

NATIONAL CORRUPTION BAROMETER SURVEY (NCBS) 2016

FOREWORD

Foreword

Research is considered as one of the cornerstones of anti-corruption social movement worldwide. Corruption anywhere is a clandestine process. Therefore, to learn about its nature and magnitude, its actors and its impact on life and livelihood of ordinary citizens, proper research is essential. A country may have strong commitment against corruption from the highest political echelon with policies and infrastructure in place, however, corruption may still be a challenge for various reasons. Thus it is paramount to understand the nature and attributes of corruption prevailing in society so that we can make the mission against corruption successful. Research will help generate the information and data needed to understand the causes as well as the appropriate measures to be taken to eliminate corruption.

Bhutan Transparency Initiative will continue to formulate a suitable research strategy that contributes more effectively towards generating knowledge on the corruption situation in the country. In line with this strategy, Bhutan Transparency Initiative is very pleased to present the National Corruption Barometer Survey 2016 Report. The study sought information on the levels of corruption, forms of corruption, delivery of Public services by public offices, effectiveness and support of existing anti-corruption initiatives, access to anti-corruption services, delivery of justice and in general the degree of corruption in the country.

It must be admitted that this research on corruption situation in the country is still limited and unable to answer many questions, particularly, on the dynamics of corruption at various sectoral, sub-sectoral and institutional levels both nationally and locally. The interventions against corruption need to match the causes in order for anti corruption actions to be effective. This study will serve as a baseline for BTI as the findings highlight indicators that are useful for assessing the general level of corruption experience and perception. Detailed dynamics or qualitative information on the process and events are outside the scope of this type of study.

BTI will use the findings of the report to design relevant interventions to strengthen initiatives against corruption.

I take this opportunity to reiterate that BTI will continue to work with the relevant institutions to advise on how to seal the corruption loopholes existent in their systems, processes, procedures and practices. I would also like to acknowledge and thank the respondents from the general public for their frank participation during the Survey and look forward to their continued support in our future endeavors.

Finally, I call upon all to read this Report and work with us to enhance transparency and accountability in our country.



Pema Lhamo
Executive Director

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Corruption Barometer Survey (NCBS) was conducted by Bhutan Transparency Initiative to assess the Bhutanese citizens' perception of corruption and to establish a reference point for awareness, education, and advocacy on corruption prevention. It was the first survey of its kind ever conducted in Bhutan.

The survey adopted a mix research method (quantitative as well as qualitative), with a sample size of 1,200. Respondents from rural areas made up 61% and 39% were from urban areas. Those with middle and higher secondary education made up the bulk of the respondents (35.5 percent); those with postgraduate education made up only 2.1% of the respondents.

The study revealed that corruption in favouritism and nepotism in recruitment, promotion and transfer were the most prevalent forms of corruption in the country. Among occupational groups, civil servants and students were the main respondents (43.8% each) who reported the occurrence. Deliberately delaying decisions with corrupt motives was perceived as another significantly (66.8%) form that was prevalent in the country.

A higher proportion of urban citizens reported the prevalence of all forms of corruption, and the people below the age of 25 years were found to be more concerned about it. Furthermore, citizens with formal education reported a much higher prevalence of corruption in the country than those with no formal education.

A total of 10.2% of the citizens reported having paid a bribe in the past 12 months. At least 2.6% of the citizens reported of bribing a government official to get the documents they needed. The proportion of citizens who paid a bribe was significantly higher in the urban areas (14.3%) than in rural areas (6.16%).

Discriminatory and non-uniform application of laws and rules were perceived to be the major causes of corruption in the country. Other noticeable factors include lengthy procedures, weak and ineffective media and a strong protective social net of those accused of corrupt actions.

The study also revealed that there is a dearth of motivation among the Bhutanese people to report corruption. This was because most of them believed that no action would be taken even if they reported against corruption to the concerned authorities; worse of all, they believed that their reporting would not make any difference. A more worrying finding yet is that a quarter of the population (25.32%) thought that corruption was a normal social phenomena since everyone indulged in it, and there was nothing wrong with it. Thus, there is a high level of acceptance of corruption in the country.

Some 13.43% of the population thought that combating corruption would be an uphill task since it would mean taking on a powerful nexus of judges, bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen. This is because, as clearly indicated by the study, people thought that corruption was highly concentrated at the top decision-making level.

In terms of the quality of service delivery, the respondents rated the Ministry of Education (MOE) as the best, followed by the Ministry of Health (MOH) and the armed forces. On the contrary, the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources (MOLHR), the judiciary and the private sector were rated as the worst (the least user-friendly entities!).

Preferential treatment given to influential people was reported to affect ordinary citizens' access to basic services. And, this was pointed out as one of the major problems in the health sector.

A high proportion of the population perceived judges as corrupt; more than half of the population (63.2%) reported of some judges being corrupt while 31.1% of the respondents reported that most judges as being corrupt.

For almost half of the respondents (46.5%), unemployment was the most important problem facing the country, and they attributed the root cause of this problem to the poor quality of education in the country.

Furthermore, a sizeable proportion of the population (15.6%) cited the access to justice as the most important problem facing the country.

In a nutshell, the general perception of the people was that the corruption level in the country has been steadily increasing since the introduction of democracy.

Close to a quarter of the population (24.17%) stated that ordinary citizens cannot do anything substantial to curb corruption. The urban population is more optimistic about the difference the ordinary citizens can make in the fight against corruption.

1. BACKGROUND

Bhutan Transparency Initiative (BTI) was founded in April 2013 by a group of volunteers who came together to establish a reference institution to put corruption under the spotlight by increasing transparency, integrity and accountability in Bhutan through the provision of policy-oriented research, development of training tools and facilitation of policy dialogues. BTI registered itself as a Civil Society Organisation (CSO) with the CSO Authority of Bhutan in 2014.

BTI looks forward to a country of Gross National Happiness (GNH) with citizens and governments free from the fear of corruption through the promotion of transparency, accountability and good governance in the country to contribute to the fight against corruption and the promotion of integrity.

BTI engages in:

- Diagnosis of corruption issues to use findings as a reference to stimulate a more informed debate and to formulate more projects on anti-corruption;
- Building and supporting partnerships and coalitions of civil society organisations to fight corruption more effectively; and
- Engaging citizens and young people in promoting integrity more actively.

BTI works closely with other relevant stakeholders, including the Anti-Corruption Commission of Bhutan (ACC), CSOs, the media and other professional research institutes to ensure public acceptance, partnership and ownership of the findings from the above studies and research. BTI partners with experts from around the world to develop tools and conduct specific and in-depth assessments, research and studies in key areas. Such studies and assessments include, but are not limited to, the National Integrity System Assessment (NISA) and the Youth Integrity Survey.

As part of one of its main engagements, BTI conducted the National Corruption Barometer Survey, the results of which will be useful to educate and engage citizens in fighting corruption in the country.

The objectives of the study were:

- i. To assess the citizens' perception of corruption around forms, causes, concentration and level in the country; and
- ii. To establish a reference point for awareness, education and advocacy on corruption.

2. STUDY METHODOLOGY

2.1. Study Design

This study was carried out using a mixed method whereby quantitative information was collected through the administration of a structured questionnaire while qualitative information was obtained through open-ended interviews and literature reviews. Both quantitative and qualitative information were collected simultaneously, analysed separately and triangulated.

2.2. Target Population and Study Sample

Samples were drawn from every section of the Bhutanese society. They consisted of civil servants, parliamentarians, business people, private employees, corporate employees, armed force personnel, farmers, housewives, students, local government employees, monastic bodies and the employees of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Target population selection was based on Corruption Perception Survey 2007 carried out by the ACC, , Royal Government of Bhutan (Anti-Corruption Commission, 2008).

2.3. Sampling Procedures

A stratified two-stage cluster sampling approach of probability sampling was adopted. In the first stage, using probability proportion to size with replacement (PPSWR), primary sampling units (PSUs) were selected from respective urban and rural master sampling frames provided by the National Statistics Bureau (NSB). In the second stage, samples were drawn from the selected PSUs using simple random sampling without replacement (SRSWOR).

2.3.1. Sample Size Determination

Assuming 95% confidence level, 0.5 standard deviation, and a margin of error (confidence interval) of +/-5%, sample size was determined as by using the formula below as proposed by Smith (2013):

$$n = \frac{Z^2 P(1 - P)}{d^2}$$

Where:

n = Sample size;

Z = Statistics for a level of confidence (95%);

P = Percentage picking a choice expressed as decimal; and

D = Precision or confidence interval (1-0.95=0.05)

The current population of Bhutan stands at 773,684. Since $n/N < 0.05$, finite population correction (FPC) was not used (Wayne W. Daniel, 2013). Without using FPC:

n = 385 (representative at national level)

To be representative at regional level, the sample size was multiplied by 3 since the country is divided into 3 regions of the west, the centre, and the east: $3 \times 385 = 1,155$

2.3.2. Sample Allocation

A total sample size of 1,200, that is, 600 each from rural and urban areas, was selected from 48 Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) (24 PSUs each from rural and urban areas).

2.4. Data Collection Method

An open source mobile data collection solution was deployed and the data were collected through the use of smart phones/tablets. This method was used due to its following comparative advantage over the conventional paper-based data collection method:

- Ease of managing large surveys across regions with a large number of surveyors:
 - o It can be deployed remotely and survey works can be tracked in real time
 - o The questionnaire can be changed, if necessary, even while surveyors are in the field
- Enhanced data quality:
 - o Logical questions can be set, thereby making non-applicable questions hidden from surveyors
 - o Validation checks for answers entered can be set. It can prompt enumerators if answers do not match 'pre-filled' data
 - o Data can be checked on a real time basis, allowing for prompt review of data quality and making auditing and respondent tracking procedures more nimble.
- Cost and time effective:
 - o Involves service provider costs only
 - o Enables real time access to data to monitor quality and progress
 - o Environmentally-friendly as there is no need to print the questionnaire
- Ease of collecting new data types (location, media, etc.):
 - o A single device with multimedia tools such as GPS, and audio and video applications
 - o Non-text data can be integrated with text data in real time
 - o Real time access to location, photos, etc.

The enumerators collected the data offline and stored it on the mobile device. The supervisors examined the data and transferred them to their laptops and then uploaded to the centralised server. A data manager then monitored and managed the dataset.

2.5. Weighting

The NCBS sample is not self-weighted. Sample weights were, therefore, computed and used in the tabulation of the survey data. Each observation was multiplied by its appropriate weight. The raw weights computed for the survey data took account of the following elements:

- a. The probability of a particular enumeration area (EA) in the sampling frame being selected into the sample EA;
- b. The difference between the EA size shown in the sampling frame and its size found during the listing operation;
- c. The probability of a particular sample being selected into the sample from all the population found in the selected EA; and
- d. The level of non-response experienced in the survey.

2.6. Data Tabulation and Analysis

Data were cleaned and verified with the help of supervisors before performing data tabulation and analysis. SPSS version 22 was used to tabulate and analyse the data. Basic statistical analysis techniques such as frequency and percentage analysis and cross tabulation were used to summarise the quantitative information.

Forms of corruption, its causes, concentration and level were assessed at two levels:

- Calculating the mean score of a 3-point response scale (3-strongly agree; 2-partly agree; and 1-disagree), and
- Calculating the percentage of each response item.

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Coverage of the Study

As shown in Figure 1, 61% of the respondents were drawn from rural areas and 39% from urban areas. Of the 1,200 respondents, 63% were from the western region, 20% from the eastern, and 17% from the central region of the country.

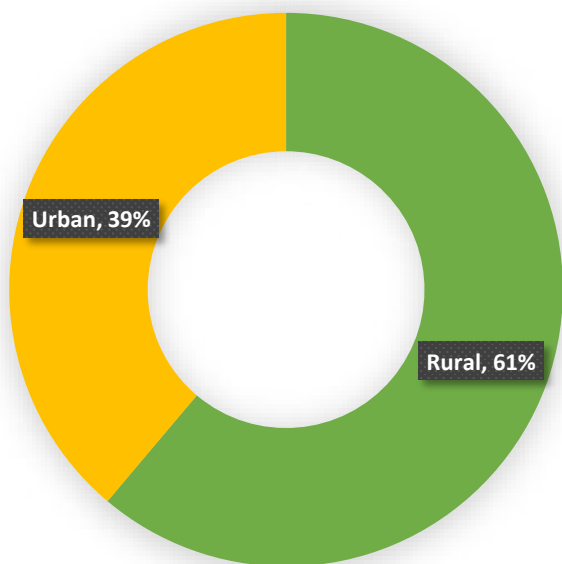


Figure 1: Respondents by rural and urban

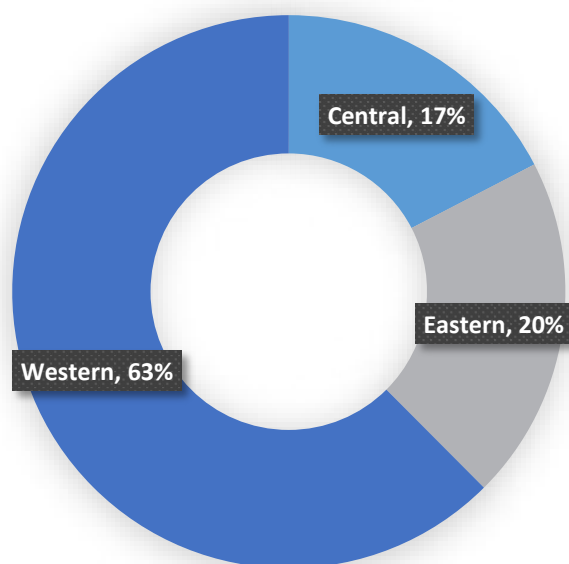


Figure 2: Respondents by region

3.2. Demographic Characteristics

3.2.1. Gender

As shown in Figure 3, the proportion of female respondents (59%) was notably higher than that of males (41%).

