This project is co-funded by the Seventh Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development of the European Union

EU Grant Agreement number: 290529

Project acronym: ANTICORRP

Project title: Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited

Work Package: WP4, The anthropological study of corruption practices and ideas

Title of deliverable: D4.1) Comparative country reports on institutional performance

Countries: Bosnia, Kosovo, Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Russia, Tanzania, Turkey.

Due date of deliverable: 30 June, 2014
Actual submission date: 30 June, 2014
(Authors): WP4

Organization name of lead beneficiary for this deliverable: University of Bergamo, Italy

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Seventh Framework Programme		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	X
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	
Co	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

Comparative country reports on institutional performance

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June 28-6-2014

ABSTRACT

The report draws on ethnographic research undertaken in 8 countries object of investigation by the WP partners, namely: Italy, Hungary, Bosnia, Russia, Turkey, Kosovo, Tanzania and Mexico. In addition, an additional chapter (Annex 2) will render the case of Japan which will serve as a contrast case on which to assess ideas and practices of governance and institutional performance through an anthropological perspective. The report includes data gathered through a questionnaire survey undertaken, with minor differences, in all the eight countries included in WP4. The data analyzed comparatively refer to three main fields: perceived and experienced performance of local institutions, local problem and resolution ideas, socio-cultural norms and values. We have identified, following the anthropological literature, a number of cultural issues that are in relation with corruption, or with local citizens' experiences of the functioning of public institutions in their countries. This first deliverable constitutes an attempt to draw some preliminary conclusions on the interaction between socio-cultural features and governance (both as experienced and perceived) which will be further and ethnographically explored in the final deliverable of this Working Package.

KEYWORDS
Trust, institutional performance, local issues, corruption, values, social norms, culture, anthropology

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Section One: Executive Summary

Introduction

This report constitutes the first deliverable submitted by Working Package 4, "The ethnographic studies of corruption practices and ideas", led by Davide Torsello, Università degli Studi di Bergamo (Italy).

The report draws on ethnographic research undertaken in 8 countries object of investigation by the WP partners, namely: Italy, Hungary, Bosnia, Russia, Turkey, Kosovo, Tanzania and Mexico. In addition, an additional chapter (Annex 2) will render the case of Japan which will serve as a contrast case on which to assess ideas and practices of governance and institutional performance through an anthropological perspective. Since this is the first deliverable of WP4, the results which here presented need not to be considered as final, because they constitute an initial analytical framework in which to situate the institutional and public (citizens') perspective on the case studied. In-depth ethnographic accounts of corruption and anti-corruption in the countries under investigation will constitute material for the second and final deliverable of this package, to be submitted in March 2015.

Methodology

In order to deal with the initial challenge of integrating results from 8 different countries located in three continents, and characterized by extremely different social conditions, cultural features and institutional apparatuses, we have decided to adopt a common survey. The WP partners have developed a survey questionnaire that would serve as a common research tool through which to collect data for undertaking a comparative analysis of the countries under investigation. The survey, which contains particular adjustments for each country when needed is included in Annex 1.

The main outcome expected after the development of the common WP4 questionnaire survey was to develop a comparable set of data which would focus on three main elements:

- **perception and experience of local citizens of institutional performance**,
- **social norms and values related to corruption**,
- **cultural practices that may underpin corruption**.

For this purpose, the survey played an important role, which must be understood in the context of anthropological field research.

Anthropology distinguished itself among most of the social science disciplines as one in which the **bottom-up** research approach is preferred. If this discipline is mainly

inductive in nature, i.e. it departs from the data collected on the ground to generalize and compare with the use of theory, this depends on the main focus it has, in the different topics and fields of investigation, on the people studied rather than on processes of institutional transformation or on abstract aggregate data. However, studying such a complex phenomenon such as corruption (and its opposite integrity) from a bottom-up perspective is not an easy endeavor, as several anthropologists have pointed out (Parry 2000, Pardo 2004, Blundo 2006, Nujten and Anders 2007, Torsello 2012). One point that needs to be stressed is that the main tool of ethnographic field research, i.e. participant observation, is a difficult endeavor in anthropological research (Torsello 2011).

