The Reactions of Bahir Dar University Students to Moral Dilemmas Related to Corruption: A Reconceptualization

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to examine moral reasoning related to corruption. Data were obtained from 350 randomly selected Bahir Dar University students (175 males and 175 females) using moral reasoning questionnaire. Using Kohlberg's theory of moral development and Gilligan's moral orientation model, the moral reasoning questionnaire was scored for moral stage and moral orientation. Results in analysis of variance indicated that the older age group (22-year-olds) had a significantly higher stage of moral reasoning than the younger age group (20-year-olds) in responding to moral dilemma about issues of corruption. The Chi-square analysis however revealed that there was no significant age group difference in moral orientation. Furthermore, there was no gender difference in stage of moral reasoning and moral orientation. The results of the present study seemed to suggest that the development of psychological intervention programs and commitments is urgently needed to combat corruption.

Introduction

Backgrounds to the Problem

The concept of corruption is synonymous with the misuse of authority in an exchange for promise or, gift (Belete and Dereje, 2000). Corruption is an old story; it is perhaps in one way or another as old as society. It still is with us, all around the world in the poorest and the richest countries alike (Lewis, 1994). With each passing year, reports have indicated that corruption has been rising steadily around the world. This suggests that there is something seriously wrong with the moral behavior of individuals (Klitgaard, 1994; Josephson, 1992). To minimize this dishonest behavior Josephson (1992) emphasized that direct instruction on ethics is necessary along with consistent modelling of ethical behavior.

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Numerous moral education programs have also indicated that human service organizations are effective in teaching young people ethical values (Enright et al., 1983; Leming, 1981), especially if the program lasts more than a few weeks and if the intervention involves individuals in discussion of controversial moral issues such as corruption (Schlaefli et al., 1985). Thus Kohlberg (1986) recognized that teaching moral education programs based on the belief that young people should learn to value things like democracy and justice is very important. For example, in one study, a semester long moral education class based on Kohlberg's theory was successful in advancing moral thinking in three democratic schools (Higgins et al., 1983 cited in Santrock 2001). Similarly, London (1987) stated that training in citizenship; including such topics as the duties of citizens in democracy, personal integrity, the notion of equality and the concern for caring for self and others helps individuals to become healthy productive citizens.

In a democratic society, especially public officials are governed by moral principles, rules, and procedures that guide what they should do in their interpersonal relationship with other people (Walker, 1982; Walker and Pitts, 1998). Citizens, especially public officials are expected to abide by these moral rules (Turiel, 1998). Moral rules are obligatory, widely accepted and, somewhat impersonal things. They involve concepts of justice. To responsible citizens, it is therefore a moral duty to give as well as take service according to the rules required by the conditions of the service (Belete and Dereje, 2000).

Corruption exists in spite of moral rules. This is because individuals, especially public officials' desire for gain prevents them from working properly. Like all economic agents corrupters and the corrupted obey rational motives based on a desire for gain. Corruption increases if the expected benefits from it are higher than the risk involved (Rose, 1978). The extent of corruption is linked to the factors that determine its profitability. For example, in the case of bribes individuals are promised a material object or a privilege if they behave in the way some other individuals want them to behave (Hurlock, 1978).

Although bribes can usually be used to induce or influence an act, they weaken individual's motivation to behave in a socially approved way in the future (Haddad et al., 1976).   Avenues through which bribes weaken individual's motivation to behave in a socially approved way in the future can be three. First, they motivate individuals to behave in a socially approved way only when they are paid to do so. As a result, they do not lead to the development of inner control. Second, bribes lack the educational value of teaching individuals to assume responsibility to have control over their own behavior. And third, they give individuals the choice of not behaving in a socially approved way, if they feel they are not being paid enough to make it worth the effort.

The proliferation of laws and regulations favor the spread of corruption (Della, 1992). Corruption is harmful to society. It has destructive effects on the economic, political, and administrative systems of a nation (Belete and Dereje, 2000). The decision to misuse authority for personal gain involves risk or harm to self and harm to others and raises possible moral dilemmas for the individual. From this point of view, the prevention of corruption focuses on individuals' issues of rights and responsibilities in interpersonal relations as well as issues of care for self and for others. Hence, Kohlberg's moral development theory (Kohlberg, 1986) and Gilligan's perspective on moral development (Gilligan, 1982) together serve as a conceptual framework to study moral reasoning about corruption. These approaches emphasize interpersonal relationship based on notions of justice, care, responsibility, and rights. The struggle against corruption cannot be fully enforced without bringing these notions of social life to a standstill. As a result the following theoretical perspectives regarding moral development guided this research.