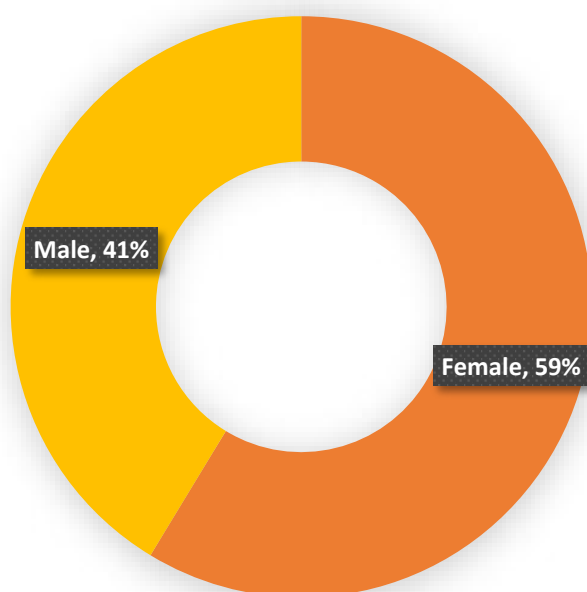


Figure 3: Respondents by sex

3.2.2. Age

The age of the respondents ranged from 18 to 60 years and above. Respondents from the age group 18-25 years (youth) made up 15.95% of the overall respondents the age group 26-59 years (adults) accounted for 78.11%, and the remaining 5.92% were above 60 years of age (senior citizens) (Figure 4).

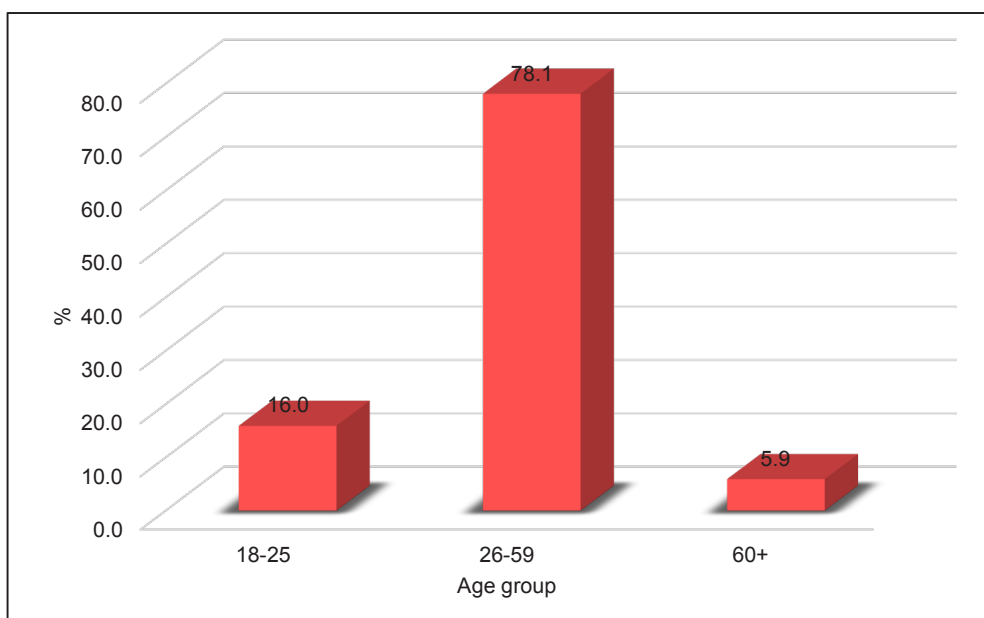


Figure 4: Respondents by age group

3.2.3. Educational Background

As shown in Figure 5, 2.1% of the respondents had postgraduate education. One-fourth of the respondents had no formal education since the majority of the respondents were from rural areas. Those with middle and higher secondary education made up the bulk of the respondents, together accounting for 35.5% of the total respondents.

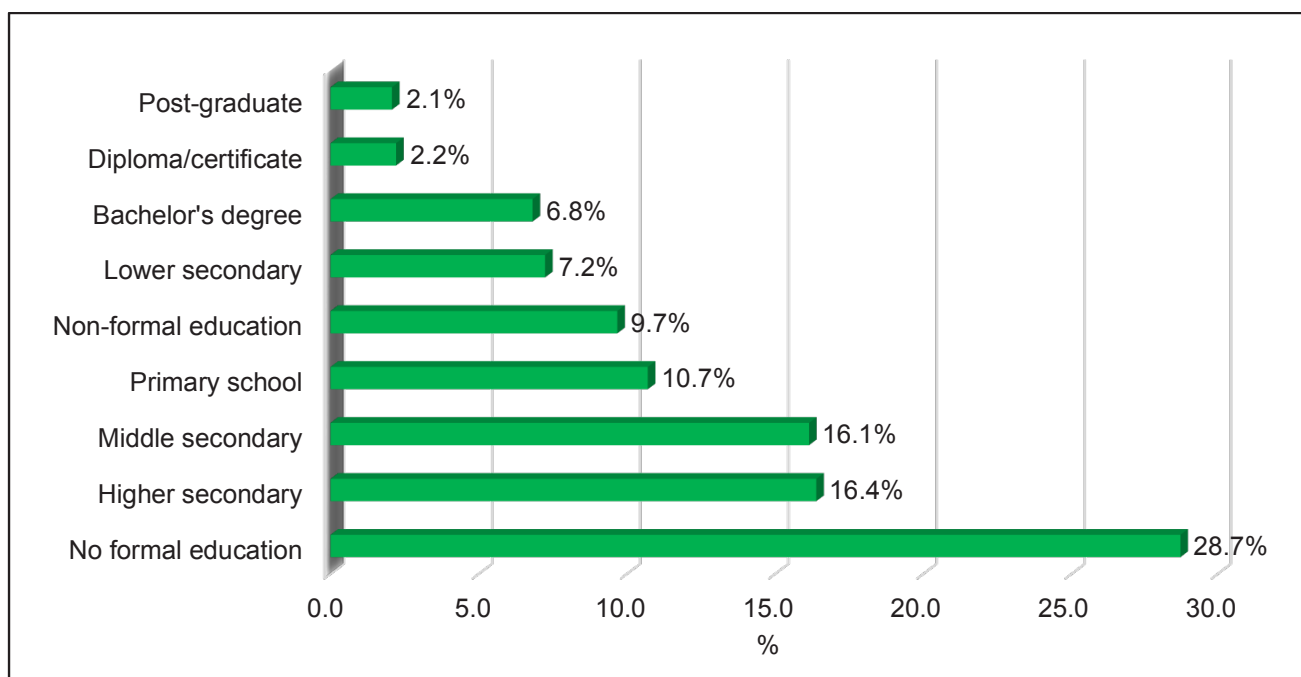


Figure 5: Respondents by qualification

3.2.4. Marital Status

To a large extent, there was a corresponding relationship between marital status and the age category. For instance, 73.8% of the married respondents corresponded to the 78.1% of the respondents who fell within the age group of 26-59 years (Figure 6). Likewise, respondents from the age group 18-25 years who made up 16.0% of the total corresponded to 19.9% of the unmarried respondents.

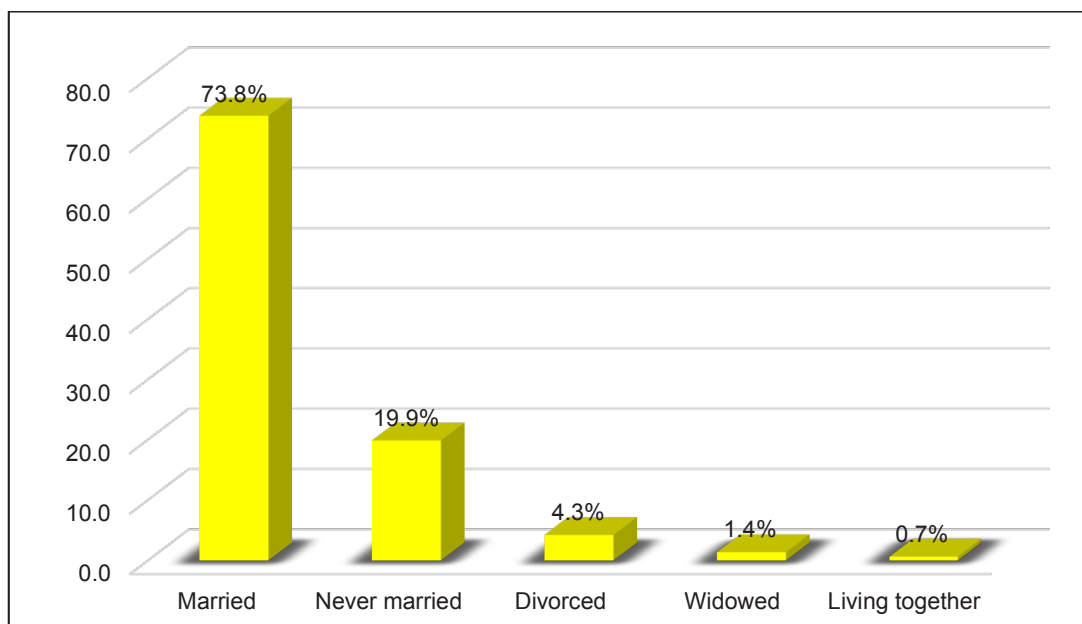


Figure 6: Respondents by marital status

3.2.5. Occupational background

Almost half of the overall respondents were either farmers and/or housekeepers, followed by businessmen, private employees and students (Figure 7). The percentages in fractions from other occupational groups like parliamentarians, NGO employees, local government employees and others were significantly representative of their groups given that the population size of these groups were relatively smaller.

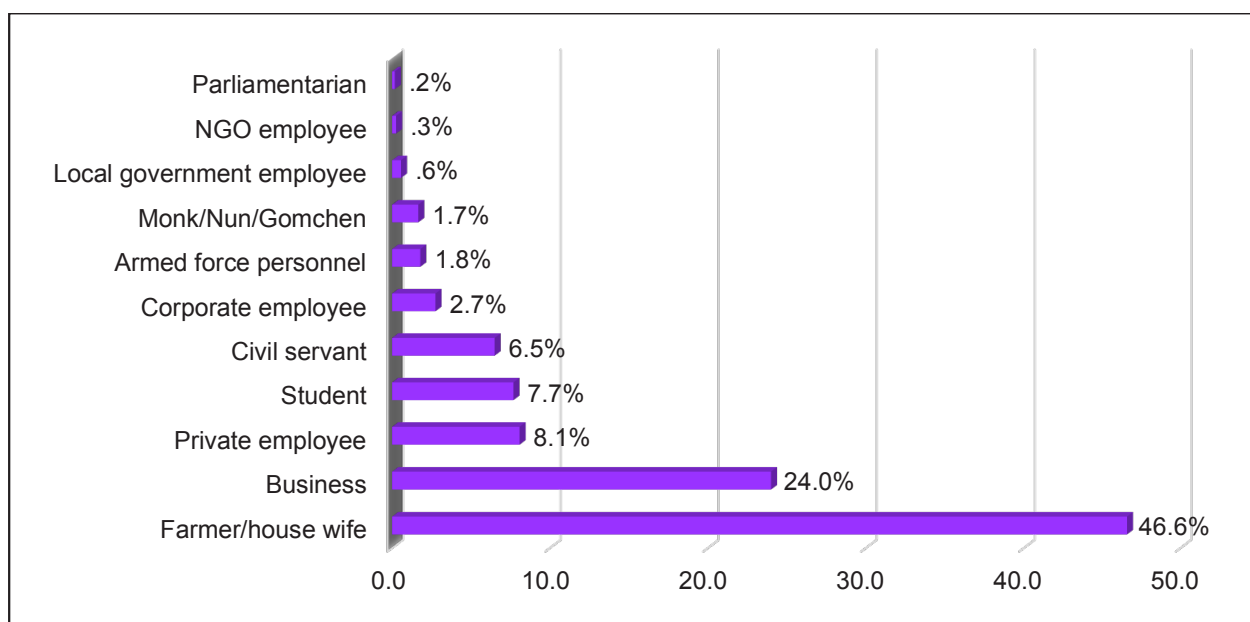


Figure 7: Respondents by occupation

3.3. Forms of Corruption

As reflected in Table 1, favouritism and nepotism in recruitment, and promotion and transfer were the most prevalent forms of corruption in the country. The second and third most prevalent forms of corruption were misuse of public funds and facilities. Delaying decisions deliberately with corrupt motives was also perceived as significantly (66.8%) prevalent in the country. The highest percentage of “declined” was recorded for “taking and giving bribes” (2.7%) and “misuse of public assets” (2.9%).