We have individuated in the survey questionnaire an optimal solution for pursuing the goal of this deliverable for a number of specific reasons. First, this questionnaire is not aimed to achieve statistical significance, since it is operated with an average of 110 respondents in each countries, but it serves as a tool for gaining comparable evidence on the citizens' perspectives of the issues described above. Indeed, the content of the questions (ANNEX 1) is more aimed to gain qualitative than quantitative data in all the countries under investigation. However, rather than providing a quantitative evidence which for many of the topics covered in this survey would not have been achievable (see for instance the scenarios on integrity dilemmas), the survey has allowed the researcher to interact with common citizens and to establish a way to ask for their opinions, rather than focusing on existing indicators and statistical data.

Secondly, the survey touches all fields in which citizens encounter public institutions in their daily life. This constitutes, to our view, a strength of this methodology because it has allowed the researcher to test the respondents' perception as well as experience of the interrelation with such institutions, which is at the basis of corruption practices. As seen above, the two sections on trust in public institutions and experience of bad or good service with them are what render best our approach.

Thirdly, the survey, in its second half, expressively deals with some of the socio-cultural dimensions of corruption in the sample of countries. Drawing on the growing anthropology literature on corruption (see Torsello's bibliography in WP1), we have decided to isolate a number of factors that anthropologists (and after them sociologists and political scientists) have seen in relation with or affecting corruption ideas and practices. These are: **gift**, **reciprocity**, **favor exchange**, **informality**, **patronage**, **hospitality** and **conviviality**. Of course, each of these factors should be contextualized and researched through a long-term field research, but this for a number of our partners is unfeasible, due to their time and budget limits, and also to the large scope of this WP which covers 9 countries. Hence, we have decided to develop a tool that, to some extent quantitatively, but mostly qualitatively, deals with these factors in a comparable way. The extensive treatment of existing anthropological and ethnographic literature on the surveyed countries will be inserted as a theoretical section of our final deliverable of D4.2.

Fourthly, in this deliverable we are presenting the point of view of citizens, not necessarily that of specialized personnel, practitioners or actors who deal with integrity and anti-corruption in their everyday. This will be the content of our final deliverable. Again, the anthropological perspective, which aims at establishing socio-culturally significant nexuses between public perception and experience with local institutions, has led us to select the survey as the most effective tools through which "penetrating" into the ideas and judgments of common citizens. Because of the complexity of the notion of corruption and of the high specialized knowledge that is needed in order to go beyond a banalized and "scandalistic" view of its incidence on the local society, we believe that only a consistent and comparable investigation of the perceived and real interaction between citizens and public institution can provide us with meaningful information to support the existing data on quality of governance.

Main findings

In this section we summarize some of the main findings of the comparative analysis of the survey questionnaires on the countries above. The second part of the deliverable, Section Two, contains the integrated comparative analysis of the survey in the eight countries. Finally, Section Three includes the single country reports and the survey questionnaire.

Institutional performance

With regards for perceived and experienced performance of local institutions, the survey results have identified a number of trends. The list of public institution that have commonly made part of the survey in all country is as follow:

- Village/municipality
- District council
- Ruling party (coalition)
- Opposition parties
- (Public) Healthcare services
- (Public) educational institutions
- Religious authorities
- Police
- Judicial authorities
- Tax offices
- Media

- Local social/cultural associations
- NGOs
- International donor/funding organizations
- EU

1. The most important local institutions (Question 5) were in the surveys identified as: healthcare providers, the municipality/village and police. Only in the case of Italy regional authorities were deemed more important than the police. In Mexico religious authorities are more important than municipal/village institutions, whereas in Tanzania local associations score first, followed by NGOs (but not international organizations) and healthcare providers.

2. The least important institutions are, on the other hand: religious authorities (save for Mexico), opposition parties and international donor organizations. The EU scores low, but not among the three lowest institutions in all surveyed countries.

3. The level of trust in public institutions followed a roughly similar pattern than the importance of institutions, with highest absolute scores for: educational institutions, healthcare providers and local associations, followed by the police. Interestingly, when it comes to trust the municipality and governing coalitions, although deemed as important, did not score high (and indeed in some cases low). Among the least trusted institutions are: media, government coalition, tax offices and the EU (Hungary, Turkey). As a general trend, the countries with low levels of institutional trust are Kosovo, Bosnia and Hungary, whereas those with mid-high levels are Turkey and Mexico.