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

Kohlberg believed that moral development is primarily based on moral reasoning and unfolds in a series of stages. Kohlberg (1986) proposed that moral thinking progresses from childhood to adulthood in an orderly,

hierarchical stage, somewhat dependent on the level of cognitive development. Kohlberg postulated three levels in the development of justice-oriented moral reasoning. Each of the levels includes two stages (Kohlberg, 1969 cited in Santrock, 2001:422-423):

> **Level 1.** *Preconventional Reasoning. This is the lowest level in Kohlberg's theory of moral development. At this level, the individual shows no internalization of moral values; moral reasoning is controlled by external rewards and punishments.*
>
> **Stage 1.** *Heteronomous Morality is the first stage in Kohlberg's theory. At this stage moral thinking is often tied to punishment. For example, children and adolescents obey rules because adults tell them to obey.*
>
> **Stage 2.** *Individualism, Instrumental Purpose, and Exchange is the second in Kohlberg's stage of moral development. At this stage, individuals pursue their own interests but also they let others do the same. Thus, what is right involves an equal exchange. People are nice to others so that they will be nice to them in return.*
>
> **Level 2.** *Conventional Reasoning. It is the second or intermediate level in Kohlberg's theory of moral development. At this level, internalization is intermediate. Individuals abide by certain standards (internal), but they are the standards of others (external) such as parents or the laws of society.*
>
> **Stage 3.** *Mutual Interpersonal Expectations and Interpersonal Conformity is Kohlberg's third stage of moral development. At this stage individuals value trust; caring, and legality to others as a basis for moral judgments.*
>
> **Stage 4.** *Social Systems Morality is the fourth stage in Kohlberg's theory of moral development. At this stage, moral judgments are based on understanding the social order, law, justice, and duty. For example, individuals may say that a community be protected for laws to work effectively.*
>
> **Level 3***, Post conventional Reasoning is the other level in Kohlberg's theory of moral development. At this level, morality is completely*

internalized and is not based on others' standards. The individual recognizes alternative moral courses, explores the options, and then decides on a personal moral code.

***Stage 5.** Social Contract or Utility and individual rights are the fifth stage. At this stage, individuals reason that values, rights, and principles undergo or transcend the law. A person evaluates the validity of actual laws and social systems in terms of the degree to which they observe and protect fundamental human rights and values.*

***Stage 6.** A Universal Ethical Principle is the sixth and highest stage in Kohlberg's theory of moral development. At this stage, the person has developed a moral standard based on universal human rights. When faced with a conflict between law and conscience, the person will follow conscience, even though the decision might involve personal risk.*

Kohlberg (1986) believed that these moral levels and stages occur in a sequence and are age related: Before age 9, most children reason about moral dilemmas in a preconventional way; by early adolescence, they reason in a more conventional way. However, Colby et al. (1983) argue that the moral stages appear somewhat later than what Kohlberg initially envisioned. In a 20-year longitudinal investigation, the uses of stages 1 and 2 decreased. Stage 4, which did not appear at all in the moral reasoning of the 10-year –olds, was reflected in the moral thinking of 62 percent of the 36 year-olds. Stage 5 did not appear until the age of 20 to 22 and never characterized more than 10 percent of the individuals. In general in this study, Kohlberg's theory, with its developmental emphasis on rights and responsibility, was used to examine moral stage and age differences with respect to dilemmas focusing on issues of corruption.

Gilligan's Perspective on Moral Development

Gilligan (1982, 1996) believed that relationships and connections to others are critical aspects of female development. Gilligan noted that women often feel caught between caring for themselves and caring for others. Gilligan criticized Kohlberg's theory of moral development because Kohlberg

assumed implicitly that a focus on justice is central in defining moral reasoning of persons across situations and cultures. According to Gilligan (1996), Kohlberg greatly underplayed the care perspective in moral development. Gilligan believed that this may have happened because most of Kohlberg's research was on males rather than females and because Kohlberg used male responses as a model for his theory.

In extensive interviews with girls from 6 to 18 years of age, Gilligan et al (1990, cited in Dembo, 1994) found that girls consistently interpret moral dilemmas in terms of human relationships and base these interpretations on listening and watching other people. According to Gilligan, females have the ability to sensitively pick up different rhythms in relationships and one able to follow the pathways of feelings. According to this view; moral problems are embedded in a contextual frame that does necessarily fit with abstract reasoning (Gilligan.1982).