Table 1: Views on the forms of corruption prevalent in the country

What are the forms of corruption prevalent in our country?					
Forms of corruption	Strongly agree%	Partly agree%	Disagree%	Don't know%	Declined%
Nepotism, favouritism (recruitment, promotion, transfer, etc.)	28.0	52.4	9.1	9.8	0.7
Misuse of public funds	20.5	53.3	12.7	12.3	1.2
Misuse of public facilities	17.9	50.8	15.8	13.2	2.4
Taking and giving bribes	17.7	49.3	17.8	12.5	2.7
Misuse of public assets	15.6	47.5	18.2	15.8	2.9
Delaying decision/action deliberately with corrupt motives	15.3	51.5	14.8	16.9	1.6
Misuse of human resources	15.0	53.2	14.2	15.7	1.9
Electoral fraud	14.0	37.8	18.2	29.0	1.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	13.1	43.6	19.3	23.2	0.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	12.8	40.9	16.6	27.9	1.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	12.7	44.5	16.9	23.6	2.3
Collusion between public and private in procurement	10.9	44.0	16.5	26.9	1.7
Collusion between private and private in procurement	9.5	43.1	14.2	32.0	1.2
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	9.3	46.2	18.4	23.9	2.3

As shown in Table 2, a comparatively higher proportion of urban citizens reported the prevalence of corruption of almost all forms compared with the rural citizens.

Table 2: Views on the forms of corruption by area

Forms of corruption	Rural%	Urban%	Total%
Nepotism, favouritism	24.6	33.4	28.0
Misuse of public funds	15.6	28.1	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	14.6	23.1	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	13.8	23.9	17.7
Misuse of public assets	12.4	20.5	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	12.3	19.9	15.3
Misuse of human resources	12.2	19.5	15.0
Electoral fraud	12.2	16.9	14.0

Prosecution of corruption cases	10.7	16.9	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	13.2	12.0	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	10.9	15.5	12.7
Collusion between public and private in procurement	9.6	13.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	7.7	12.4	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	8.0	11.3	9.3

As depicted in Table 3, as compared to females respondents, males respondents reported higher occurrences for nepotism and favouritism, prosecution of corruption cases as well as fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese (Table 3).

Table 3: Views on the forms of corruption by sex

Forms of corruption	Female%	Male%	Total%
Nepotism, favouritism	26.0	30.9	28.0
Misuse of public funds	17.8	24.2	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	16.3	20.1	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	15.9	20.3	17.7
Misuse of public assets	14.3	17.4	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	14.1	16.9	15.3
Misuse of human resources	13.8	16.8	15.0
Electoral fraud	14.1	14.0	14.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	12.7	13.6	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	11.7	14.3	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	11.9	13.8	12.7
Collusion between public and private in procurement	9.4	13.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	8.4	11.1	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	8.2	10.9	9.3

As shown in Table 4, respondents who are below the age of 25 years were more adversely affected by the prevalence of corruption and therefore they were more concerned about it.

Table 4: Views on the forms of corruption by age group

Forms of corruption	Below 25 years%	26-40 years%	41 years and above%	Total%
Nepotism, favouritism	32.3	28.1	25.3	28.0
Misuse of public funds	28.5	19.1	17.4	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	25.7	15.9	15.6	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	25.6	15.9	15.2	17.7
Misuse of public assets	22.8	13.8	13.4	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	20.0	14.7	13.1	15.3
Misuse of human resources	17.6	15.0	13.4	15.0
Electoral fraud	19.6	13.3	11.6	14.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	17.1	12.8	11.1	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	13.8	11.7	13.6	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	13.3	12.0	13.3	12.7

Collusion between public and private in procurement	14.5	9.9	10.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	11.0	9.8	8.2	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	11.0	8.7	9.0	9.3

Citizens with formal education reported a much higher prevalence of corruption of all forms compared with citizens with no formal education (Table 5). This may be attributed to their knowledge and understanding of their rights and government systems.

Table 5: Views on the forms of corruption by educational status

Forms of corruption	Have formal education%	No formal education%	Total%
Nepotism, favouritism	32.6	16.9	28.0
Misuse of public funds	25.3	8.5	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	22.0	7.6	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	22.4	6.2	17.7
Misuse of public assets	19.4	6.0	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	19.4	4.9	15.3
Misuse of human resources	19.4	4.1	15.0
Electoral fraud	17.3	6.0	14.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	17.0	3.5	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	15.3	6.6	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	15.9	4.6	12.7
Collusion between public and private in procurement	13.7	4.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	12.7	1.5	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	11.5	3.8	9.3

Amongst the occupational groups, civil servants reported a comparatively higher prevalence of forms of corruption such as nepotism/favouritism, misuse of public funds, and misuse of public assets (Table 6). Private employees reported that the misuse of public facilities as the most prevalent form of corruption in the country.

Table 6: Views on the forms of corruption by region

Forms of corruption	Central%	Eastern%	Western%	Total%
Nepotism, favouritism	8.0	42.2	29.1	28.0
Misuse of public funds	7.9	27.4	21.7	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	7.1	24.7	18.7	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	6.0	29.8	17.1	17.7
Misuse of public assets	5.3	24.8	15.4	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	5.6	26.3	14.4	15.3
Misuse of human resources	6.5	25.4	14.0	15.0
Electoral fraud	2.2	27.4	13.0	14.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	3.2	22.1	13.0	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	3.4	19.4	13.3	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	3.8	20.1	12.8	12.7
Collusion between public and private in procurement	5.2	18.6	10.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	1.3	15.2	9.9	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	6.1	20.2	6.7	9.3

Perceived as the major forms of corruption in the country Further more, i perceive with to be highly prevalent as compared to other forms of corruption like misuse of public funds, electoral fraud, misuse of human resources etc

Table 7: Views on the forms of corruption by occupation

Forms of corruption	Others %	Farmer/ House wife%	Business %	Civil servant%	Private employee%	Student %	Total %
Nepotism, favouritism	38.9	21.6	25.6	43.8	35.1	43.8	28.0
Misuse of public funds	19.8	13.4	24.4	33.0	32.2	28.7	20.5
Misuse of public facilities	22.9	11.7	16.8	28.4	31.0	30.9	17.9
Taking and giving bribes	23.0	13.2	20.0	15.6	25.3	26.4	17.7
Misuse of public assets	17.8	10.7	18.2	25.7	20.8	20.6	15.6
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives	17.7	10.5	14.8	25.2	22.2	27.8	15.3
Misuse of human resources	18.9	10.6	14.6	24.0	25.8	20.4	15.0
Electoral fraud	16.1	11.3	14.4	18.3	13.3	24.5	14.0
Prosecution of corruption cases	15.1	9.1	14.7	19.1	19.5	19.1	13.1
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese	13.4	12.8	10.0	14.0	16.8	15.3	12.8
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese	14.3	10.5	12.1	18.0	16.2	17.7	12.7
Collusion between public and private in procurement	10.9	8.5	9.0	15.3	21.1	17.0	10.9
Collusion between private and private in procurement	12.0	7.4	8.2	9.1	20.2	13.2	9.5
Privatisation of public institutions for private gains	11.3	8.0	7.8	9.6	14.9	13.8	9.3

Statistics reveal that bribery is not as prevalent in the country as other forms of corruption, particularly nepotism and favouritism. To every question on bribery, an average of about 31% of the citizens reported that they had not paid a bribe while accessing certain essential government services (Table 8). Only 1.46% of the respondents reported having bribed government officials. On an aggregate level, 10.2% of the citizens reported having paid a bribe in the past 12 months. This means corruption has directly impacted 10 in every 100 citizens in the past year. Interestingly, 2.6% of the respondents reported of haing bribed a government official to get the documents they needed.

Table 8: Experiences of accessing certain essential government services

A. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public school?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	1.6	48.4	0.4
B. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	2.2	68.3	0.6
C. In the past 12 months have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit, from the government?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	2.6	32.8	0.1
D. In the past 12 months have you tried to get water, sanitation or electric services from the government?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the services you needed?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	1.4	23.8	0.5
E. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the police?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know %
	1.2	14.6	0.1
F. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the courts?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	0.5	8.2	0
G. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the G2C Services?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the G2C Services?		
	Paid a bribe%	Never paid a bribe%	Don't know%
	0.7	21.6	0.5

About 8% of the respondents reported of having paid bribe to the police, followed by those (7.2%) who bribed government officials to obtain official documents and forms like birth certificate, driving license, passport or voter's card, and certain permits (Figure 8). About 7% of the respondents reported having paid a bribe or done a favour for a judge or court officials in order to get the assistance they needed from the courts.

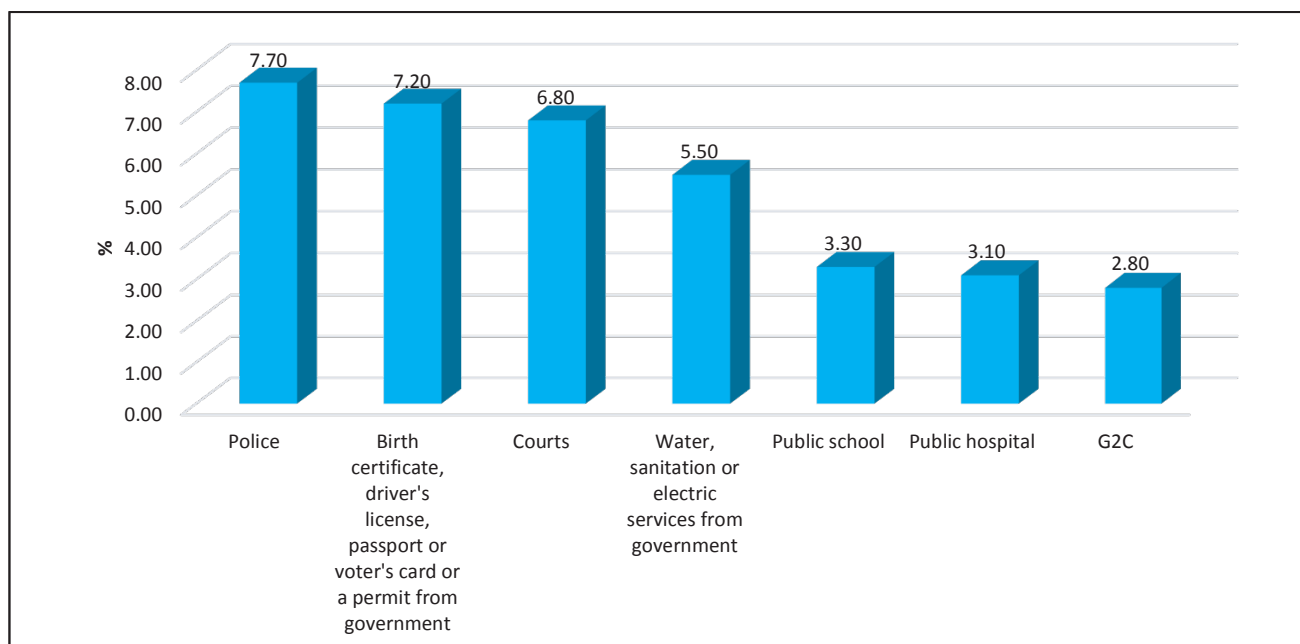


Figure 8: Bribery rate by essential government services

The proportion of citizens who had paid a bribe, gave a gift, or did a favor in the past 12 months was significantly higher in the urban areas (14.3%) than in rural areas (6.16%) (Figure 9). This corroborates the preceding finding that corruption is more prevalent in the urban areas. The highest rate of incidences of bribery was reported in the eastern region (13.1%), followed by the western region (10.3%) (Figure 10). No case of bribery was reported in the central region. Males (10.5%) offered bribes more than females (8.13%) (Figure 11).