4. The findings on trust in local institutions are not to be assessed alone, as they can be tested with those related with the respondents' experiences of good or bad performance of the surveyed institutions. With regards to this point there is a degree of ambivalence in answers, as for many countries the experience of good is also accompanied by bad services in those institutions that are deemed as the most important in the life of citizens, particular for: healthcare providers, municipal authorities and the police. The only notable exception is educational institutions, which do not score among those in which bad experiences are also to be noticed. This finding is significant since it stresses the idea that trust, or expected competence of the most relevant public institutions is often not accompanied by significant positive experiences with the performance of these same. This trend, registered in many of the surveyed countries, may be an indicator not only of concern for the efficiency of governance, but also as a signal that in some particular fields as those in which ambivalence is registered, other practices may operate in order to override the losses deriving from poor institutional performance.

5. In dealing with institutions, one assumption that has been developed in the anthropological literature is that corruption is also fostered by a lack of perception of the difference between public and private offices, as this relates to the common definition of this phenomenon. A question of the survey tested this assumption, asking to individuate public officers among a given list (except for Turkey and Russia, where respondents indicated this question as not relevant). This assumption is confuted by the gathered data, as the distinction private-public officers is clear to mostly all respondents. Some grey areas remain from the occupational categories: journalist, attorney and professor. This is related to the fact that in some countries these categories may more easily belong to national organizations.

6. Corruption was present among the most significant local problems as perceived by respondents, although with significant differences. Tanzania, Bosnia and Kosovo showed extremely high scores with this regard, followed, at much lower scores, by Italy and Hungary. In Mexico, Russia and Turkey corruption was scarcely mentioned.

7. An important finding, that relates back to how citizens perceive and experience the performance of local institutions, is the one coming from the questions that test how disservice within such institutions can be resolved, if by formal means (denounces, trying several times or avoiding of dealing with such institutions) or informal ones (from asking for mediation of acquaintances or persons holding offices, to eventually bringing gifts to officers or even paying fees). If we aggregate the results of the formal and informal practices in two categories it emerges that informal practices are dominant as the preferred resolution way in all countries, with peaks in Tanzania (80%) of cases, Kosovo and Hungary and with the only case in which formal ways are preferred to informal being Italy (79%). This suggests that local citizens are widely aware that in presence of an ambivalence between the salience of local institutions and the experienced poor services of some of them the remaining option is to resort to personal networks and informal practices. This perception can easily lead to practices in which corruption is present, even though it need to be tested with the existence of ideas and judgments about the socio-cultural importance of such practices.

8. Another aspect that relates to the dominance of informal practices in almost all the surveyed countries is the question whether citizens are aware of the damages against good societies of practices that can be relatable to corruption (e.g. buying votes during elections, nepotism, giving gifts to public officers, influencing media and so on). The results are very mixed and contextual, proving that: 1) there is no absolute marker for defining what in a country constitutes a perceived damage to governance and societal wellbeing, 2) electoral corruption and nepotism at job market level are the only universally recognized bad practices, 3) paying extra fees to have documents sorted out

quickly is considered a bad practice only in Italy and Turkey, 4) bringing gifts to solve bureaucracy inefficiencies is not seen as a negative practice.

9. The third part of the survey aimed to test what are the socio-cultural norms and values that underlie citizens' perceptions and experiences with public institutions. In this part three sub-section can be individuates: the first deals with socio-cultural norms that are clustered in the three categories of sociability, personal security and informality/corruption; the second individuates respondents' attitudes towards scenarios bringing in integrity dilemmas; the third investigates value orientations. Concerning socio-cultural norms, sociability is deemed as an important norm Turkey and Mexico, followed by Hungary, Bosnia and Italy. It scores very low in Kosovo and Tanzania (this a surprising result). Personal security related norms are important in Tanzania and Russia, and much less in almost all the other countries. More interestingly, informality norms (being in good terms with important persons, knowing whom to ask a favour, satisfying personal requests for favours, avoiding bureaucracy) are deemed as salient for Mexican, Tanzanian and Bosnian respondents, much less by Kosovar and Italians. This result suggests that sociability and informality are related norms and practices in some cases (in particular in Turkey, Mexico and to a smaller extent in Bosnia) whereas they are not in countries such as Kosovo, Tanzania and Russia). Hungary and Italy score middle in this context.