Researchers (Garmon et al., 1995, cited in Santrock, 2001) have found support for Gilligan's claim that females' and males' moral reasoning often centers on different concerns and issues. Gilligan argues that if females have a predominant care (response) orientation and males have a predominant justice (rights) orientation, then different scores for females and males might emerge using Kohlberg's justice–oriented scoring system. However, Gilligan's initial claims that traditional Kohlbergian measures of moral development are biased against females has been extensively disputed (Walker, 1982). While females often articulate a care perspective and males a justice perspective, the gender difference is not absolute, and the two orientations are not mutually exclusive (Lyons, 1990; Rothbart et al., 1986). Gilligan and Attanucci (1988, cited in Dembo 1994), for example, reported in one study that 53 of 80 females and males showed either a care or a justice perspective, but 27 individuals used both orientations, with neither predominating. To examine this issue further in the present study, gender and moral orientation related to issues of corruption were examined.

Statement of the Problem

The present study used both Kohlberg's cognitive developmental theory of moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1986) and Gilligan's perspective on moral development (Gilligan, 1982) to examine the nature of moral reasoning about social issues that involve corruption. Using Kohlberg's framework, moral stage with respect to thinking about conflicts and the act of corruption was examined. It was predicted that young adults in the early twenties score at a higher level of moral reasoning than adolescents in their late teens. The extent to which individuals use rights or response orientation was examined using Gilligon's framework. It was predicted that females use a care orientation to a greater extent than males. Specifically, the research questions in this study were:

1. What is the moral stage and moral orientation of late adolescents and young adults when presented with hypothetical dilemmas related to corruption?
2. Is the moral stage and moral orientation of late adolescents and young adults consistent with theoretical predictions?
   2.1. Are there age and gender differences in stage of moral reasoning about corruption?
   2.2. Are there age and gender differences in moral orientation about corruption?

Significance of the Study

The purpose of the present study was to examine moral reasoning related to corruption. In this regard the results of this study may have paramount significance to identify ways to combat corruption. This is particularly important in Ethiopian contexts where psychological intervention programs are urgently needed to combat corruption. Briefly the findings of this study will:

1. contribute basic scientific data on moral reasoning about corruption and that, in turn, might be applied to civic education programs.

2. enhance understanding of the theoretical perspectives that define the moral domain.
3. identify ways in the development of current programs to teach civil servants about rights and responsible behaviors to combat corruption.
4. suggest ways of integrating issues of corruption rules in school curriculum.

Definitions of Terms

Following is the definition of terms used in the study.

Moral development: Age related thoughts, feelings, and behaviors regarding rules, principles, and values that guide what people should do (Kohlberg, 1986).

Care perspective /orientation: The moral perspective/orientation that views people in terms of their connectedness with others and emphasizes interpersonal communication, relationships with others, and concern for other (Gilligan, 1982)

Justice perspective/orientation: A moral perspective/orientation that focuses on the rights of the individual (Kholberg, 1986).

Moral reasoning: refers to the rules of ethical conduct people bring to bear on a problem to explain what they think is the right thing to do (Kohlberg, 1986).

Moral/Civic education programs: Educational efforts that people should learn to value things like cooperation, responsibility, democracy and justice (Kohlberg, 1986).

Scope of the Study

The scope of the study is delimited to Bahir Dar University (Education Faculty). Moreover, in order to investigate the problem in depth, the scope of the study is delimited only to examine the deeply rooted area of corruption.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation of the current study is that respondents were not given the standard Moral Judgment Questionnaire (MJQ) in addition to the moral reasoning questionnaire. Thus, comparisons between reasoning on the MJQ and reasoning on issues of corruption are difficult with the data reported in this study. The other limitation of this study is that moral reasoning is a good dimension of moral development but what respondents believe about right and wrong may not always predict how they will act in moral situations.

Methods

Participants

The participants of the study were randomly selected students from four faculties (in 2003/4): Education, Engineering, Business, and Law. Business and Law were the recently opened faculties in the academic year in which the data for the study was collected. Because of this, only first year students of these faculties were included in the study. Lists containing the names of 3290 first year students in the specified faculties were prepared using documents obtained from each faculty's records office. A total of 350 Students (175 males and 175 females) were randomly selected and used as subjects. The mean overall age was 20 years. There were 175 students in the 18-21 years age group (mean age = 20 years and age range =18-21 years) and 175 were in the 18-21 older age group 22-26 years (mean age = 22 years and age range = 22-26 years).