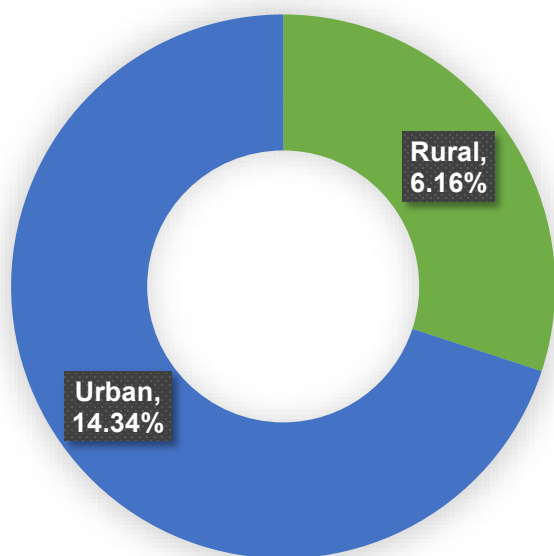


Figure 9: Bribery by area

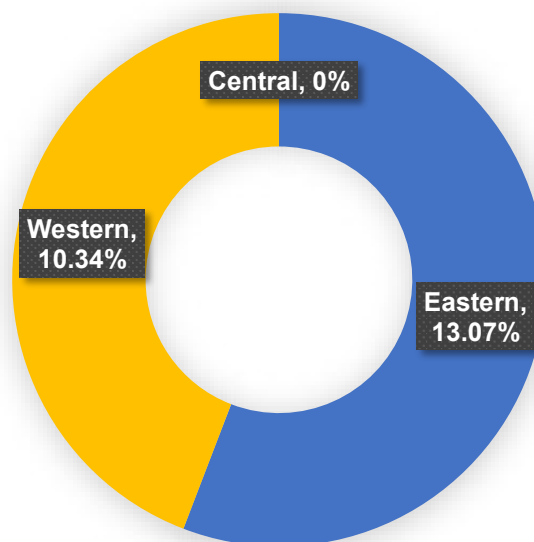


Figure 10: Bribery by region

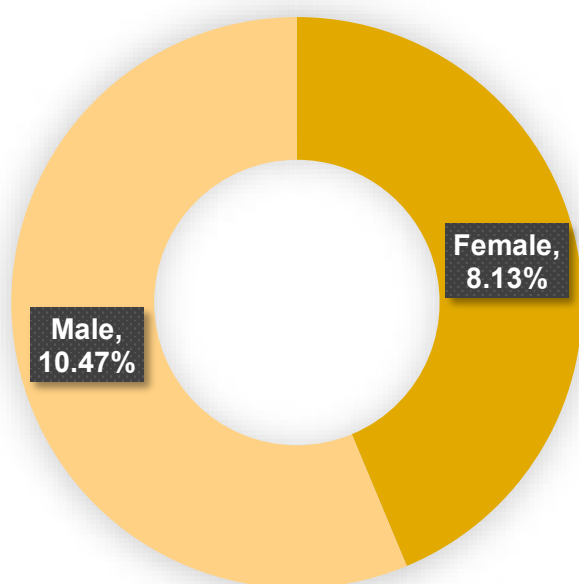


Figure 11: Bribery by sex

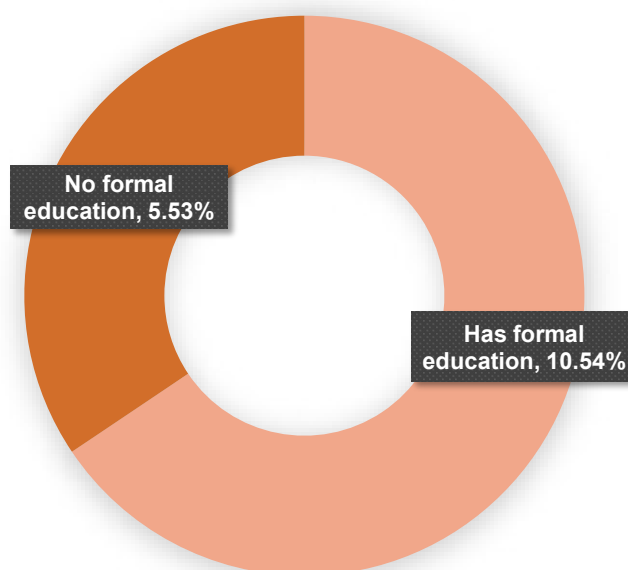


Figure 12: Bribery by formal education

Only 2.3% of the respondents reported that the bribery incidents they had experienced had been reported to a government official or someone in a position of authority (Table 9). Some of the common reasons for not reporting bribery incidents among the respondents included authorities not taking action against the government officials involved bribery, and worse, they suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting bribery incidents (Table 10).

Table 9: Reporting bribery incidents

If you ever paid a bribe for any of the services discussed above, did you report any of the incidents you mentioned to a government official or someone in authority?	
	%
No	71.9
Not Applicable	4.5
Yes	2.3
Don't know	1.2

Table 10: Action taken against or retaliation suffered

Which of the following happened in the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident?				
	Yes, happened%	No, didn't happen%	Not applicable (no incidents reported)%	Don't know%
Authorities took action against the government officials involved.	1.3	0.4	0.3	0.3
You suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting the incident.	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.3

3.4 Causes of Corruption

As indicated in Table 11, discriminatory and non-uniform application of laws and rules stood out as the biggest cause of corruption in the country. Other noticeable factors leading to corruption were lengthy procedures, weak and ineffective media and a strong protective social net of the accused. Weak leadership, lack of information and transparency on rules and procedures, and poor or lack of robust accountability mechanism in place were found to be playing a significant role in increasing corruption in the country.

Table 11: Views on the causes of corruption prevalent in the country

What are the causes of corruption prevalent in our country?					
Causes of corruption	Strongly agree%	Partly agree%	Disagree %	Don't know%	Declined %
Wants (greedy, never enough)	45.4	43.2	6.8	3.9	0.7
Lack of information and transparency on rules & procedures	26.3	51.5	13.1	8.3	0.8
Needs (sheer necessity, basic minimum not met)	25.7	50.4	18.0	5.6	0.3
Weak leaderships at all levels	24.6	45.2	16.2	13.4	0.6
Inaction of cases reported	24.0	47.1	14.8	13.2	0.8
Discriminatory & non-uniform application of laws and rules	22.1	51.2	14.9	10.5	1.4
Unfair business competition and practices	22.0	51.4	14.5	11.8	0.2
Low moral values	20.0	37.4	22.6	19.4	0.6
Poor or no proper accountability mechanism	18.0	52.0	11.8	18.0	0.3
Too many rules to follow	17.7	39.4	26.3	16.5	0.1
Lengthy procedures	17.6	47.6	16.8	17.7	0.4
Unclear rules with loopholes for manipulation	15.8	49.0	16.0	18.6	0.6
Weak and ineffective media	14.8	40.5	24.1	19.9	0.7
Strong protective social net of the accused	14.7	49.9	16.5	17.7	1.2
Inefficient service delivery	13.7	49.3	15.3	21.2	0.6
Non-enforcement of rules and procedures	12.6	51.2	17.9	17.8	0.4
Social demands and obligations	12.5	50.2	15.8	21.0	0.6

Even though corruption affects everyone, and “every person shall have the duty to uphold justice and to act against corruption” according to the Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan (RGOB, 2008), not many seem to carry out this duty. The most frequent reason stated for not reporting corruption incidents was that the citizens believe that nothing would be done or that reporting would not make any difference. More than a quarter of the population (25.32%) thought that corruption was normal, that everyone indulged in it and there was nothing wrong in indulging in it (Table 12). This findings indicate the existence of pervasive corruption in the country and a high level of acceptance of corruption as a norm in the society. Some 13.43% of the population was afraid that combating corruption would be an uphill task as doing so would require taking on a powerful nexus of judges, bureaucrats, politicians, and businessmen. In a close-knit society, where interdependence is quite a norm, there would not be many who would risk being excluded from this circle of interdependence. However, anti-corruption initiatives like advocacy could bring some positive changes as a good proportion of the population still does not know how to report corruption.

Table 12: Reasons for not reporting corruption incidents

Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason why many people do not report corruption?	
Incidents of corruption are never reported	%
Nothing will be done/It wouldn't make a difference	28.30
Corruption is normal/Everyone does it/everyone is involved	25.32
People don't know how to report it	19.56
People are afraid of the consequences	13.43
Most people do report incidents of corruption	5.68
The officials to whom they would report are also corrupt/officials are involved in corruption	3.15
People don't know where to report it	3.00
It's government's money, not the people's, so it's not our problem	1.58

3.5 Concentration of Corruption

The respondents thought that across different sectors, corruption was highly concentrated at the top decision making level as depicted in Table 13. Corruption was thought to be comparatively low at the lower supervisory or support and operational level.

Table 13: Views on the concentration of corruption in the country

In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated?:					
Level	Strongly agree%	Partly agree%	Disagree %	Don't know%	Declined %
Government					
More at the top decision making level	28.1	39.8	11.0	19.9	1.1
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	16.5	54.0	10.1	18.2	1.2
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	13.6	38.4	25.6	20.9	1.5
Corporations					
More at the top decision making level	25.0	43.6	9.4	21.1	1.0
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	14.2	54.3	9.6	20.9	1.0
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	10.3	40.3	24.0	23.8	1.5
Autonomous Agencies					
More at the top decision making level	20.0	39.8	9.4	30.1	0.8
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	12.3	46.0	11.2	29.9	.5
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	9.9	32.1	25.2	31.4	1.3
Local Government					
More at the top decision making level	27.3	45.2	12.5	14.1	0.9
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	14.6	55.4	13.3	15.5	1.2
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	12.5	40.7	29.0	16.6	1.1
NGOs (or CSOs?)					
More at the top decision making level	17.3	37.5	10.8	33.2	1.3
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	10.6	43.2	10.3	35.0	1.0
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	9.6	27.8	26.6	34.6	1.4

Private Sector					
More at the top decision making level	30.8	42.7	7.5	18.8	0.3
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	18.6	52.0	9.6	19.4	0.5
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	17.4	36.8	24.2	20.8	0.8
Constitutional Bodies					
More at the top decision making level	18.3	37.0	13.5	30.4	0.8
More at the middle administrative and managerial level	9.9	44.4	13.5	31.4	1.0
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level	8.6	30.0	28.9	31.4	1.2

3.6. Corruption in Public Service Delivery

On aggregation, the Ministry of Education (MoE) scored the highest, followed by the Ministry of Health (MoH) and the armed forces in terms of quality of service delivery (Table 14). Among the central ministries, the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources (MoLHR) was deemed the least user-friendly. Joining the league of the least user-friendly organisations were the judiciary and the private sector, whose service delivery systems were overwhelmingly rated as "Very dissatisfied". Only 8.2% of citizens admitted that they were "Very satisfied" with the quality of service delivery of the judiciary.

Table 14: Satisfaction with the quality of service delivery

How satisfied are you with the quality of service delivery of the following sectors/organisations?					
	Very satisfied %	Satisfied %	Neutral %	Dissatisfied %	Very dissatisfied %
Armed forces	19.8	53.1	24.2	2.3	0.6
MoH: Ministry of Health	19.6	57.2	18.3	4.1	0.8
MoE: Ministry of Education	18.8	60.8	15.2	4.5	0.6
MoA: Ministry of Agriculture	17.3	57.3	20.8	4.2	0.4
Monastic body	15.0	56.7	25.9	1.6	0.7
MoF: Ministry of Finance	10.5	57.0	28.3	3.7	0.5
MoEA: Ministry of Economic Affairs	9.9	56.0	30.0	3.6	0.5
MoHCA: Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs	9.9	54.9	30.5	3.9	0.8
MolC: Ministry of Information and Communications	9.5	53.9	32.4	3.5	0.7
MoFA: Ministry of Foreign Affairs	9.0	52.5	34.2	3.8	0.5
City Corporation (which city corporation? Thimphu?)	8.6	51.1	35.1	4.6	0.7
MoLHR: Ministry of Labour and Human Resources	8.4	52.3	28.8	7.9	2.6
MoWHS: Ministry of Works and Human Settlement	8.4	49.9	34.1	5.8	1.8
Judiciary	8.2	51.1	37.0	3.0	0.8
Others	8.1	48.0	41.9	1.7	0.2
Financial institutions	7.8	54.8	33.4	3.4	0.6
Corporations	7.4	54.3	34.8	2.9	0.6
Autonomous agencies	7.1	47.9	42.5	2.1	0.5
Private sector	5.5	46.9	42.5	4.2	0.9

Although the MoH, MoE and MoAF were rated high on the quality of service delivery ratings, their services were far from being efficient and were not without problems (Table 15). A third of the population reported that they encountered problems while accessing health care services. Likewise, a quarter of the population said that they faced problems in accessing education services. Agriculture and land transactions were other key government services to access with which people reported faced problems. The problems related to health service delivery were mainly related to delays in accessing hospital services, which respondents said were primarily due to the lack of advanced technologies in hospitals across the country. Compounding the problem was the preferential treatment medical staffs gave to VIPs and their friends and relatives.

Table 15: Problems encountered while accessing public services

Have you faced any problem while accessing the following services?					
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not availed %	Declined %
Health services	35.2	60.5	2.2	1.8	0.3
Education services	24.6	68.1	3.7	2.8	0.8
Agriculture services	24.4	59.2	3.9	11.9	0.5
Land transaction services	23.1	58.6	4.7	13.3	0.3
Banking services	18.7	72.3	5.0	3.6	0.4
Immigration and census services	17.0	62.3	7.0	13.2	0.4
Local government services	15.5	69.3	5.9	9.1	0.2
Corporate services (BPC, Bhutan Telecom, etc.)	15.4	69.8	8.1	6.5	0.2
Licensing services	15.0	61.7	7.2	15.8	0.3
Travel document services	13.2	58.0	6.7	21.6	0.4
Police services	13.2	69.4	6.8	10.4	0.2
Construction services	12.2	55.8	11.0	20.3	0.7
Government clearance services	11.4	67.0	6.1	15.0	0.5
City/municipal services/ <i>Thromde</i>	11.4	59.4	12.8	15.7	0.7
Private services	10.0	65.9	10.4	13.4	0.3
Labour permits and inspection services	9.1	53.6	9.0	27.8	0.6
Administrative/management services	8.9	65.1	10.8	14.8	0.5
Finance services (payment, releases, etc.)	8.8	62.0	9.8	19.0	0.5
Auditing services	7.0	57.5	9.8	24.9	0.8
Procurement services	6.6	61.9	12.4	18.2	0.9
Judiciary services	5.6	63.0	10.8	19.8	0.8
Religious and monastic services	5.5	80.8	8.4	4.9	0.3
NGO (CSO?) services	2.7	58.5	14.0	24.5	0.3
Services not mentioned	2.2	71.3	11.7	13.5	1.3
Others	0.9	84.0	8.8	4.1	2.2

One of the common problems faced by the citizens on a daily basis while accessing public services was discrimination on the basis of social status. About 20% of the population admitted that such kind of discrimination was the key problem in accessing the public services and that the trend was on the rise (Table 16). Preferential treatment given to influential people was affecting ordinary citizens' access to basic services.

