CORRUPTION in
TAJIKISTAN

PUBLIC OPINION

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Abbreviations

CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DRS	Districts of Republican Subordination
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GBAO	Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast
MMS	Mass media communication
MNS	Ministry of National Security
NDS	National Development Strategy
NGO	None government organizations
SAI	State auto inspection
SRC	Strategic Research Centre under the President of Tajikistan
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VAT	Value added tax

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FOREWORD

The question of corruption in recent years has become an increasingly important and debated issue in our country. This phenomenon is represented in the media as a serious barrier for the healthy development of society, a social evil, which requires intervention and elimination.

The "Corruption in Tajikistan" Survey is related to the research projects of corruption in terms of its reflection in the collective consciousness. It is stipulated that the subjective factors in solving any problems are no less important than the objective ones. The orientation of citizens in viewing the situation, emotional attitude, the desire to solve the problem, self-reliance, etc., come out as the subjective factors. This study to some extent enables the determination of the level of corruption, the market of corruption services, and the degree of involvement of citizens in corruption, which is necessary information when making a decision on this issue. The project addressed all aspects of everyday corruption, which involves our citizens in solving routine domestic problems: on the roads, universities, schools, military enlistment offices, etc. Here we started out from the standard question: "Have you ever once in your life dealt with corruption?" It allowed us to calculate the ratio of the frequency of getting into such situations to the overall frequency of applying for a particular public service, i.e., the magnitude of corruption risks and to describe, consequently, the market structure of corrupt services. It also allowed us to analyze the problem of demand for corruption, i.e., the degree of preparedness of the population to engage in corrupt transactions. To measure this parameter, we asked people whether they are going to solve the problems by using bribes, when in a corrupt situation. Two other parameters were also considered in the project - the cost of corruption services and its relationship with the intensity of the market of corruption. The analysis of specific situations and situations in the market of corruption in general was provided here. A comparative analysis of two studies (2006 and 2010) on the basic parameters that characterize the market of corrupt services was conducted in the project.

GOAL AND METHODOLOGY

The goal of this study is a comprehensive analysis of corruption as a social and economic phenomenon in Tajikistan. In this regard, our study aims to identify and analyze public opinion on the scale of corrupt activity, its manifestations and characteristics, and diversity of acts of corruption in various spheres of socio-economic life of the country.

Objectives - Based on the goals, the study analyzes the opinions of citizens on the following aspects:

- assessment of corruption risk
- degree of involvement of population in this process;
- trust in the government;
- mood of the citizens;
- degree of corruption in different levels of the government;
- prevalence of corruption;
- corruption in law enforcement and judicial system;
- circumstances and mechanisms of corruption;
- nature and causes of corruption;
- methods of fighting corruption;
- roots and causes that produce corruption;
- psychological aspects of "takers" and "givers" of bribe;
- structure, i.e., the share of all bribes paid by citizens in the market of corrupt services (e.g., in healthcare sector, education, etc.);
- comparative analysis of key indicators of corruption.

Methodology - In conducting the study among population a quantitative method (through questionnaire) of stratified quota sampling was used.

Sampling - In the sociological survey 3000 respondents were interviewed in the sample representing urban and rural population of Tajikistan from 18 years of age and older.

The study was conducted selectively among women, men and youth in Sughd, Khatlon, RRS, Badakhshon and Dushanbe, in places during non-working hours and it reflects the following demographic characteristics of the population in compliance of quotas:

- age - 18 and older;
- education - higher, incomplete higher, secondary;
- sex – male, female;
- marital status of respondents;
- place of residence - urban / rural
- social status

The study was conducted in 29 cities and districts covering almost all regions of the country.

Table 1. The distribution and number of questionnaires by regions in the study

Dushanbe			RRS		
Sino	1	110	Tursunzoda	5	100
Firdavsi	2	110	Hissor	6	110
Shohmansur	3	110	Vahdat	7	100
I. Somoni	4	110	Rudaki	29	100
Khatlon region (Kulob zone)			Sughd Region		
Kulob	14	110	Khujand	20	110
Vosse	15	110	Chkalovsk	21	100
Muminobod	16	100	Konibodom	22	110
Dangara	17	100	Isfara	23	100
Timurmalik	18	100	Panjikent	24	110
Hamadoni	19	110	Bobojongafurov	25	100
Khatlon region (Kurgan-Tube zone)			Badakhshon		
Kurgan-Tube	89	110	Khorog	26	100
Vakhsh	9	100	Rushon	27	90
Khuruson	10	100	Vanj	28	90
Bokhtar	11	110			
Yovon	12	110			
Jomi	13	100			

The study covered the following groups of respondents by their occupations: farmers, entrepreneurs, civil servants, workers, unemployed, pensioners, housewives, teachers, doctors, nurses, students, soldiers and salesmen.

Research tools

- The questionnaire consists of 66 questions and includes the following parts:
- demographic and social data;
- assessment of the level of corruption;
- corruption in different levels of government;
- prevalence of corruption;
- corruption in the judiciary;
- roots and causes that produce corruption;
- methods and actions in the fight against corruption, and their effectiveness;
- psychological aspects of "takers" and "givers" of bribe;
- corruption in the healthcare system;
- corruption in the education system.

THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH

1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS

1.1. A general description of the sample

The survey involved 61.7% males and 38.3% females. The age groups were as followings: 12.5% between 18 and 24; 20.2% between 25 and 34, 30.7% between 35 and 44, 23.7% between 45 and 54, and 12.9% between 55 and older.

The percent of respondents, who had degree from primary, lower secondary, secondary and technical education was 41.3; higher education - 41.9%; incomplete higher 14.9% and university degree 1.2%.

 Among those interviewed were representatives of different socio-professional groups:

Figure 1. Percentage distribution of respondents by occupation

Occupation	Percentage
Nurse	2,2%
Military personnel	2,6%
Refuse to answer	3,7%
Doctor	3,9%
Pensioner	3,9%
Unemployed	4,8%
Salesperson	5,4%
Salesperson	5,8%
Farmer	7,8%
Teacher	8,4%
Housewife	9,7%
Worker	10,9%
Entrepreneur	12,5%
Clerk	18,3%
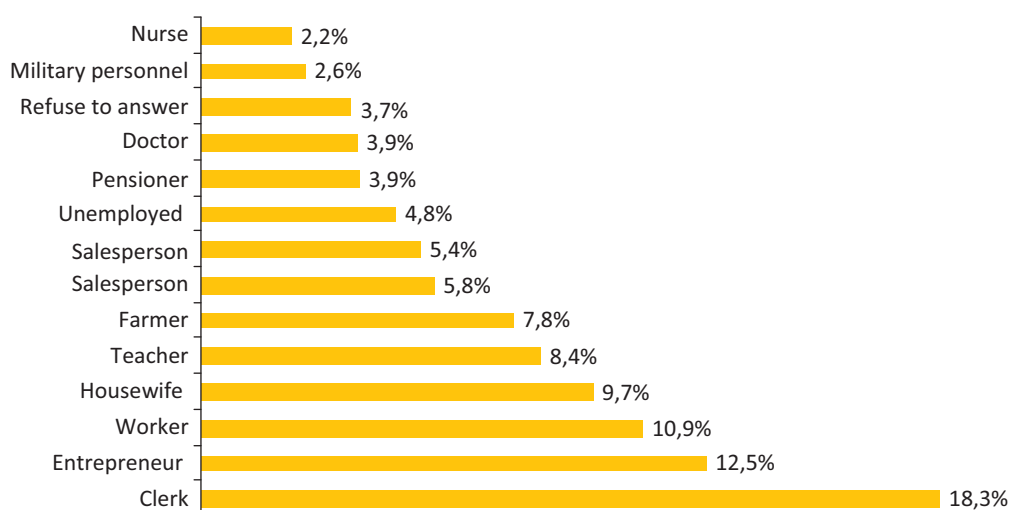
By their marital status, 75.3% were registered as married, 1.6% live together but not married, 21.2% single (widows, divorced, unmarried). A total of 82% of respondents had children.

Of those who have children, 53.5% reported that their children go to public schools that are tuition free, while 19.2% go to paid public schools. The percent of respondents was 2.4% who enrol at private schools and 2% who study abroad. The rest have no children of this age.

The percent of the respondents who live in an apartment alone is 1.8, 4 percent live together, 9.7% have a family living together which consists of three people, 16.4% of four people, 21.5% of five, 19% of six and 26% of families living together have seven or more people.

Monthly household income of respondents is divided into the following groups, which are displayed in Figure 2:

Figure 2. Percentage distribution of family income per month (TJS)

Income range	Percentage
More than 3000	2,0%
from 2500 to 3000	3,4%
from 2000 to 2500	3,1%
From 1500 to 2000	5,5%
from1000 to 1500	12,1%
from 500 to 1000	34,6%
from 200 to 500	39,1%
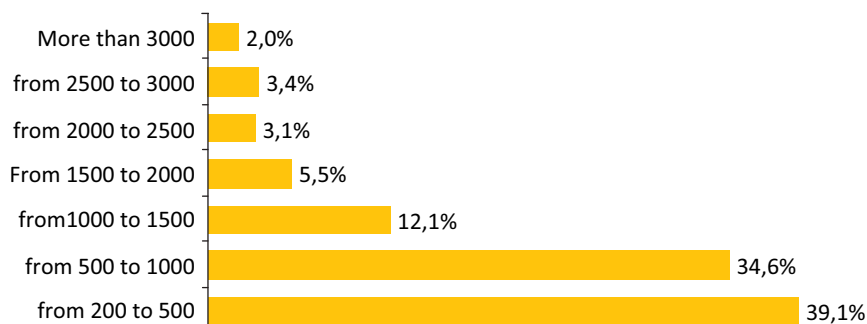
As it is shown in figure 73.7% of citizens has household income ranging between 200 and 1000 TJS per month, 12.1% - between 1000 and 15000 TJS and 14% have a relatively high income - between 1500 and 3000 TJS.

Another indicator of living standards is how people manage their incomes. According to the testimony 74% of respondents stated that all of their income goes for current needs. A total of 9.6% reported that they set aside some portion for major purchases and for holidays. The percent of those who set aside money for children's education is 9.8%. Another 3.3% tries to lay aside more for the future, for old age.

1.2. Citizens' mood

One of the important components of the mood of people is to assess their own financial situation. For this purpose, the questionnaire included the following questions.

- How would you rate your quality of life compared with majority of people?
- How has your family's standard of living changed over the last five years?

Table 2. Percentage distribution of family income per month (TJS)

How would you rate your quality of life compared with most of your friends?	
Above average	6,7 %
At the middle level	72,6%
Below average	18,7%
Refused to answer	2%

Most respondents (49.6%) said about their financial situation – "we live decently, though have to work hard." And only 2.1% responded – "we live in misery and are malnourished."

**Figure 3. Percentage distribution of respondents' self-assessment
of the living standards over the past 5 years**

How the level of your family's standard of life has changed during the last five years?

Category	%
Difficult to answer or refuse to answer	2,0%
Became much lower (decreased more than 50%)	1,9%
Became slightly lower (decreased between 10-50%)	7,5%
Stayed about the same level	24,5%
Became slightly higher (increased between 10-50%)	52,3%
Became much higher (increased more than 50%)	11,8%
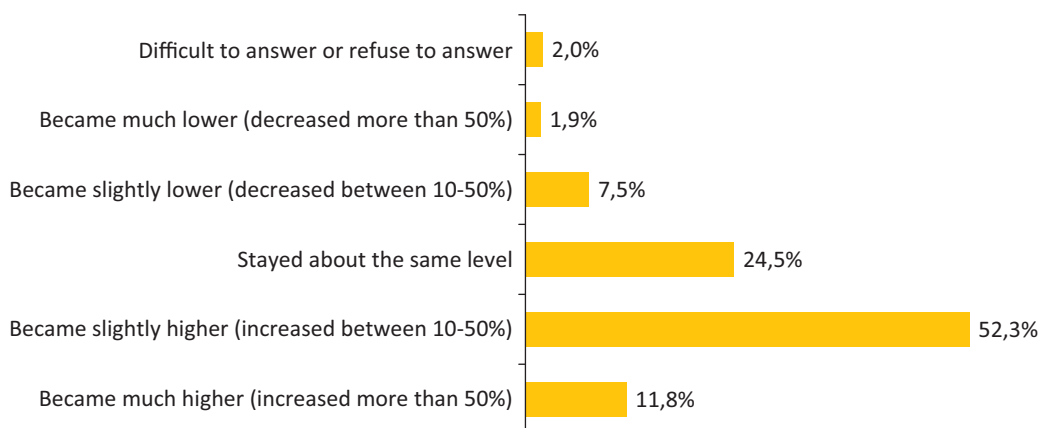
The figure shows that according to the self-assessment of citizens their families' financial situation has improved – 64.1% of citizens reported that their living standards have improved despite the unemployment, crisis and other negative circumstances in the society.

However, the growth in the abovementioned impression of relative prosperity and movement towards improving of welfare is likely responsible for a significant increase in the mood of optimism of people, since two-thirds of the population still live below the poverty line. This argument is also confirmed by family income mentioned above.

> *I have been working for 35 years as a military servant. We do not have holidays, weekends and standard working days. I just came from a raid and have not been home five days. We don't get per diems and bonus. I have six children; how do I feed them? How to live on one salary, which is enough only for one week? I cannot give to my children education; the prices in the university are available only for the rich....*
>
> **The voice of respondent, Muminobod – military servant**

Another important component of the people's mood is their assessment of the situation in the country, i.e., problems of the utmost concern to people. Respondents were asked to choose multiple answers.

Table 3. Percentage distribution of social problems that concern respondents

Problems of the utmost concern to people	
1. Price increase	24,5%
2. Unemployment	19,7%
3. Poverty, low wages	19,0%
4. Selfishness, corruption of officials	7,6%
5. The crisis of morality, culture, morals	6,0%
6. Lack of food and essential commodities	4,9%
7. Weakness and helplessness of the government	3,9%

Problems of the utmost concern to people	
8. Drug addiction	3,6%
9. Organised crime, gangsterism	2,8%
10. Lack of clear objectives	2,6%
11. Street crime, theft	2,2%
12. Delays in payment of salaries, pensions	0,3%
13. Difficult to answer (or no response)	0,3%

Apparently, people are more concerned about those issues that relate to their own situation "price rise", "unemployment", "low wages" and less concerned on issues that do not relate directly to them at the moment - answers (7 - 11) have low response rate. The issue of corruption in the country also worries people, and according to their assessment it is in the fourth ranked problem – 7.6%.

During the field study, many respondents spoke about the issues that concern them most.

The voice of respondent: *For many years I have engaged in agriculture and received chicken feed. I was tired to live all the time in debt. I have been going to Russia to work for the last three years. I start to pay from the airport until the point of arrival. Fees paid by migrants, like a drop of water, but there is so much of it that formed a sea long time ago.*

The voice of respondent, Muminobod – migrant

They take money because of low wages. In addition, non-professionals are working in many ministries and agencies who just think about how to live at the expense of others.

To reduce corruption people should be taught from school age to be fair and honest. And then, when buying an occupation the clerk must somehow recoup his costs.

The voice of respondent, Kulob – public servant

2. CORRUPTION MEASUREMENT

2.1. The general assessment of corruption level in Tajikistan

Assessing the level of corruption in the country is an issue of everyday perception. There are not any special formulas for determining the level of corruption. It may shift by the peculiarities of individual experience, opinions about this phenomenon and information background. Consequently, it would be wrong to judge the assessment of the level of corruption by referring to the answers of one question. Therefore, several different questions on this subject, used to assess the level of corruption, were included in our questionnaire (in their general part). Below is a list of these questions:

5. *"Often you can hear that people in supreme authorities are dishonest, self-interested and come to power only for their own enrichment. With which statement on this subject you agree to the fullest extent?"*

12. *"What do you think about the degree of prevalence of corruption and bribery among officials in Tajikistan?"*

16. *"There are various opinions about our judicial system and our judges. How would you evaluate in this regard the following statements?"*

25. *"When do you think corruption, bribery, misappropriation of public funds, nepotism and cronyism were more widespread?"*

According to respondents, the degree of corruption, bribery and misappropriation of public funds in current period is much higher – 82.6% higher than in Soviet times – 9.7%. If we take into account the fact that 77% of respondents represent those age groups that grew up in Soviet times, then we can take their views into account.

The analysis of the question that people come into power only for their own enrichment shows that almost half of people in higher authorities take bribes – 46.2%. The prevalence of corruption among officials is also very high – 49.6%. The judgment of judicial system by citizens has shown that "many people do not want to go to court because the informal costs are too expensive" – 60.4%. If we take the average proportion of answers about the corrupt practices, then the overall level of corruption according to the respondents is 79.6%.

> *The judicial organs, in addition to duties, require money without fail. None of the poor will go to court to seek the truth. No money, no justice.*
>
> **The voice of respondent, district Hamadoni**

Figure 4. Percentage distribution of the overall assessment of corruption level according to respondents

Agree 60,4%	Disagree 39,6%	Nowadays 82,6%	Soviet period 17,4%	Agree 46,2%	Disagree 19,2%	Agree 49,6%	Disagree 20,7%
Informal costs are too high in courts		Corruption prevalence		People come to power for own enrichment		Corruption prevalence among officials	
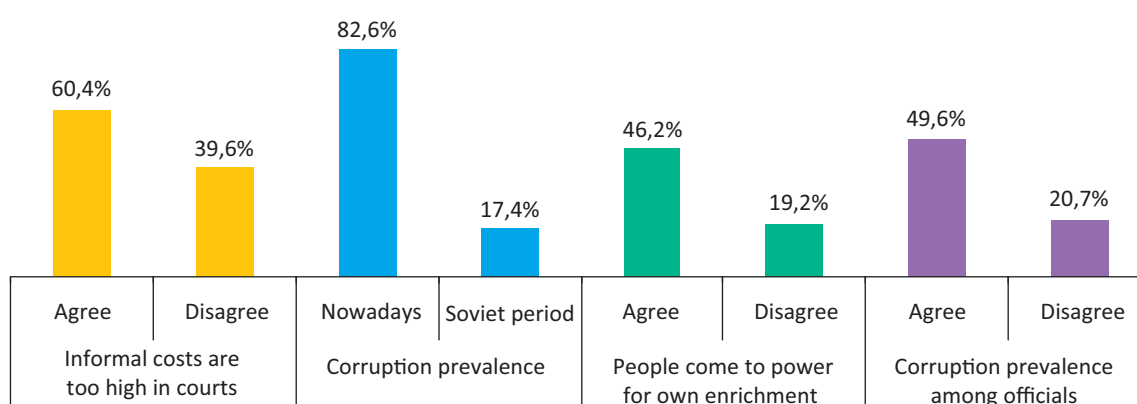
The overall proportion of responses to questions includes an answer like "Do not know", which formed a significant amount - 35.6%. Conclusion suggests that such a percentage of responses related to a lack of awareness because the assessment of the level of corruption is affected by information history: the more people are confronted with information about corruption, the higher their judgment on corruption level in the country is. Table 4 below shows the types of mass media which are used by respondents for their awareness. The dominant source is TV - 34.1%. In second place is information obtained from "conversations with friends, colleagues" – 19.8%, and newspapers – 17.8%.