The subjects were purposively selected from the total population of university students. The selection of the respondents was done first by collecting information on the number of students representing each type of student background characteristic classified by sex (male, female) and age group. The sampling plan was that equal number of students from each category be included in the study, a reasonably proportional number of students representing each type of student background characteristics was then taken for the study. Then, the respondents were selected purposively from a target population of levels (sex and age group) to represent each of the categories.

Instruments

To collect the necessary data from respondents a questionnaire was employed. The data collected from the respondents were classified as follows.

Background Information Questionnaire

This questionnaire required respondents to provide data about age and sex.

Moral Reasoning Questionnaire

A dilemma on issue of corruption was adopted from Reda (2005) to collect data about situations where the spreading of corruption is possible. The dilemma in this study was about the understanding of rights and responsibilities in interpersonal relations, as well as issues of care for self and others. The dilemma appears below.

> A tax-collector threatens the tax-payer with a very high rate. That is, the tax-payer was asked to pay more than he could. But the tax-payer could not afford to pay what the tax-collector claimed. So, the tax-payer and tax-collector made agreement to reduce the rate where by the tax-collector got personal gifts from the tax-payer, so that they had nothing to lose on that score. Were the tax-payer and tax-collector right in doing that? Why?

The dilemma used was hypothetical, yet it was developed and written to be realistic, meaningful and relevant to the subjects who participated in the study through the pilot study. The reliability estimates of the moral reasoning questionnaire were 0.85 with standard error of measurement 0.523.

Coding of Responses

The present study used both Kohlberg's and Gilligan's perspectives on moral reasoning to examine moral orientation of respondents. Kohlberg's theory with its developmental emphasis on right and responsibility was used to examine moral stage and age differences with respect to dilemmas focusing on issues of corruption. Gilligan's perspective with its emphasis on care orientation was used to examine gender and moral orientation.

Moral Stage

To compute moral stage, scoring was conducted for the dilemma separately across respondents. The scoring procedure was made based on Kohlberg's general stage structure definitions and critical indicators to each consideration (Kohlberg, 1976 cited in Papalia and Solly, 1995).

Based on information about usage at all stages in Kohlberg's (Kohlberg, 1976 cited in Papalia and Solly, 1995) perspective of moral development Weighted Average Acore (WAS) and overall Global Stage Score (GSS) were computed. The WAS was computed based on the sum of the products of the percent used at each stage multiplied by the stage number. The GSS was computed based on all stages that a respondent uses, 25 percent or more in response to dilemmas. GSS includes Kohlberg's stages (1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6).

Moral Orientation

To measure moral orientation, Lyons' method (cited in Jadack et al., 1995) of coding dilemma data was adapted for the present study. Lyons' method involves a content analysis of responses to moral dilemma. Content

analysis for the moral dilemma results in three scores: (1) frequency of rights considerations, (2) frequency of response (care) considerations, and (3) predominant considerations (rights, response, mixed). The predominant consideration refers to the mode of reasoning used very often. The same number of rights-and response-related responses refer to mixed orientation.

Data Analysis

The purpose of this research was to investigate moral reasoning related to issues of corruption. For this purpose, a 2×2 factorial design (ANOVA) with gender and age group as independent factors and Chi-square test were used to examine the data. Analysis of variance was used to test gender and age group differences in moral reasoning about issues of corruption. Chi-square test was used to examine the mode of reasoning used very often about the spread of corruption.

Results

Results are presented in two sections. First, results of moral stage data are reported. Next, the analysis of moral orientation data is presented.

Results of Moral Stage Data

The two independent factors in the study are age group and gender. The dependent factor is then the weighted average score (WAS) on the moral reasoning about issues of corruption. Table 1 indicates summary of scores and the sum of squares of all scores.

