrative malpractices are also given similar attention, and concerted efforts are not exerted to arrest them, they will have the effect of aggravating corrupt practices in the country. This is because corruption and ethics are opposite sides of the same coin; one breeds the other. It is this insight that provides this thesis' contribution to our understanding of the problems associated with the lack of focus to the behavioural issues of ethics in the Ethiopian Civil Service.

The theoretical discourse in the literature also focused on structural and procedural issues with little regard to the behavioural components of ethics. This research is believed to have brought the behavioural aspects of ethics to the forefront to the Ethiopian academic community and beyond. The academic community may now use the findings of this research to undertake further studies on the subject from different dimensions and perspectives.

By way of synthesis and reflection on empirical findings, the study is also believed to contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the area.

6.4. Challenges Encountered

The major challenge faced by the researcher during the conduct of this study was the fact that there was a considerable difficulty in fixing the interview schedule with some of the respondents. Since all the respondents to the interview were either middle-level managers or senior leaders, it required a lot of efforts to meet them and fix the interview time. Many of them were not available for interview for some of them were busy with meetings, while others were taking trainings outside their offices for long time, and the like. Hence, the researcher had to patiently

wait for days or even weeks to meet with a single manager and fix the interview date. Once the interview date is fixed, however, all of the interviewees were willing to spend hours in responding to the questions posed by the researcher. The researcher would therefore like to extend his appreciation for the commitment they showed during the interview.

6.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The purpose of this study was to explore the nature and dynamics of work ethics in the Ethiopian civil service. As a result, the situation of work ethics in the private sector was not addressed in this study. In order to improve ethical standards in the public sector, it is also important to improve ethical standards of the private sector. It is, therefore, suggested that further research be conducted in the private sector as well, probably comparing it with the ethics situation in the public sector. This undertaking will enable policy makers and academicians alike to have a complete picture of the ethics situation in the country.

Moreover, this study has found out that ethical values in the Ethiopian public are deteriorating from time to time. A young generation is in the making that aspires to prosper through unlawful and unethical means. A further study is recommended to investigate the underlying causes for the disappointing shift of attitude in the youth – the desire to prosper through short-cuts. As indicated in this study, ethics education is incorporated in the curriculum of schools starting from primary levels, and is being provided to all students. However, the young generation is increasingly and alarmingly giving less regard to ethical issues. Hence, a systematic and rigorous study is suggested to determine the contribution of ethics education to peoples' ethical behaviour.

6.6. Concluding Thoughts

The study generally aimed to investigate and critically analyse the nature and dynamics of work ethics in the Ethiopian civil service, and to assess the ethical environment within which the public sector operates in the country. In a nutshell, it is found that varying forms of ethical misconducts are still prevalent in the civil service, and that this is aggravated by the deteriorating ethical values in the Ethiopian society. The study also revealed that no fundamental change is brought about in the ethical behaviour of the civil servants despite the reform efforts exerted, resources incurred and expectations of the public. Lack of exemplary and ethical leadership at all

levels; weak implementation and enforcement of policies, programs, and laws; absence of strong and effective institutions together with low salaries are the key challenges identified as factors undermining the success of the reform efforts. The key problem hampering the change efforts is the weak implementation and enforcement capacity of the institutions and their leaders; there is no problem of legislation in the country. The study also uncovered that the national efforts both in the design and implementation of the ethics improvement program focused on the fight against corruption, giving little attention to the other components of ethics. Finally, it is disclosed in the study that the reform undertaking has influenced public trust fairly positively, though the influence is not to the desired level.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A – Analysis Tables

Selected Employee Survey Results

. tab office

office of respondents	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
customs authentication	30	23.44	23.44
transport govhouses	30	23.44	46.88
socialsec	25	19.53	66.41
	23	17.97	84.38
	20	15.63	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab yesrate

employees knowledge of ethics rules	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	52	40.63	40.63
very high	10	7.81	48.44
above average	20	15.63	64.06
average	33	25.78	89.84
below average	10	7.81	97.66
poor	3	2.34	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab ethicsofficer

presence of ethics officer in the agency	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	6	4.69	4.69
yes	105	82.03	86.72
no	6	4.69	91.41
do not know	11	8.59	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab placecontrol

control mechanism are put in place	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	4	3.13	3.13
strongly agree	6	4.69	7.81
agree	25	19.53	27.34
neutral	33	25.78	53.13
disagree	48	37.50	90.63
strongly disagree	12	9.38	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab accountable

managers are held accountable for ethical violations	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	2	1.56	1.56
strongly agree	26	20.31	21.88
agree	29	22.66	44.53
neutral	41	32.03	76.56
disagree	21	16.41	92.97
strongly disagree	9	7.03	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab testimony

testifying the truth	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.78	0.78
strongly agree	22	17.19	17.97
agree	52	40.63	58.59
neutral	31	24.22	82.81
disagree	18	14.06	96.88
strongly disagree	4	3.13	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab ethicstraining

frequency of ethics training provided	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	10	7.81	7.81
once	29	22.66	30.47
every few years	13	10.16	40.63
every year	22	17.19	57.81
not for last 5 years	6	4.69	62.50
never received	12	9.38	71.88
other	36	28.13	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

Outside employment

. tab outsidejob

employees engaged in outside employment	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	2	1.56	1.56
strongly agree	21	16.41	17.97
agree	26	20.31	38.28
neutral	46	35.94	74.22
disagree	28	21.88	96.09
strongly disagree	5	3.91	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

. tab misusepos

employees misuse their position	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.78	0.78
strongly agree	13	10.16	10.94
agree	27	21.09	32.03
neutral	29	22.66	54.69
disagree	47	36.72	91.41
strongly disagree	11	8.59	100.00
Total	128	100.00	

Customer survey results

Inappropriate use of official time and public resources

. tab misusetime

how often civil servants misuse official time	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.79	0.79
very frequently	45	35.71	36.51
frequently	45	35.71	72.22
sometimes	26	20.63	92.86
never	9	7.14	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab misuseres

how often civil servants misuse public resources	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	4	3.17	3.17
very frequently	29	23.02	26.19
frequently	32	25.40	51.59
sometimes	42	33.33	84.92
never	19	15.08	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab misuseepos

how often civil servants misuse their positions	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	3	2.38	2.38
very frequently	43	34.13	36.51
frequently	33	26.19	62.70
sometimes	39	30.95	93.65
never	8	6.35	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

Accepting gifts or favours

. tab acceptgifts

how often civil servants accept inappropriately gifts	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	11	8.73	8.73
very frequently	11	8.73	17.46
frequently	17	13.49	30.95
sometimes	57	45.24	76.19
never	30	23.81	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