Table 4. Percentage distribution of information channels on corruption

Channels of information on corruption	in %
Newspapers	17,8
Magazines	6,2
Radio	11,5
TV	34,1
Conversation with friends and colleagues	19,8
I am not interested with this information	5,6

Regarding the information provided by media there were some statements of respondents:

> *Media is more needed for making noise, color and tinge of praise. Although it must work to ensure that people is more informed about new laws or changes in them, it turns out that we are constantly being cheated and our money is extracted, because we do not know our rights and privileges. None of the ordinary people knows where to learn about them. Therefore, officials make use of this situation.*
>
> **The voice of respondent, Kulob**

Certainly, the assessment of the level of corruption is linked not only with awareness, but also with the corrupt practices of the respondents themselves and their opinions about corruption. Respondents were asked:

33. *"Have you given a bribe (present, service, etc.) in any specific situation?" Figure 5.*

33. *"Could you name the main reason why you did not give a bribe?" Figure 5.*

3. *"How often do you think citizens have to deal with bribery and corruption in specific areas of daily life?"*

Figure 5. Percentage distribution of corrupt practices of respondents

gave bribes — 37,5%
I wanted to give bribe, but for me it was too expensive — 30,1%
I don't give bribes as a matter of principle, even if others do — 24,2%
It was disgusting for me to give bribe — 8,2%
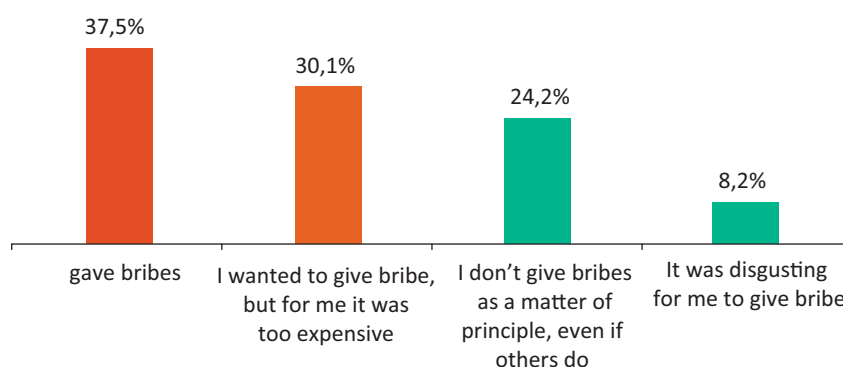
As it can be seen from the figure, the portion of "givers of bribe" and of potential "bribe-givers" is high and equal to 67.6%. Much lower the proportion of those respondents who by their ideological reasons are not "bribe-givers" – 32.4%.

Depending on the social status of respondents the frequency of confrontation with bribery and corruption in some areas of daily life is as follows: farmers - 58.4%, entrepreneurs – 56.8%, i.e., in their opinion, there is a high prevalence of corruption in the country. As for military servants, they do not think so. Their assessment of the level of corruption is the lowest – 29.9%.

We will consider in detail the frequency of confrontation with corruption by citizens in different spheres of daily life.

Table 5. Percentage distribution of frequency of confrontation with corruption by citizens in different spheres of everyday life

Situations in everyday life	Have not encountered	Rarely, from time to time	Quite often, very often
	In %	in %	in %
Getting free medical care in clinic	16,5	47,7	35,8
Finding a place in the hospital for surgery or treatment of serious illness	14,7	40,6	44,6
After getting in hospital acquiring free, full support and service	17,8	44,7	37,5
Enrolling at desired school and its successful completion	15,8	53,5	30,6
Enrolling at university, transferring from one university to another	10,2	44,4	45,4
Arranging or recalculating pension	19,9	57,6	22,5
Solving problems in connection with induction into military service	17,5	51,8	30,7
Getting the desired job or career development	15,9	50,3	33,9
Acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose) and (or) registering ownership for it	12,4	34,3	53,3
Seeking justice in court	19,4	48	32,7
Getting help and protection from police	19,8	46	34,2
Getting a national or foreign passport, etc.	46,5	54,6	28,9
Solving the situation with traffic police (obtaining the driving license, maintenance checkup, violation of traffic rules, etc.)	7,9	38,5	53,6

Results showed that the largest proportion of confrontation of citizens with bribery – "Quite often, very often" falls on the traffic police – 53.6%. In second place is "acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose) and (or) registering ownership for it" – 53.3%, universities – 45.4%. Concerning land, respondents during the field study very emphatically spoke about local jamoats (sub-districts), which are carrying out illegal manipulation of land.

1. In Rudaki you cannot get the land so simply. Here, the land is allocated in advance to people close to the relevant authorities of Land Management and other local authorities. And they in turn sell the land for big money, which is naturally unaffordable for low-income families. Moreover, even if you buy this land, it would seem in the beginning that the relevant authorities (the local Committee on Land and architecture, Hukumat, etc.) prepare the necessary documents, but a year or two later, the problems begin. Officials from other agencies come for inspection and state that the land has been allocated illegally and that we are not entitled to it.

2. During the allocation of land I had to offer a bribe in the amount of $ 2500, but still could not get the land, probably I offered too little.

3. In the past two years the number of patrolling inspectors noticeably increased in Dushanbe. Sometimes they are every 500 meters. This job is very profitable, and many police officers try to transfer from other structures to State Traffic Police Department.

The voices of respondents, Rudaki district – farmers

2.2. Understanding Corruption

Corruption, as it is known has very many faces. It is the expression of individual and social interests, a reflection of the functioning of shadow markets and the environment of social communication. Before having to or intending to resort to corruption, people must understand it as a social phenomenon. In our Research, we try to analyze and measure this characteristic of consciousness of our respondents. For this purpose, the questionnaire included the following questions.

10. *"Choose those situations that you think that most accurately characterize corruption in Tajikistan?"*

18. *"The following list includes the possible causes that give rise to corruption in Tajikistan. Please, evaluate their importance."*

23. *"There are different opinions about the possibility to defeat corruption. Which of the opinions according to you is most correct?"*

28. *"Often it can be heard that in some European countries bribery is not common. What are the reasons for this according to you?"*

Thus, these questions should have identified the characteristics of respondents' understanding of corruption through the situations describing the corruption, its causes and methods of counteraction.

Table 6. Percentage distribution of situations defining corruption

	Situations defining corruption	in %
1.	Civil servants extort bribes from people because they (officials) have to do so for people.	14,0
2.	Ordinary citizens or entrepreneurs themselves tend to give bribes to officials to make them perform their duties.	12,5

	Situations defining corruption	in %
3.	Politicians, officials, businessmen are united in one clan where "one hand washes the other" and are doing everything for themselves and not for the people and country.	11,2
4.	Senior officials appropriate public funds and property.	11,1
5.	Senior officials and politicians for own ends use their official position.	11,1
6.	Purchase of posts in government	10,9

The largest proportion of responses falls on a situation where officials extort money because they have to do so for people (situation No 1) – 14.0%. The following are statements from respondents related to this topic.

It is necessary to officially set fees in some government agencies which provide various services to citizens. Everything should be transparent. This will save citizens from red tape and extortion by officials. Such authorities include the registry office, MPTI, public utilities department, archives, etc.

The voice of respondent, Rudaki district - employee

There were a lot of complaints against officials concerning the situation where high-ranking officials for own ends use their official position.

1. The Commission on traditions and customs does not obey the law. Officials working in this commission take bribes in return for issuing permits for various activities.

2. State banks for provision of loans require payment of "cap of 10%". It means you should give 100 dollars out of 1000 as a present to them.

3. Officials of Anti-corruption Agency have expensive foreign cars. Where does their administration look? A question arises on how did they get so much money, if they work in state-financed organization?

The voices of respondents, Rudaki district

For a more complete understanding of corruption, we consider some answers to questions about the causes that breed corruption.

Reasons of using an informal way to become rich can be divided into 3 groups: the first includes the most frequently identified reasons which are due to low financial incentives of officials, low skills and poor management of staff.

The second group, rarely mentioned reasons, includes low educational and cultural level of the population, imprecision and ignorance of laws.

In the third group many reasons assembled – "lack of incentives for honest work", including career opportunities for honest officials, interconnection between government and business and contradiction of laws.

Table 7. Percentage distribution of causes of corruption

	Causes of corruption	Important in %	Not important in %
1.	Low salaries of officials	65,8	19,6
2.	Poor performance of law enforcement bodies	64,2	16,3
3.	Low educational and cultural level of officials	57,6	21,5
4.	Low educational and cultural level of population	54,3	15,9
5.	Imprecision of laws	52,2	21,4
6.	The influence of big businessmen on government	49,8	28,0
7.	Lack of incentives for honest performance of officials, including lack of career advancement depending on the faithful performance of duties	43,1	16,0
8.	Contradiction of laws	35,3	16,6

1. The causes of corruption – poverty and low wages. We agree that all services should be paid, but prices should be transparent and should be taken in the formal way, through cash desk. We have to pay on the entrance to the hospital, to pay for appointment with a doctor and to pay for tests. And if you have a surgery, you have to sell a cow or a sheep and to take a debt.

2. The purposes owing to which the Anti-corruption Agency was created have not been achieved. In our eyes it does not have any credibility, because they do not work and the results of their work are not visible. They did not ease our life, but only became rich. Only those who can not pay off are punished.

The voices of respondents, Hamadoni district

Awareness about particular methods of counteraction may depend on the level of understanding of corruption. People, who understand corruption as a complex social phenomenon, are aware about the existence of different methods of contending against corruption, though with varying degrees of success. The Research showed that the level of understanding of corruption is inherent in the majority of respondents who chose to fight against corruption and preferred the first two questions: *"Corruption will be defeated if the President fights it ruthlessly and brutally"* – 38.1% and *"Corruption can be defeated only with whole world. It should be fought both with support of authorities and all citizens"*- 38.4%. In turn, almost a fifth of respondents almost do not have an understanding of what corruption is and this fact conveys the suggestion that the fight against corruption, in general, is useless – *"There was embezzlement and it will remain in our country. There is nothing to be done"*- 19.2%.

Figure 6. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the possibility of defeating corruption

Corruption will be defeated if the President fights it ruthlessly and brutally	38,1%
Corruption can be defeated only with whole world. It should be fought both with support of authorities and all citizens	38,4%
There was embezzlement and it will remain in our country. There is nothing to be done	19,2%
Difficult to answer or refuse to answer	4,3%
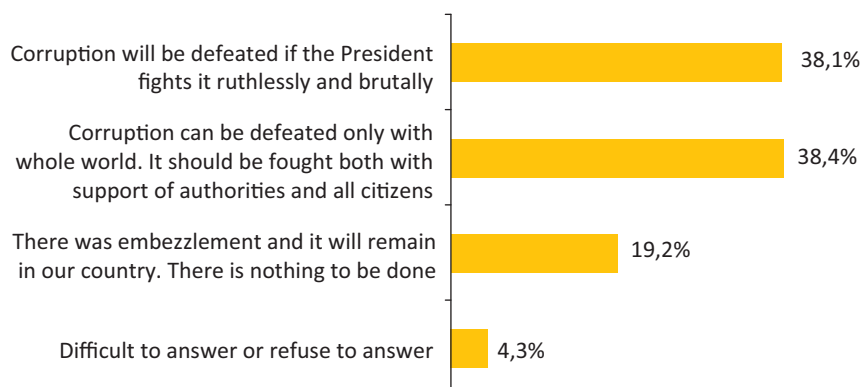
Analysis of the causes of non-prevalence of corruption in European courtiers showed that most respondents believe that with a high level of life standards there is no need for bribe -35.2%. The precise implementation of laws, integrity of officials and absence of self-interest, when using official duties, are considered to be requirements – 26.1%. And only 11.0% of respondents believe that corruption is everywhere.

Figure 7. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the causes of non-prevalence of corruption in Europe

Difficult to answer	3,0%
Corruption is everywhere	11,0%
Traditions and culture of these countries prevent corruption	13,3%
Citizens less depend on officials. No need to buy permission for everything	16,9%
There are incorruptible police and tough laws	26,1%
With a high level of life standards there is no need for bribe	35,2%
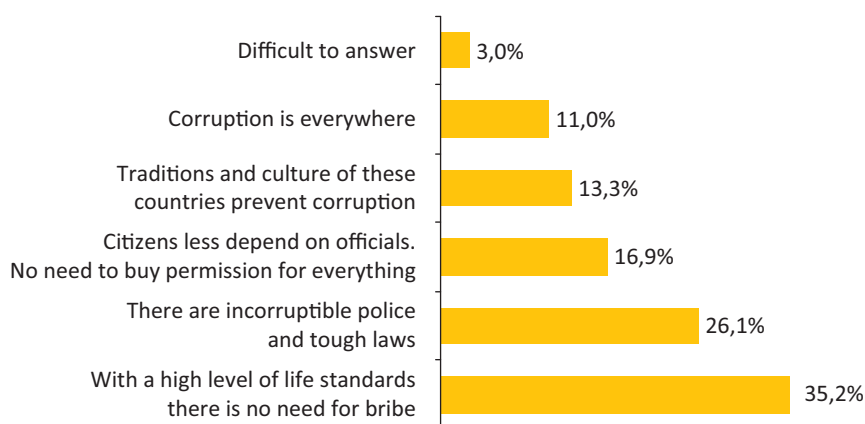
2.3. Attitude to corruption

The analysis of opinions and assessments of respondents regarding corruption is no less important than the analysis of their practice. We must not forget that attitudes in particular affect the behavior. They show the degree of positive or negative relations of respondents to this social phenomenon. The eternal question "Why do people steal?" requires, as one of the assumptions for its answer, the consideration of the hypothesis of a vicious nature of man.

For this reason, a concept of "attitude to corruption" was introduced in our study. It is constructed using the following questions.

6. *"What is your attitude to the fact that citizens have to pay often bribes in our country to solve their problems?"*

9. *"With which of the following propositions you would probably agree and which you would not?"*

  - *"No one obeys the laws now, therefore, being "a man of law" is naivety and silliness."*
  - *"Whatever is said, but money now solves everything."*

11. *"What do you think, on whose initiative and for which reason people you know, more often give bribe to officials?"*

19. *"In many countries there is a practice of anonymous allegations of corruption. Imagine that such system was introduced in Tajikistan."*

23. *"There are different opinions about the possibility of defeating corruption in Tajikistan. Which of the opinions stated below you think the most correct?"*

24. *"Let's suppose you were told about a man who after discovering that his boss takes bribes reported about him to the prosecutor's office. Choose one of the following words, which you think most accurately describes this man."*

All of these questions in varying degrees provoke respondents to show willingness in their answers readiness to accept corruption as a natural form of behavior or, conversely, to express disapproval.

Certainly, it is not easy to identify the attitude by a small number of questions, the responses to which may demonstrate insincerity or unconventional behavior, or the question may confuse the respondent. Nevertheless, we try to analyze the responses.

Figure 8. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the bribery

Corruption should be avoided, because it divides us and our authority	52,2%
It can be avoided, but with bribes it is easier to do business	24,9%
It is an important part of our life, without which nothing can be done	18,5%
Difficult to answer	4,4%
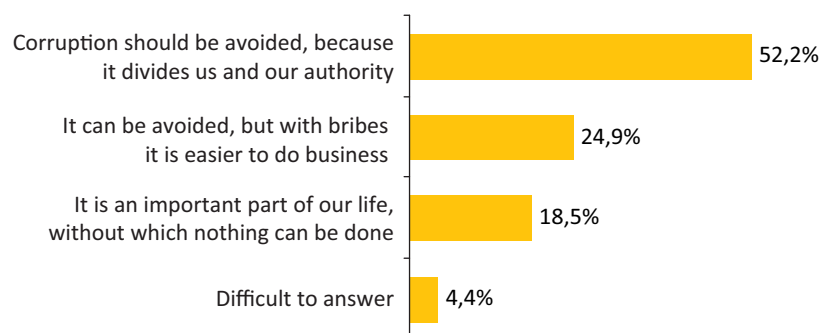
The analysis showed that half of the respondents understood that corruption is an evil that divides us and our power – 52.2%. A fifth of the responses was provided by those citizens who are willing to disavow corruption, but believe that it is easier to do a business with a bribe – 24.9%. The portion of people who answered "it is an important part of our life, without which nothing can be done" – 18.5% had an attitude of corruption which has long been formed or they accepted it and do not want to do anything.

Despite the fact that the respondents stated that corruption is at a high level, the connection between the practice of the respondents and the level of corruption is not evident and this fact indicates that a high score of corruption does not necessarily correspond to an attitude against corruption. The statement of one of the respondents serves as an example.

During the allocation of land I had to offer a bribe in the amount of $2500, bus still could not get the land, probably I offered too little.

The voice of respondent – Rudaki district

Figure 9. Percentage distribution of attitude to corruption
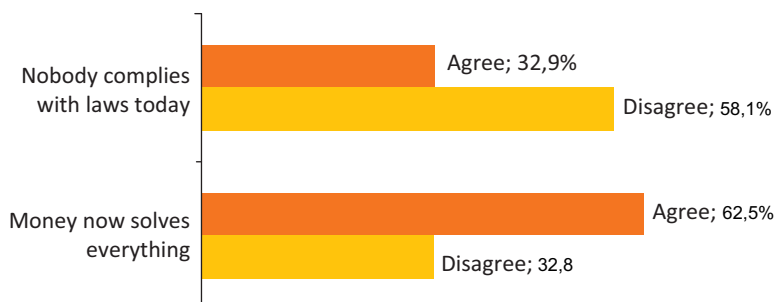
In analysis of this question the highest proportion of responses fell in with consent with the fact that "money now solves everything" – 62.5%. But, if we consider the amount of expression of disapproval of corruption – "disagree" on the two questions (90.2%), then it is not much different from the perception of corruption as a natural form of behavior – 83.9%.