10. In the dilemma scenarios presented in the survey (Question 19) corruption and lack of integrity are presented to respondents in relation with instances of: 1) mechanisms of social exchange, 2) local institutional performance and exit strategies, and 3) translocal institutional performance in development projects. Concerning the first, the top scores are registered in Turkey and Italy, the lowest in Kosovo and Russia. In spite of this, most of other countries scored in mid positions, showing that there is a mixed and not overtly negative view of the nexus of corruption with mechanisms of social exchange, as it is indicated in some of the anthropological literature (see Torsello's contribution to WP1 deliverable). Also in the case of corruption of local institutions vs. exit strategies, the results show that approximately 40% of all respondents would not avoid corruption, with the only notable exception of Italy which scores high in exit strategies. A similar trend is noticed in all countries in which corruption related to international development fund is an everyday reality, and in particular for Tanzania, Mexico, Kosovo and Bosnia.

11. Some of the key findings concerning value orientations, which are here presented for a contrastive perspective with what discussed so far include ideas about: personal autonomy, conformity with rules, respect of tradition, religiosity, sociability and loyalty to superiors. The comparative analysis of these values presents a neat division between countries that feels the weight of cultural constructs such as tradition, respect for elders, religion and sociability

such as Turkey, Mexico, Tanzania and partly Kosovo, and most other countries which do not. Russian respondents, on the other hand feel much less autonomy than all other European counterparts. Whereas being loyal to one's superior is deemed as a value in Tanzania, Kosovo, and Italy, a finding that can be related to the importance of clientelistic networks and favor-exchange patterns, but not sociability that is comparatively low in these same countries.

Preliminary indications

The analysis of the survey data which makes up the first deliverable for WP4 presents some preliminary indications that can be of use to other partners of ANTICORRP, as well as for policy making purposes. These are as follows.

- **Most respondents from the eight countries are aware of the societal damages of corruption as of their drawbacks in terms of employment, politics and local development**
- **Corruption is an overtly perceived key problem in Tanzania, Kosovo, Bosnia and Mexico, in other countries such as Russia and Turkey it is not**
- **There is evidence of a correlation between institutional development and the perception of inability of citizens to deal with local institutions in a formalized way**
- **Informality is felt as an important alternative choice in dealing with public institutions in <u>all</u> surveyed countries, although with some differences in kind**
- **Countries in which institutional trust is weaker and experience of bad performance of local institutions is more frequent tend to give more importance to informality, favour seeking and patronage**
- **Sociability and related values is <u>not</u> correlated with informality**
- **Gift-exchange practices as cultural norms are related to informality only in Mexico and Bosnia**
- **Almost forty percent of the respondents from all countries did not consider favor-exchange related corruption as socially detrimental**
- **Corruption becomes a more important issue for citizens in cases of job-seeking, elections and the use of development funds**
- **<u>Bosnia</u>: low level of trust in local government and negative experiences with both government and local government institutions; corruption is an important issue blocking institutional development; in favour of informal**

exchanges; values and norms support sociability and hospitality, but less importance is attributed to gift exchange practices; corruption identified as in relation with local institutional performance, but much less as favoritism.

- **<u>Hungary</u>: the highest level of trust in local institutions (healthcare, schools and municipality) of the whole survey, low trust in government institutions, media and the EU; however, local institutions are also often bad service providers, strong accent on informality in solving problems related to institutional performance; middle scores for sociability values an gift giving; corruption is hardly mentioned as a social issue; corruption recognized by over 65% of respondents both in relations with local institutional performance, and as favoritism.**

- **<u>Kosovo</u>: the lowest degree of trust in public institutions save for healthcare sector; bad experiences and also good experiences with all these institutions; this is the country where corruption is seen as an issue, but also where citizens do not feel any possibility to resolve problems of institutional performance without informal ties (similarly in many instance to the Mexico and Tanzania cases); corruption is mostly blamed in relation with politics and not with petty practices; gift-exchange is not strongly valued; corruption is not recognized in the form of granting favors or appropriating development funds; strong value orientations towards loyalty to superior and surprisingly low towards sociability, this suggests that clientelism and favoritism is valued but not interpreted as a form of (positive) sociability.**