Upholding of the ethical principles

. tab transparency

the activities of civil servants are open enough	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.79	0.79
yes	26	20.63	21.43
no	31	24.60	46.03
hard to say	68	53.97	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

Whistle blowing

. tab exposureenc

exposure of misconduct by citizens is encouraged	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
strongly agree	29	23.02	23.02
agree	33	26.19	49.21
neutral	37	29.37	78.57
disagree	24	19.05	97.62
strongly disagree	3	2.38	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

The degree to which ethics reform influenced public trust

. tab trustlevel

whether the ongoing csr affected the level of public trust	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	3	2.38	2.38
very much, positively	18	14.29	16.67
fairly positively	61	48.41	65.08
not at all negatively	20	15.87	80.95
hard to say	12	9.52	90.48
	12	9.52	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab trust

level of trust clients have on the civil service	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	2	1.59	1.59
very high trust	7	5.56	7.14
high trust	19	15.08	22.22
neutral	63	50.00	72.22
low trust	29	23.02	95.24
very low trust	6	4.76	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

What could be done to improve ethical conduct in the future?

. tab legislation

having legislation and othe forms	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.79	0.79
large effect	88	69.84	70.63
small effect	34	26.98	97.62
hardly any effect	3	2.38	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab information

information provision	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	2	1.59	1.59
large effect	88	69.84	71.43
small effect	30	23.81	95.24
hardly any effect	6	4.76	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab workcon

taking working conditions into account (salaries, e.g.)	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
large effect	88	69.84	69.84
small effect	23	18.25	88.10
hardly any effect	15	11.90	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab internalaud

internal mechanisms of control	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	1	0.79	0.79
large effect	87	69.05	69.84
small effect	33	26.19	96.03
hardly any effect	5	3.97	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab externalaud

external audit control	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
large effect	82	65.08	65.08
small effect	34	26.98	92.06
hardly any effect	10	7.94	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab exemplary

exemplary management	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
missing	2	1.59	1.59
large effect	84	66.67	68.25
small effect	32	25.40	93.65
hardly any effect	8	6.35	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

Biggest challenges to foster ethical conduct

. tab corruption

corruption, bribery or other criminal activities	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	75	59.52	59.52
2	15	11.90	71.43
3	9	7.14	78.57
4	6	4.76	83.33
5	1	0.79	84.13
6	4	3.17	87.30
7	1	0.79	88.10
8	5	3.97	92.06
9	1	0.79	92.86
10	3	2.38	95.24
11	6	4.76	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab lowsalary

low salaries	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	25	19.84	19.84
2	31	24.60	44.44
3	18	14.29	58.73
4	14	11.11	69.84
5	14	11.11	80.95
6	5	3.97	84.92
7	4	3.17	88.10
8	3	2.38	90.48
9	5	3.97	94.44
10	4	3.17	97.62
11	3	2.38	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab lowmorale

a low morale of civil servants	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	2	1.59	1.59
1	7	5.56	7.14
2	20	15.87	23.02
3	22	17.46	40.48
4	14	11.11	51.59
5	18	14.29	65.87
6	12	9.52	75.40
7	6	4.76	80.16
8	8	6.35	86.51
9	9	7.14	93.65
10	3	2.38	96.03
11	5	3.97	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab badcondition

bad working conditions	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
1	3	2.38	2.38
2	10	7.94	10.32
3	18	14.29	24.60
4	11	8.73	33.33
5	11	8.73	42.06
6	15	11.90	53.97
7	14	11.11	65.08
8	11	8.73	73.81
9	17	13.49	87.30
10	11	8.73	96.03
11	5	3.97	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab politicalint

political interference by government	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	2	1.59	1.59
1	4	3.17	4.76
2	15	11.90	16.67
3	11	8.73	25.40
4	16	12.70	38.10
5	14	11.11	49.21
6	7	5.56	54.76
7	16	12.70	67.46
8	14	11.11	78.57
9	18	14.29	92.86
10	5	3.97	96.83
11	4	3.17	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

. tab ethdecline

decline of ethical values of civil servants	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	3	2.38	2.38
1	4	3.17	5.56
2	10	7.94	13.49
3	13	10.32	23.81
4	13	10.32	34.13
5	13	10.32	44.44
6	10	7.94	52.38
7	16	12.70	65.08
8	8	6.35	71.43
9	11	8.73	80.16
10	13	10.32	90.48
11	12	9.52	100.00
Total	126	100.00	

APPENDIX B: Data Collection Instruments

University of South Africa (UNISA) School of Business Leadership Doctor of Business Leadership Program

(Questionnaire to be filled by service users in selected federal institutions)

The following survey is part of a research project that aims at exploring how research participants perceive the work ethics of Ethiopian civil servants. This research project is being undertaken by an Ethiopian student for the purpose of a partial fulfilment of the requirements for a PhD degree in business leadership. The information you provide is used for research purposes only, and will be kept confidential at all times.

I would appreciate your taking the time to complete the survey. It should take approximately 15 minutes of your time.

I kindly request you to remember that the quality of this work is completely dependent upon your frank opinions. Please consider each statement carefully before you give it an evaluation.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant, please contact the researcher at 0914-705576.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Instruction to enumerators:

1. Briefly explain the objective of the questionnaire to the respondent, and ask his/her willingness to participate in the study;
2. Do not ask name of the respondent;
3. Choose a place in the vicinity where you can comfortably interview the respondent;
4. Read and interpret each question to the respondent while you correctly write his/her response;
5. Thank the respondent respectfully at the end of the interview session.

Part A: Biographical Information

1. Gender
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
2. Age
 - a. 18 – 25
 - b. 26 – 35
 - c. 36 – 45
 - d. 46 – 55
 - e. 56 and above
3. What is the highest educational qualification you obtained?
 - a. Below twelfth grade
 - b. Twelfth complete
 - c. Diploma
 - d. Bachelor's degree
 - e. Master's degree
 - f. PhD
 - g. Other _____
4. Which of the following categories best describes your current occupation?
 - a. Civil servant
 - b. Private sector employee
 - c. Self-employed
 - d. Business person
 - e. Unemployed
 - f. Other _____

Part B: Ethical behaviour of civil servants

Instruction: Below are statements about the ethical behaviour of civil servants. Please encircle the letter that best describes your level of agreement with each item.