Over 1/3 of respondents in the question about the initiator of a bribe believes that they are compelled by the official, who is considered to be the initiator of bribes-33.1%. However, the overall proportion of responses (2 and 3) in the Table 8 is much higher than the first answer – 47.8%. That is, citizens do not deny or half of them do not deny their guiltiness in this act. The fourth option of answer has a very small proportion - 9.0%. These are people who we talked about above. They have either no understanding of corruption or they have reconciled to it.

Table 8. Percentage distribution of frequency of taking initiative in bribes

	"On whose initiative and for what reason, people whom you know, more often give bribe to officials?"	in %
1.	Officer compels, hints or creates for this situation.	33,1
2.	Citizens themselves take initiative.	23,9
3.	Both sides know in advance that bribery is common in this situation.	23,9
4.	Another way to solve the problem simply does not exist.	9,0
5.	Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	10,2

Officials are accustomed to take money, and therefore they began to buy positions, because then it all pays off. If the jobs as before, distributed in universities for successful students or through the Commission in Hukumat for professionals after an objective test, it would help to reduce corruption.

The voice of respondent – Kulob

If in the analysis of the question of anonymous allegations (table 9) we take as a base the most frequently recurring responses (1 and 2), then it is clear that the views of respondents divided almost in two. Some believe that all who have information about corruption must report to the authorities – 26.5%, others said that this practice of anonymous allegations is not needed – 22.6%. Many people have concerns that innocent people might be affected – 19.2%. In two subsequent responses (4, 5) the respondents rejected the practice of anonymous allegations. While some worry that it will be difficult to remain anonymous – 16.5%, others acknowledged corruption as a normal part of our lives – 12.9%.

Table 9. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions on the practice of anonymous allegations

	Is a practice of anonymous allegations on corruption needed?	in %
1.	If someone has information about corruption, he should anonymously inform the authorities.	26,5
2.	Such a system is not needed.	22,6
3.	Under this mark the honest people can be discredited.	19,2
4.	This system is unlikely to be effective, since it will be difficult to maintain anonymity.	16,5
5.	This system won't be effective since corruption is a natural part of our lives and helping people to solve their problems.	12,9
6.	Difficult to answer	2,3

Many respondents in the survey said that they resort to the complaints and often in a non-anonymous way, but it does not give any effect.

> *Near the school № 50 (backyard) of our district, an individual built a two-storey house. We have filed complaints to the authorities several times. A commission visited the place, but has not taken any action. It is clear that the issue could not be solved without a bribe.*
>
> **The voice of respondent – Muminobod, teacher**

Responses about the characteristics of the man, who reported to the prosecutor on the bribe-taker, were as follows:

- hero -13.4%;
- honest 59.6%;
- traitor, vindictive - 2%.

Respondents' opinions about the possibility of defeat of corruption in the country:

- "There was embezzlement and it will remain in our country. There is nothing to be done"- the response is 19.2%;
- "Corruption can be defeated only with whole world. It should be fought both with support of authorities and all citizens" - the response is 38.4%.

Hence, people are keen to tackle corruption, but for this purpose they believe it is necessary for all to unite.

2.4. Involvement of different social groups in corruption

This section discusses the concept of "active involvement" of citizens in corruption. This definition assumes the frequency of entry in corrupt transactions. The total percentage of "involvement" for the whole sample was – 46.1%. The analysis of the frequencies of "involvement" is made according to the socio-demographic characteristics, i.e., the behavior of people in urban and rural areas, dependence on monthly income, gender, age and education. Respondents were asked:

32. *"Has anyone in your family or you paid bribes to officials?"*

The proportion of "active involvement" of urban residents - 53%, this is not much more than the residents of rural areas - 47%. The biggest "involvement" in the corruption found among respondents in the age group between 35 and 44 year-old - 30%. Men (62%) than women (37.7%) are more involved in corruption.

The study of "active involvement", depending on the economic situation of the family, showed that the proportion of those families whose income is not very large (between 500 and 1000 TJS) has the involvement much higher – 36.6% than the proportion of families with high incomes -29.5 %. The involvement in corruption of the population whose income is between 200 and 500 TJS is also high – 33.9%.

Depending on the educational level the highest "active involvement" in corruption falls at respondents with higher education – 41.2%. The involvement in corruption of the respondents who have primary, lower secondary, secondary and special secondary education in total is 29.7%.

Table 10 shows the distribution of "active involvement" of citizens according to the above characteristics.

Table 10. Percentage distribution of indices of active involvement in corruption

Area	
Urban	53%
Rural	47%
Gender	
Men	62,3%
Women	37,7%
Education	
Higher education	41,2%
Primary, secondary and special secondary education	29,7%
Family income between 200 and 1000 TJS	70,5%
Family income between 1000 and 3000 TJS and more	29,5%
Age	
Age 18-24 years old	13%
Age 25-34 years old	18,8%
Age 35-44 years old	30%
Age 45-54 years old	25,9%
Age 55 and older	12,4%

The explanation of the indices of the "active involvement" is based apparently on the important factor of frequency of engagement with the state. It increases in city-dwellers; it is greater for young people (for example, because of engagement with public institutions such as universities); it is higher in those who, due to government interaction, achieve greater success (businessmen regularly engage with government officials, people with higher education, employees, etc.).

3. CORRUPTION IN DIFFERENT STATE BODIES

3.1. The level of involvement of various branches of public administration in corruption

This section reveals the judgment of respondents about the level of involvement of different state bodies in corruption. For this purpose, the answers of citizens are used for the following questions:

13. *"How would you rate the following state bodies, organizations and social groups according to their degree of corruption on a scale from "honest" to "corrupt"?"*

14. *"Which of the above organizations in your opinion is the most corrupt?"*

15. *"Which of the above organizations is the least corrupt?"*

The table shows the ten most "honest" and "corrupt" government institutions out of 22 proposed in the questionnaire. Depending on the frequency the ranking of agencies is determined.

Table 11. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the integrity of state organs

State bodies	The most honest	State bodies	The most corrupt
Labor unions	20,6%	State Road Traffic Safety Inspection	32,3%
Mosques, religious organizations	17,2%	The administration and staff of clinics and hospitals	30,6%
The administration and teachers of secondary schools, universities	13,8%	The administration and university teachers	23,9%
The Government of the RT (Cabinet)	12,7%	The Agency for State Financial Control and Fight against Corruption	21,4%
Media	10,3%	Law enforcement agencies (police, tax office, Customs)	20,7%
Army	8,6%	Higher courts (Supreme Court, the Economic Court)	16,6%
State bank, Savings Bank	7,8%	Utilities (Housing Management Office and house management committee)	16,1%
Administration of the city, district, town, village	7,5%	Lower courts (regional, city, district)	15,2%
State-owned enterprises	7,2%	The administration and staff of a social security and other social services agencies	14,0%
Political parties	7,4%	National security agencies	14,0%

The analysis of staff ranking of listed state agencies showed that the most honest are those organizations that are not linked to public administration. These are public organizations – mosques and labor unions. Most of the organizations on "the most honest" list are those state agencies with which most people do not often have direct engagement. Based on the definition of "honest" and "corrupt" the most and least corrupt state agencies were identified.

Figure 10. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the most corrupt state body

Agency	Percentage
Law enforcement agencies (police, tax office, Customs)	15,5%
The administration and teachers of universities	10,7%
The administration and staff of clinics and hospitals	8,4%
Administration of the city, district, town, village	6,5%
State Road Traffic Safety Inspection	5,8%
The Anti Corruption Agency	5,5%
The Government of the RT (Cabinet)	4,7%
Higher courts (Supreme Court, the Economic Court)	4,7%
Lower courts (regional, city, district)	3,8%
National Assembly (upper house), Assembly of Representatives (lower house)	3,3%

The top five leaders of corruption were **law enforcement agencies** (police, tax office, and the customs service), higher education, administration and staff of **hospitals and clinics, the city administration, districts, towns and villages**, and the **traffic police**. Holding a monopoly position in the "market" of public safety the traffic safety service is always in regular contact with the public. In addition, it is provided with the greatest authority, acting in its sole discretion and less accountable to citizens.

The Agency on State Financial Control and Fight against Corruption is also included in the list of the most corruptive state bodies. Many complaints have been addressed to its staff.

The reliability ranking in the derived calculations is confirmed by the set of statements of respondents about the corruptness of almost all state bodies in the table.

Inspectors of State Road Traffic Safety Inspection became so insolent that they take bribes without fear and even count the amount of money in front of driver. I heard that "radar" - the device which measures the vehicle's speed, is given to the inspectors for rent. Even there is a queue to get it. It means that "radar" is given to those inspectors who in the evening bring "stake" for administration.

The voice of respondent – Dushanbe

1. The Agency on State Financial Control and Fight against Corruption does not identify shortcomings, but collects money. It yanks only the lower classes, although the water is murky from above. This organization should punish the "top".

2. I think that instead of the Agency on Fight against Corruption a body as The Department for Combating Embezzlement of Socialist Property should be rebuilt. This body would immediately bring to justice those who built castles and palaces. They would have asked them about the sources of their income.

The voices of respondents – Muminobod

In my opinion, the Agency on Fight against Corruption must be abolished. The prosecutor's office has a department that deals with economic crimes. This department should be transformed into administration, honest and decent employees should be hired and their salaries should be increased.

The voice of respondent – MBAR

Participants of the Research believe that officials are not so careful and not so "scrupulous" in taking bribes. In their opinion, this is due to the quality of selection of personnel and staff training. In these structures not always dishonest and unscrupulous people work.

Figure 11. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the least corrupt state body

Mosques, religious organizations	18,6%
Labor unions	15,6%
The Government of the RT (Cabinet)	8,2%
Secondary schools, colleges, universities	6,8%
Media	6,2%
National Assembly (upper house), Assembly of Representatives (lower house)	4,0%
Army	3,6%
State-owned enterprises	3,4%
Administration of the city, district, town, village	3,2%
Political parties	3,2%
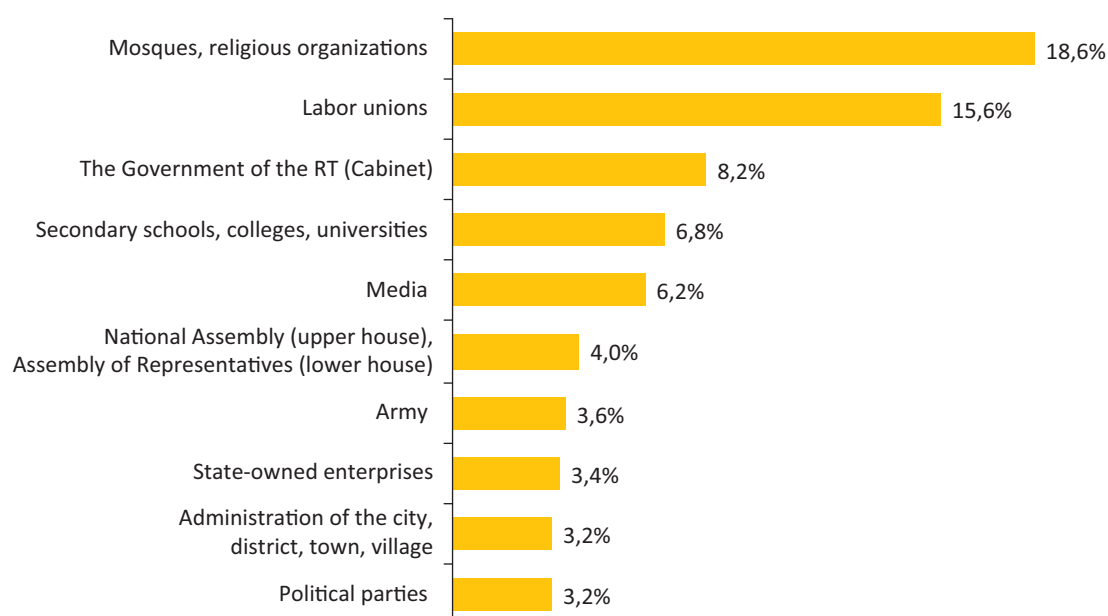
Thus, according to the results of the Research corruption occurs at various levels of government agencies and virtually in all state sectors. According to unanimous opinion of the respondents it can't be said, essentially, that any state body would be free from corruption. This is due to the fact that they all have some kind of regulating functions, and dispose some resources, the ownership of which creates a favorable basis for corruption.

4. CORRUPTION CIRCUMSTANCES AND MECHANISMS

In this section, we discuss the questions with which respondents give an assessment of the circumstances of corrupt transactions and situations that characterize corruption.

4.1. Bribe: who is guilty?

Respondents were asked:

6. *"What is your attitude to the fact that citizens have to pay often bribes in our country to solve their problems? Which of the following judgments in this regard, closer to your view?"*

35. *"What do you think, on whose initiative and for which reason people you know, more often give bribe to officials?"*

This question has been answered only by those who gave bribes in the latest corruption situation that they faced.

Figure 12. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the importance of bribery

- Corruption should be avoided, because it divides us and our authority — 52,2%
- It can be avoided, but with bribes it is easier to do business — 24,9%
- It is an important part of our life, without which nothing can be done — 18,5%
- Difficult to answer — 4,4%
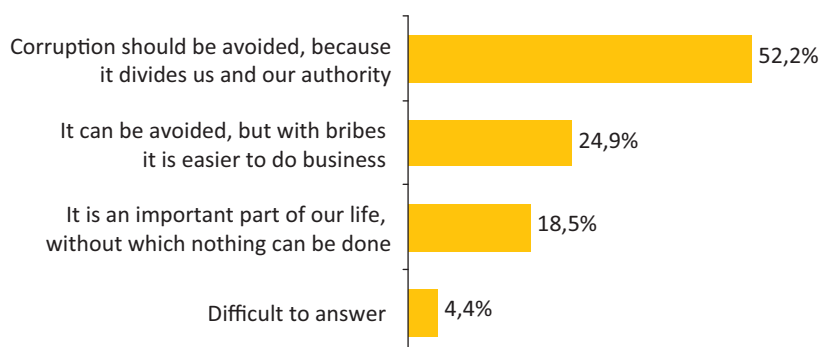
Slightly more than half of respondents said that corruption separates us and our power and it should be avoided – 52.2%. But following two answers "with bribe it is easier to do a business" and "it is an important part of our life, without which nothing can be done" suggest to solve the problems facing them by resorting to bribery. They perceive bribes as the most effective way of solving both economic and everyday problems. In total, the proportion of these responses is not much lower than the first response – 43.4%.

Figure 13. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the initiators of bribes

- Difficult to answer or refuse to answer — 10,2%
- Other way to solve the problem simply does not exist — 9,0%
- Both sides know in advance that bribery is common in this situation — 23,9%
- Citizens initiate — 23,9%
- Official compels, implies or create a situation for it — 33,1%
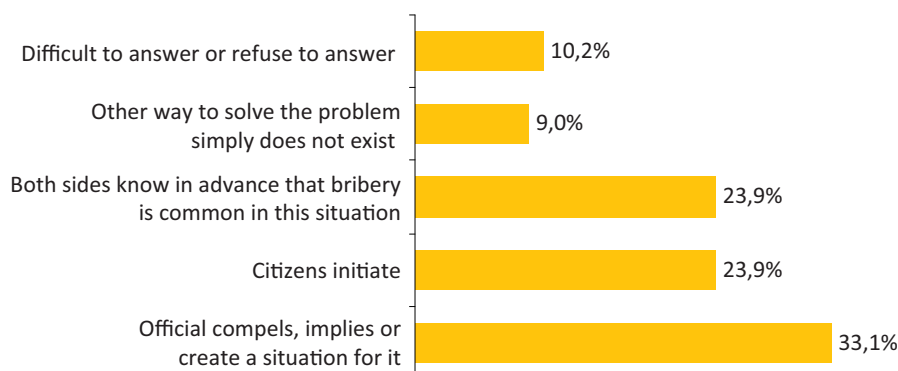
The figure shows that more often officers act as initiators of corrupt transactions – 33.1%. But citizens are not far behind them, and if we take into account also the half of frequencies from the response of "both sides know in advance that bribery is common in this situation", then in total it will turn out that citizens in many cases are the initiator of bribes – 35.8%.

> *When the vehicle is stopped by an inspector of Road Traffic Safety Inspection, we always offer a bribe, because you cannot prove anything to him. Then a red tape begins with registration of protocol and the official payment to the savings bank. Later, for a month you look for the inspector to take back your driving license.*
>
> **The voice of respondent – Vahdat**

4.2. Corruption peculiarity

Analysis of this question had two objectives:

a) to identify the most and least common characterization of corruption;
b) to identify a reason why people enter into corrupt relationships.

Respondents were asked:

10. *"Choose those situations or circumstances that you think that most accurately characterize corruption in Tajikistan."*

Table 12. Percentage distribution of characterizations of corruption

Characterizations of corruption	in %
Ordinary citizens or entrepreneurs themselves tend to give bribes to officials to get government officials to perform their duties	12,5
Ordinary citizens or entrepreneurs pay bribes to officials to evade punishment or to do something to bypass the rules and laws	6,4
Civil servants extort bribes from people because they (officials) have to do so for people	14,0
Purchase of posts in government	12,9
Politicians, officials, businessmen are united in one clan where "one hand washes the other" and are doing everything for themselves and not for the people and country	12,2
Senior officials appropriate public funds and property	12,1
Senior officials and politicians for own ends use their official position	11,1
Politicians and government officials have privatized authority and sell it to those who interested at a reasonable price	7,9
Big businessmen bribe high-ranking officials so that the authority makes decisions in their favor	7,0
Difficult to answer or refuse to answer	3,8

The first two answers have shown, for what services citizens or entrepreneurs pay a bribe (compulsory or not): for the fulfillment of their rights or for evading the execution of provision of law. Most of the respondents answered that by so doing they want to make officials carry out their direct duties – 12.5%. But there were also those who have accepted their own breaches – 6.4%.

The remaining responses indicated the prevalence of various forms of corruption. In the first place is **extortion** – 14.0%, the second - **bribery** of 12.9%, in third place – people are united to gain **a full control** over any specific area – 12.2%. The embezzlement of public funds comes next – 12.1%. Thus, all traditional forms of corruption present in the market of corruption in Tajikistan.

5. NATURE AND CAUSES OF CORRUPTION

5.1. The place of corruption among the most important issues of the country

Speaking about the public understanding of the causes of corruption, it is necessary, above all, to consider the people's perceptions of its importance among other problems of the country.

Respondents were asked:

2. *"Which problems of our society concern you most?"*

3. *"How often do you think the citizens have to deal with bribery and corruption in specific areas of daily life?"*

The analysis of the study shows that corruption or bribery of officials is not considered by respondents as one of the most important problems of the society. Rather, it is a secondary problem, which cannot be compared with the concern of people about economic hardship. As it is seen in the Table 13 corruption is among the issues of medium importance (7.6%), such as the "crisis of morality, culture" and "lack of food and essential commodities."