Table 1: Summary of Calculations for Two – way ANOVA with Gender and Age Group as independent Factors.

| Gender | Age Group | | Total |
	Younger	Older	
Males	$T_{11} = 119$	$T_{12} = 514$	$T = 633$
	$\bar{X}_{11} = 3.40$	$\bar{X}_{12} = 3.65$	$\bar{X} = 3.52$
	$\sum x_{11} = 429$	$\sum x_{12} = 1879$	$\sum x = 2308$
Females	$T_{21} = 466$	$T_{22} = 121$	$T = 587$
	$\bar{X}_{21} = 3.32$	$\bar{X}_{22} = 3.5$	$\bar{X} = 3.41$
	$\sum x_{21} = 1638$	$\sum x_{22} = 449$	$\sum x = 2087$
Total	$T_1 = 585$	$T = 635$	$T = 1220$
	$\bar{X}_1 = 3.36$	$\bar{X}_2 = 3.57$	$\bar{X} = 3.46$
	$\sum x_2 = 2067$	$\sum x_2 = 2328$	$\sum x = 4395$

To examine age group and gender differences in stage of moral reasoning, a 2(male, female) × 2 (younger, older) analysis of variance, with the WAS score as the dependent factor was computed. Results of the two-way ANOVA, shown in Table 2, revealed that the interaction effect was not significant, $F(1,346) = 0.146, P > .05$.

Table 2: Summary Table for Two –Way ANOVA with Gender and Age Group as Independent Factors

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Score	Fcal
Rows (Gender)	0.683	1	0.683	1.366
Columns (Age)	2.475	1	2.475	4.950
Interaction (Gender × Age)	0.073	1	0.073	0.146
Within cell	170.000	346	0.500	-
Total	173.231	349	-	-

The interaction between the two independent factors, namely, 'age group' and 'gender' was not significant.   However, the ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for age group, $F(1, 346) = 4.950$, $P < .05$ with the older respondents reasoning at a higher stage than the younger respondents. The ANOVA revealed that respondents' age levels affected their moral reasoning stages. Specifically, the younger respondents used some stage 2 reasoning, but typically they reasoned at stage 3. The older respondents used some stage 3 thinking, but were moving toward using more stage 4 reasoning as well. Furthermore, the ANOVA revealed a nonsignificant main effect for gender, $F (1, 346) = 1.366$, $P > .05$. For example, in the given dilemma (cited in section 2.2.2.) respondents replied to the situation based on the following stages of moral reasoning namely, stage 2, stage 3, and stage 4.

A moral reasoning, which characterized a stage 2 thinking was the following:
> *The tax-payer's agreement with the tax-collector was good, because the tax-payer might be afraid that his business center would be closed down. The tax-payer would feel better if he agreed with the interest of the tax-collector.*

A second course of reasoning emphasizing a stage 3 idea was stated as follows:

The tax-payer and the tax-collector's agreement were not right, because people would see them as selfish and immoral.

A line of reasoning which emphasized stage 4 thinking was the following:
The tax-payer and the tax-collector's agreement were wrong because the society cannot function effectively if individuals satisfy their needs by participating in the unlawful acts of corruption.

Results of Moral Orientation Data

Age Differences in Moral Orientation

Moral orientation scores computed across all dilemmas are presented in Table 3. Respondents used moral reasoning reflecting both response, rights, and mixed orientations. Overall, 45 respondents (12.57%) had a predominant response orientation, 84 respondents (24%) had a rights orientation, and 217 respondents (62%) had a mixed orientation. Respondents' mode of moral thinking shown in section 3.1 depicted the existence of these patterns of orientations in reasoning across dilemmas.

Table 3: Frequencies of Individuals' Moral Orientation with Respect to Age Group

Moral Orientation	Age group		Total	Chi-square calculated value	Chi-square critical value at P = 0.05
	Younger	Older			
Response	24	21	45		
Rights	43	45	88	0.250	32.534
Mixed	108	109	217		
Total	175	175	350		

To examine the association between respondents' age and types of moral orientation the chi-square value was computed using, the 2×3 contingency table. The chi-square value shown in Table 3 revealed non-significant age group differences in moral orientation, $x^2(0.05, 350) = 32.534, P > .05$. Overall, both the younger and older respondents used response and rights

orientations to a similar extent. They did not prefer just one mode of moral orientation.

Gender differences in Moral Orientation

To see gender differences in moral orientation the overall moral orientation scores computed for the dilemma are presented in Table 4. Respondents, regardless of gender, used moral reasoning reflecting both response, rights, and mixed orientations. Persons, regardless of gender, used to think on moral dilemmas about the issues of corruption from a variety of points of view depending on the situation or context being considered. Overall, 56 respondents (16%) had a predominant response orientation, 82 respondents (23.42%) had a predominant rights orientation, and 212 respondents (60.57%) had a mixed orientation.