1. In your opinion, how often do civil servants improperly accept gifts given to them because of the work they do in their jobs?
 - a. Very frequently
 - b. Frequently
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Never
2. In your opinion, how often do civil servants improperly benefit financially from the work they do in their jobs?
 - a. Very frequently
 - b. Frequently
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Never
3. In your opinion, how often do civil servants misuse public property/resources for a personal reason/benefit?
 - a. Very frequently
 - b. Frequently
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Never

4. In your opinion, how often do civil servants misuse their positions for a personal benefit to themselves or others?
 - a. Very frequently
 - b. Frequently
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Never
5. In your opinion, how often do civil servants misuse official time?
 - a. Very frequently
 - b. Frequently
 - c. Sometimes
 - d. Never
6. Employees and/or managers sometimes leak information that benefits persons who do business with the agency.

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
7. The organization's top leadership routinely strives to make decisions that are ethical.

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
8. The civil servants generally provide value for money in their service provision. (efficiency)

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
9. I am usually treated with respect and consideration by the service providers. (responsiveness)

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
10. The service providers usually treat all type of people fairly. (equity)

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
11. To what extent are you satisfied with the overall service delivery of the civil service? (effectiveness)

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
f.	
12. Exposure of employee misconduct by citizens is encouraged by the agency's management.

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	

13. Are the activities of civil servants generally open enough?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Hard to say
14. Do civil service institutions monitor the opinion of the citizens regarding openness e.g. through citizen feedback?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Hard to say
15. Do civil service institutions use methods to disclose abuse or other unethical behaviour (e.g. a suggestion box)?
 - a. Yes, what _____?
 - b. No
 - c. Hard to say

Part C: General

Instruction: Below are statements about general work ethics issues. Please encircle the letter that best describes your level of agreement with each item.

1. In your opinion, has the ethical behaviour of civil servants improved in the past ten years or so?
 - a. To large extent
 - b. To small extent
 - c. No change
 - d. Worse
2. Do you generally believe that most civil servants are impartial and honest?

a. Strongly agree	d. Disagree
b. Agree	e. Strongly disagree
c. Neutral	
3. In your opinion, is there a more general need in society to discuss civil service ethics?

a. Very much	d. Not at all
b. Fairly much	e. Hard to say
c. Fairly little	
4. What is your estimate of civil service ethics compared to the situation ten years ago? At present the situation is

a. considerably better	d. slightly worse
b. slightly better	e. considerably worse
c. the same	
5. Please indicate how much trust you have on the Ethiopian civil service in general.

a. Very high trust	d. Low trust
b. High trust	e. Very low trust
c. Neutral	

6. The Ethiopian government has been implementing a civil service reform program for more than ten years. The ethics sub-program is part of this reform program. How would you rate your present knowledge of the ongoing civil service reform program in the country in general and in this agency in particular?
- a. Very high
 - b. Above average
 - c. Average
 - d. Below average
 - e. Poor
7. What do you think is the impact of such reform program on the ethics of civil servants? Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Item	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Increase in workplace commitment					
Improvement of ethical values					
Decrease in inappropriate use of public resources					
Increase in job satisfaction					
Decrease in inappropriate use of public position					
Increase in loyalty					
Unethical behaviour arising from higher stress levels and higher job intensity (R)					
Increased job insecurity caused by such reforms (R)					
Loss of trust by employees in public service reforms (R)					

8. In your opinion, has the ongoing civil service reform affected the level of public trust?
- a. Very much, positively
 - b. Fairly, positively
 - c. Not at all
 - d. Negatively
 - e. Hard to say
9. How satisfied are you today with the services you get from the agency compared with 10 years ago before the introduction of the CSRP?
- a. Highly satisfied
 - b. Moderately satisfied
 - c. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (Neutral)
 - d. Dissatisfied
 - e. Highly dissatisfied

10. Which are the biggest challenges to foster high ethical standards in the civil service? Please select the most relevant challenges from the list below and rank them in order of their relative importance.

No.	Item	Rank
1	Corruption, bribery or other criminal activities	
2	Low civil service ethos or absence of shared values	
3	No clear mission for the civil service	
4	A low morale of civil servants	
5	A widespread decline of ethical values on the part of civil servants	
6	Low salaries of civil servants	
7	Bad working conditions (such as unfair treatment, low job security, no career prospects etc.)	
8	Political interference by government officials	
9	Insufficient training on civil service values and on standards of ethical conduct	
10	Insufficient commitment and support to the topic of ethics by the management	

11. In your opinion, how could the level of civil service ethics be maintained and improved in the future?

Item	Large effect	Small effect	Hardly any effect
Having legislation and other norms			
Information provision			
Training (e.g. a short course)			
Exemplary management			
Displaying the ethical values			
Internal mechanisms of responsibility control (e.g. audits)			
External mechanisms of responsibility Control (e.g. Parliamentary Ombudsman)			
Taking working conditions into account (salaries etc.)			
Ethical rules			
Other, please specify			

University of South Africa (UNISA)
School of Business Leadership
Doctor of Business Leadership Program

(Questionnaire to be filled by employees of selected federal institutions)

The following survey is part of a research project that aims at exploring how research participants perceive the work ethics of Ethiopian civil servants. This research project is being undertaken by an Ethiopian student for the purpose of a partial fulfilment of the requirements for a PhD degree in business leadership. The information you provide is used for research purposes only, and will be kept confidential at all times.

I would appreciate your taking the time to complete the survey. It should take approximately 30 minutes of your time.

I kindly request you to remember that the quality of this work is completely dependent upon your frank opinions. Please consider each statement carefully before you give it an evaluation.

If you have any questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant or ambiguities in filling the questionnaire, please contact the researcher at 0914-705576.

Thank you very much for your kind cooperation.

Instruction to enumerators:

Briefly explain the objective of the questionnaire to the respondent, and ask his/her willingness to participate in the study;

Please give the questionnaire to the selected respondent in person, and take an appointment to collect the completed questionnaire back.

Part A: Biographical Information

Instruction: Please encircle the letter of your choice from the options provided.