Table 13. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the place of corruption among the critical problems of society

Which problems of our society concern you the most?	
1. Price rise	24,5%
2. Unemployment	19,7%
3. Poverty, low wages	19,0%
4. Selfishness, corruption of officials	7,6%
5. The crisis of morality, culture, morals	6,0%
6. Lack of food and essential commodities	4,9%
7. Weakness and helplessness of the government	3,9%
8. Drug addiction	3,6%
9. Organised crime, gangsterism	2,8%
10. Lack of clear objectives	2,6%
11. Street crime, theft	2,2%
12. Delays in payment of salaries, pensions	0,3%
13. Difficult to answer (or no response)	0,3%

These grades do not indicate the prevalence of problems or the amount of damage to the country, but to which extent the problems concern the respondent. Compared to other severe issues of society, corruption concerns people slightly, and even if it is a defect, it is a usual one, i.e., "semi-standard" of life. And this fact happens despite the responses to the question on how often people encounter bribery, more than half of respondents (53.5%) reported that almost in all daily situations they deal with corruption.

So, to get medical care in hospitals and clinics it is necessary to "give" indicated 18.9% of respondents, to go to university - 12.6%, to buy land – 11.0%, to settle the situation with the traffic police – 11.0%.

Accordingly, with this analysis, only 20.7% of people believe that "a minority of people in local authorities takes bribes", 49.6% believes that such people are in the majority, and 16.7% thinks that half of them are corrupt.

About the evaluation of higher authorities 46.2% of respondents consider that they are "corrupt" and only 19.2% believes that they are "honest", the remaining respondents found difficulty to answer the question - 34.6%

Thus, **according to public opinion, corruption is widespread, but based upon the analysis it does not cause a particular concern.**

Not surprisingly, while evaluating in general the role of corruption in society, the population was divided almost in two parts: 52.2% believes that giving bribes should be avoided, as "corruption divides us and our power, and 43.8% believes that "it is an important part of our life, without which nothing can be done" and "it can be avoided, but with bribes easier to do business."

Obviously, for the successful arrangement of action against corruption it is necessary not only informing people about the possibility of protecting individual rights in engagement with state institutions, but also a serious change is needed in the moral and legal views of people.

5.2. Views on causes of corruption

Public opinion about the roots of corruption was analyzed by responses provided to a straightforward question of the questionnaire:

17. *"There are different opinions on the causes and the roots of corruption. Here are two statements about this. Choose the one that more accurately reflects your opinion."*

Figure 14. Percentage distribution of opinions on the causes of corruption

Our history and traditions — 51%

Market reforms — 51%

Difficult to answer — 51%
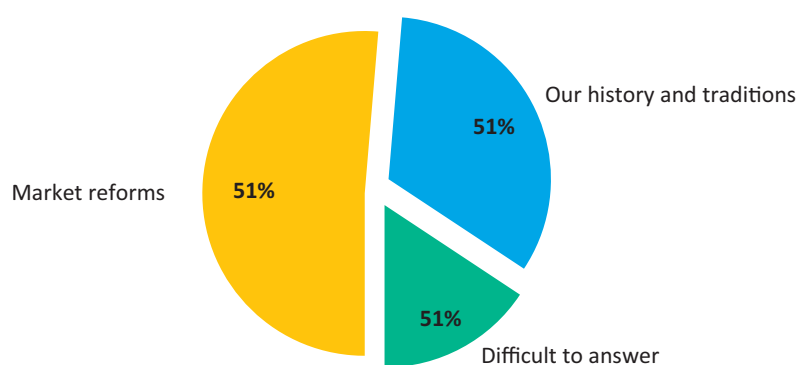
As it can be seen, citizens more often tend to blame the market reforms than our historical traditions for growing of corruption. Within this sample such a position often occupied by residents of rural areas (50.7%) and respondents between 25 and 45 year-old age group – 54.2%, as well as people with lower level of education – 53.9%. Respondents with higher education call both causes approximately equally - 44.6% and 40.3% respectively. A small group of people with academic degrees displays historical traditions in the first place – 48.6%.

If people had considerable difficulty in choosing the initial causes of corruption and could not define it - 16.2%, it was much easier for people to give exact reasons for the problems of our lives, which give rise to corruption. The question proposed in the questionnaire identifies the evaluation of these causes.

18. *"The following list includes the possible causes that give rise to corruption in Tajikistan. Please, evaluate their importance selecting one of the options of responses."*

As a matter of convenience, the responses of citizens to the above question were provided in Table 14. The table sets out the first ten causes of corruption, rated as the most important in descending order of importance. Respondents were asked to select up to five answers to this question.

Table 14. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the importance and non-importance of the causes of corruption

Causes of corruption	Important in %	Not important in %	Difficult to answer
1. Low salaries of officials	65,8	19,6	14,6
2. Excessive taxes and fees	64,7	19,3	16,0
3. Poor performance of law enforcement bodies	64,2	16,3	19,5
4. Corruption of the authorities at the highest level	64,2	14,4	21,4
5. Many regulatory authorities, a large number of checks of the same legal entity, the absence of clear reasons for inspections, audits, etc.	58,6	23,9	17,5
6. Improper use of foreign aid to the country	58,5	18,7	22,9
7. Low educational and cultural level of officials	57,6	21,5	20,9
8. The necessity of obtaining extensive approvals and permits	54,4	23,3	22,3
9. Low educational and cultural level of the population	54,3	15,9	29,9
10. Radical economic reforms	53,7	21,4	24,8

From the Table 14 it can be seen that the population identifies the "low salaries of officials" as a major cause of large-scale corruption– 65.8%. One-third of these ten responses indicated that the causes of corruption linked to the problem of bureaucracy, an abundance of regulations, permits, inspections and audits giving to official a wide scope for arbitrariness, intimidation and extortion. "Excessive taxes and fees" also adjoins it – 64.7%. The "corruption of the authorities at the highest level" takes the fourth place in the list of causes – 64.2%. As the causes of corruption, the problems associated with "low educational and cultural level of officials" and "low educational and cultural level of the population" are ranked by citizens sufficiently high– 57.6% and 54.3% respectively. Economic causes of corruption, for example, all that is related to radical economic reforms and privatization, are not listed high among respondents. This cause is in the last place in the table. Thus, based on the analysis of the causes which give rise to corruption it can be said that the official is pushed to corruption due to poverty and lack of normal financial payment.

Next question regarding the opinion about the causes of corruption will be reviewed based on the logic of justification for corrupt behavior of officials when taking bribe:

22. *"According to you what is a justification for officials, who take bribe?"*

Table 15. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the logical justification of officials' corrupt behavior

Answer choices	in %
1. We have miserable wages, but I have to feed my family.	21.3
2. Everybody around takes bribe. I had to be like everyone.	20.3
3. I do not know what will happen to me tomorrow. I have to think about the future.	13.3
4. The higher-ups, with whom I must share, compel me to do so.	11.2
5. My boss takes, and so do I.	10.5
6. Difficult to answer, or Refused to answer	9.6
7. I have worked for a long time, am a professional, but still have not been promoted.	8.3
8. I revenge this criminal government that has ruined the country.	5.3

Out of the first five answer choices, which the majority of respondents chose, two groups can be separated: the **first** is material – "miserable wages", "I do not know what will happen tomorrow"; the **second** group – "everybody takes", "I do not know what will happen to me tomorrow. I have to think about the future", and "the higher-ups, with whom I must share, compel me to do so". These three opinions provide an explanation of mass tolerance to corruption: it is a form of survival, extra earnings, market behavior and this is actually the standard of life which is widespread and has become commonplace. In total, the second group of response was – 44.8%.

Some differences, associated with belonging of the respondents to a particular socio-demographic group, can be traced in responses. So the answer choice "we have miserable wages, but I have to feed my family" is chosen more by urban residents - 54.5%, than in rural areas – 45.5%; the greatest frequency of responses in rural areas is, "I have worked for a long time, am a professional, but still have not been promoted"- 60.1%.

5.3. Appraisal of judicial system

The notions that the important causes of corruption are bad laws and courts are also reflected in the question on the judicial system. In this question the statements about corruption in the courts received the most support. All appraisals of the judicial system by citizens are summarized in the Table 16.

16. *"There are various opinions about our judicial system and our judges. In this regard, what would be your appraisal of the following statements?"(multiple answers.)*

Table 16. Percentage distribution of respondents' appraisal of judicial system

Answer choices	Important in %	Not important in %	Difficult to answer in %
1. Many people do not want to go to court because they do not believe in justice	61,2	22,3	16,6
2. Many people do not want to go to court because informal costs are too expensive	60,4	17,8	21,8
3. In our courts often win those who pay more	55,0	25,9	19,1
4. The judges get a small salary, so some of them take bribes	48,8	34,8	16,4
5. Now a citizen can go to court and defend his rights and find justice	45,9	36,1	18,0

Answer choices		Important in %	Not important in %	Difficult to answer in %
6.	Our judges have such immunity that they can do anything and with impunity	44,8	32,0	23,2
7.	Very often certain chiefs can induce the judge to take the necessary decision	41,7	27,6	30,6
8.	Judges are too unqualified to skill-fully settle the case	40,2	26,5	33,4

The first three responses have the largest portion of answers, and point to the venality, dishonesty and sleaze of judges. The logic of justification for the corrupt conduct of judges is manifested in response number 4 – "the judges get a small salary, so some of them take bribes"- 48.8%. It can be thought as a compassion for arbiters. Quite a large portion of responses falls on the response "too unqualified" – 40.2%.

6. ACTION AGAINST CORRUPTION

6.1. Methods of fighting corruption by public opinion

This section identifies the preferences of citizens with regard to fighting corruption strategies. The analysis was conducted on the following issues:

19. *"Is there a need for a practice of anonymous allegations about corruption?"*

20. *"What actions of the higher authorities against corruption, in your opinion would be persuasive and effective?"*

21. *"What are the measures to combat corruption, would you be ready and agree to support?"*

23. *"There are different opinions about the possibility to defeat corruption. Which of the opinions according to you is most correct?"*

Figure 15. Percentage distribution of practices of anonymous allegations
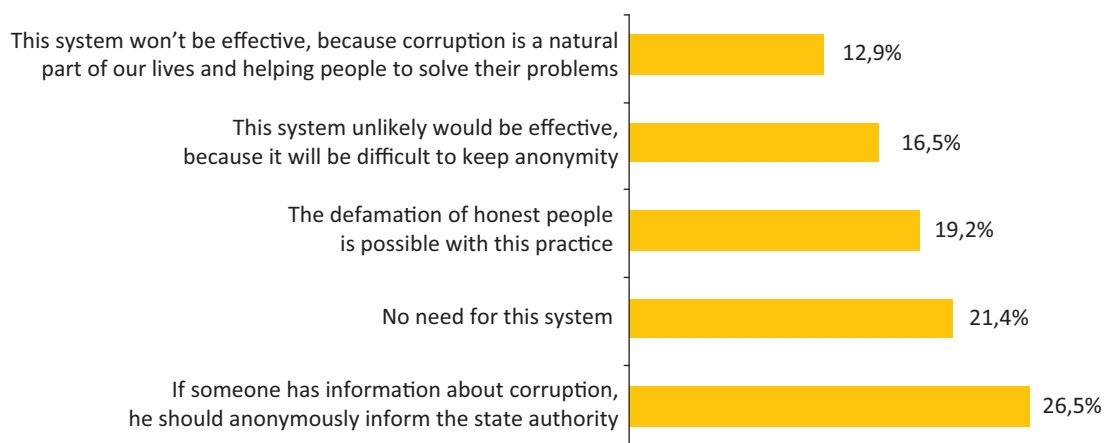
Most of the respondents have the opinion that the practice of anonymous allegations is necessary and these allegations should be given to state bodies that consider corruption cases – 26.5%. However, nearly 1/5 of respondents are concerned about defamation of honest citizens under this practice – 19.2%. The percentage of respondents who negatively commented on the practice of anonymous allegations is – 21.4%. The smallest portion of responses falls on answers "corruption is a natural part of our lives and helping people to solve their problems" – 12.9%, though respondents would not resort to this practice.

Table 17. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions on action against corruption

Actions against corruption	in %
1. Toughening criminal responsibility for bribery	14,2
2. Dismissal of corrupt officials	12,6
3. Criminal responsibility for bribery	11,2
4. Raising the salary of officials	9,1
5. Control over officials	9,0
6. Open trials of bribery	8,7
7. The fight against corruption in the highest echelons of authority	7,4
8. Enactment of laws which provide prosecution and punishment of bribe-takers	6,4
9. Media coverage of punishment of corrupt officials	6,1
10. Enforcement of existing laws	6,1
11. Changing the state apparatus	3,5
12. None	2,4
13. Liquidation of discrepancies in legislations	1,6

Citizens on the issue of anti-corruption strategy in the majority incline to "war method". This is confirmed by the frequency distribution of their responses to almost all questions related to this subject. For example, the respondents' answers "toughening criminal responsibility" – 14.2% and "criminal responsibility for bribery" – 11.6% serve as evidence. Also the response "the dismissal of corrupt officials" deserves attention – 12.6%. The method of counteraction may be the practice of "open trials of bribery" said 8.7% of respondents.

I think that the main cause of corruption is in the culture of impunity. The law and the punishment should be same for high-ranking officials, corrupt law enforcement officers, sons of high-ranking officials. There must be equality before the law and inevitability of punishment, and then we won't divide people on the first and second classes. Courts should be open above them, the media should inform about it, all assets of bribe-taker should be confiscated and subsequently he should be banned to take leadership positions.

The voice of respondent – Dushanbe, academic, Candidate of Science

Table 18. Percentage distribution of the necessary measures in fighting corruption

Measures in fighting corruption	Agree in %	Disagree in %	Difficult to answer in %
1. Strengthening criminal responsibility for corruption - both for takers and givers	73,4	20,6	6,1
2. Permission for wiretaps and reading personal correspondence	38,7	54,2	7,1
3. Strengthening state control over the expenditure of all citizens	38,2	49,2	12,6
4. Raising taxes on all citizens to channel additional funds to health and education sectors	23,7	53,6	22,7
5. Raising taxes on all citizens to increase the salary to officials	14,4	72,3	13,3

The answer "strengthening criminal responsibility for corruption - both for takers and givers" was the only one widely supported by citizens – 73.4%. Incidentally, let's note the following. Given the fact that 26.5% of citizens supported the practice of anonymous allegations of corruption, we should recognize that the "war method" in its systematic form, is brought to its logical conclusion and is popular in public opinion.

Table 19. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the possibilities to overcome corruption

How to overcome corruption?	in %
1. Corruption can be defeated only with whole world. It should be fought both with support of authorities and all citizens	38,4
2. Corruption will be defeated if the President fights it ruthlessly and brutally	38,1
3. There was embezzlement and it will remain in our country. There is nothing to be done	19,2
4. Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	4,3

In response to this question citizens have shown that they inherit the understanding of corruption and chose the answer "corruption can be defeated only with whole world" – 38.4%. And if we consider that most respondents when choosing the means to combat corruption inclined to "war method", then in choosing the subjects of struggle they behaved consistently and chose the answer "corruption will be defeated if the President fights it ruthlessly and brutally" – 38.1%. For the pessimistic statement that "there was embezzlement and it will remain in our country" came 19.2%.

6.2. Ideological preferences and anti-corruption strategy

This section analyzes the dependence of respondents' chosen strategy for fighting corruption from their ideological beliefs. The beliefs were identified on the basis of a question:

26. *"Are there, in your opinion, such situations in life of country when people need a strong and authoritative leader, i.e., a "strong hand?"*

**Figure 16. Percentage distribution of ideological preferences
of the respondents for anti-corruption strategy**
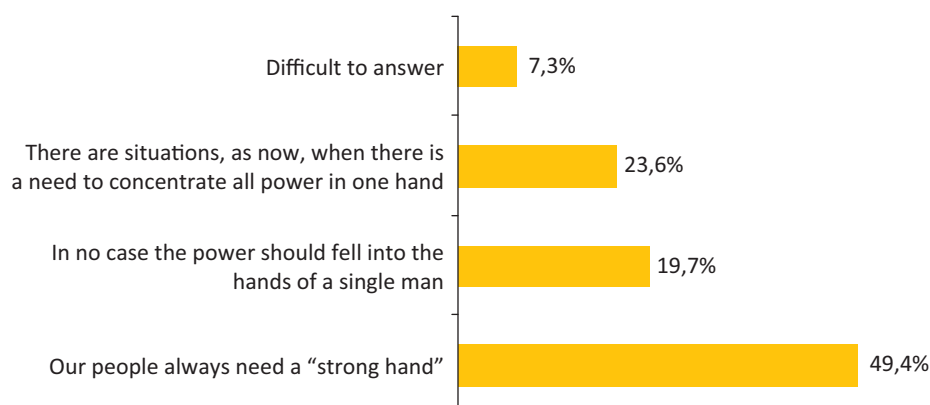
Difficult to answer	7,3%
There are situations, as now, when there is a need to concentrate all power in one hand	23,6%
In no case the power should fell into the hands of a single man	19,7%
Our people always need a "strong hand"	49,4%

Ideological orientations of the respondents have a significant influence on selection of various strategies to combat corruption. It can be assumed that the group of respondents who chose the answer "people always need a strong hand" (49.4%) apparently will support a brutal struggle against corruption. And the group of respondents who inclined to the answer "the power should not fell into the hands of a single man" (19.7%) would welcome measures to eliminate the causes of corruption. Thus, ideological orientations of the respondents have a significant influence on selection of various strategies to combat corruption.

7. EVERYDAY CORRUPTION PRACTICE

7.1. The practice of encountering corruption

The structure of everyday corruption in terms of its various areas (markets) is further investigated in this section. These areas happen in routine needs of citizens (health, education, security, etc.). These requirements, in turn, are structured by public institutions which are designed, it is supposed, to meet the needs of citizens. Due to inefficiency of public institutions, at the interface between them and the needs of the citizens, instead of satisfied needs the corruption markets occur, i.e., in place of public services the areas of corresponding corruption services arise.