Table 4: Frequencies of Individuals' Overall Moral Orientation with Respect to Gender

Moral Orientation	Gender		Total	Chi-square calculated value	Chi-square critical value at P = 0.05
	Males	Females			
Response	26	30	56		
Rights	39	43	82	0.783	32.534
Mixed	110	102	212		
Total	175	175	350		

The chi-square value was computed to examine the association between respondents' gender and the types of moral orientation they employed in response to the dilemma about the issues of corruption. To do this, the 2×3 contingency table was used. The Chi-square value shown in Table 4 revealed nonsignificant gender differences with respect to the type of moral orientations respondents used to think about corruption, $x^2(0.05,350) = 32.534, P > .05$. Both Males and females used response and rights orientations to a similar extent. Males and females did not prefer one

orientation over another. They used a mix of orientations when responding to the dilemma about issues of corruption. The dilemma in this study was about interpersonal issues and concerns and the understanding of relationships. It seemed likely that the type of the responses in a moral dilemma (cited in section 3.1) also refers to these ways of thinking.

Discussion

Age Difference in Stage of Moral Reasoning

As predicted, the analysis of variance revealed the effect of age difference, with the younger age group reasoning at a lower moral stage level than the older age group on the dilemma about issues of corruption. The younger age group in this study used some stage 2 reasoning and emphasized that serving one's own self-interest is reasonable and rational, but typically they reasoned at a stage 3. The younger age group made a decision not to get into corruption because they assumed that other people would view them as selfish and immoral. Here, the young adults at stage 3 emphasized that the protagonist should not be corrupted because he must keep his reputation as an honest individual. One can do everything that one legally can; otherwise people would view him as selfish or heartless. These respondents were worried about how people would view their act of corrupting. They were aware of the need to take the feelings of others into account.

Similarly the older age group in this study used some stage 3 reasoning as well, but was moving toward using more stage 4 reasoning. For the older age group, typical reasoning extended into topics of responsibility and obligation in relationships. The older age group made a decision not to corrupt because a society cannot function effectively if individuals take advantage by participating in unlawful acts. The older age group believed that laws exist to maintain order within the society and to promote the good of the people. Thus one should not be corrupted, because it is illegal regardless of the motive behind it.

Similar to the findings of the present study, results of other studies (Kohlberg, 1986) indicated that young adults had a significantly higher stage of moral reasoning than adolescents. Kohlberg emphasized that persons in their late teens should approach stage 3 and persons in their early twenties should approach stage 4 in terms of their moral reasoning (Kohlberg, 1986). However, this conclusion has already been challenged by other studies (Colby et al., 1983) which suggested that the moral stages could appear somewhat later than Kohlberg envisioned. Part of this inconsistency may be due in part to nonKohlbergian or hypothetical dilemmas. Krebs and his associates (Krebs et al., 1991) showed that individuals are not always consistent in their moral judgments in response to non-kohlbegian dilemmas. Results in non Kohlbergian dilemmas may not necessarily be consistent with results of moral judgments from dilemmas based on concepts of welfare, justice, and rights. In non-Kohlbergian dilemmas the right thing to do might be more culturally or personally defined than they are defined by moral concepts of rights, values and duties.

Gender Difference in Moral Orientation

Contrary to Gilligan's (Gilligan, 1982) claim which argues that that women use a response orientation to a greater extent than men, and by doing so they are at a disadvantage when assessed using Kohlberg's framework, the findings of the present study supported gender similarity in moral reasoning about issues of corruption. Results of the present study are consistent with the findings of researchers who extensively refuted Gilligan's initial claim that men have higher stages of moral reasoning than women (Walker, 1984; Lyons, 1990). These data show support that a particular stage or moral reasoning should not be considered as a typical characteristic of a certain gender. Individuals, regardless of gender can think about moral problems from the perspective of care and justice depending on the context being considered.

Conclusion and Implications

The purpose of this study was to enhance understanding of the theoretical perspectives that define the domain of moral conflicts as they pertain to corruption. From this point of view, the general findings of the study lead to a basic conclusion that both Kohlberg's and Gilligan's perspectives on moral development provide a rich framework to study moral reasoning about corruption. The specific conclusions of the study are

1. There was a significant age differences in stage of moral reasoning-the older age group had a significantly higher stage of moral reasoning than the younger age group when responding to dilemmas about corruption.
2. There were no significant age differences in moral orientation. Both younger and older respondents used response and rights orientations to a similar extent.
3. There were no significant gender differences in stage of moral reasoning and moral orientation - males and females used reasoning reflecting both rights and response orientations to a similar extent.