Table 16: Common problems encountered

If so, what are the problems you encountered?	
	%
Discrimination based on wealth, gender, caste, etc.	20.01
Lack of facility	19.62
Poor service delivery	18.42
System-related problem	15.27
Personnel-related problems	13.05
Poor infrastructure-related problems	10.33
TA/DA and others	2.82
Others	0.49

About 63% of the population believed that judges were involved in corruption (Figure 13). More than half of the population (63.2%) reported that some judges were corrupt while 31.1% of the respondents reported that most judges were corrupt (Table 17). Nevertheless, a good proportion of the population holds the view that not all the judges were corrupt although not many were of the view that none of them was corrupt. When it came to judges, most respondent had an opinion to share.

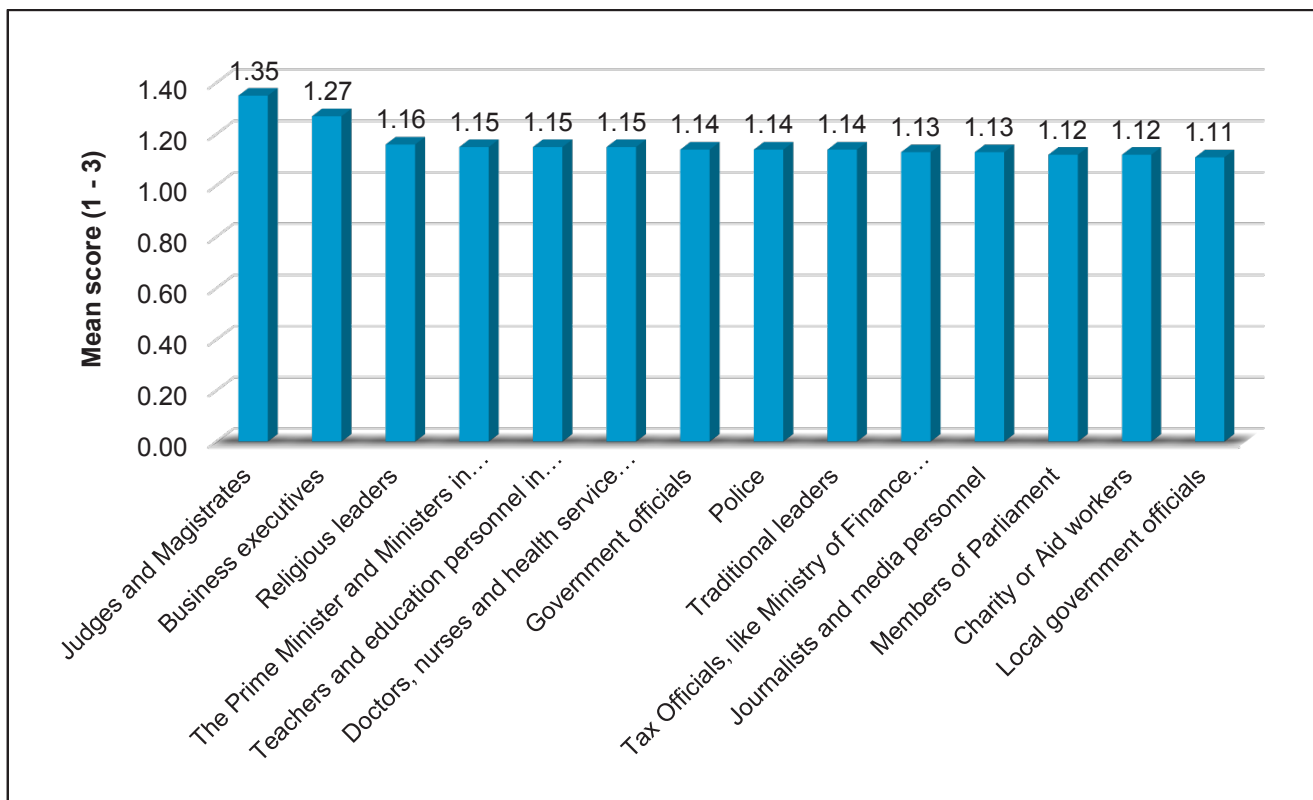
**Figure 13: Mean score of individuals involved in corruption**

Table 17: Views on individuals involved in corruption

How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?			
Involved in corruption	Yes %	No%	Don't know/ Haven't heard%
Business executives	73.2	13.1	13.8
Charity or aid workers	46	32.1	21.8
Religious leaders	38.2	41.8	20.0
Judges and Magistrates	95.7	2.7	1.7
The Prime Minister and Ministers in his Cabinet	56	21.8	22.2
Journalists and media personnel	41	32.4	26.6
Government officials	74.9	11.5	13.7
Tax officials, like Ministry of Finance officials or Local Government tax collectors	59.4	21.0	19.6
Traditional leaders	39.1	35.8	24.9
Teachers and education personnel in schools, colleges etc.	37.5	50.0	12.6
Police	71.8	16.6	11.7
Members of Parliament	61	18.5	20.5
Local government officials	70.7	15.8	13.6
Doctors, nurses and health service personnel	63	24.2	12.8

3.7 Important Problems Facing the Country

A quarter of the population was oblivious to the most important problems facing the country. About 16% of the respondents identified food and agriculture as the most important areas that needed urgent policy intervention (Table 18). The predominance of food and agriculture is quite natural as the majority of the respondents were from the rural background and belonged to the farming community. One main concern of the respondents related to food and agriculture was wild animals posing a serious threat to their crops. Other problems included inadequate distribution of agriculture seeds, lack of functional irrigation channels and the poor quality of farm roads. With the growing population and resulting activities like logging (legal or otherwise) overlapping with the established wildlife territories, human-wildlife conflict is an important problem facing the vast rural population.

Table 18: The most important problem(s) facing the country

In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address?	%
Don't know	25.24
Food/Agriculture	15.59
Infrastructure	15.31
Health	14.04
Government services	8.56
Other responses	8.43
Economic	7.75
Governance	5.07

Infrastructure development was identified by 15.31% of the population as the most important problem, followed by health (14.04%). Uneven distribution of infrastructure development throughout the country at the regional, district or block level was underlined as a concern. Another serious problem that respondents aspired the government to look into was the quality of infrastructure projects, whether it was road construction, school upgrading or

hospital construction. Infrastructure facilities in schools/colleges and hospitals, including telecommunications, were reported to be in a sorry state.

The majority of respondents' dissatisfaction with the health sector arose from medical mishaps leading to death, lack of advanced medical technologies in hospitals, unavailability of ambulances during emergencies, and the shortage of experienced and qualified health workers in hospitals. Some pointed out that they have to walk long distances to reach the nearest Basic Health Unit (BHU).

One of the most frequent problems pointed out in the health sector was the preferential treatment given to patients based on their social status and connections. It was Respondents felt that the government needs to understand the implications of preferential treatment and address it accordingly for the good of everyone.

For close to half of the respondents (46.5%), unemployment was the most important problem facing the country. They said that the root cause of unemployment was the quality of education, which they believed was on a steady decline. Some of the principal factors contributing to the deterioration of the quality of education in Bhutan, according to them, included changes in school curricula (an attempt to localise the curriculum), MoE's poor quality textbooks riddled with errors and mistakes, overemphasis on teacher quantity over teacher quality, and the adaptation and imposition of western curricula on the Bhutanese children who inherently have an "Eastern" mindset. The respondents wished the government to overhaul the whole formal and vocational education system in the country so that the system would produce employable graduates for the labour market; the existing formal and vocational education system, according to the respondents, was not able to produce employable graduates.

Even though there had been a lot of talk and discussion on making public service delivery system more transparent, efficient and effective with initiatives such as the government to citizen services (G2C), the respondents opined that the government has yet to make any significant impact on the ground because the attitude of the public officials has not kept pace with the development. On the economy, respondents would like the government to address the country's increasing trade deficit and rupee crunch.

Other important problems that the respondents would like the government to address are environmental issues like waste disposal and industrial pollution. Urban respondents thought that the government should monitor taxi fares, while the priority for respondents living near the borders was security as incidents of robberies and kidnapping have been increasing of late.

Lastly, access to justice was cited by a sizeable proportion (15.6%) of the population as the most important problem facing the country. Many respondents were disillusioned with the way in which disputes were settled. The system of legal recourse was virtually inaccessible for commoners who did not have the patronage of any influential group.

3.8 Level of Corruption

The general perception among the people, as revealed by the study, is that the corruption level has been steadily increasing since the introduction of democracy in the country. Around a third (31.5%) of the population stated that the level of corruption has "increased somewhat" after the introduction of democracy (Table 19).

Table 19: Views on the level of corruption since the introduction of democracy

In your opinion, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or remained the same since the introduction of democracy?	
Level of corruption	%
Increased somewhat	31.5

Remained the same	21.4
Decreased somewhat	19.3
Increased a lot	17.8
Don't know	6.6
Decreased a lot	3.4

Concurrently, 32.5% believed that the level of corruption has increased somewhat over the past year (Table 20).

Table 20: Views on the level of corruption over the past year

In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or remained the same?	
Level of corruption	%
Increased somewhat	32.5
Remained the same	19.9
Decreased somewhat	19.1
Increased a lot	18.1
Don't know	5.8
Decreased a lot	4.6

As is evident from Table 21, about 54% of the urban population and about 49% of that of the rural feel that corruption has increased over the past year. By gender, 55.3% of males and 47.3% of females share the same opinion.

Table 21: Level of corruption over the past year

	Decreased	Stayed the same	Increased	Don't know	Total
Area					
Rural	24.9	19.04	48.61	7.45	100
Urban	21.82	21.34	53.66	3.18	100
Gender					
Female	24.41	21.5	47.27	6.83	100
Male	22.7	17.71	55.27	4.32	100
Age					
Below 25 years	24.53	20.65	50.1	4.72	100
26-40 years	27.49	18.08	45.3	9.14	100
41 years and above	15.78	21.37	60.13	2.71	100
Education status					
Educated	24.27	17.66	54.42	3.65	100
Uneducated	22.3	25.57	41.03	11.1	100
Region					
Central	13.24	13.95	52.47	20.35	100
Eastern	27.71	16.03	51.14	5.12	100
Western	25.32	22.86	49.86	1.95	100
Occupation					
Business	24.75	17.99	55.87	1.39	100

Civil servant	28.01	17.8	50.13	4.06	100
Farmer/housewife	24.1	19.12	46.97	9.81	100
Others	22.2	31.72	42.14	3.94	100
Private employee	24.11	16.11	56.77	3.01	100
Student	15.34	25.74	57.63	1.29	100

3.9 Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC)

Over half of the population has a fair amount of knowledge about the ACC, including its roles and responsibilities (Table 22). Some 23.1% has heard the commission's name but know nothing about its functions. Nearly a quarter of the population is not aware of the functions of the commission even though they have heard the name.

Table 22: Knowledge of anti-corruption

How much, if anything, do you know about the Anti-Corruption Commission?	Never heard of it%	Heard the name, but don't know anything about what it does%	A fair amount %	A great deal%	Don't know%	Refused %
	4.7	23.1	54.7	13.0	4.0	0.5

Table 23: Perception of Anti-corruption Commission

How well or badly would you say the ACC is doing in fighting corruption in this country?	Never heard of it%	Very Badly%	Fairly Badly%	Fairly Well%	Very Well%	Haven't heard enough%
	1.1	0.8	2.7	72.3	16.6	6.5

About a fifth of the urban population has rated the performance of ACC as “very well” compared to 15.6% of the rural population (Table 24). Educated people rated the performance of the ACC relatively better (72% rated fairly well and 19.3% rated very well) compared to the ratings of the uneducated population (68% rated fairly well and 12.4% rated very well).

Table 24: ACC's performance rating

	Never heard of it%	Very badly%	Fairly badly%	Fairly well%	Very well%	Don't know%	Total%
Area							
Rural	1.04	0.88	3.4	71.52	15.54	7.62	100
Urban	1.33	0.78	1.99	70.02	20.11	5.77	100
Gender							
Female	1.42	0.53	3.67	71.05	15.34	7.99	100
Male	0.8	1.26	1.69	70.74	20.17	5.34	100
Education status							
Educated	0.93	0.76	2.16	72.03	19.26	4.86	100
Uneducated	1.76	1.06	4.62	67.95	12.38	12.22	100
Age							
Below 25 years	0.67	0.56	2.75	72.85	18.48	4.68	100
26-40 years	1.64	1.27	3.43	67.23	15.76	10.67	100
41 years and above	1.48	0.78	2.1	72.34	17.46	5.83	100

Region							
Central	0.22	0	4.22	68.34	7.56	19.67	100
Eastern	2.81	1.94	2.12	70.7	18.08	4.35	100
Western	0.86	0.69	2.73	71.6	19.51	4.61	100
Occupation							
Business	0.5	0.85	1.86	77.79	16.21	2.79	100
Civil servant	0	0.76	3.36	66.03	29.85	0	100
Farmer/housewife	1.4	1.19	3.9	67.01	14.87	11.63	100
Others	2	0.5	3.05	68.72	20.12	5.61	100
Private employee	0	0.14	2.17	77.08	19.33	1.27	100
Student	3.31	0	0	70.78	19.72	6.2	100

3.10 Combating Corruption

In the fight against corruption, the study indicated that majority (35.5%) of the respondents thought that there was no difference between the ruling party and the opposition when it came to “Fighting corruption in the government” (Table 25). Although the rating for the ruling party was slightly higher as compared to that of the opposition party, there was no significant difference between the two. Nevertheless, the ruling government fared quite well on all three performance indicators of fighting corruption, promoting good governance and upholding the rule of law (Figure 14 and Table 26).