- **<u>Italy</u>: dominant mid scores in both trust in local institutions and positive experiences with them; it is the only country where government and regional institutions count more than local institutions such as schools; corruption is denounced as a social issue by only 6% of the sample; 20% or the absolute lowest score recognize in informal practices the way to circumvent poor institutional performance; values do support gift exchange, but less sociability; one third of the sample do not recognize corruption as favoritism; but the highest number of respondents would seek an exit strategy rather than falling into institutional corruption; high value orientation scores in sociability and being loyal to superiors; this is by far the most difficult sample to analyze; differences between the southern and northern cases are not striking.**

- **<u>Mexico</u>: comparatively high trust and good experience with local service providing institutions save for municipality and police; corruption is not explicitly mentioned as a local issue; informality is a preferred option by over one half of the respondent; importance of gift-exchange has one of the poorest scores (with Kosovo and Bosnia), however gift-giving in case**

of favoritism and patronage is a valued practice; high number of respondents would seek exit strategies from corruption of local institutions; value orientations support poor individual autonomy, dependence on traditions, elderly advice and the strongest religiosity of the whole survey.

- **Russia: high trust in local institutions (but not municipalities) and low trust in government, judges and religious authorities; healthcare providers, municipality and police are those sectors in which negative experiences are registred; corruption is not mentioned as a social issue; over 54% of respondents would seek informal practices in dealing with institutions; gift-exchange is not a strongly relevant practice although hospitality has high scores; this is the only country in which social norms related to personal security score high in salience; favoritism has one of the lowest support rates in the survey; values related with conformity with rules, traditions and family expectations, sociability are all comparatively low.**

- **Tanzania: save for the health sector, local associations and NGOs are the most trusted an important institutions; bad experiences are registred with school, municipal authorities, judges and police; corruption is mentioned by 80% of respondents as the most serious local problem; NGOs and media are among those institutions that could help to solve local issues; hospitality and conviviality have less importance than gift-exchange practices; informality and favoritism are seen as optimal solution by 80% of the sample; the highest concern is with corruption in local institutions, whereas the case of development is not considered as corruption.**

- **Turkey: high levels of reported trust in all local institutions and lower levels for international organizations, media and the EU; negative experience of institutional performance with police, judges and district councils; corruption is not mentioned as a local problem; over 50% of respondents would seek informal ties to solve problems with public institutions; this is the highest score of the survey in case of belief that gifts and personal connections influence institutional performance; 100% of sample believes that personal relations affect the quality of institutional service(!); highest scores also concerning conviviality, hospitality and gift-exchange; corruption is not recognized in relation with favoritism; value orientations are strongly influenced by respect of tradition, elderly people, religiosity and sociability.**

These results are meant to indicate some trends rather than to constitute absolute findings. The percentages provided above only hint at the range of answers, many

times of difficult interpretation, in each of the countries under investigation and **they are not intended to serve as quantitative data**. Because of the small scale of the samples for each country we do not take any responsibility towards the use of these data to generalize on the countries surveyed above. **The data presented above are representative only of the small samples interviewed in each country and they merely serve for qualitative purposes, hence these data cannot be used for generalizing on the countries we have studied.**

Section 2: Integrated and comparative dataset

Institutional performance

The most important institutions

The first substantive question in the survey (question number 5) asked respondents to rank a list of institutions in terms of how important they are perceived to be for the wellbeing of their communities. Question number 5 literally asked:

- Which of the following institutions are **important** for the wellbeing of your community?

Institution	**Not important**	**Fairly important**	**Very important**
Village/municipality			
District council			
Ruling political coalition			
Opposition parties			
Traditional authorities (Not for Europe)			
Health care providers			
Religious authorities			
Police			
Local associations			
NGOs			
International donor organizations			
EU (Europe only)			
Others (please specify)			

Respondents were asked to ascertain for each of the institutions in the list whether it was perceived to be, either not important, fairly important or very important. Each response was then given the following values:

Not important =1

Fairly important = 2

Very important = 3

What follows is a summary of the responses received to this question across the studied countries, based upon average scores computed for each of the institutions mentioned in the survey.

Bosnia

The range of average values given across institutions by Bosnian respondents is between 1.85 to 2.69. Those institutions deemed most important for the wellbeing of the community were: municipality with an average score of 2.69, and health services and police with 2.61 each. The institutions deemed less important for the wellbeing of the community were local associations with 1.89 average score, oppositions parties with 1.88 average score and religious authorities with an average score of 1.85.