5. Gender
a. Male
b. Female
6. Age
a. 18 – 25
b. 26 – 35
c. 36 – 45
d. 46 – 55
e. 56 & above
7. Marital status
a. Single
b. Married
c. Separated
d. Divorced
e. Widowed
8. Monthly salary
a. 500 – 1500
b. 1501 – 3000
c. 3001 - 5000
d. 5001 – 8000
e. 8001 and Above
9. How long have you worked for the civil service?
a. Less than six months
b. Six months to a year
c. 1+ year to five years
d. 5+ years to 10 years
e. 10+ years to 20 years
f. More than 20 years
10. What is the highest educational qualification you obtained?
a. Twelfth complete
b. Diploma
c. Bachelor's degree
d. Master's degree
e. PhD
f. Other_____
11. Which of the following position classifications best describes your current title or position?
a. Official/Manager
b. Professional
c. Technician
d. Office Support/Clerical
e. Skilled crafts
f. Maintenance/Labourer
12. In your current job, do you directly deal with service users/citizens?
a. Yes
b. No

Part B: Individual Employee Ethics

Instruction 1: Below are statements about individual work ethics. Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Level of agreement				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I work hard on my job.					
I believe that I will be the primary beneficiary if I work harder and more effectively in the organization.					
Success in one's career development is a matter of hard work; luck has little or nothing to do with it.					
What happens to me in work life is my own doing.					
Most misfortunes in life are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.					
I take a lot of pride in not missing work needlessly and being at work on time.					
Getting to work late and leaving early is a normal practice in the organization I work for (R).					
I would not tell the truth if one of my colleagues would be fired because of my testimony (R).					
It is common to take home some office supplies such as printing paper, pens and staples (R).					
Surfing the Internet for non-work related matters during work time is common practice in the office (R).					
If one wants to take a day off for rest, relaxation, or recreation, calling in "sick" is okay as long as it is not super-busy at work (R).					
When the boss is away, it is normal to use the time to make personal phone calls and play computer games in the office (R).					
Using the agency's vehicle for personal purposes is an accepted practice. (R)					
Some employees are engaged in outside employment or activities that conflict with their official duties.(R)					
Even if I were to get enough money to live as					

comfortably as I like for the rest of my life, I would continue working.					
I feel compelled to report a co-worker's violation of ethics standards.					
Taking longer time than necessary to do a job is acceptable. (R)					
I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond what is normally expected of me to help this organization be successful.					
This organization really inspires me best in the way of job performance.					
I am glad that I chose the civil service to work for over others which I was considering at the time I joined.					
I really care about the fate of this organization.					

Instruction 2: Below are statements about individual work ethics. Please encircle the letter that best describes your level of agreement with each item.

1. How do you rate the degree of effort you put into your work during an average workday?
 - a. I give no real effort at all.
 - b. I give enough effort to get by and keep my job.
 - c. I give the amount of effort expected for the job; I give full services for what I am paid.
 - d. I work very hard on my job; I put much more effort into my job than is expected of me.
 - e. I am one of the hardest workers in my office; I often work more than 8 hours a day, take few breaks, and rarely waste time on personal matters.

2. Which one of the following statements best describes your feelings about the job?
 - a. I work only as hard as I have to.
 - b. I work hard but not to the extent that it interferes with the rest of my life.
 - c. I make a point of doing the best work I can, even if it sometimes interferes with the rest of my life.

3. What would you say is the most important thing about any job?
 - a. Good salaries
 - b. Liking the kind of work one is doing
 - c. Other, please specify _____

4. If you have your own way, will you be working for (this agency) five years from now?
 - a. Certainly
 - b. Probably
 - c. Not sure one way or the other
 - d. Probably not
 - e. Certainly not

5. If your answer to question no.4 is 'probably not' or 'certainly not', what could be your reason? _____

Part C: Ethics Culture

Instruction: Below are statements about ethics culture in the agency. Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Level of agreement				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Ethics is a focus in my agency during decision making process (hiring, employee training, evaluation, service delivery, supplier selection, etc).					
An ethical culture is ingrained in my agency's brochures, materials, and website.					
My agency follows up ethical concerns that are reported by employees.					
If unethical conducts are reported to the agency, action is taken to redress them.					
In my agency, there is no difference between principles and practices of ethics.					
Employees in my agency feel comfortable when talking about ethics.					
You can ignore ethics and still get ahead in my agency (R).					
My agency makes serious attempt to detect unethical behaviours and actions.					
Employees who fail to properly observe ethics policies are disciplined.					
It is not unusual for employees in my agency to accept gifts or favours given to them because of the work they do in their jobs (R).					
Employees in my agency improperly benefit financially from the work they do in their jobs (R).					
Employees in my agency improperly give gifts or favours to their supervisors or accept gifts or favours from their subordinates (R).					
Employees in my agency often misuse public property/resources for a personal reason/benefit (R).					
Employees in my agency often misuse their positions for a personal benefit to themselves or others (R).					
Employees at my agency often misuse official time. (Taking extra personal time – lunch hour, break, late arrivals and early departures) (R)					
Ethics is openly discussed in my agency.					
Employees and/or managers sometimes leak information that benefits persons who do business with my agency (R).					

Part D: Ethical Leadership

Instruction: Below are statements about ethical leadership. Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Leadership of my agency communicates ethics as a priority.					
My agency's leadership cares more about getting the job done than about ethics (R).					
I often encounter unethical behaviour on the part of senior management within my agency (R).					
Top leadership in my agency provides ethics-related incentives, guidance, and advice to encourage high standards of ethical behaviour.					
The organization's top leadership routinely strives to make decisions that are ethical.					
The organization's top leadership works quickly to resolve ethical issues.					
Managers in my agency are held accountable for ethical violations equally with other non-managerial employees					
Managers in my agency keep their promises and commitments					
Supervisors at my agency include discussions of ethics when talking with their employees. (talk about importance of ethics)					
Supervisors at my work location usually do not pay attention to ethics (R).					
Managers/supervisors at my agency hire or make personnel decisions involving their relatives and acquaintances frequently (R).					
Managers/supervisors set a good example of ethical behaviour.					

Part E: Ethical and Legal Framework (Existence of a comprehensive ethics and compliance program and awareness of it)

Instruction 1: Below are statements about the ethical and legal framework. Please encircle the letter that best describes your level of agreement with each item.