1. The analysis of recent corruption interaction with authorities

29. *Often our citizens in order to solve their problems or the problems of their families have to "encourage" clerk, i.e., to give bribe or gift. Have you or someone in your family fall into a similar situation (regardless of whether you give a bribe or not)?*

30. *When was the last time you had to get into such situation?*

31. *"In solving which problem or in which situation you realized that without a bribe you cannot solve the problem?"*

32. *"In this situation did you give a bribe?"*

36. *"How much did you spend on bribes?"*

40. *"How would you describe your feelings because you had to pay a bribe?"*

2.   The analysis of the interaction with authorities during the year

44. *"Have you or members of your family over the last year faced the following situations or solved the following problems? Evaluate the degree of your satisfaction from solving your problem in the situation that you faced."*

45. *"Mention those situations where you realized that you are supposed to give a bribe, gift, etc."*

The results of the answers to these questions allow us to portray the various properties of studied markets and their characteristics.

The analysis of response to situations when respondents had to "encourage" officials to solve their problems showed that 46.1% of respondents fell into similar situations. This indicator gives the characteristics of corruption risks.

The frequency of responses to the question "when was the last time you had to get into such situation" is presented in the figure. The average portion of the density of corrupt transactions is 16.7%. As a result, within six months one transaction occurs with one person and at least 2 times per year he gets into a similar situation.

Figure 17. Percentage distribution of the intensity of corruption situations
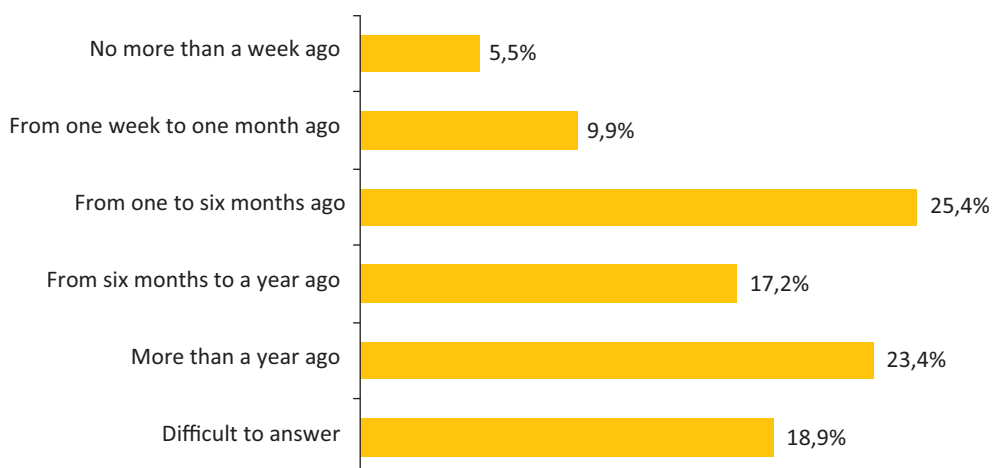
The frequencies of selection of answers to the question "in which situation ...." have the following meaning: knowing that some citizen got into corruption situation, what is the chance that it happened in hospital, university, on the road, in the military enlistment office, etc. That is to say, in some sense the indicated frequency characterizes the structure of corruption services market: the higher the frequency, the more citizens pay bribes precisely in this area.

Table 20. Percentage distribution of corruption situations faced by citizens

In solving which problem or in which situation you realized that without a bribe you cannot solve the problem?	In %
1. Enrolling university, transferring from one university to another	12,6
2. After getting in the hospital acquiring full support and service	12,0
3. Solving the situation with traffic police (obtaining the driving license, maintenance checkup, violation of traffic rules, etc.)	11,0

In solving which problem or in which situation you realized that without a bribe you cannot solve the problem?		In %
4.	Acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose) and (or) registering ownership for it	10,9
5.	Getting the desired job or career development	6,8
6.	Seeking justice in court	6,4
7.	Housing	5,5
8.	Getting registration at place of residence, national or foreign passport, etc.	5,2
9.	Enrolling desired school and its successful completion	4,9
10.	Arranging or recalculating pension	4,3
11.	Solving problems regarding with induction into the military force	2,5
12.	Other	2,5
13.	Solving problems regarding to induction into military service	9,7
14.	Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	2,5

As the table shows the market of corruption services is led by universities – 12.6%, hospitals – 12.0%, traffic police – 11.0%, and land acquisition – 10.9%. It is here where citizens often pay bribes when faced with this situation. Other markets have a smaller share, but, nevertheless, also require injection of money.

The frequencies of positive answer to the question "the bribe is given" on condition that the respondent got into this situation, give a characteristic that can be interpreted as the readiness of citizens to bribery in this situation (the demand for corruption). In our analysis, the demand for corruption is 45.3%

Figure 18. Percentage distribution of demand for corruption

Have you given bribe?
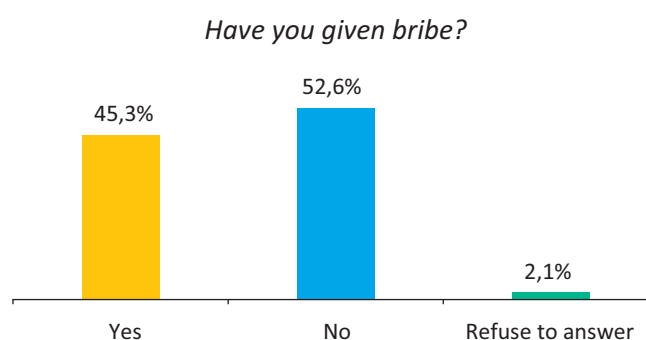
As a matter of convenience, the amount given to officials as bribes was divided into groups. The group "between 200 and 500" has the largest portion – 25.5%.

The average size of bribes is 1800 TJS.

Figure 19. Percentage distribution of the amounts given to officials as a bribe
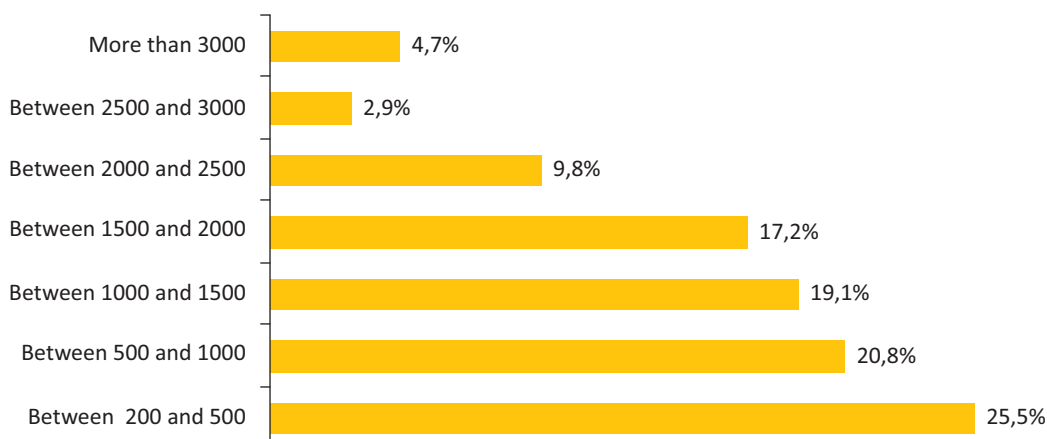
Despite the fact that the overall rate of responses to the question "who is the initiator of a bribe" is high – 38.5% and it is higher than "the official hinted or compelled", respondents feel more "hatred for official" – 20.0% (Table 21) after giving bribe. In second place is the answer "hatred of the whole corrupt authority" – 17.9%. And in third place is the answer "hatred of our government system, which puts people in such circumstances" – 15.7%.

Table 21. Percentage distribution of emotional feelings from coming into corruption situation

What did you feel?		in %
1.	Scorned of myself	7,4
2.	Hatred of the official	20,0
3.	Fear that I will be caught hold of my arms.	2,3
4.	Shame	4,6
5.	Humiliation	4,5
6.	Fear that this will be known by my friends and they will condemn me.	2,7
7.	Hatred of the whole corrupt authority	17,9
8.	Hatred for our government system, which puts people in such circumstances	15,7
9.	Satisfaction that I succeeded to make the officer work for me.	4,0
11.	I did not feel anything. I am used to it.	11,3
12.	Satisfaction with myself, my ability to solve my problems	1,7
13.	Difficult to answer	7,9

Satisfaction with the results of engagement with authorities, according to respondents' answers showed (figure 20) that **completely satisfied** are - 31.2%. The remaining portion has fallen to **not satisfied** and so-so - in the amount of 68.8%.

Figure 20. Percentage distribution of satisfaction with the results of engagement with authorities
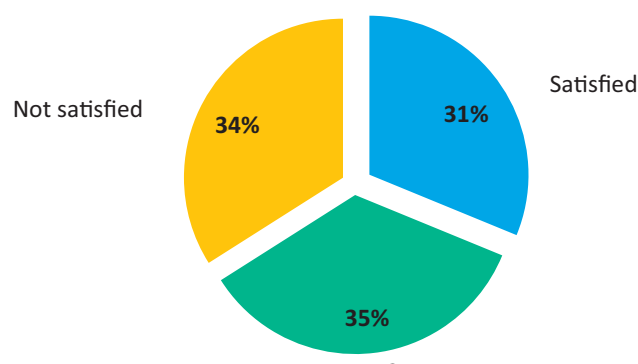
8. CITIZENS NON-CORRUPT BEHAVIOR IN CORRUPTION SITUATION

8.1. The assessment of non-corrupt behavior of citizens in corruption situation

More than half of respondents mentioned in the questionnaire that they often get into a situation where the solution for the problem is giving a bribe in a particular form. Thus, 45.3 percent of them do just so, i.e., are involved in corrupt transaction. Only 0.8% of those who fell into corruption situation refused to give a bribe. The reasons why these people are not involved in corruption are interesting.

33. *"Could you mention the main reason why you did not give bribe?"*

Table 23. Percentage distribution of reasons for refusing to give bribes

Reasons of non-corrupt behavior of citizens in corruption situation	in %
1. It was too expensive for me	37,2
2. As a matter of principle I do not give bribes, even if everyone does.	27,5
3. I do not know how it's done, it is inconvenient.	11,3
4. I was disgusted to do it.	10,6
5. Other	1,8
6. Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	11,6

In fact, there are three groups of reasons for refusal to engage in corruption:

The first group – 37.2% of people refused to give bribe, because it was too expensive for them.

The second group - this group refused to participate in corruption on moral grounds, 27.5% of them due to the conscious principle of non-participation and 10.6% due to a sense of moral discomfort.

The third group – 11.3% are ready to pay bribe, but failed to do so because of the inability, inexperience in such matters, and shyness.

There are some differences among representatives of different demographic groups in reasons to refuse to take part in corruption.

- Different age groups;
- Sex;
- Residence (city/village);
- Respondents with and without children.

There is a significant difference in the reaction of different age groups: young people under 35 years of age experience far less moral fluctuations about participating in corruption than the people of main active ages of 35-55: 29.1% and 28.9% respectively mentioned their principles as a main reason for their non-involvement in corrupt transactions. The main constraining factor to entry into the transaction for young people in comparison to elderly people was high price: 43.7% and 33.0% respectively.

Women more often refuse to pay bribes due to high cost than men– 41.7% 34.3% respectively. Men are more often refuse bribes due to principles than women – 31.5% and 21.4% respectively.

Residents of cities enter less often into corrupt transactions than of rural areas – 32.6% and 42.0% respectively. This is mainly due to the large number of educated people in urban areas, among which the portion of refusal to have corrupt relationship for the reasons of principle is higher: 35.1%.

Significant difference became apparent in relation to corrupt transactions among people who have children and who have not. People with children more often pay bribes, regardless of principle – 28.9% and significantly more often do not give bribes for the reason that it is too expensive -44.4%.

Table 24. Percentage distribution of reasons for refusing to give bribes, depending on family income

	between 200 and 500 TJS.	between 500 and 1000 TJS.	between 1000 and 1500 TJS	between 1500 and 2000 TJS	between 2000 and 2500 TJS	between 2500 and 3000 TJS	Over 3000 TJS
				in %			
It was too expensive for me	35,4	35,9	35,6	46,7	56,0	42,4	40,7
As a matter of principle I do not give bribes, even if everyone does	10,7	9,5	8,0	13,3	14,0	7,6	40,2
I do not know how it's done, it is inconvenient	11,8	12,7	13,2	4,0	4,0	9,1	1,0
I was disgusted to do it	26,4	31,2	27,0	25,3	14,0	33,3	3,7
Other	1,4	1,9	1,7	2,7	0	4,5	3,3
Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	14,4	8,9	14,4	8,0	12,0	3,0	11,0

People with different income levels basically have identical approach regarding the high cost of bribes - all the groups say it is expensive. For reasons of principle often people with the highest income - over 3000 TJS do not give bribes – 40.7%.

Almost all mentioned identically that "it was disgusting to do it", only wealthy people (over 3000) deny this – 3.7%. The percentage of poor people who cannot give bribe, do not know "how it's done, it is inconvenient" is 11.8% and more than ten times smaller of those – 1.0% are among wealthiest people.

One of the questions of questionnaire examined how people dispose their income - whether all people spend on "current needs", or is it possible to save and amass. So, those who are "setting aside big money (for education of children), more often than most of other social groups, do not give bribes as a matter of principle – 32.2%.

The frequency of responses of the probability to solve problems without a bribe is presented in Figure 23.

Figure 23. Percentage distribution of the frequency responses of the probability of solving problems without bribe
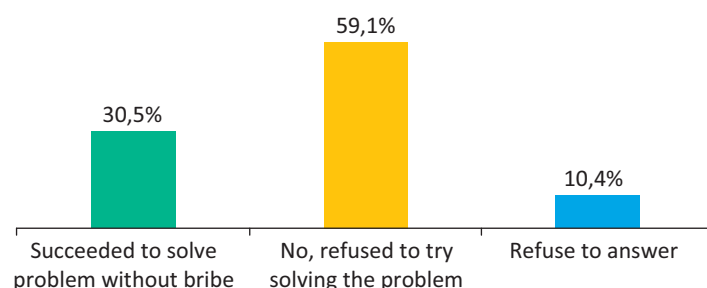
As it can be seen from the figure, most respondents (59.1%) indicate that, without bribes they could not solve their problems and they had to give up trying to solve them.

34 *"In which particular situations you could and could not solve problem?"*

Table 25. Percentage distribution of situations where it was possible to solve problem without bribes

Problem, situation	Was able to solve problem (%)	No, I gave up of solving it (%)
1. Getting help and protection from police	70,0	30,0
2. Acquiring land	53,6	46,4
3. Successfully completing school	24,0	76,0
4. Arranging or recalculating pension	70,0	30,0
5. Solving problems in connection with induction into military service	50,1	49,9
6. Solving the situation with traffic police	41,7	58,3
7. Arranging legal right on accommodation	44,4	55,6
8. Getting the desired job or career development	50,1	49,9
9. Enrolling at university, transferring from one university to another	28,9	71,1
10. Getting free medical care in clinic	27,3	72,7
11. Seeking justice in court	16,7	83,3
12. After getting in the hospital acquiring free service	25,0	75,0
13. Finding a place in hospital for free surgery	20,0	80,0

Based on data from Table 25 it is clear that in the relationship of citizens with government agencies in different situations, in more than 8 cases out of 13 citizens had to give up solving problems (at universities, schools, clinics, courts, hospitals, traffic police and in issues regarding housing). Furthermore, it is referred to those situations where the atmosphere was corrupt - the citizens "understood and felt that without a bribe or gift their problems won't be solved."

9. CITIZENS CORRUPT BEHAVIOR IN CORRUPTION SITUATION

9.1. The assessment of corrupt behavior of citizens in corruption situation

A detailed analysis of the circumstances of corrupt transactions in the everyday corruption was among the key objectives of the study. Therefore, these issues range from the beginning of the transaction till the experienced feelings upon its completion. A total of 1.381 respondents answered to the following questions: those who answered the question № 29 of the questionnaire that at least once faced corruption 46.1%, and those who responded to the question № 32 that last time when they came across corruption they resort to give bribes, gifts, services, etc. – 45.3%.

The questionnaire distributed to citizens included the following questions that were designed to study the characteristics of corrupt transactions, in which Tajikistan citizens usually fall:

35. *"On whose initiative and for what reason you had to give bribe to official?"*

37. *"How far in advance you knew about the value of bribe or the cost of "gift" that need to be given?"*

38. *"How did the actions of officials (speed, friendliness, efficiency, etc.), who had to solve your problems, change after your informal "payment" or bribe?"*

39. *"What were the results that you (someone in your family) gave a bribe - how it was in the last time (select the most important)?"*

40. *"How would you describe your feelings because you had to pay bribe?"*

The analysis of the question on "whose initiative" we conducted above. It showed that people were made to pay by the official. He is the initiator of bribe-33.1%. Citizens themselves take initiative – 23.9%. Both parties know in advance that bribery is common in such situation – 23.9%. Another way to solve the problem simply does not exist – 9.0%.

9.2. Awareness about the size of bribes

The respondents' answers regarding the awareness (Figure 24) about upcoming expenditures in connection with entering into corrupt relationships are described with the below frequency distribution of responses to the question.

Figure 24. Percentage distribution of respondents' awareness about the size of bribes

Absolutely have not	16,0 %
Have not known very much	43,7%
Practically known	20,8%
Absolutely have	12,8%
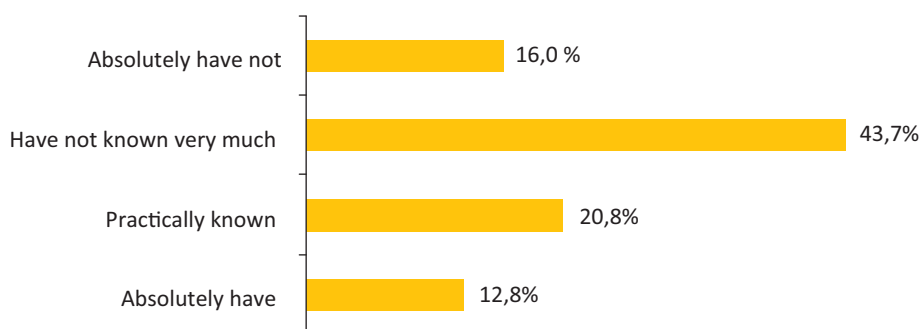
As we see, the percentage of citizens who quite unaware of the corruption market services is 16%. Only 12.8% is fully aware of how much should be "given". The biggest portion is composed of those who "were not so aware" and those who "practically knew". In total they made - 64.5%. Such unawareness is due to the fact, probably, that most people who had paid bribes did not want to discredit themselves in the eyes of others and keep silent about the size of a bribe.

9.3. Responsiveness of bribe-takers

The next phase of corrupt transactions is a change in the behavior of an official after being informally paid. This is described by the following question.