The findings of the present study seemed to have the following practical policy implications in the development of current education programs to combat corruption in the immediate future. These include:

1. The presence of age differences in moral reasoning about corruption leads to interesting applications. Typically, the younger age group reasoned at a stage 3, the "good-boy, nice girl" orientation. Although stage 4 is a worthwhile goal to combat corruption, only the older age groups have reached this stage. Thus a society will benefit if most of its citizens have respect for law and order. As a result, direct instruction on aspects of justice is important to help understand the importance of rules in maintaining society. However, there are a host of difficulties in influencing individuals' unethical conduct and dishonest behavior simply by emphasizing justice. From this point of view, intervention programs could be augmented to speak not only to young persons about endless list of dogmatic " do's" and "don'ts," but the

interventions could also include the affective side of morality reflected through social and economic aspects of the country. For example, the discussion about corruption should include ideas about the importance of rules in maintaining society and how corruption puts pressure on the majority of the population by paralyzing a country's economic development.

2. Corruption is based on "self-benefit" orientation, a stage 2 idea. These reasoning scores lower on Kohlberg's stages because there is an individualistic emphasis on serving one's own self-interest. As a result, intervention programs to combat corruption should work not only to discourage individuals' self-interest but also work to encourage individuals' especially public officials to act as social mediators and effective defenders of the common good.

3. Corruption exists if the expected benefit is higher than the risk involved.   Corruption is based on "values" which encourage interpersonal relationships and the deliberate confusion of public welfare with personal interests. The "responsibility" of the corrupters becomes the "consequences" of their illegitimacy and injustice. Therefore, to fight injustice the government should take initiative to create an independent commission against corruption. Its role is to investigate cases of corruption and work with organizations on systematic reforms in polices and procedures in order to reduce the vulnerability of public servants to corruption. In particular, work with bureaucrats to define organizational objectives and ways to measure success, and then link part of their compensation to the achievement of results. The current effort of the Federal Republic of Ethiopian Government to combat corruption is one approach of this implication.

4. Ultimately, the existence of:
   - A truly democratic system;
   - A responsible civil society;
   - Respect for the rights and freedoms of everyone;
   - An independent judiciary;
   - Effective financial regulatory bodies; and

- ▪ Transparencies are the infallible tools for nipping the evil of corruption in the bud.

Nevertheless, the Ethiopian government simply should not wait until the country has achieved all these expectations. Therefore, a move must be taken by the government to bring change in the relevant attitudes now. For example, realistic discussions of how the corrupt system works, facts about systematic reform of information, accountability, incentives and rules of conduct should be emphasized through films, radio dramas, billboards, posters, and advertisements in broadcast and print media. However, there are a host of difficulties in influencing value dispositions and behavioral propensities simply through these intervention programs. This approach should therefore be integrated into school curriculum. For example, training in citizenship including such topics as the duties of citizens in a democracy, personal integrity as the basis of citizenship, the notion of equality, the concern for caring for others and other related qualities that enable young people to become productive citizens should be emphasized in the regular school curriculum.

Since schools cannot perform all the functions needed to combat corruption, other agencies such as the Amnesty International must assist in the task.

5.   Because the Bible or Quaran as literature contains particular moral aspects of "do's" and "don'ts" moral instruction may have a place in religious institutions. Thus, issues of individual responsibility and community responsibility as well as issues of respect for self and others should be taught in religious education.

6.   In order to help young people develop the important moral values of their community, the ambitious model of school reform in Ethiopia should reflect the "micro-society" approach to schooling. The "micro-society" schools are exactly what they sound schools that operate miniature civilizations complete with all the trappings of the real world:

a legislature, courts, banks, post offices, newspapers, a host of entrepreneurial businesses, like an International Revenue Service. Students hold Jobs and are paid salaries in an ersatz currency, which they use to pay simulated taxes and tuition and to purchase a variety of goods and services at the schools market place. These practices may provide opportunities, such as participatory decision making, shared responsibility, and voluntarily comply with rules. All of these are important moral behaviors to reduce the vulnerability of public servants to corruption.

7. Finally, this study of issues of corruption has covered only a limited area of the country. It is of paramount importance to conduct a more extended study of this type that will cover a wider population.

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