1. Does your agency have a written code of ethics?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
2. If your answer to question no. 1 above is 'Yes', is it effectively communicated to employees and other stakeholders? (Otherwise proceed to question no. 9)
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
3. If your answer to question no. 1 above is 'Yes', have employees been involved in the development of the code of ethics?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
4. If your answer to question no. 1 above is 'Yes', is the code regularly enforced?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
5. If your answer to question no. 1 above is 'Yes', how would you rate your present knowledge of your agency's ethics rules?
 - a. Very high
 - b. Above average
 - c. Average
 - d. Below average
 - e. Poor
6. In your opinion, how useful are the ethics rules in guiding your work decisions and conduct?
 - a. Very useful
 - b. Useful
 - c. Somewhat useful
 - d. Not useful
7. Does your agency's code of ethics include specific disciplinary actions or sanctions for unethical behaviours?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
8. The code of ethics is fully enforced when violations occur in my agency irrespective of who committed the violations (management member or an operative employee).
 - a. Strongly Agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Somewhat Agree
 - d. Disagree
 - e. Strongly Disagree

9. If your answer to question no. 1 above is 'No', how are ethical issues handled in your agency?
 - a. Through informal ways
 - b. At personal will of supervisors/managers
 - c. Ethical issues are not handled at all
 - d. I do not know
10. Does your agency have an ethics officer, ethics committee or any other unit responsible for handling ethics issues?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
11. Has a supervisor ever retaliated against you for reporting or complaining about something unethical?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Never reported about an unethical matter
12. During the past five years, how often have you received ethics training?
 - a. Once, as part of my new employee orientation
 - b. Every few years
 - c. Every year
 - d. Have not received ethics training in the last five years
 - e. Have never received ethics training

Instruction 2: Below are statements about the ethical and legal framework. Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Level of agreement				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The central principles of civil service ethics are clear in my agency.					
When I was hired, the ethical expectations of the organization were communicated to me.					
My agency has put in place control and monitoring processes to ensure exposure of employees' unethical behaviour.					
Whistle blowing is encouraged by the agency's management to expose wrongdoing without fear of reprisal or retaliation.					
My agency has an established way of reporting observed violations anonymously.					
My agency has put in place a mechanism for employees to seek advice on ethical matters.					

My agency provides training to all employees on code of conduct and ethics policies.					
My agency has a mechanism to discipline employees that violate the code or ethics policies.					
My agency makes evaluation of ethical behaviour as a part of regular performance appraisals.					

Part F: Employees' perception of the quality of work life

Instruction: Below are statements about the quality of work life in the work place. Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Level of agreement				
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The organization supports and encourages personal and professional development of employees.					
I feel physically secure at my workplace.					
My work positively influences my family.					
I feel appreciated for the work I do.					
My work enables me to fulfil my potential.					
I feel that I learn during my work and thus can improve it.					
I feel that this organization respects its employees.					
I feel that this organization acts fairly.					

Part G: General

Instruction: Below are statements about general work ethics issues. Please follow the specific instructions provided in each question.

- In your opinion, what are the most important factors impacting on ethical behaviour of employees in public organizations? Please rank the following factors in order of their relative importance.

Item no.	Description	Rank
	Individual influences	
1	Locus of control - the relative perception of how much control an individual feels over events in one's life.	
2	Machiavellianism - a measure of deceitfulness and duplicity	
3	Ego strength - an individual's ability to engage in a self-directed activity and to manage tense situations	
	Environmental influences	
4	Significant or Referent others (parents, teachers, peers, leaders)	
5	Manager or leader behaviour	
6	Reward (and punishment) systems	
7	Existence of organizational policies and code of conduct	
8	Top management commitment	
9	Ethical work climate	
10	Ethics training programs	

- What do you think are the key factors that most likely cause people to compromise an organization's ethical standards? Please rank the following factors in order of their relative importance.

Item no.	Description	Rank
1	Pressure by managers to meet unrealistic organization objectives/deadlines	
2	The desire to further one's career	
3	The desire to protect one's livelihood	
4	Working in an environment with cynicism or diminished morale	
5	Improper training/ignorance that the act was unethical	
6	Lack of consequence in case of ethical violations	
7	Need to follow boss's orders	
8	Competition for resources, power or position	
9	Lack of maintaining the type of consistent leadership that is necessary for running an ethical organization	
10	Peer pressure/desire to be a team player	

11	Desire to steal from or harm the organization	
12	Wanting to help the organization survive	
13	Desire to save jobs	
14	A sense of loyalty	

4. How important are the following processes for ensuring an ethical culture in an organization? Please put a tick mark on one of the degrees of importance that best describes your level of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Extremely Important	Highly Important	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Leaders support and model ethical behaviour					
Consistent communications come from all leaders					
Ethics are integrated into the organization's goals, business processes and strategies					
Ethics are part of the performance management system					
Ethics are part of recruitment process and selection criteria					
Ethics are part of mission statement and espoused values					
An ethics-based framework is used for making business decisions					
Measures are in place to assess the effectiveness of ethics programs and strategies					
There are processes to enable timely, unfiltered communications regarding potential or actual malfeasance					
Ethics programs and practices are continuously reviewed and updated					

5. The Ethiopian government has been implementing a civil service reform program for more than ten years. The ethics sub-program is part of this reform program. How would you rate your present knowledge of the ongoing civil service reform program in your agency?
- Very high
 - Above average
 - Average
 - Below average
 - Poor
6. What do you think is the impact of such reform programs on the ethics of civil servants? Please put a tick mark on one of the levels of agreement that best describes your degree of agreement with each statement listed in the table.

Description	Level of agreement				
	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Increase in workplace commitment					
Improvement of ethical values					
Increase in job satisfaction					
Decrease in inappropriate use of public resources					
Decrease in the inappropriate use of public position					
Increase in loyalty					
Unethical behaviour arising from higher stress levels and higher job intensity (R)					
Increased job insecurity caused by such reforms (R)					
Loss of trust by employees in civil service reforms (R)					

7. How satisfied do you think are your clients today compared with 10 years ago (before the introduction of the CSRP) with the services you provide?
- Highly satisfied
 - Moderately satisfied
 - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (Neutral)
 - Dissatisfied
 - Highly dissatisfied

8. What do you think about the ethical behaviour of civil servants today ten years after the CSRP was introduced?
- Highly ethical
 - Moderately ethical
 - No change
 - Unethical
 - Highly unethical
9. In your opinion, what is the degree of improvement achieved on the capacity of civil servants in the country after the introduction of the CSRP?
- Improved significantly
 - Improved slightly
 - No change
 - Became weaker
 - Became much weaker
10. In your opinion, which are the biggest challenges to foster high ethical standards in the civil service? Please select the most relevant challenges and rank them in order of their relative importance.

Item no.	Description	Rank
1	Corruption, bribery or other criminal activities	
2	Low civil service ethos or absence of shared values	
3	No clear mission for the civil service	
4	Low morale of civil servants	
5	A widespread decline of ethical values on the part of civil servants	
6	Low salaries	
7	Bad working conditions (such as poor leadership, low job security, no career prospects etc.)	
8	Political interference by government officials	
9	Insufficient training on civil service values and on standards of ethical conduct	
10	Insufficient commitment and support of the topic of ethics by the management	

Interview checklist to selected managers of the federal institutions included in the study

Part I

Support by top management

1. Does the agency have a formal ethics program?
2. Has management established an ethical “tone at the top” by setting a good example of ethical conduct, providing positive and open communication, and supporting ethical conduct?
3. Does management allocate adequate resources for the organization’s ethics program?
4. To what extent is the ethics program integrated into the organization’s goals, processes and strategies?
5. Is there a mechanism for the enforcement and monitoring of ethics policies?
6. Are ethics programs and practices continuously reviewed and updated by top management in light of changing environmental challenges?
7. Is there any institution, unit or committee, whose task is to coordinate and/or manage the implementation of the ethics program? If it does exist, is it able to have its voice heard? To whom does it report? To what extent does it carry out its responsibility with out fear of retaliation?
8. Has top management itself received ethics training?
9. Does ethics awareness material, if any, have the endorsement of top management?