Hungary

In the case of Hungary, the average scores assigned to the different institutions in terms of their importance range between 1.28 and 2.69. The institutions deemed most important for Hungarian respondents were: health services with an average score of 2.69, police with an average score of 2.45 and local government with an average score of 2.13. The institutions deemed less important for the wellbeing of the community were NGOs with an average score of 1.57, religious authorities with an average score of 1.44 and international donors with an average score of 1.28.

Italy

In Italy the responses assessing importance of institutions for the well-being of the community ranged in average values between 1.67 and 2.59. The institutions that were appreciated as being the most important among Italian respondents were the municipality with an average score of 2.59, health services with 2.54 and regional authorities with 2.41. The institutions deemed least important were the province with an average score of 1.85, opposition parties with an average score of 1.81 and religious authorities with 1.67.

Kosovo

In Kosovo the range of average scores given to assess importance of institutions for community welfare is between 1.77 and 2.64. The most important institutions among Kosovar respondents were health services with 2.64, municipality with 2.47 and police with 2.35 average scores. The institutions deemed least important by Kosovar respondents were the district council with 1.94, the ruling political coalition with 1.89 and traditional authorities with 1.77 average scores.

Mexico

In the case of Mexico, responses to this question varied in a wider range of average scores between 1.05 and 2.91. The most important institutions among Mexican respondents were health services with an average score of 2.91, police with an average score of 2.72 and religious authorities with an average score of 2.62. Least important for community welfare as appreciated by Mexican respondents were opposition parties with an average score of 1.71, international donors with 1.10 and NGOs with 1.05.

Russia

The responses to this question among Russian respondents varied in a range of between 1.34 and 2.56 average scores for perceived importance of different institutions for community welfare. The institutions most important for Russian respondents were health services with an average score of 2.56, municipality with an average score of 2.38 and police with an average score of 2.36. The institutions deemed least important for community welfare were international donors with a 1.40 average score, and opposition parties and religious authorities both with an average score of 1.34.

Tanzania

In Tanzania, average scores in response to this question ranged between 1.35 and 2.73. The most important institutions for community welfare in the opinion of Tanzanian respondents were local associations with 2.73 average score, NGOs with a 2.72 average score and health care providers with 2.36. The institutions deemed least important by Tanzanian respondents were international donors with 1.65 average score, ruling political coalition with a 1.43 average score and traditional authorities with a 1.35 average score.

There is no data from Turkey for this question.

The one institution that was appreciated as one of the three most important for community welfare across all case study countries was health service providers. Of the seven countries for which data is available, in five cases some instance of local public authority (either local government or municipality) was also ranked among the top three most important institutions for community welfare.

Significantly, the two countries where local institutions of the state did not appear among the most important for community welfare are the two out-of-the-region cases: Mexico and Tanzania.

This importance given to local authorities contrasts, interestingly, with the diminished impact attributed to national level political leaders in six of the seven cases, where ruling political coalition and opposition parties showed to be among the institutions perceived to make a smaller difference in the welfare of the communities in question.

Also, consistently high in perceived importance across cases is police, which ranked among the top three institutions in all of the sample countries but for Italy and Tanzania.

Perhaps not surprisingly, one case that stands out as significantly different to the rest is Tanzania, where the two institutions perceived as most important for community welfare were local associations and NGOs, even ahead of health services. Also, distinctly for the rest of the case study countries, Mexican respondents ranked religious authorities among the three most important institutions making a difference for community welfare, while the opposite was the case in four other countries where religious authorities ranked among the lowest in perceived importance.

Table 1. Summary of most and least importance institutions for community welfare by country

	3 most important institutions for community well-being	**3 least important institutions for community well being**
Bosnia	• Municipality • Health services • Police	• Religious authorities • Opposition parties • Local associations
Hungary	• Health services • Police • Local government	• International donors • NGOs • Religious authorities
Italy	• Municipality • Health services • Region	• Religious authorities • Opposition parties • Province
Kosovo	• Health services • Municipality • Police	• Traditional authorities • Ruling political coalition • District
Mexico	• Health services • Police • Religious authorities	• NGOs • International donors • Opposition parties
Russia	• Health services • Municipality	• Religious authorities • Opposition parties

	• Police	• International donors
Tanzania	• Local associations • NGOs • Health services	• Traditional authorities • Ruling political coalition • International donors

Identification of public officers

Question 6 asked the respondents to chose from a list the categories of people they would define as **public officers**. They were given the options:

_Village/city counselor

_ Policeman

_ State school teacher
_ State university professor
_ Private doctor

_ Journalist
_ NGO activist
_ Priest/religious functionary

_ Attorney

_ Company manager

This prompt was meant to explore the respondents' way of conceiving the separation between public and private sphere which is extremely relevant in performing and in understanding the corruption practices. The question was of particular importance if we take into account the commonly accepted definition of corruption as the "abuse of a public officer for a personal gain", but it resulted to be also illuminating to see how the concept of public and private can be culturally variable.