38. *"How did the actions of officials (speed, friendliness, efficiency, etc.), who had to solve your problems, change after your bribe or informal "payment"?"*

Figure 25. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the actions of officials after receiving a bribe

45,7%	33,4%	9,9%	11,0%
Considerably improved	Slightly improved	Did not change totally	Difficult to answer, refuse to answer
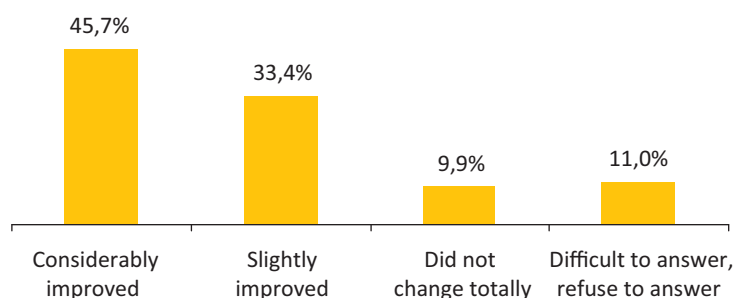
We see that the reliability of a bribe as a payment instrument in the corruption market services is quite high – 45.7%. In 33% of cases, the behavior of officials is quite improved. Only in 9.9% cases the stimulation of officer did not affect his behavior in a positive way.

9.4. Effectiveness of corrupt transactions

The final phase of corrupt transaction is getting a service that was paid with a bribe.

Table 26. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions on effectiveness of corrupt transactions

The reasons of non-corrupt behavior in corruption situation	in %
1. As a result, I managed to achieve what actually they should have carried out as their duty.	12,4
2. Solution process to my problem was accelerated.	34,0
3. My problem was solved with better quality.	18,7
4. I managed to avoid unnecessary difficulties.	23,3
5. Nevertheless a bribe did not help.	4,5
6. Difficult to answer or refusal to answer	7,0

Answers to this question suggest not only the efficiency of corrupt transactions, but also the type of transaction and the nature of the problem that was being solved by the briber. For ex-

ample, the answer "As a result, I managed to achieve what actually they should have carried out as their duty" – 12.3%, indicates that in this case there was the usual bribery and answers "Solution process to my problem was accelerated" – 34.0% and "My problem was solved with better quality" – 18.7%, indicate a situation, that previously was often called as "flattering", which is relevant, for example, to the case for immediate acquisition of services. Finally, the answer "I managed to avoid unnecessary difficulties" – 23.3% mentions that bribery was used not to get a favor, but to avoid troubles, including penalties.

Very low portion of responses "Nevertheless a bribe did not help" – 4.5% demonstrates that the corruption services market is very developed in Tajikistan.

10. CORRUPTION IN THE SECTORS OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION

This chapter examines the questions that assess respondents' own practices (behavior) in the interaction with the spheres of education and medicine: the practice of supplementary payments in education, ways of entering the university, passing exams and tests, way of actions upon detection of deficiency of services in clinics, the practice of informal supplementary rewards in the health sector. The questionnaire includes the following questions designed to study the characteristics of lower corruption in health care and education.

41. *"If you or any of your children in the last ten years entered a university, then have you ever resorted to various measures facilitating the solution of this problem?*

42. *"What do you do if your district clinic lacks any services (treatment, diagnosis, tests, medicine, procedures, etc.) to solve problems with your health or if these services are poor quality?"*

43. *"Have you ever resort to give supplementary informal rewards (gifts, favors, bribes, etc.) to health care workers to solve the problems with your health or the health of your family members? In which situations it has taken place for the last year?"*

In addition to analyzing the frequency distributions of answers to these questions, the relations of these questions with questions from socio-demographic block are described. In particular, a hypothesis that corruption deprives the poorest people of additional services, often those which are mandatory and are free of charge, is suggested and substantiated in this section.

10.1. Additional material expenses for education

Problems associated with possible corrupt relationships arise, especially in situations requiring additional material costs in cash or other forms for education in public schools, where free-of-charge education is guaranteed.

41. *"If you or any of your children in the last ten years entered a university, then have you ever resorted to various measures facilitating the solution of this problem?*

Figure 26. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about complementary actions facilitating the admission to university

I wanted to go to university but had to withdraw due to the lack of necessary funds	14,3%
We resorted to tutoring and paid courses	17%
We have resorted to reward academics for exam facilitation	17,5%
For the last ten years nobody in our family has entered university	20,3%
We entered by ourselves, without any help	23,8%
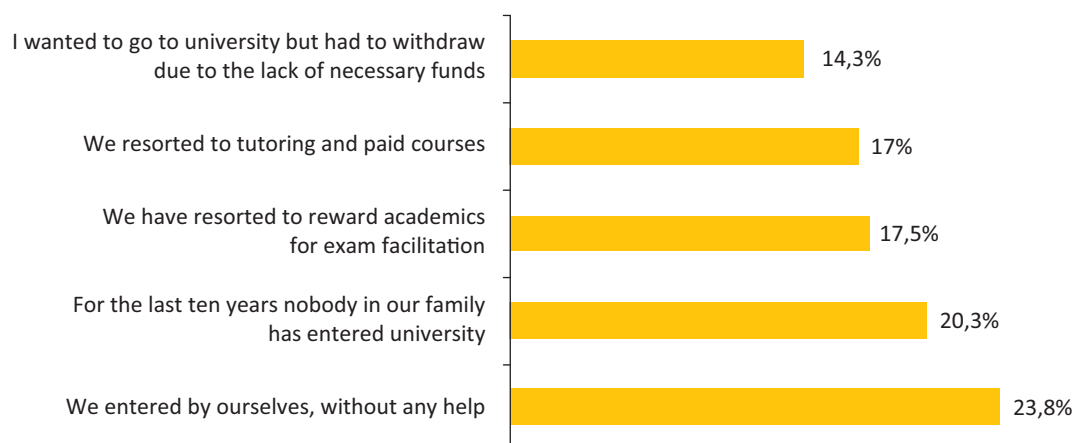
Apparently, not all respondents were comfortable to mark that they had paid bribes to teachers or university staff, which explains the relatively large percentage of the related answer "we entered by ourselves, without any help" – 23.8%. Though, it should be mentioned that the payment for the services of tutors is often a veiled form of bribe for admission to university: although a tutor conducts classes with entrant on any subject, his most important obligation to him is an informal support in entering to this university – "resorted to tutoring and paid courses" – 17.5%. Typically, these services are provided to attendants by teachers of those universities in which they intend to enter. Therefore, not only lack of money, but lack of necessary contacts and inability to find such teachers who could facilitate for the entrance are the reasons for refusal to enter university for many families - "I wanted to go to university but had to withdraw due to the lack of necessary funds"- 14.3%. And only 17.5% of respondents answered honestly to the question- "We have resorted to reward academics for exam facilitation." However, if we take into account the fact that tutoring and direct rewarding of university teachers are informal rewards in university admission, **then the proportion of respondents who answered these questions is 34.5%, which is 1.5 times more than "we entered by ourselves".**

Today, only children of high-ranking people or those who work in Russia can acquire higher education. They work hard to earn money, while teachers simply earn not leaving their rooms.

The voice of respondent – Kulob

Figure 27. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about complementary actions facilitating the admission of rural and urban residents to university
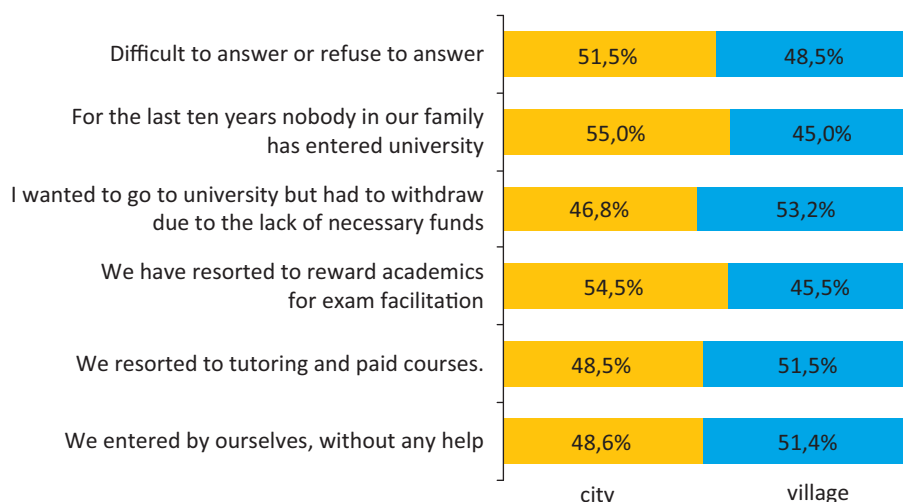
	city	village
Difficult to answer or refuse to answer	51,5%	48,5%
For the last ten years nobody in our family has entered university	55,0%	45,0%
I wanted to go to university but had to withdraw due to the lack of necessary funds	46,8%	53,2%
We have resorted to reward academics for exam facilitation	54,5%	45,5%
We resorted to tutoring and paid courses.	48,5%	51,5%
We entered by ourselves, without any help	48,6%	51,4%

The respondents living in rural areas than in cities significantly more report that their children entered higher education **by themselves, without any assistance** – 51.4% and 48.6% respectively. Therefore, urban residents often resort to bribes – 54.5% and 45.5% respectively. A portion of refusal to entering the university for financial reasons is higher in rural than in urban places- 53.2% and 46.8% respectively.

The children of respondents who have higher education and scientific degree of candidate or doctor of sciences **more frequently** entered universities **without any help** than those who have parents with lower education – 31.6% and 29.7% respectively. The children of these parents often were trained by tutors. Informal rewards were more used by those parents who have lower educational level.

This portion of respondents by their level of education suggests that education of parents determines their attitude to education of their children. In this sense, children inherit the social status of their parents, and parents actively help them in this. Such practices are unlikely to be connected with corruption.

The monthly income per family member of respondents largely determine their ability to use services of tutors, paid training courses for admission to universities and the ability to pay informal rewards. Comparative analysis of the level of family income revealed that in families whose monthly income is at a low level between 200 and 1500 TJS, children without any assistance have entered to universities. Tutoring and informal rewards were more frequent in families with incomes between 2000 and 3000 TJS and above.

10.2. Informal rewards of healthcare workers

As around the globe, paid medical services in Tajikistan are very expensive and they are mainly accessible for members of wealthy social groups. In recent years, government funding of public medical institutions has not covered the needs of poor groups. Many patients, for example, have to wait for months or even years in line for sophisticated surgeries, while the rich citizens with payment can undergo at any convenient time. Moreover, many low-income citizens are impelled to purchase for their treatment medicines and other means in public healthcare institutions and perform supplementary-informal rewards to fees and salaries of health workers for

procedures. Without such additional awards, in many hospitals no surgeries and procedures associated with the treatment of serious diseases will be conducted.

The respondents were asked the following questions:

42. *"What do you do if your district clinic lacks any services (treatment, diagnosis, tests, medicine, procedures, etc.) to solve problems with your health or if these services are poor quality?"*

43. *"Have you ever resort to give supplementary informal rewards (gifts, favors, bribes, etc.) to health care workers to solve the problems with your health or the health of your family members?. In which situations it has taken place for the last year?"*

Most respondents to the question regarding the lack of medical services responded, "We have to get along with what we have" – 29.1%.

A more comprehensive list of health services is in urban than in rural areas. In these services, based on sample, respondents answered that they have less problems with getting medical assistance – 56.1%, or they use services of only paid clinics – 52.1%.

The practice of informal-additional payments for acquiring free medical care is more developed among rural citizens, though for reasons of less income and underdevelopment of medical business compared with cities the citizens have limited opportunity to receive paid medical care. Apparently the respondents here meant that by coming to cities for getting treatment they are impelled to pay more – 50.8%.

Table 27. Percentage distribution of respondents' actions when there is a lack of any clinic service

What do you do if there is a lack of any clinic service?	city in %	rural area in %
1. In our clinic all goes well. Such situations as these do not happen.	56,1	43,9
2. We have to get along with what we have.	51,7	48,3
3. Looking for a possibility to pay surplus to somebody to get necessary treatment.	49,2	50,8
4. I refuse the services of clinics and practice self-treatment.	54,2	45,8
5. I use only those clinics that have paid service.	52,1	47,9
6. Difficult to answer	37,6	62,4

Although males (61.3%) are supposedly more satisfied than women with services provided in clinics, as a rule, they try to pay surplus to somebody to get necessary medical treatment – 59.3%. Services of paid clinics mainly are indeed enjoyed by males – 70.7%.

With ageing, need for skilled medical care of respondents, as a rule, increases. But their opportunities to meet those needs become more limited with ageing: respondents from 55 years of age are significantly more often than the average for the sample have to get along with what there is in health care -16.7%, and the younger people age of 35 - 44, on the contrary, significantly more often than the average for the sample look for ways to pay and get a nominally free health care - 35.5%, or prefer to use only clinics which have paid services – 30.0%. This situation certainly creates discrimination between citizens in getting medical care: the older age groups are pushed aside by younger by medical services, although demand for such services in the older age groups is much higher. As mentioned above, it is impossible to declare unambiguously the current situation in Tajik health care as corrupt, and impossible to require professional services from health care workers with a very low salaries and lack of medicines

in hospitals. And yet, the system of public medical services in Tajikistan encourages corrupt practices of citizens, when nominally medical services first of all, and sometimes exclusively, are provided to those who pay for them. Only 9.5% of the elder age group of 55 years and above have the opportunity to pay for medical services. One can argue that a situation of discrimination against citizens on the basis of age in getting health services leads to unnecessary deaths and low life expectancy.

A particular relation is found between responses to the question № 42 and education of the respondents. The people who try to get along with what there is in nominal free health care are usually respondents with no post-secondary education. People with higher or incomplete higher education, apparently, understanding the need for professional medical care, most likely, choose other options for answers, namely: fulfillment of rewards at clinics or use only paid clinics – 45.6% and 50.0% respectively. Obviously, this is due to a higher level of general culture and a more careful attitude towards their health.

Monthly incomes per family member largely determine access to health care. Families with incomes between 1000 and 1500 TJS and between 1500 and 2000 TJS look to pay someone at clinic – 24.2% and 27.7% respectively. Respondents with income from 2000 and above use only paid medicine.

The figure shows the frequency of respondents' answers when they have faced a situation requiring the provision of additional informal rewards to health care workers.

Figure 28. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about additional informal rewards to healthcare workers

Have you resorted to pay informal payments?
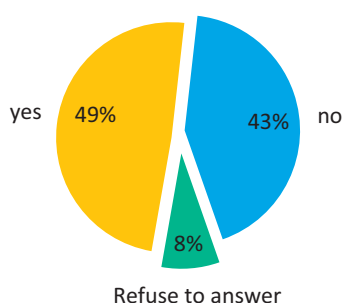
According to respondents the most corrupt healthcare institution is hospitals (24.1%), slightly less corrupt is clinics (15.9%). Analysis of respondents' answers about the practice of their interactions with employees of education system and medicine confirmed the presence of a fairly high level of lower corruption in these areas. Corruption in education and medicine contributes to a particular discrimination of Tajik citizens on their social status and living standards, violating the constitutional principle of equality and accessibility of services.

11. THE EVALUATION OF POSSIBILITY OF CITIZENS TO REFUSE CORRUPT TRANSACTIONS

A questionnaire distributed to citizens, included questions designed to examine the practice of interaction between citizens and state agencies and those features of the interactions that

contribute to or facilitate corruption. In these matters, in addition, an attempt was made to assess the real opportunities of citizens to refuse corrupt transactions or to complain about the corrupt practices of officials. This section is devoted to analyze the answers to these questions.

44. *"Have you or members of your family over the last year faced the following situations or solved the following problems?"*

45. *"For those situations that you have encountered in the past year check those in which you realized that you are supposed to give a bribe, gift, etc."*

46. *"In the past two years have you encountered with a situation where you felt a need to apply for the protection of your rights in court, but you did not?"*

47. *"If you were unhappy in the past year with how your problem was being dealt with by officials, did you know where and whom you can complain about?"*

48. *"In fact, did you have a necessity to complain last year about the actions of officials?"*

49. *"If you had to complain, how it has affected the solution of your problem?"*

11.1. Risks of corrupt transactions

Based on questions № 44 and № 45 the Table 28 was constructed showing the risks of corruption when citizens applying to state authorities.

Risks of corruption were built as selection frequencies percentages of each of the situations when answering question № 45, which says that in corresponding situations citizens were supposed to give bribes or gifts for the solution of problems, in respect to the frequency responses of respondents who had indicated the situation when answering question № 44, which says that they have encountered such problems over the last year. Risks of corruption were built separately for each studied situation.

Table 28. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions on satisfaction with government agencies

Situations	Occurred	Satisfied	So-so	Not satisfied	Corruption risk
			%		
Getting free medical care in clinic	17,3	5,4	6,7	5,2	16,5
Finding a place in the hospital for surgery or treatment of serious illness	12,8	4,5	2,5	5,8	12,2
After getting in hospital acquiring full support	17,1	6,2	6,0	4,9	16,7
Enrolling at desired school and its successful completion	9,6	4,0	3,1	2,5	9,1
Enrolling at university, transferring from one university to another	24,1	5,1	9,1	9,5	23,0
Arranging or recalculating pension	7,1	2,3	2,5	2,3	6,8
Arranging rights to get social payments	4,8	1,5	1,8	1,5	4,6
Solving problems in connection with induction into military service	5,8	2,4	1,5	1,9	5,6
Getting the desired job or career development	7,9	1,6	4,0	2,3	7,6
Acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose) and (or) registering ownership for it	22,9	4,5	6,5	11,9	21,9
Arranging accommodation or legal right on it	8,3	2,8	2,5	3,0	7,9

Seeking justice in court	5,1	1,0	1,2	2,9	4,8
Getting help and protection from police	6,4	2,4	1,8	2,2	6,1
Getting registration at place of residence, national or foreign passport, etc.	7,3	2,9	2,6	1,8	7,0
Solving the situation with traffic police (obtaining the driving license, violation of traffic rules, etc.)	19,6	4,3	5,8	9,5	18,7
I have not faced these situations	1,7	0,6	0,5	0,6	1,6

For clarity of results of the analysis we present a table without columns 2, 3 and 4 in the form sorted by the level of corruption risks (Table 29).