Part II

Incorporation of ethics at all levels of the organization

1. Is ethics a focus during regular top management meetings?
2. Are supervisors trained as contact points for ethics related questions?
3. Is ethics a focus during the hiring process? New employee training? Employee evaluations? Supplier selection? Service delivery to users? Internal audits?
4. Do managers or administrators set a good example of ethical behaviour?
5. Is whistle blowing by employees encouraged in your organization? Does a formal procedure exist to report suspicions of integrity breaches (whistle blowing)? Are whistleblowers legally protected? To what extent is the Whistle Blower Protection Act known and implemented by the institution and the employees?
6. Is exposure of employee misconduct by citizens encouraged by your institution? If yes, how? Do you believe that citizens use this opportunity properly?
7. Is an ethical culture ingrained in the organization’s brochures, materials, and website?

Part III

Components of an Ethics Program

Ethics Code

1. Does the organization have a written code of ethics?
2. If not, why? How do you address ethical issues in the absence of a written code of ethics?
3. If yes, what major subjects are covered by the code of ethics?

4. Who is responsible for its administration and periodic review?
5. What is the procedure if the organization believes an ethical misconduct has occurred?
6. How do you evaluate implementation of the ethics code in your organization?

Ethics Training

1. Do employees receive ethics training on a regular basis? How often is training provided?
2. Does ethics training incorporate the organization's ethics code?
3. To what extent do you believe the training has resulted in the desired behavioural change on the part of employees?

Ethics Awareness

1. How do you evaluate the level of awareness of civil servants about ethical issues? How about the efforts exerted by the institution to raise the awareness of the civil servants in this regard?
2. Is the ethical expectation of the organization communicated to employees when they are hired?
3. Is the importance of ethics communicated to all employees on a regular basis via formats such as organization newsletter articles and posters? What topics are covered in the articles or posters?
4. Are the central principles of civil service ethics made clear to employees?

Part IV

General ethical situation of civil servants

1. The Ethiopian government has been implementing a civil service reform program for more than ten years. The ethics sub-program is part of this reform program. What do you think is the impact of such program on the ethics of civil servants? Is there any change in the ethics of the civil servants (positive or negative)? If yes, what are the changes?
2. What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses observed in the implementation of the ethics sub-program?
3. How do you evaluate the ethics of civil servants in this institution in terms of using public resources and working time for personal benefit or gain; using ones position to inappropriately benefit oneself and others; improperly accepting gifts or favors from service users; and the like?
4. Do you believe that most civil servants in your institution are generally transparent, impartial and honest? When they accomplish their jobs, do they give value for money? Do they treat citizens fairly?

5. Has your institution put in place a mechanism to monitor the opinion of citizens regarding the ethical behaviour of employees? How effective are the methods used, if any, by the institution to disclose unethical behaviour?
6. What do you think are the key factors that most likely shape the ethical behaviour of civil servants?
7. Which are the biggest challenges, if any, to foster high ethical standards in the civil service? You may use the following list as a hint or guide. Please order the challenges in terms of their severity – severe to less severe. You may also add your own in the space provided below.
 - Corruption, bribery or other criminal activities
 - Low civil service ethos or absence of shared values
 - No clear mission for the civil service
 - A low morale of civil servants
 - A widespread decline of ethical values on the part of civil servants
 - Low salaries
 - Bad working conditions (such as unfair treatment, low job security, no career prospects etc.)
 - Political interference by government officials
 - Insufficient training on civil service values and on standards of ethical conduct
 - Insufficient commitment and support of the topic of ethics by the management
 - Failure of service users to adequately cooperate in such efforts
 - Others, please specify _____
8. In your opinion, has the ongoing civil service reform affected the level of public trust (positively or negatively)? If we use the following five measurement scales, where do you think the level of public trust lies?
 - a. Very much, positively
 - b. Fairly, positively
 - c. Not at all
 - d. Negatively
 - e. Hard to say
9. In your opinion, how could the level of civil service ethics in Ethiopia be improved in the future? What should different stakeholders do to foster high level of ethical culture in the Ethiopian civil service?

I thank you!

Interview checklist to selected managers from the Ministry of Civil Service and the Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission

1. The Ethiopian government has been implementing the Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) for more than fifteen years. The ethics sub-program is part of this reform program. How would you evaluate the current ethical situation of civil servants in general? What do you think is the impact of such program on the ethics of civil servants?
2. What do you think about the ethical behaviour of civil servants today fifteen years after the CSRP was introduced? Is there any (positive or negative) change? What do you think are the strengths and weaknesses observed in the implementation of the ethics sub-program?
3. Who is responsible for the monitoring and follow-up of the implementation of the ethics sub-program in the various civil service institutions?
4. Do you think that the behavioural components of ethics are accorded the same attention as compared to the efforts being made to curb corruption during reform design and actual implementation of the Ethics Sub-Program? If yes, how? If not, why?
5. Do you believe that ethics programs in the civil service institutions are well integrated into the organizations' goals, processes and strategies?
6. Can one say that managers or administrators in the Ethiopian civil service institutions set a good example of ethical behaviour? More specifically, does top management of the civil service institutions generally give focus to ethical issues?
7. Do you believe that civil service institutions have put in place a mechanism to monitor the opinion of citizens regarding the ethical behaviour of employees? How effective are the methods used, if any, by the civil service institutions to disclose unethical behaviour?
8. Do you believe that the ethics officers placed in the various civil service institutions carry out their responsibilities effectively without fear of reprisal by management? To whom do they report? Do they get support from your institution? If yes, what kind of support?
9. Do you believe that whistle blowing by employees is encouraged by civil service institutions? Are whistle blowers protected legally? To what extent is the Whistle Blower Protection Act known and implemented by the institutions and the employees?
10. Do you believe that exposure of employee misconduct by citizens is encouraged by the civil service institutions? If yes, do you believe that citizens use this opportunity properly?
11. How do you evaluate the level of awareness of civil servants about ethical issues? How about the efforts exerted by the institutions to raise the awareness of the civil servants in this regard?
12. How do you evaluate the ethics of Ethiopian civil servants in general in terms of using public resources and working time for personal benefit or gain; using ones position to

inappropriately benefit oneself and others; improperly accepting gifts or favours from service users; and the like?