Table 25: Ruling party versus the opposition in fighting corruption

Looking at the ruling and opposition parties in this country, which would you say is better able to address the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to give an opinion?					
Fighting corruption in government	Ruling party%	Opposition party %	Neither of them%	Haven't heard enough%	Both%
	23.4	22.3	7.5	11.3	35.5

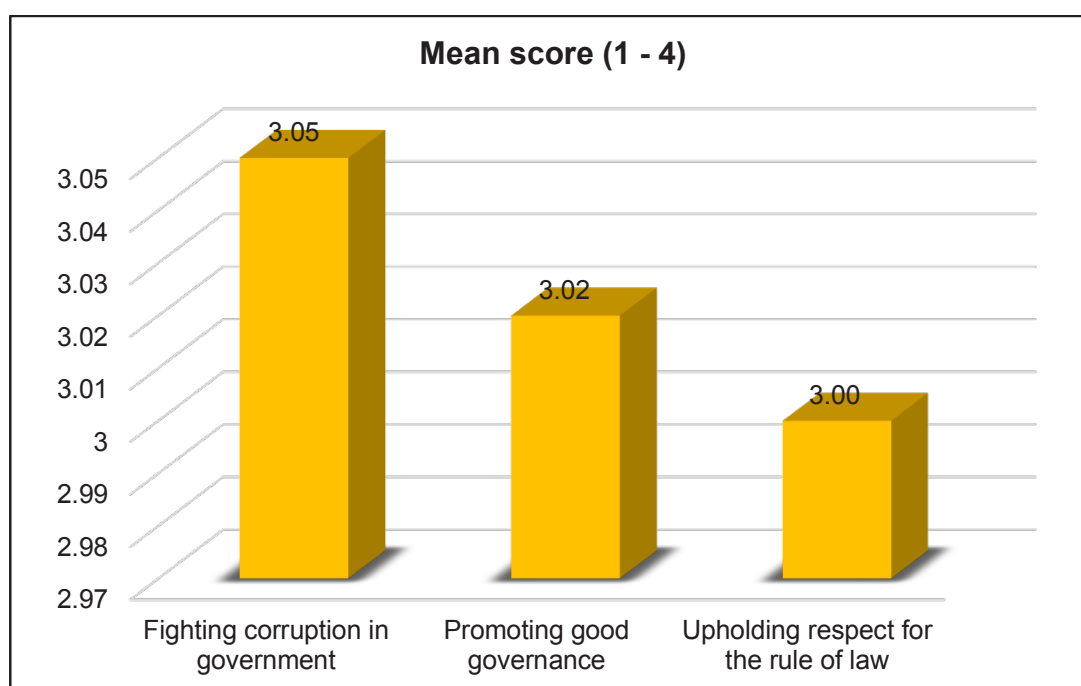


Figure 14: Mean score of current government's performance

Table 26: Current government's performance

How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough about it to say?					
	Very Badly%	Fairly Badly%	Fairly Well%	Very Well%	Haven't heard enough%
Fighting corruption in government	1.0	6.1	71.8	12.7	8.4
Promoting good governance	1.8	10.2	64.1	15.8	8.0
Upholding respect for the rule of law	2.1	9.4	68.3	13.7	6.6

Almost about a quarter of the population (24.17%) stated that ordinary citizens cannot do anything substantial to curb corruption (Table 27). However, 17.33% of the population felt that reporting corruption incidents would help combat corruption in the country whereas 12.50% thought that joining or supporting an organisation fighting corruption was an effective means of combating corruption. Clearly, the ordinary citizens recognised the need to fight corruption very well, and the will to combat corruption is apparent although they differ in the choice of the most effective approaches to combating corruption.

Table 27: Things an ordinary person can do to help combat corruption

What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do to help combat corruption in this country?	
	%
Nothing/ordinary people cannot do anything	24.17
Report corruption when you see or experience it	17.33
Join or support an organisation that is fighting corruption	12.50
Vote for clean candidates or parties or parties that promise to fight corruption	11.25
Talk to friends and relatives about the problem	10.00
Refuse to pay bribes	7.92
Speak out about the problem, for example, by calling a radio programme or writing a letter	7.25
Don't know	5.50
Protest	1.90
Sign a petition demanding a stronger fight against corruption	1.42
Others	0.75

Pertaining to the people's role in combating corruption, it was encouraging to find that the proportion of citizens that agreed that they would report a corruption case even if they have to spend a day in a court of law to give evidence was quite high, followed by the group that agreed that they would feel personally obliged to report an act of corruption if they witnessed one (Figure 15).

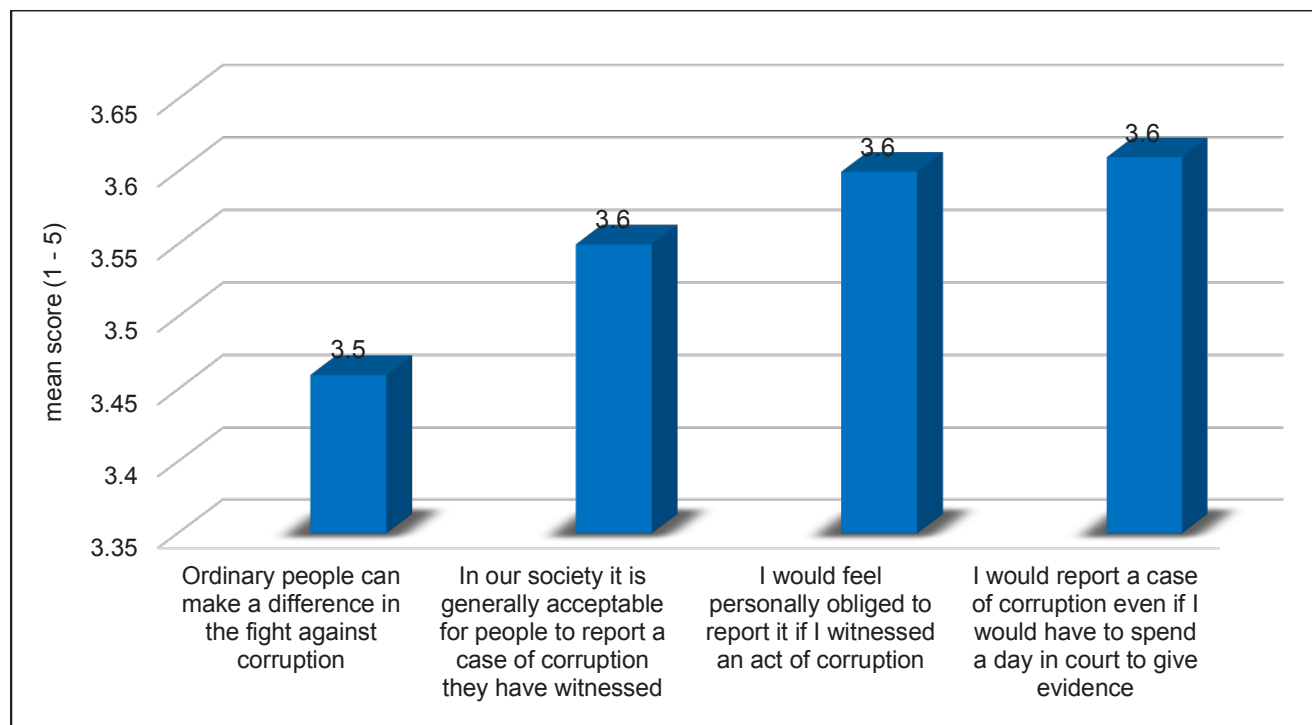


Figure 15: Mean score of ordinary citizens' role

Table 28: Ordinary citizens' role

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:						
	Strongly disagree %	Disagree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Agree %	Strongly agree %	Don't know %
A. Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption	6.8	17.3	11.7	44.8	15.2	4.3
B. In our society it is generally acceptable for people to report a case of corruption they have witnessed	5.5	15.8	10.8	49.3	14.1	4.5
C. I would feel personally obliged to report it if I witnessed an act of corruption	7.4	10.3	13.6	48.1	17.0	3.6
D. I would report a case of corruption even if I would have to spend a day in court to give evidence	6.0	11.6	16.4	42.9	19.4	3.7

Sixty two percent of the population reported that they would report a case of corruption even if they would have to spend a day in court to provide evidence (Table 29). About two third of the urban population compared to 59.4% of the rural population expressed willingness to report corruption cases.

Table 29: Willingness to report corruption cases even if they would have to spend a day in court to give evidence

	Disagree%	Neither agree nor disagree%	Agree%	Don't know%	Total%
Area					
Rural	20.31	16.64	59.39	3.66	100
Urban	13.36	15.44	66.08	5.12	100
Gender					
Female	18.84	16.55	59.59	5.02	100
Male	15.87	15.64	65.39	3.11	100
Education status					
Educated	17.66	14.79	64.48	3.07	100
Uneducated	17.49	19.6	55.79	7.11	100
Age					
Below 25 years	17.14	16.7	63.56	2.61	100
26-40 years	19.18	17.17	57.54	6.11	100
41 years and above	16.11	13.42	65.74	4.73	100
Region					
Central	23.38	1.01	71.17	4.44	100
Eastern	25.65	25.25	48.43	0.66	100
Western	13.41	17.46	63.8	5.32	100
Occupation					
Business	12.45	18.34	67.82	1.39	100
Civil servant	16.61	7.43	72.24	3.71	100
Farmer/House wife	23.22	15	56.68	5.09	100
Others	14.83	16.48	65.39	3.29	100
Private employee	12.34	26.75	59.24	1.67	100
Student	8.7	12.49	66.96	11.86	100

A little over 57% of the rural population agreed or strongly agreed that ordinary citizens can make a difference in the fight against corruption. The urban population was more optimistic about the difference the ordinary citizens can make in the fight against corruption. Likewise, a higher proportion of males over females, educated people over the uneducated and young people over the old were more confident that the ordinary citizens can make a difference in the fight against corruption (Table 30).

Table 30: Power of ordinary citizens

Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption					
	Strongly disagree/ disagree%	Neither agree nor disagree%	Strongly agree/ agree%	Don't know%	Total%
Area					
Rural	25.79	10.33	57.89	6	100
Urban	22.76	10.95	62.44	3.86	100
Gender					
Female	24.63	10.39	58.38	6.59	100
Male	24.59	10.82	61.45	3.15	100
Education status					
Educated	26.09	10.33	60.15	3.42	100
Uneducated	20.95	11.14	58.4	9.5	100
Age					
Below 25 years	23.79	7.26	64.37	4.58	100
26-40 years	25.56	10.28	59.56	4.6	100
41 years and above	23.85	13	56.85	6.3	100
Region					
Central	45.24	4	35.26	15.5	100
Eastern	27.75	13.46	57.65	1.14	100
Western	17.84	11.46	67.1	3.59	100
Occupation					
Others	19.81	13.42	65.43	1.34	100
Farmer/housewife	26.18	10.45	55.21	8.16	100
Business	22.59	11.11	64.04	2.26	100
Civil servant	29.51	10.09	55.05	5.35	100
Private employee	17.21	11.2	71.59	0	100
Student	29.62	6.62	58.81	4.95	100

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

This National Corruption Barometer Survey (NCBS) has covered a representative number of Bhutanese from different age groups, educational backgrounds, gender, and place of residence, among others. Based on the findings, we make the following recommendations:

- 1) Owing to the culture of a high level of acceptance of corruption among the Bhutanese and a low willingness to report corruption, BTI and anti-corruption organizations must make concerted efforts to educate the general citizenry and create awareness on the need to combat corruption collectively;
- 2) Since favouritism and nepotism are the most prevalent forms of corruption in the country, they must be noted with utmost priority in the corruption prevention strategies and practices by all public as well as private organisations, and appropriate actions be taken. Furthermore, key institutions such as the ACC, RCSC and RAA must enhance their vigilance for these forms of corruption, beside others.
- 3) Since people below the age of 25 are more affected by corruption, and therefore they are concerned about it, BTI's efforts to encourage and involve youth to combat corruption must be intensified. It initiatives like the formation of YES GROUP must be given greater impetus.
- 4) Since discriminatory and non-uniform application of laws and rules/regulations stands out as the biggest cause of corruption in the country, BTI must create awareness among various organisations to redress this problem and make efforts to put the oversight bodies on their heels if corruption is to be prevented effectively.
- 5) High-ranking public officials, including the judges, suffer from a serious trust deficit as they are thought to be the most corrupt. Therefore, BTI must assist ACC in further studying this belief, and redressing the problem through various strategies and plans.
- 6) Preferential treatment given to influential people while accessing public service, including health services, is reported to be a common problem among ordinary citizens. Thus, public servants must be sensitized on this issue to prevent such acts/conducts.
- 7) Since a sizeable proportion of the population has pointed out access to justice as difficult, not to mention people's poor perception about judges, BTI in collaboration with other oversight bodies must initiate public discourses on subjects like 'who acts as the oversight body over the judiciary.'
- 8) Since the general perception among the people is that corruption has increased in the country since the introduction of democracy and it is steadily increasing, there is an urgent need for the Royal Government of Bhutan as well as other national and international organisations who provide support for improving good governance in public organisations to provide support to BTI.