Table 29. Percentage distribution of corruption risk when applying to state agencies

Situations	Occurred	Corruption risk
		%
Enrolling at university, transferring from one university to another	24,1	23,0
Acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose)	22,9	21,9
Solving the situation with traffic police (obtaining the driving license, violation of traffic rules, etc.)	19,6	18,7
After getting in hospital acquiring full support	17,1	16,7
Getting free medical care in clinic	17,3	16,5
Finding a place in the hospital for surgery or treatment of serious illness	12,8	12,2
Enrolling at desired school and its successful completion	9,6	9,1
Arranging accommodation or legal right on it	8,3	7,9
Getting registration at place of residence, national or foreign passport, etc.	7,3	7,0
Getting the desired job or career development	7,9	7,6
Arranging or recalculating pension	7,1	6,8
Getting help and protection from police	6,4	6,1
Solving problems in connection with induction into military service	5,8	5,6
Seeking justice in court or at prosecutor's office	5,1	4,8
Arranging rights to get social payments	4,8	4,6
Other	1,7	1,6
I have not faced these situations	27,6	30,1

Firstly, it should be noted that in all application case of citizens to any state agency there is a corruption risk which almost does not differ from applications frequency.

The level of corruption particularly is high in the **higher education** system in Tajikistan. High corruption risk confirms that the situation of entering to universities and institutions of Tajikistan remains one of the most corrupt for citizens. Therefore it is impossible to say that entering to university is possible under conditions of open and fair contest of skills, education and experience which shapes the activities of citizens. Corruption forms other priorities for citizens when they apply to the system of higher education, particularly, as it was shown in Section 10.1., i.e., the advantages that urban residents, rich citizens and those who come from families with higher level of education get when entering universities and institutions.

The risk of corruption in "allocation of land" currently is very high. There were many complaints about this issue when conducting the field study. A total of 2 / 3 population is a rural and most of them want to have a farm and grow agricultural products, which would be a benefit for any family. But the authorities involved in the distribution of land opened their own auction. The highest bidder will get the land. As it was described above (the voice of the respondent), it seems that to receive a bribe in the amount of 2500 USD is small for them. They developed a scheme "sell and get it back." People complain that after acquiring land, it is taken away in a year or two with the argument that it was acquired illegally. Another fact of money-grabbing is allocation of land to relatives, so that they sell it at very high prices.

> *"In our district a land committee chairman is considered a God!"*
>
> **The voice of respondent – Muminobod**

Among all corruption risks the corruption risk with traffic police is quite notable when it is necessary to address certain problems: almost all cases of appeals of citizens to the traffic police or requirements of traffic police from citizens end with offers of bribes. In fact, the traffic police in Tajikistan have evolved from the state agency that provides order and safety on the roads in towns and outside of them to a structure which is utterly affected with corruption and unable to perform state functions, not to mention the protection of the rights and interests of citizens on the roads. This conclusion of the study confirmed not only by calculations but also by numerous complaints of respondents.

11.2. Citizens' practice in protection of their rights and interests

According to the survey, included in the table 28, in order to achieve justice in the courts over the past year only 5.1% of respondents have appealed, where more than half (2.9%) remained unhappy with decisions. In addition, the interaction of citizens with the courts has a very high risk of corruption: according to the study in 4.8% of appeals it became clear for citizens that they are expected to give bribes or gifts for the solution of relevant issues. This situation certainly discredits justice system and pushes aside citizens from the most democratic way of protecting their rights and legitimate interests. Let us analyze in more detail the practice of such appeals and complaints of citizens.

Figure 29. Percentage distribution of frequency of appeals to court

Have you faced a situation when you should have appealed to court but you did not?
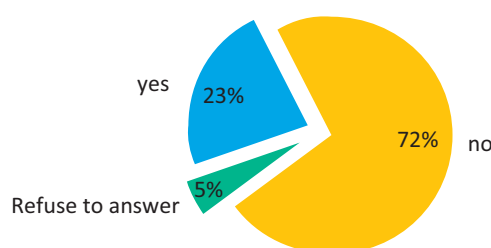
According to the respondents' answers to the question № 46, the percentages that are displayed in the figure № 29, over the past two years, in all 23.0% of respondents who found it necessary to go to court to defend their rights, but did not do it. It would seem that, with regular violations of civil rights by state authorities, in particular, which are expressed in a high risk of corruption, as noted above, the number of appeals to the courts should be large. But citizens do not trust the courts to solve their problems. It can be seen in the responses shown in Table 30 that respondents perceive the Tajik justice as very corrupt state structure – "Many people do not want to go to court because the informal costs are too expensive" – 60.4% and "In our courts often win those who pay more" - 55.0 %.

**Table 30. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the corruption of the courts**

Answer choices		Agree in %	Disagree agree in%	Difficult to answer in %
1.	Many people do not want to go to court because they do not believe in justice.	61,2	22,3	16,6
2.	Many people do not want to go to court because informal costs are too expensive.	60,4	17,8	21,8
3.	In our courts often win those who pay more.	55,0	25,9	19,1
6.	Our judges have such immunity that they can do anything and with impunity.	44,8	32,0	23,2
7.	Very often certain chiefs can induce the judge to take the necessary decision.	41,7	27,6	30,6
8.	Judges are too unqualified to skillfully settle the case.	40,2	26,5	33,4

Citizens have another quite civilized way to solve their problems, i.e., through the appeals to particular state agencies or local governments. In accordance with the answers to the question № 47, the percentages which are displayed in figure 30, respondents know quite well where and to whom they can appeal (59.0%) in relevant situations.

Significantly more often than sample average the respondents mentioned that they knew where and to whom they can appeal. The largest proportion of responses on socio-demographic sample were: male 64.6%, respondents aged between 45 and 54 years, and respondents with secondary education - 59.1% and higher – 64.1%.

Figure 30. Percentage distribution of knowing about where and to whom to appeal

Did you know where and to whom you can appeal for a bad performance of official?
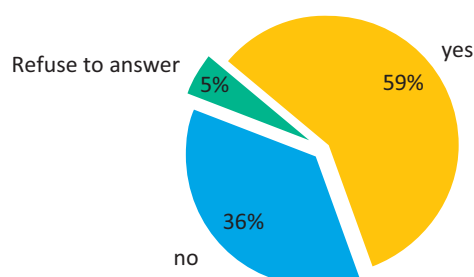
But it is interesting that respondents do not always know where and to whom to appeal to defend their rights. According to the respondents' answers to question № 48, which are displayed in figure № 31, it is evident that knowledge of their own capabilities does not always turn to concrete actions to protect their rights.

Since only 10.1% of respondents appealed against officials to the court in the last year, and 83.9% did not, we must acknowledge that Tajik citizens hardly assimilate the practice of protection of their rights: they cannot or do not want to do it through courts while through filing complaints against officials, they know how to do it, but they are hesitant or do not believe that the problems will find correct solutions.

The frequency of responses to the question № 49, on how the problem was addressed after filing a complaint is reflected in the same Figure 31. Here, the response percentage was calculated from the number of respondents who decided to file a complaint, but not from the whole sample. The high frequency response in Figure 31 – 40.9% can serve as a confirmation for the fact that upon filing a complaint the **problems are not solved.**

Figure 31. Percentage distribution of filing complaints to state bodies
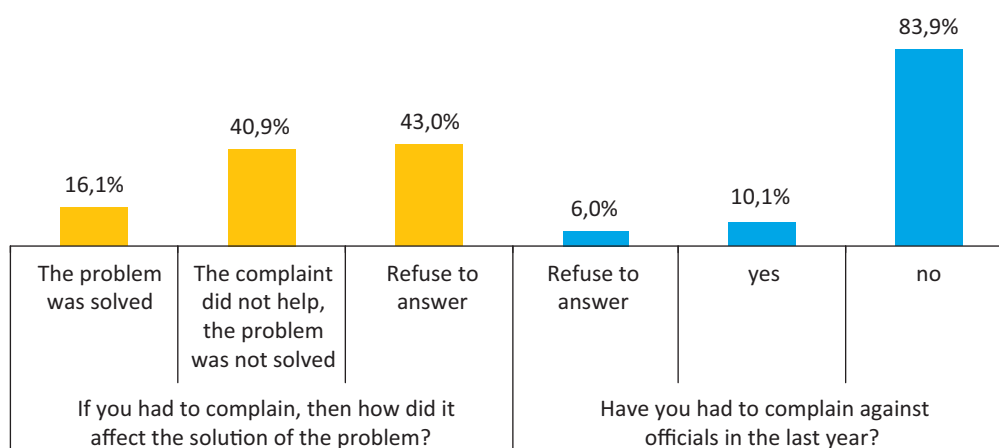
Thus, citizens of Tajikistan rarely appeal to the courts to protect their rights and even if they know how to do it, they still rarely file complaints to the state authorities. The reason becomes clear when one considers that in courts, as well as in state authorities, the appeals of citizens too rarely lead to the solution of their problems. This again confirms previous conclusions about corruption in state bodies and in judiciary.

12. CORRUPTION ANALYSIS ON REGIONS OF TAJIKISTAN

This section will consider some indicators that reveal the essence of corruption processes.

- The corruption risk
- Demand for corruption
- The degree of involvement of various areas of public administration in corruption
- Attitude to corruption.

The survey covered four regions of Tajikistan: Sughd, Khatlon (for facilitation of calculation Khatlon region was divided into two zones - Kulob and Kurgan-Tube areas), MBAR and the city of Dushanbe as the territorial unit.

1. The corruption risk

Table 31. Percentage distribution of corruption risks in the regions

| Situations	Dushanbe	RRS	Kurgan-Tube %	Kulob	Sughd	MBAR
Getting free medical care in clinic	10,0	14,9	31,4	23,1	17,8	2,9
Finding a place in the hospital for surgery or treatment of serious illness	7,8	27,7	15,8	27,7	15,5	5,5
After getting in hospital acquiring full support	4,0	29,0	21,8	23,4	19,2	2,6
Enrolling at desired school and its successful completion	5,2	19,3	6,7	29,3	23,7	15,9
Enrolling at university, transferring from one university to another	16,7	25,1	11,1	16,0	10,4	20,7
Arranging or recalculating pension	11,4	5,5	14,4	15,4	21,4	31,8
Arranging rights to get social payments	6,6	3,7	5,1	22,8	15,4	46,3
Solving problems in connection with induction into military service	10,8	4,2	10,8	14,4	15,6	44,3
Getting the desired job or career development	27,1	16,4	6,7	19,1	13,8	16,9
Acquiring land (for a cottage or agricultural purpose)	3,2	27,2	22,9	22,2	18,5	5,9
Arranging accommodation or legal right on it	5,5	5,5	11,1	28,5	22,1	27,2
Seeking justice in court	20,5	2,8	9,1	14,7	32,9	20,1
Getting help and protection from police	5,5	13,3	9,9	17,7	29,3	24,3
Getting registration at place of residence, national or foreign passport, etc.	18,4	13,5	13,7	19,9	19,0	15,5
Solving the situation with traffic police (obtaining the driving license, violation of traffic rules, etc.)	22,1	29,3	10,1	13,1	16,5	8,9
Other	0	12,8	2,1	57,4	23,4	4,3
I have not faced these situations	19,4	4,7	27,7	15,9	31,4	0,9

Analysis of the risk of corruption by regions showed that the proportion of cases falling into the corruption situation, when a citizen is facing with government agencies is not uniform. So in **health care** such situations are more frequent (clinic and hospital average) in the Khatlon region (Kulob zone) - 24.7% and RRS -23.9%. The smallest proportions fall to -7.3% Dushanbe and Badakhshon – 3.7%. In **education**, the largest proportion in RRS – 25.1%, but it seems these shares belong to Dushanbe, since in RRS there is not any higher education institution. If we take this into account, then Dushanbe will have the highest proportion of corruption risk – 41.8%. The lowest risk of corruption is 10.4% in Sughd region. The greatest frequency of corruption risk in **social welfare** is in Khatlon regiont (Kulob area) - on average – 19.1%. Leader in military registration and enlistment office (**induction into military service**) was

MBAR – 44.3%. The lowest proportion in this situation is in the RRS – 4.2%. The greatest number of situations associated with getting the **necessary job or securing promotion** in Dushanbe – 27.1%. In second place is Sughd – 24.4%. The greatest risks for **acquiring land** are -27.2% in RRS and in Khatlon region – 22.5%. The highest risks in **housing** are revealed in the Khatlon region (Kulob area) - 28.5% and MBAR – 27.2%. For **judicial system** the largest share falls on Sughd region – 32.9% and -20.5% in Dushanbe. **Police** in Sughd has the largest share of corruption risk – 29.3%. In passport offices corruption risk is almost the same in all regions. **State Road Inspection** - the largest number of corrupt cases is in the RRS – 29.3% and Dushanbe – 22.1%. It should be noted that Khatlon region (Kurgan-Tube area) did not join at all the list of leaders on corruption risk. It can be assumed that there is the least amount of corruption cases from all studied areas.

Thus, all state agencies in all studied regions of Tajikistan are affected by corruption. It became the only way to get nominal free services that the state must provide to its citizens. It deepens the discrimination between citizens according to their social status, destructively impacts on the public administration system and reduces the opportunities for economic growth.

2. Demand for corruption

Figure 32. Percentage distribution of demand for corruption in regions
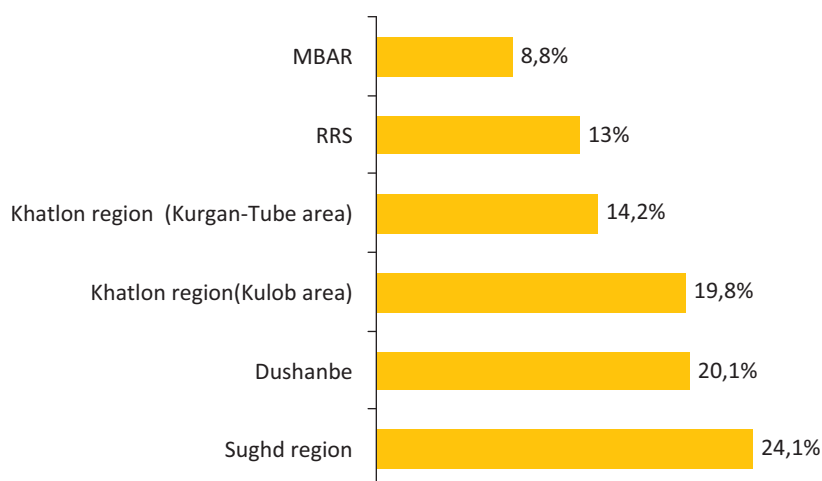
The first place on demand for corruption (giving bribes) was taken by Sughd region – 24.1%. In second place was Dushanbe – 20.1%. The least corrupt region in survey was MBAR– 8.8%.

3. The degree of involvement of various areas of public administration in corruption (on each region)

Which of the above organizations is the most corrupt?

Table 32. Percentage distribution of demand for corruption in regions

	Dushanbe	RRS	Khatlon Kurgan-Tube	Khatlon Kulob	Sughd	MBAR
Labor unions	2,9%	14,7%	10,0%	8,8%	34,1%	29,4%
The Government of the RT (Cabinet)	29,8%	5,7%	,7%	14,9%	34,0%	14,9%

	Dushanbe	RRS	Khatlon Kurgan-Tube	Khatlon Kulob	Sughd	MBAR
Mosques, religious organizations	11,3%	13,2%	5,7%	26,4%	24,5%	18,9%
National Assembly (upper house), Assembly of Repre-sentatives (lower house)	20,2%	3,0%	1,0%	26,3%	12,1%	37,4%
Political parties	14,3%	12,2%	,0%	44,9%	18,4%	10,2%
Administration of the city, district, town, village	23,5%	7,7%	13,8%	24,0%	30,1%	1,0%
Army	2,4%	9,4%	67,1%	5,9%	10,6%	4,7%
Higher courts (Supreme Court, the Economic Court)	30,5%	14,2%	4,3%	22,7%	14,2%	14,2%
Lower courts (regional, city, district)	7,8%	8,7%	7,0%	33,9%	39,1%	3,5%
Law enforcement agencies (police, prosecutor's office, tax committee)	6,8%	21,1%	50,4%	18,0%	3,8%	,0%
National security agencies	11,1%	11,1%	5,6%	33,3%	22,2%	16,7%
Media	20,5%	12,5%	20,0%	18,0%	20,0%	10,0%
Private entrepreneurship	20,8%	1,0%	49,0%	19,8%	8,3%	1,0%
State-owned enterprises	21,9%	37,5%	3,1%	14,1%	17,2%	6,3%
State bank, Savings Bank	5,6%	38,9%	,0%	44,4%	11,1%	,0%
Utilities (Housing Manage-ment Office and house man-agement committee)	15,2%	20,0%	20,0%	35,8%	9,1%	,0%
State Road Traffic Safety Inspection	9,6%	23,4%	4,6%	22,8%	29,4%	10,2%
The administration and teachers of secondary schools, colleges	19,0%	,0%	23,8%	19,0%	28,6%	9,5%
The administration and university teachers	5,7%	14,4%	41,2%	13,9%	12,8%	12,1%
The administration and staff of clinics and hospitals	3,2%	17,1%	20,2%	28,2%	18,3%	13,1%
The administration and staff of a social security, employment and other social services agencies	14,3%	9,5%	14,3%	47,6%	14,3%	,0%
The Agency for State Financial Con-trol and Fight against Corruption	16,9%	17,3%	2,4%	27,4%	21,8%	14,1%
Difficult to answer or re-fusal from answer	18,7%	10,0%	34,2%	10,7%	25,5%	,9%

The most corrupt government agencies in the survey were:

Dushanbe - Higher Courts (Supreme Court, the Economic Court) – 30.5%; **RRP** - State-owned banks 44.4% - **Khatlon (Kurgan-Tube area)** - Military enlistment offices - 67.10%, **Khatlon region (Kulob area)** - the administration and staff of social security, employment services – 47.6%; **Sughd region** - the lower courts (regional, city, district) – 39.1%; **MBAR** - Mosques, religious organizations – 37.4%.

4. Attitude to corruption

Table 33. Percentage distribution of respondents' opinions about the corrupt transactions

	Dushanbe	RRS	Khatlon Kurgan-Tube	Khatlon Kulob	Sughd	MBAR
			%			
Money solves everything						
Agree	25,9	15,9	8,1	21,4	17,7	11,0
Should a bribe be given?						
It is an important part of our life without which nothing can be done	12,3	17,7	25,0	21,4	17,7	5,9
Nobody complies with rules nowadays						
Agree	35,6	7,1	5,7	13,9	31,0	6,8

The highest proportion of attitude to corruption is among residents of Dushanbe – 24.6% and the residents of Sughd region- 22.1%. The lowest proportion of attitude to corruption is in MBAR – 7.9%.