13. Do you believe that most civil servants are generally transparent, impartial and honest?
14. What would you tell us about the development and issuance of citizens' charter by the civil service institutions?
15. What do you think are the key factors influencing the ethical behaviour of civil servants in the country?
16. In your opinion, what are the biggest challenges to foster high ethical standards in the Ethiopian civil service?
17. In your opinion, has the ongoing civil service reform affected the level of public trust (positively or negatively)? If we use the following five measurement scales, how do you think the reform affected the level of public trust?
 - a. Very much, positively
 - b. Fairly, positively
 - c. Not at all
 - d. Negatively
 - e. Hard to say
18. In your opinion, how could the level of civil service ethics be maintained and improved in the future? What should different stakeholders do to foster high level of ethical culture in the Ethiopian civil service?

I thank you!

Interview checklist to Key experts

1. The Ethiopian government has been implementing the Civil Service Reform Program (CSRP) for more than fifteen years. The ethics sub-program is part of this reform program. How would you evaluate the current ethical situation of civil servants in general? What do you think is the impact of such program on the ethics of civil servants?
2. Do you think that the behavioural components of ethics are accorded the same attention as fighting corruption in the reform design and actual implementation of the Ethics Sub-program? If yes, how? If not, why?
3. In your opinion, do you think that the ethics subprogram was given the necessary attention both during design and implementation?
4. Do you believe that ethics programs in the civil service institutions are well integrated into the organizations' goals, processes and strategies?
5. Can one say that managers or administrators in the Ethiopian civil service institutions set a good example of ethical behaviour? More specifically, does top management of the civil service institutions generally give focus to ethical issues?
6. Do you believe that civil service institutions have put in place a mechanism to monitor the opinion of citizens regarding the ethical behaviour of employees? How effective are the methods used, if any, by the civil service institutions to disclose unethical behaviour?
7. How do you evaluate the level of awareness of civil servants about ethical issues? How about the efforts exerted by the institutions to raise the awareness of the civil servants in this regard?
8. How do you evaluate the ethics of Ethiopian civil servants in general in terms of using public resources and working time for personal benefit or gain; using ones position to inappropriately benefit oneself and others; improperly accepting gifts or favours from service users; and the like.
9. Do you believe that most civil servants are generally transparent, impartial and honest?
10. What can you tell us about the recent activities of civil service institutions to develop citizens' charters?
11. What do you think are the key factors that most likely shape the ethical behaviour of civil servants?
12. In your opinion, what are the biggest challenges, if any, to foster high ethical standards in the Ethiopian civil service?
13. In your opinion, has the ongoing civil service reform affected the level of public trust (positively or negatively)? If we use the following five measurement scales, where do you think the level of public trust lies?
 - a. Very much, positively
 - b. Fairly, positively
 - c. Not at all
 - d. Negatively
 - e. Hard to say

14. In your opinion, how could the level of civil service ethics in Ethiopia be improved in the future? What should different stakeholders do to foster high level of ethical culture in the Ethiopian civil service?

I thank you!

APPENDIX C: Interviewees' Profile and Coding

Interviewee's position	Institution	Code
I. Executive Institutions		
Ethics Directorate head	ERCA	C1
Ethics Directorate senior expert	ERCA	C2
Director of Human Resources	ERCA	C3
Ethics Directorate Head	Transport Authority	C4
Head of Human Resources	Transport Authority	C5
Head of Human Resources	Social Security Agency	C6
Ethics Office Head	Government Houses Agency	C7
Former Head of Ethics Office	Government Houses Agency	C8
Head of Human Resources	Government Houses Agency	C9
Head of Human Resources	DARO (Authentication)	C10
Ethics Directorate Head	DARO (Authentication)	C11
II. Supervisory Institutions		
Ethics Office Head	Ministry of Civil Service (MCS)	C12
Ethics Infrastructure Coordination Directorate	The Federal Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (FEACC)	C13
III. Key Experts		
Researcher and Consultant	Private consultancy and research firm	C14
Researcher and Consultant	Private consultancy and research firm	C15
Executive Director and Researcher	Forum For Social Studies	C16
Principal Consultant and Attorney at Law	Private Law Firm	C17
IV. Government Official		
State Minister	Ministry of Civil Service	State Minister (C18)

Note: We used codes to avoid reference of names of individuals who participated in the study.

APPENDIX D: Interview Information

No.	Code of interviewee	Date of interview	venue	remark
1	C14	Feb.22, 2014	In his residence	Key expert
2	C16	Feb.24, 2014	In his office	Key expert
3	C15	March 5, 2014	At Ras Hotel	Key expert (former Deputy Commissioner of the FCSC)
4	C17	March 6, 2014	In his office	Key expert (former Commissioner of the FCSC)
5	C1 and C2	Feb.5, 2014	In C1's office	Ethics Head
6	C3	Feb.10, 2014	In his office	HRD head
7	C4	Aug. 13, 2014	In his office	Ethics Head
8	C5	Oct. 15, 2014	In his office	HRD Head
9	C6	Aug. 19, 2014	In his office	HRD Head
10	C10	Aug. 20, 2014	In his office	HRD Head
11	C11	Aug. 24, 2014	In his office	Transformation Director
12	C7 and C8	Sept. 04, 2014	In C7's Office	Ethics Head
13	C9	Oct.09, 2014	In his office	HRD Head
14	C13	Oct.24, 2014	In his office	Principal Consultant at the FEACC
15	C12	Nov. 25, 2014	In his office	Ethics Liaison Officer
16	C18	Aug.10, 2015	In his office	State Minister