5. CONCLUSION

In terms of the prevalence of various forms of corruption in the country, favouritism and nepotism in recruitment, promotion and transfer topped the list. The types and causes of corruption prevalent in the country are diverse, but the significant ones are uncontrolled discrimination, non-uniform application of laws, rules and norms, unclear and lengthy procedures, lack of information and transparency, inability to implement codes of conduct and ethics in the work place, inefficient service delivery, social demands and obligations and systemic flaws.

As far as the concentration of corruption in the country is concerned, it is highly concentrated in the top echelons of all organisations, including constitutional bodies, the private sector, NGOs, local government, autonomous agencies and corporations or government.

Notwithstanding a series of anti-corruption initiatives, the level of corruption in the country is thought to be on the rise since the introduction of democracy. This strongly calls for organisations like the ACC and the BTI to urgently buff up their anti-corruption activities/programs and the RGOB to address good governance issues much more seriously than ever before if Bhutan is to achieve its aspirations for a fair, equitable, harmonious and happy society.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Tables and Figures

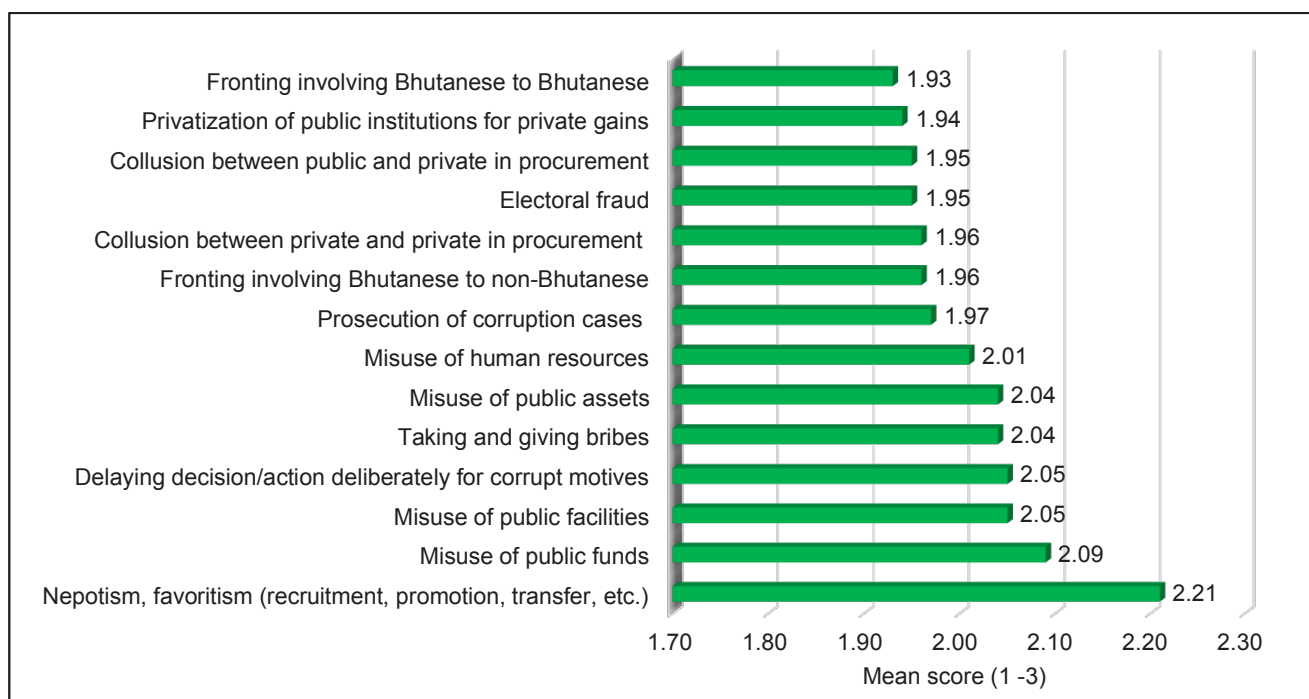


Figure A1: Mean score of views on the forms of corruption prevalent in the country

Table A1: Experiences of accessing certain essential government services

A. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public school?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0.1	0.2	1.3	48.4	0.4
B. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0.3	0.8	1.1	68.3	0.6
C. In the past 12 months have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit, from the government?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0.1	0.5	2.0	32.8	0.1
D. In the past 12 months have you tried to get water, sanitation or electric services from the government?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the services you needed?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0	0.3	1.1	23.8	0.5

E. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the police?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?				
	Often %	Few times %	Once twice %	Never %	Don't know %
	0.2	0.2	0.8	14.6	0.1
F. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the courts?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0.0	0.1	0.4	8.2	0.0
G. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the G2C Services?	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the G2C Services?				
	Often%	Few times%	Once twice%	Never%	Don't know%
	0.2	0.1	0.4	21.6	0.5

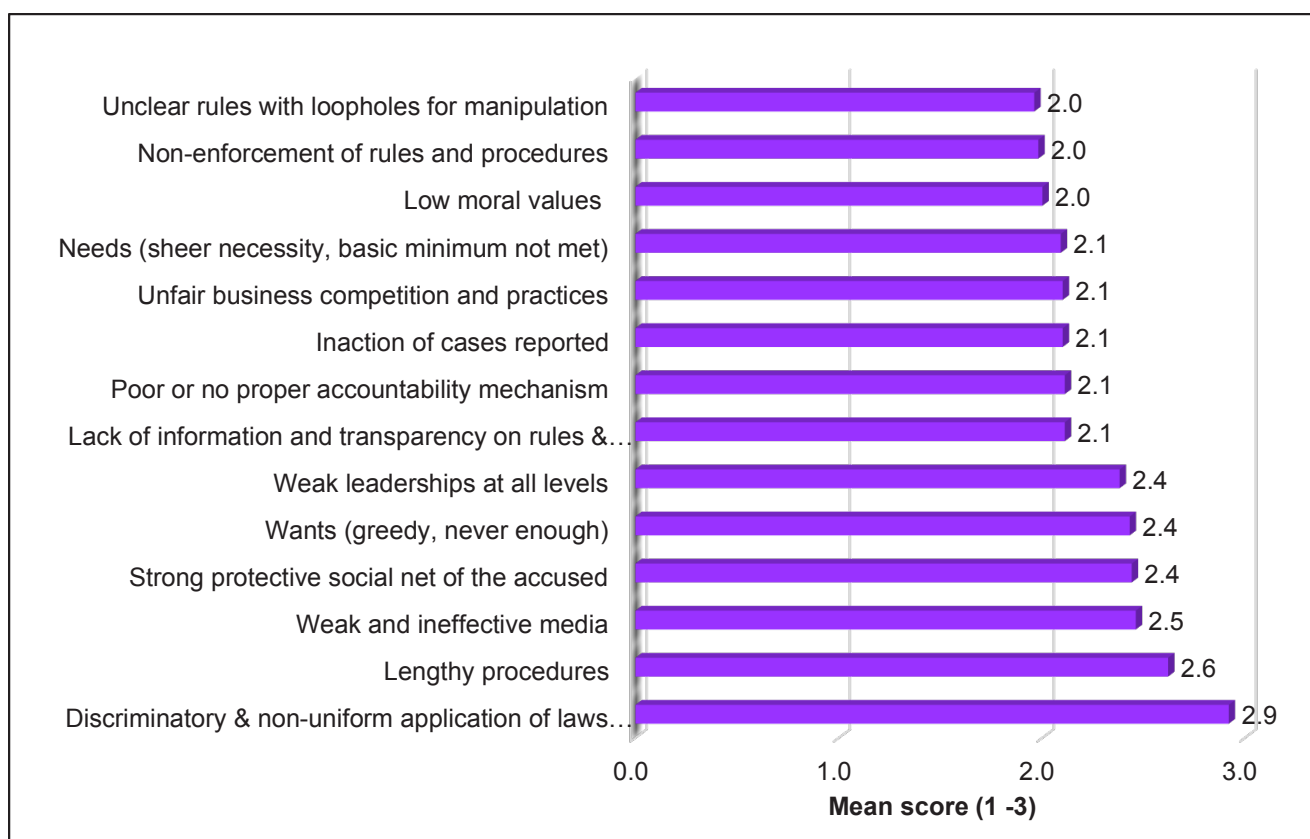


Figure A2: Mean score of views on the causes of corruption prevalent in the country

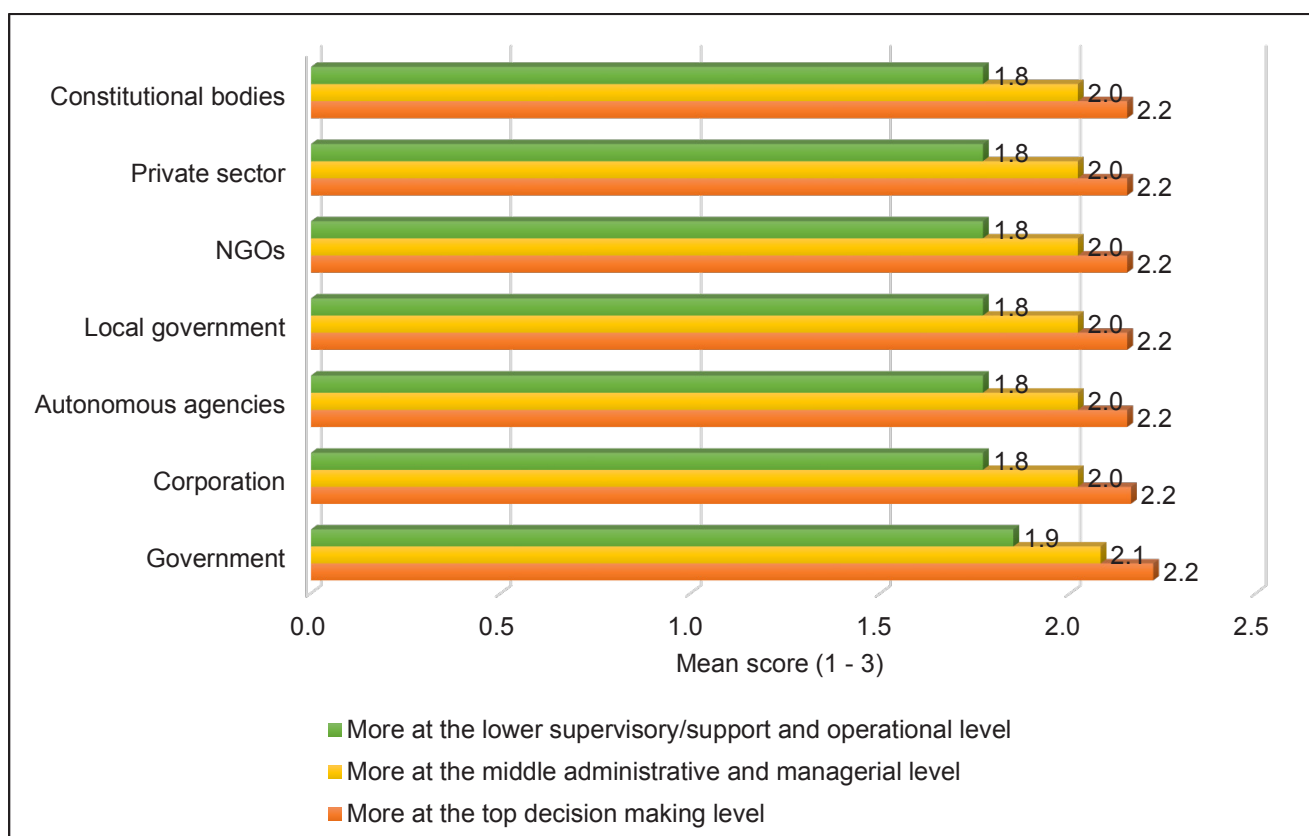


Figure A3: Mean score of views on the concentration of corruption in the country

Table A2: Views on individuals involved in corruption

How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?					
Involved in corruption	All of them%	Most of them%	Some of them%	None%	Don't know/ Haven't heard%
Business executives	2.4	14.7	56.1	13.1	13.8
Charity or Aid workers	1.0	3.6	41.4	32.1	21.8
Religious leaders	0.9	4.3	33.0	41.8	20.0
Judges and Magistrates	0.7	31.8	63.2	2.7	1.7
The Prime Minister and Ministers in his Cabinet	0.8	6.9	48.3	21.8	22.2
Journalists and media personnel	0.7	4.0	36.3	32.4	26.6
Government officials	0.6	9.1	65.2	11.5	13.7
Tax Officials, like Ministry of Finance officials or Local Government tax collectors	0.6	6.7	52.1	21.0	19.6
Traditional leaders	0.5	4.2	34.4	35.8	24.9
Teachers and education personnel in schools, colleges etc.	0.5	7.7	29.3	50.0	12.6
Police	0.5	9.3	62.0	16.6	11.7
Members of Parliament	0.3	6.6	54.1	18.5	20.5
Local government officials	0.3	7.4	63.0	15.8	13.6
Doctors, nurses and health service personnel	0.2	8.9	53.9	24.2	12.8