Thus, on all major indicators of corruption that we analyzed by regions, MBAR is the least corrupt area. The first two places are taken by Dushanbe and Sughd.

### 13. CORRUPTION MARKET CHARACTERISTICS IN THE DYNAMICS IN COMPARISON WITH 2006

1. Corruption Scope - the proportion of citizens who fell at least once in their lives in the corruption situation, regardless of the outcome: whether they gave a bribe in this situation or not.

Corruption scope is calculated in accordance with the question:

3. *"How often do you think the citizens of Tajikistan have to deal with bribery and corruption in particular areas of daily life?"*

2. Corruption Risk - the proportion of falling into the corruption situation where the citizen himself confronted with the state in connection with particular problem. The risk may be considered as an indicator of the intensity of corruption pressure on citizen by authorities. That is to say, this characteristic describes one of the aspects of corruption interaction. Corruption risk was calculated in accordance with the question:

32 *"In which situation you realized that without a bribe you cannot solve the problem?"*

Bar chart: 2006 = 31,9%, 2010 = 46,1%
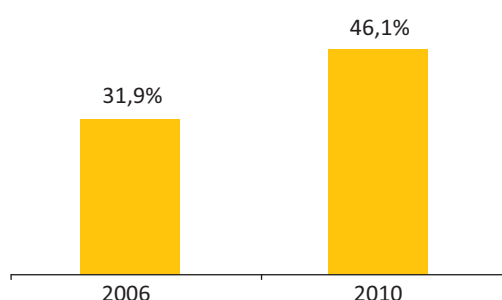
As it can be seen from the figure the corruption risk has increased by 14.2%, i.e., corruption pressure increases on citizens, which may be expressed, for example, in expansion of the range of services which require payment in the form of bribes.

3. Demand for corruption (readiness to pay a bribe) - the proportion of cases, when the average citizen gives a bribe, having fallen in the corruption situation. Demand for corruption can be considered as an indicator of citizens' readiness to resort to corruption as a means of solving their problems or readiness to succumb to pressure from corrupt officials.
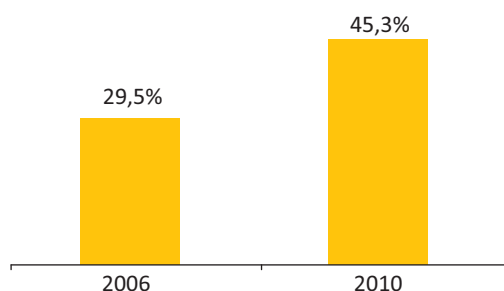
Having analyzed the three main parameters of corruption, we see that the corruption scope in five years rose by 24.15 and the corruption risk has increased by 14.2% (state agencies extort bribes). Demand also increased by 15.8%. Thus, the increase in risk (i.e., corruption pressure on citizens) is accompanied by an increase in demand for corruption. Citizens succumbed to the pressure of authorities and more frequently began to pay bribes.

The average size of bribes - the annual average size for a single random corrupt transaction. Due to the high asymmetric property of the sampling distribution of bribe, as well as the assumption of possible wrong answers, a robust (special) method of averages is used: a portion of answers with the highest and lowest size of bribes is cast aside, and then in accordance with remaining answers the simple average is calculated. The figure shows that the average bribe has increased almost threefold. The corruption market volume has increased 7 times.
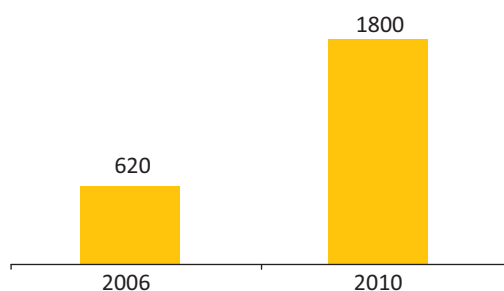
The data of analysis in the dynamics is presented in the below mentioned table:

Table 34. Main indicators of corruption in dynamics

	2006	2010
Corruption scope	60,1%	84,1%
Corruption risk (proportion of cases of falling into corruption situation)	31,9%	46,1%
Demand for corruption (readiness to give bribe)	29,5%	45,3%
The average size of bribe (TJS)	620	1800

CONCLUSION

For elucidation of the complete vision of the people of Tajikistan about the state of corruption today a number of indicators were analyzed. First of all, the understanding of the level of corruption was determined. Residents believe that the level of corruption in 2010 was 79.6%.

Perceptions about corruption

Key points of corruption are:

- Nearly two-thirds of the citizens of the region believe that the level of corruption in the country and the region is high and it is unlikely to change soon.
- Almost half of respondents (49.6%) believe that the majority of officials take bribes. Those who believe that the officials taking bribes are in a minority are 19.2% of the population, while 19% believes "neither this nor that, almost equal."
- More than half of respondents (52.2%) believe that corruption should be avoided, since corruption disintegrates us and our power.
- Nearly two-thirds of the population believes that corruption can be overcome under certain conditions (76.5%).

That is, the bulk of the population states the fact of high level corruption, however, treats it negatively and believes that it can and must be fought.

However, there is a part of the population that has a different opinion. Almost a quarter of respondents believe that bribes can be avoided, but it is easier to do with bribes (24.9%), and 18.5% believes that bribes are a necessary part of our lives. At the same time, talking about corruption, about a fifth of respondents believe that there was embezzlement in our country and it will remain, therefore nothing to do with it - (19.2%). Citizens who intended in such a way are one of the major obstacles in the fight against corruption. Such opinions probably are inherent in major groups, who find themselves more often in corruption situation.

Among the causes of corruption respondents mentioned: low salaries of officials – 65.8%, poor performance of law enforcement agencies – 64.2%, corruption of government at the highest level - 64.2%, low educational and cultural level of officials and population – 57.6% and 54.3% respectively, and the work of officials is poorly regulated by rules – 54.4%.

One third of respondents believe that the initiator of bribes is officials – 33.1%, at the same time they do not exclude the citizens' guilt – 23.9%.

Almost three-quarters of respondents believe that the most effective strategy to combat corruption will be increased criminal liability for bribery – for takers, as well as for givers, a merciless punishment for all who involved in corruption (73.4%). And just a little more than one sixth of respondents (15.9%) believe that corruption will be defeated if its causes are eradicated. The biggest involvement in corruption among citizens with low income - 70.5% and it is mostly among urban residents - 53.0% mainly among people with higher education – 41.2%. Most active involvement in corruption is among citizens aged 45 to 54 years.

Corruption in various authorities

The level of involvement of different areas of public administration in corruption was revealed on a scale from "honest" to "dishonest". Among the top five "dishonest" were: SRI – 32.3%,

hospitals and clinics – 30.6%, universities – 23.9%, Agency for fight against corruption – 21.4%, and law enforcement agencies (police, tax office, Customs) – 20.7%.

The least corrupt were mosques and labor unions.

The overall assessment of state authorities by respondents, 49.6% of officials take bribes, and 20.7% do not.

Evaluation of judicial system

Most people do not want to go to court because they do not rely on justice - 61.2%. Nearly two-thirds of respondents do not want to go to court since informal services are too expensive – 60.4%. Nearly half of respondents mentioned that judges can do anything, and utterly with impunity – 44.8%. Many believe that judges are low-skilled – 40.2%.

Personal contacts with authorities

Slightly more than half of respondents (46.1%) had contact with the authorities during the year, one fourth within last one month and six months – 25.4%.

Satisfaction with the results of contact with authorities, according to respondents' answers, showed that completely satisfied - 31.2%. The remaining portions have fallen to dissatisfaction and "so-so" - in the amount of 68.8%.

The biggest dissatisfaction came from respondents regarding land acquisition issue – 11.9%, in situations with traffic police and for admission to universities – 9.5% for each one.

Most often, respondents noted that last time they contacted authorities for surgery or treating serious diseases – 29.3%. Also, often respondents contact when acquiring land – 25.8%, arranging legal right on housing and admission to universities – 22.6% and 20.4% respectively.

Personal experience of participation in corruption situation

Almost three quarters (72.4%) of the population contacted with the authorities during the year. A total of 46.1% indicated that there was a necessity of informal awards. That is, almost every second respondent applied to the authorities fell into corruption situation. Where 45.3% gave bribe.

Only 0.8% refused to give bribe out of those who fell into corruption situation.

Having analyzed the reasons for the refusal of corrupt transactions it can be noted that the unanimous cause is not observed among those who refused to give a bribe. There are 3 main reasons: 37.2% said that it is expensive, for ethical considerations refused – 27.5% and 11.3% refused because of inability to do so.

Having fallen in corruption situation, usually, it requires some effort from the person to decide whether to give a bribe or not. And almost half of the citizens facing corruption situation, for whatever reasons, **still give bribe** (45.3%). These are the groups of people who believe that bribery facilitates and corruption is ineradicable.

Only one-third of people **managed to solve their problems** without bribe – 30.5%. People who were unable to solve their problems – 59.1%, are those who likely had not known of any alternative ways of solving problems. Particularly high percentage of refusals of solving problems without bribe was in court – 83.3%, in hospitals – 80.0%, and in university admissions – 71.1% out of all who refused to give bribe.

Subjects of corruption situation

The initiator of corrupt transactions in each fourth case is an **official** – 24.9%. But 56,1% of **citizens took informal rewards with themselves before visiting an official,** either knowing that giving bribe is essential, or in any case for confidence. Both types of bribe-givers could avoid giving bribe, because not every official can imply about obligation to give informal awards. Thus, in most cases, citizens themselves could avoid giving bribe, and even "if they knew about it beforehand," they could visit an official without informal award.

The subject of corruption situation which was most often mentioned: SRI – 62.5%, to get the right job or promotion – 61.2%, universities – 60.0%, land acquisition – 59.9%.

The result of corrupt transaction shows that bribe is a **reliable tool** in the corruption services market – 45.7%. Also for one third of residents who joined the corruption situation the solution of the problem was **improved to some extent** - 33.4%. Only in 9.9% cases the stimulation of officer **did not affect** the positive solution of the problem.

The most common emotional feelings from entering into corruption situation were: **hatred of official** – 20.0%, hatred of the entire corrupt government - 17.9%, and **dissatisfaction with our government system** that places people in such circumstances – 15.7%.

Complaints about the actions of officials

Nearly one-third of residents do not know where they can file a complaint with the actions of officials – 36.0%. This indicator says about their information void in the fight against corruption and lack of knowledge about alternatives to the corrupt way of solving of particular problem. The majority of respondents **do not file complaints against the officials** – 83.9%. And for 40.9% of those who complained, it did not help.

Many believes that the **practice of anonymous allegations** is necessary – 26.5%, others said that such practice of anonymous allegations **is not needed** – 22.6%. Many people have concerns that innocent people might be affected – 19.2%.

Corruption situation in healthcare

The total portion of informal payments for receiving nominally free health care is - 49.0%. A total of 54.7% of these were clinics and 59.1% hospitals. In the general list (top 10) of **the most corrupt** government agencies the administration and the staff of hospitals and clinics are in third place – 8.4%. On a scale of "honest" and "dishonest" the employees of this state institution were rated as "dishonest" by one-third of respondents – 30.6%. According to respondents, in the event of corruption situation, more than half of patients in clinics give bribes – 54.7%, in hospitals – 62.9%.

Corruption situation in education

The prevalence of corruption in schools – 45.5%, two-thirds respondents of which resorted to give informal rewards – 62.2%.

The prevalence of corruption in universities is 60.0%. A total of 59.8% of respondents out of that number used informal rewards prior to the admission to universities. In the ranking of **the most corrupt** state bodies they are in second place - 10.7%.

Thus, the characteristics of corruption in Tajikistan by December 2010 compared with 2006 are as the followings:

	2006	2010
Corruption scope	60,1%	84,1%
Corruption risk (proportion of cases of falling into corruption situation)	31,9%	46,1%
Demand for corruption (readiness to give bribe)	29,5%	45,3%
The average size of bribe (TJS)	620	1800

RECOMMENDATIONS

The flourish of corruption in state institutions and its systemic nature threatened investment flows into the country's economy and its trade relations with foreign partners and made it impossible to implement reforms. Despite all measures undertaken by the government, corruption continues to exist. This proves that corruption in the Republic of Tajikistan has a systemic nature and the traditional solutions that have been undertaken are not working. In this regard, the following minimum solutions are recommended:

1. Since the adoption of the law on establishing of the Supreme Audit Institution it has become necessary to revisit the existing system of fight against corruption. In this case, it is recommended to review the authority of the Agency for State Financial Control and Fight against Corruption and to create a more efficient and transparent body engaged in the fight against corruption. In this regard, it is necessary to consider the existing best practices of developed countries, which also in transition period have faced serious corruption crimes, but very successfully demonstrated the political will and could change the system that could resist corruption. In particular, it would be useful to learn lessons from the practice of Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong, where independent bodies fight against corruption are functioning. In the basis of reforming and creation of a strong and independent body in Tajikistan it is necessary to unite all the ways to prevent the corruption and to have an active collaboration with civil society. One of the key objectives of such a body should be to involve the society in the fight against corruption and to carry out large-scale preventive and prophylactic measures to raise awareness among the population and to increase the power of law in society.

2. When a society faces with systemic corruption, it is important to understand that conventional means are insufficient. To deal with it, it is important to develop a comprehensive working document that assesses the corruption not as a single phenomenon, but as a system. What is an anti-corruption strategy? It focuses on elimination of corrupt system, not on just corrupt individuals. We find the following formula useful: $C = M + F - A$. Corruption (C) equals to monopolistic power (M) plus freedom of action of officials (F) and minus accountability (A). Anti-corruption strategy should specifically look for ways to reduce the monopolistic power, should limit and clearly define the terms of reference, strengthen accountability and supervision, increase transparency and at the same time take into account all the costs associated with their implementation. National Anticorruption Committee with the active support of civil society must develop a strategy to combat systemic corruption and introduce necessary changes in the Strategy to Fight against Corruption in Tajikistan.

3. It is necessary to begin with an analysis of different types of corruption, of damage that they bring and their prevalence. Such an analysis enables to implement a simple but effective rule, bringing much-needed for the public perception first successes in combating this evil. It means it is necessary to select a type of corruption, where in a short time any visible progress can be achieved without very big costs. This method is contrary to those reformers who desire to do everything at once. In order to ensure public support, it is necessary to begin attacking of those types of corruption that citizens perceive the most obvious or which they think cannot be delayed.

4. It is important to find allies and acquire means of involvement of broad anti-corruption forces in society in the fight against corruption. Experience in many countries, especially in Singapore and Hong Kong demonstrated that authorities cannot cope with corruption by their own. It is important to turn it into a campaign against corruption at the national level. Private sector and civil society can play the role of allies. Civic leaders, nongovernmental organizations, students and businessmen, all in one word expressing dissatisfaction with the extortion and bribery, can immediately get grip with corruption. Many international organizations consider the fight against corruption as a priority of their activities and they may become an important source of financial and political support.

5. It is important to destroy the atmosphere of impunity of corruption causing feelings of powerlessness and apathy in society. Society has lost faith in the possibility of overcoming corruption. It has even watched a couple of minor trials. However, the atmosphere of corruption may remain, especially when a sense of impunity at the highest level is retained. If corruption becomes systemic, we must attack the destructive perception of its impunity. If nothing is done in this direction, efforts to combat corruption won't be taken seriously.

6. Nothing kills the trust of society faster than the belief that anti-corruption efforts are directed only against the "small fish", for those who occupy the lowest position in society. Experience suggests that to overcome the culture of corruption it is necessary to catch the "big fish". Big corrupt persons should be identified and punished in such a way that civil population, which has lost all its faith, believe that anti-corruption action is more than just words. The credibility of the Independent Commission against Corruption comes when senior officials will be judged in accordance with the court decision for a heavy time imprisonment and their property confiscated.

7. The important point is related to the provision of public trust and publicity of anti-corruption efforts. Arrangements are required that would keep anti-corruption theme in the foreground. These include the publication of sensational materials related to the exposure and arrest of big corrupt officials, lawsuits against them, activities that clearly demonstrate the public about benefits derived from fight against corruption.

8. Anti-corruption tactics require the analysis of conventional corrupt conduct and of its destruction by the adoption of new laws. In fact, systemic corruption often coexists with highly developed legal codes. Sometimes a large number of rules and controls not only smothers the zeal, but actually creates opportunities for corruption. New laws and regulations are needed provided that they alter incentives, reduce the monopolistic power, clarify or reduce the authority, enhance information flow and accountability, nullify laws, indistinct and ineffective practice that leads to corruption. It is important to analyze the implementation of the bureaucratic procedures to reduce opportunities for corruption and abuse, the adoption of simple rules and regulators, reflecting the actions of officials and facilitating control over them. Familiarity of citizens with them and their application by citizens in practice may be the key step.

9. A system of incentives should be created which makes profitable the participation of the bureaucracy in the fight against corruption. It is also necessary to implement systemic changes in the work of bureaucracy so that it is controlled and operating according to simple and understandable rules which are transparent and open to the public.

10. Experience in many countries teaches that it is unwise to start with an attack on own subordinates, even if it is known that they are discredited. It is necessary to take positive steps to help employees in the first place to achieve productivity gains, increase in performance

and to improve their financial situation. As long as they do not put their heart in work or embezzle money achieving efficiency would not possible. A system of rewards for effective performance is necessary for solving of this problem.

11. In the context of systemic corruption no action to counter it will have a big importance, unless the information environment is radically changed. The best way to achieve this goal is linked with an approach that uses feedback between the government and the public. By means of information the civic participation and public support must be realized in the atmosphere of openness and transparency. Information should ensure transparency of government and that civil society views the picture of corruption in general. Incentives linking motivation with information to achieve goals in the fight against corruption should be improved.

12. The most important principle of anti-corruption strategy is that senior managers should demonstrate political will to conduct an uncompromising and consistent fight against corruption. Without the introduction of this principle into practice, without its implementation, the struggle against corruption is impossible and all above mentioned principles will be a simple piece of paper.

13. To oblige officials of all ranks on a regular basis to provide a declaration on their income and of their families. Create a system of reporting of such declarations through the media. Declaration of income must be kept in tight control. The bodies receiving and considering such declarations are required to submit an open report on each individual providing the report.

14. As one of the possible means of influence on persons involved in severe corrupt practices, it is necessary to create a free information space where corruption cases are widely publicized and discussed through the mass media. Disclosure and discussion of corruption in the media must be politically endorsed and supported by the country's leadership with the aim of supporting the media and exposing the criminal collusion and restoring the rule of law. In addition to this approach, it is necessary to create a system of "Panel of Shame" for corrupted government officials. Internet and media may be used as a resource for such a "Panel of Shame".