APPENDIX E: The Twelve Principles of Public Service Ethics

- **Integrity:** Civil servants and public officials are expected to maintain and strengthen the public's trust and confidence in public institutions and government by demonstrating the highest standards of professional competence, efficiency and effectiveness, and private conduct.
- **Loyalty:** A public servant must have dedication to upholding the constitution and the laws and trusted to discharge their duties by fellow civil servants and public officials. Loyalty does not mean blind unquestionable obedience.
- **Transparency:** Civil servants and public officials are expected to use powers and resources for the public good, in accordance with the law and government policy. They must be as open as possible about decisions, and should justify their official decisions and actions. Any information should only be kept confidential if it is vital for public's use.
- **Confidentiality:** a civil servant should not disclose information that has to be confidential or is of a private nature. It includes adequate storage and holding of information and records in any form to ensure confidentiality including taking reasonable safeguards to make data anonymous when appropriate and restricting access to reports and records to those who have a legitimate to know.
- **Honesty:** Honest civil servants and public officials should serve as pillars to build public's trust and respect for the government. Civil servants and public officials should respect their vow and refrain from deceit, fraud, and corruption.
- **Accountability:** Civil servants and public officials are responsible for decisions and actions taken in their official capacity and for the use of public resources. They should be prepared to cooperate with their respective institutions for necessary inquiries that might be launched by the latter.
- **Serving the Public Interest:** Civil servants and public officials are expected to make decisions and act solely in the interest of the general public without consideration of their private interest or others. Public service being a public trust, the improper use of a public service position for private advantage is regarded as a serious breach of duty.
- **Exercising Legitimate Authority:** Civil servants and public officials are required to administer the laws, and exercise administrative power on behalf of the people. Power and authority should be exercised legitimately, impartially and without fear or favor, for its proper public purpose as determined by the parliament or their employer.
- **Impartiality:** Civil servants and public officials should make decisions and act in a fair and equitable manner, without bias or prejudice, taking into account only the merits of the matter, and respecting the rights of affected citizens.
- **Respecting the Law:** Civil servants and public officials obey the law and comply with enactments, proclamations or directives appropriate for duties. They are required to administer the laws, and to exercise administrative power on behalf of the government or other authority. That power and authority should be exercised legitimately, impartially and without fear or favor, for the proper public purpose.

- **Responsiveness:** Civil servants and public officials must listen and respond to the needs of citizens in a timely manner, with appropriate care, respect and courtesy. Public institutions must improve and expand their services and programs by taking into consideration suggestions forwarded by the public.
- **Leadership:** Civil servants and public officials should be at the forefront to promote and support these principles by taking the lead and setting examples including helping employees understand how they contribute to the achievement of common objectives; and developing a sense of accountability, ownership and responsibility in fellow employees.

APPENDIX F: Sample of Survey Participants

Name of Institution	Employees				Service users		
	Male	Female	Missing	Total	Male	Female	Total
Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority	20	10	-	30	13	12	25
Federal Transport Authority	14	11	-	25	17	9	26
Agency for Government Houses	13	10		23	11	14	25
Documents Authentication and Registration Office	13	17	-	30	13	12	25
Social Security Agency	7	10	3	20	14	11	25
Total	67	58	3	128	68	58	126

CURRICULUM VITAE

TEKLAY TESFAY GEBRE-EGZIABHER

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MEKELLE, ETHIOPIA

BIOGRAPHY:

Name	Teklay Tesfay Gebre-egziabher
Date of Birth:	July 16, 1965
Place of Birth:	Tigray
Nationality:	Ethiopian
Marital status:	Married
Address:	P.O. Box 186 Mekelle, Ethiopia Email: teklaytsf@gmail.com Tel.251-344-408358 (Home) 251-914-705576 (Cell phone)

HIGHER EDUCATION:

January 2010 - To date: **PhD Candidate in Business Leadership**, University of South Africa, School of Business Leadership. Currently, I have already submitted my PhD thesis report, and am waiting for graduation.

July-September, 2004: **Postgraduate Diploma in Housing and Urban Development**, Erasmus University – Institute for Housing and Urban Development, the Netherlands

1997- 1999: **M.Sc. Degree in Computer Science and Applications**, Shanghai University, China.

1984 - 1987: **Bachelor of Arts Degree in Management**, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia.

SPECIAL TRAININGS (Certifications) RECEIVED:

_____ : Training on **Computer Networking**, Microsoft Corporation (Microsoft Certified Professional).

January 11, 2000 – April 26, 2000: **Training on Computer Technology**, Guakin College, Kyoto, Japan

9-20 September 2002: **Training on Project management**, Ede, the Netherlands

16-26 January 2007: **Training on Management of Higher Education Institutions**, Galilee College, Israel

25-30 September, 2003: Training on **Strategic Planning and Management**, Mekelle, Ethiopia

July 2007 to November 2007: **A training course in “Governance, Leadership, and Management”**, conducted by the Centre for International Cooperation-Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Maastricht School of Management and the African Institute of Management, Development and Governance.

July 2007 to November 2007: Training on **“Change Agendas in Higher Education Institutions”**, conducted by the Centre for International Cooperation-Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Maastricht School of Management and the African Institute of Management, Development and Governance.

13-24 March 2008: **Training on “Human Resources Management”**, Galilee College, Israel.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

2006(Feb.)-2008(Aug.): **Vice President for Administration and Development** of Mekelle University, Ethiopia.

2003(May) – 2005(Aug.): **General Manager of Mekelle Municipality** Mekelle, Ethiopia. The following departments, among others, were under my direct leadership responsibility:

- Human Resources and Administration Department
- Procurement and Property Administration Department
- Revenue Collection and Expenditure Department
- Economic Affairs Department
- Social Affairs Department
- Land Administration and Town Planning Department

2000(July) – 2003 (May): **Dean of the Faculty of Business and Economics**, Mekelle University, Ethiopia.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

2008(Aug) - to date: **Assistant Professor in management** teaching several courses in the Master of Business Administration (MBA) Programme, Mekelle University, Ethiopia.

1992(May) - 2008 (July): **Lecturer in management**, Mekelle University, Department of Management

OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE

1987(September) – 1992(April): Worked as a **management officer** in the Ethiopian Valleys Development Studies Authority (before I joined the University).

2010(July) – 2013 (Feb.): **Coordinator** of Tigray Parliamentary Internship Programme, InterAfrica Group, Ethiopia. I worked here as a part time job while I was at the University

2013(March) – 2015(March): **Ethiopia Programmes Coordinator**, InterAfrica Group, Ethiopia. I worked here as a fulltime staff of the organization. I was in a sabbatical leave from the University.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

July – October, 1995: I worked as a field interviewer and team leader in the decentralization study for the Education System of Tigray under the “Basic Education System Overhaul” project.

Main duties were:

- Supervising the activities of one research team.
- Conducting field interview in all zones of Tigray
- Making analysis and interpretation of data together with other members of the team.
- Making presentations of findings in a series of workshops conducted throughout the research period;
- Developing and writing study reports;

2001- 2002: I worked as a member of the task force, which developed the 20-year strategic plan of Mekelle University.

2014-2015: I have participated as a team member in the feasibility study and business plan preparation for Dimtsi Weyane Tigray Television (TV) Project.