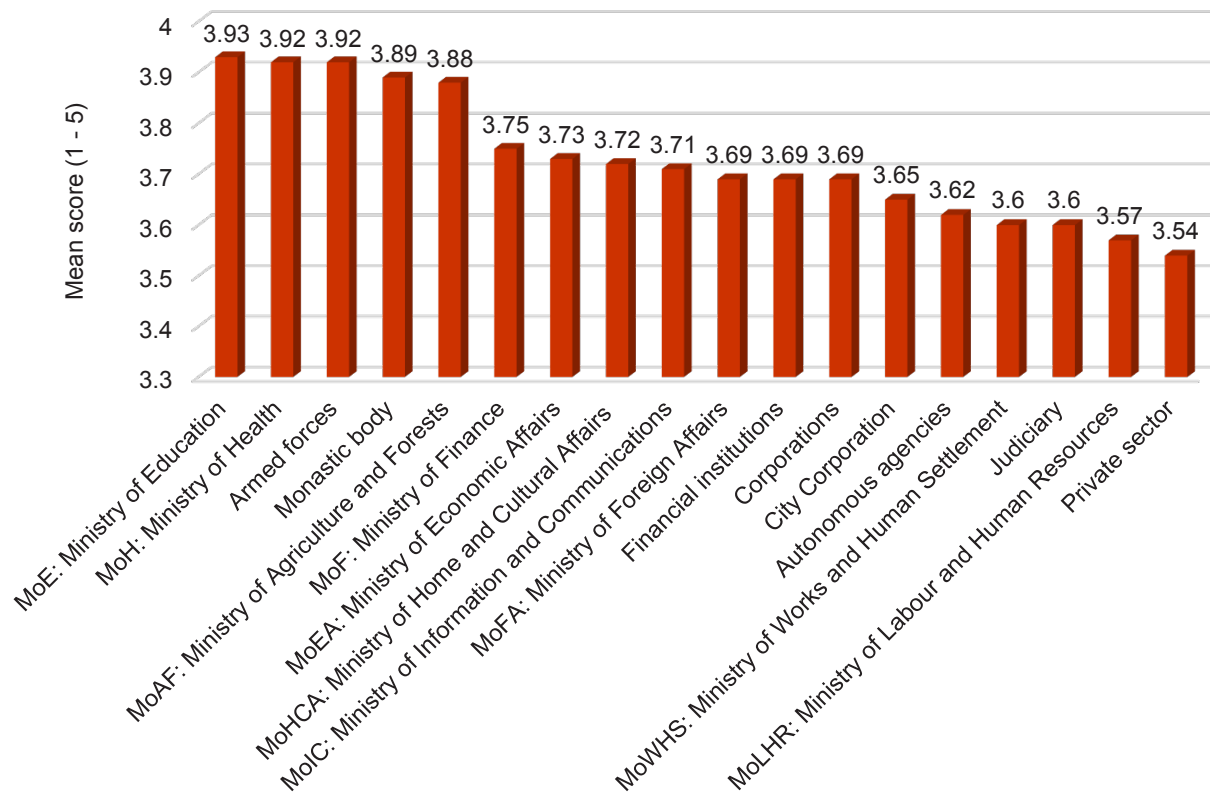


Figure A4: Mean score of satisfaction with the quality of service delivery

ANNEX 2: Survey Questionnaire

CORRUPTION BAROMETER SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE – 2016

IDENTIFICATION

Urban/Rural: _____

Dzongkha: _____

Gewog/Town: _____

Chiwog: _____

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Sex: _____ (m/f)
2. Age (in completed years): _____
3. Marital status:
 - a) Never married
 - b) Living together
 - c) Married
 - d) Widowed
 - e) Divorced
4. Highest level of educational attainment:
 - a) No formal education
 - b) Primary education (vi)
 - c) Lower Secondary (viii)
 - d) Middle Secondary (x)
 - e) Higher Secondary (xii)
 - f) Diploma/certificate
 - g) Bachelor's degree
 - h) Post graduate
 - i) Non-formal education
5. Occupation:
 - a) Civil servant
 - b) Parliamentarian
 - c) Business
 - d) Private employee
 - e) Corporate employee
 - f) Armed force personal
 - g) Farmer/housewife
 - h) Student
 - i) Local government employee
 - j) Monk/Num/Gomchen
 - k) /NGOs
 - l) Constitutional bodies
 - m) Other
 - a. Specify other: _____

BT11. What are the forms of corruption prevalent in our country?					
Forms of corruption	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
Nepotism, favoritism (recruitment, promotion, transfer, etc.)					
Misuse of public funds					
Taking and giving bribes					
Misuse of human resources					
Delaying decision/action deliberately for corrupt motives					
Misuse of public facilities					
Misuse of public assets					
Collusion between public and private in procurement					
Fronting involving Bhutanese to Bhutanese					
Fronting involving Bhutanese to non-Bhutanese					
Privatization of public institutions for private gains					
Collusion between private and private in procurement					
Electoral fraud					
Prosecution of corruption cases					

BT12. What are the causes of corruption prevalent in our country?					
Causes of corruption	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
Wants (greedy, never enough)					
Needs (sheer necessity, basic minimum not met)					
Discriminatory & non-uniform application of laws and rules					
Lack of information and transparency on rules & procedures					
Inaction of cases reported					
Strong protective social net of the accused					
Unfair business competition and practices					
Unclear rules with loopholes for manipulation					
Weak leaderships at all levels					
Non-enforcement of rules and procedures					
Poor or no proper accountability mechanism					
Social demands and obligations					
Lengthy procedures					
Too many rules to follow					
Weak and ineffective media					
Inefficient service delivery					
Low moral values					

BTI3a. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Government?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					
BTI3b. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Corporation?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					
BTI3c. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Autonomous agencies?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					
BTI3d. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Local government?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					
BTI3e. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in NGOs?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					
BTI3f. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Private sector?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					

BTI3g. In your opinion, where is corruption most concentrated in Constitutional bodies?					
Level	Strongly agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Don't know	Declined
More at the top decision making level					
More at the middle administrative and managerial level					
More at the lower supervisory/support and operational level					

BTI4. Have you faced any problem while availing the following services?					
Level	Yes	No	Don't know	Not availed	Declined
Agriculture services					
Land transaction services					
Education services					
Banking Services					
Travel Document services					
Government clearances services					
Health services					
Licensing services					
Immigration and census services					
Labor permits and inspection services					
Auditing services					
Police services					
Judiciary services					
Construction services					
City/Municipal services/Thromde					
Corporate services (BPC, Bhutan Telecom, etc.)					
Procurement services					
Finance services (payment, releases, etc.)					
Local Government services					
Administrative/management services					
Private services					
Religious and monastic Services					
NGOs services					
Services not mentioned					
Others (specify): _____					

BTI4a. If so, what are the problems you encountered?	
Level	'multiple options'
Personnel related problems	
Poor infrastructure related problems	
Lack of facility	
System related problem	
Discrimination between rich and poor, gender, caste, etc.	

Poor service delivery	
TA/DA and others	
Others (specify): _____	

BTI5. In your opinion, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same after the introduction of democracy?	
Increased a lot	1
Increased somewhat	2
Stayed the same	3
Decreased somewhat	4
Decreased a lot	5
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	9

BTI6. How satisfied are you with the quality of service delivery of the following sectors/orgs.?					
	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
MOA : Ministry of Agriculture					
MOEA : Ministry of Economic Affairs					
MOE : Ministry of Education					
MOF : Ministry of Finance					
MOFA : Ministry of Foreign Affairs					
MOH : Ministry of Health					
MOHCA : Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs					
MOIC : Ministry of Information and Communications					
MOLHR : Ministry of Labour and Human Resources					
MOWHS : Ministry of Works and Human Settlement					
Judiciary					
Armed forces					
Autonomous agencies					
Financial institutions					
Corporations					
City Corporation					
Private sector					
Monastic body					
Other (specify):					

T11. In your opinion, what are the most important problems facing this country that government should address? *[Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from responses. Accept up to three answers. If respondent offers more than three options, ask "Which three of these are the most important?" If respondent offers one or two answers, ask "Anything else?"] (multiple options)*

	1 st response	2 nd response	3 rd response
Economics			
...			
Food / Agriculture			
...			
Infrastructure			
...			
Government Services			
...			
Health			
...			
Governance			
Corruption			
...			
Other responses			
Don't know			

T12. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? *[Interviewer: Read out options]*

	None	Some of them	Most of them	All of them	Don't know/ Haven't heard [DNR]
A. The Prime Minister and Ministers in his Cabinet					
B. Members of Parliament					
C. Government officials					
D. Local government officials					
E. Police					
F. Tax Officials, like Ministry of Finance officials or Local Government tax collectors					
G. Judges and Magistrates					
H. Traditional leaders					
I. Religious leaders					
J. Business executives					
K. Teachers and education personnel in schools, colleges etc.					
L. Journalists and media personnel					
M. Doctors, nurses and health service personnel					
N. Charity or Aid workers					

TI3. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased, or stayed the same? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>	
Increased a lot	
Increased somewhat	
Stayed the same	
Decreased somewhat	
Decreased a lot	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>	

Now I would like to talk to you about experiences that some people have in accessing certain essential government services.

TI4. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public school? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part A below]: [Read out options]*

		No contact <i>[DNR]</i>	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
A.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?						

TI4. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a public clinic or hospital? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with parts B below]: [Read out options]*

		No contact <i>[DNR]</i>	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
B.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?						

I4. In the past 12 months have you tried to get an identity document like a birth certificate, driver's license, passport or voter's card, or a permit, from government? *[Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part C below] : [Read out options]*

		No contact <i>[DNR]</i>	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know <i>[DNR]</i>
C.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?						

TI4. In the past 12 months have you tried to get water, sanitation or electric services from government? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part D below]: [Read out options]							
		No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
D.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the services you needed?						
TI4. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the police? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part E below]: [Read out options]							
		No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
E.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem like passing a checkpoint or avoiding a fine or arrest?						
TI4. In the past 12 months have you had contact with the courts? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part F below]: [Read out options]							
		No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
F.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the courts?						
TI4.G In the past 12 months have you had contact with the G2C Services? [Interviewer: If 'no', circle 7 and continue to next question. If yes, continue with part F below]: [Read out options]							
		No contact [DNR]	Never	Once or twice	A few times	Often	Don't Know [DNR]
G.	And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a judge or court official in order to get the assistance you needed from the G2C Services?						
TI5. [If respondent ever reported paying a bribe on TI4B, TI4D, TI4F, TI4H, TI4J or TI4L:] If you ever paid a bribe for any of the services discussed above, did you report any of the incidents you mentioned to a government official or someone in authority?							
No							
Yes							
Not Applicable [i.e., Respondent answered 0=No, 9=DK or 7=NA to all parts of Q4A-L] [Do not read]							
Don't know [Do not read]							

T16. [If yes on T15] Which of the following happened in the most recent time that you reported a bribery incident? [Interviewer: If response on Q5 is anything other than 1=yes, select 7=Not applicable for both parts and continue to Q7]

		Not applicable (no incidents reported)	No, didn't happen	Yes, happened	Don't know [DNR]
A.	Authorities took action against the government officials involved.				
B.	You suffered retaliation or other negative consequences as a result of reporting the incident.				

T17. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason why many people do not report corruption when it occurs? [Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response. SINGLE ANSWER ALLOWED.]

Most people do report incidents of corruption	0
People don't have enough time to report it	1
People don't know where to report it	2
People don't know how to report it	3
Nothing will be done / It wouldn't make a difference	4
It's too expensive to report (e.g. due to travel or phone charges)	5
Corruption is normal / Everyone does it / everyone is involved	6
People are afraid of the consequences	7
The officials where they would report to are also corrupt / officials are involved in the corruption	8
It's government's money, not the people's, so it's not our problem	9
Social protective net	
Other [specify] _____	Post Code
Don't know	

T17B. Looking at the ruling and opposition political parties in this country, which would you say is most able to address the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Ruling party	Opposition party or parties	Neither of them [DNR]	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]	Both
Fighting corruption in government	1	2	3	9	

T18. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? [Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion]

	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
A. Fighting corruption in government					
B. Promoting good governance					
C. Upholding respect for the rule of law					

TI9. What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person like you can do to help combat corruption in this country? <i>[Interviewer: Do not read options. Code from response. SINGLE ANSWER ALLOWED.]</i>				
Nothing / Ordinary people cannot do anything				0
Refuse to pay bribes				1
Report corruption when you see or experience it				2
Vote for clean candidates or parties or for parties that promise to fight corruption				3
Speak out about the problem, for example, by calling a radio program or writing a letter				4
Talk to friends and relatives about the problem				5
Sign a petition asking for a stronger fight against corruption				6
Join or support an organization that is fighting corruption				7
Other <i>[specify]</i> _____			Post Code	
Don't know <i>[Do not read]</i>				

TI10. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion.]</i>						
	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree [Do not read]	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know [Do not read]
A. Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption						
B. In our society it is generally acceptable for people to report a case of corruption they have witnessed						
C. If I would witness an act of corruption, I would feel personally obliged to report it						
D. I would report a case of corruption even if I would have to spend a day in court to give evidence						

ACCQ1. I now want to ask you about the “Anti-Corruption Commission” in this country.						
	Never heard of them	Heard the name, but don't know anything about what they do	A fair amount	A great deal	Don't know	Refused
How much, if anything, do you know about the “Anti-Corruption Commission”? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength. If 'Never heard of them' at Q1 circle '0' at Q2]</i>						

	Never heard of them	Very Badly	Fairly Badly	Fairly Well	Very Well	DK / Haven't heard enough [DNR]
ACCQ2. How well or badly would you say the “Anti-Corruption Commission” is doing at fighting corruption in this country? <i>[Interviewer: Probe for strength of opinion. If 'Never heard of them' at Q1 circle '0' at Q2]</i>						