Result for this question are not available for the case studies of Russia and Turkey in which the question did not appear relevant to respondents.

Results from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, Italy and Kosovo show that public officers are at a great extend identified with people working for public institutions. With slight differences in all these countries the categories of Municipal employee, Policeman, State school teachers and State University professors got the higher amount of preferences. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, where this aspect appeared in a more neat way, Policeman was indicated by the 95% of people, Municipal employee was indicated by the 92%, State school teacher and State University Professor by the 82%.

In the case studies of Tanzania and Mexico these categories are indicated together with other persons not always employed in the public institutions. In Mexico, for examples, Private Doctors have been marked by the 70% of respondents and religious functionaries by the 80%. In Tanzania Journalist was indicated by the 90% of participants in the survey. The 80% of them also indicated the NGO's and the Religious Authorities. In the Tanzania case those categories even got an higher score than the people working for public institutions. School teacher were indicated by the 59% and State University Professor by the 42%.

Out of these two peculiar cases, Kosovo is the country in the European continent where categories of people not working for public institutions got the higher number of preferences. Private doctors were indicated by the 13,3 % of respondents, Journalists by the 28,6%, NGO's by the 20,4%, Lawyers by the 28,6% and the company managers by the 15,3%.

Comments added by the respondents highlighted some important element for the understanding of the issue we meant to explore with this question.

For some categories like "journalist", "attorney" and "company manager" in Bosnia we got specifications like "it depends whether they work for public or private institutions or company". In this country and in Kosovo, the past socialist experience emerges as an important factor. During socialism, in fact, the public authority controlled the enterprises and the media sector. The privatization of these sectors is today still a work in progress so a consistent number of people belonging to these categories are still employed by the State.

As the report from Tanzania showed the proclivity to indicate some figures like journalist, NGO's and religious functionaries as public officers can be explained by their willingness to address public problems and thus by their social function.

More generally speaking respondents also showed to understand the definition of public officer as a "persons working for the public good" and in many societies this does not simply overlap with people working for the public institutions.

Trust in institutions

Trust is a complex social phenomenon, especially given the debates about its dynamics, determinants and consequences. For example, it is frequently argued by different researchers that countries with high levels of generalized social trust tend to have more democratic regimes and better performing institutions. In any case, the level of trust conferred upon different private and public institutions in a given society may provide some inputs, if not exact indicators, as to the nature of relations between the citizens and those institutions. Thus, without pretending to present a fully

adequate and representative picture of trust in participating countries, we have nonetheless attempted to take a look at the existing levels of trust in different organizations in those countries by asking the following question (Question 7):

"*How much do you **trust** the following institutions*" (from 1: lowest, to 5: highest trust).

Although the list of institutions provided to the survey participants has slightly differed across the countries, (e.g., EU was not on the list for Tanzanian participants; Similarly, "Health Centers" and "State Doctors" were not separate options for the same individuals), there was nonetheless quite a common group of institutions for the informants across eight different countries.

As far as the results are concerned, the first observation has to do with the existence of relatively high variances within and across the countries. For instance, the interviewees' trust in institutions in Kosovo ranged from the lowest 1.8 (traditional authorities) to the highest 2.6 (healthcare providers) while the participants' average trust in Tanzania ranged from the lowest 2.1 (district council) to the highest 4.7 (media). Similarly, in Hungary, saving for three institutions that were rated below 3, majority of the institutions were evaluated as trustworthy by getting scores of 3 or more, highest being the 4, while in Kosovo no institution has the trust rating above 3, highest rating was being just 2.6. On the other hand, healthcare providers/state doctors/health centers, along with state schools were rated relatively high in almost all countries, while media comes first as the least trusted institution(except Tanzania).

Bosnia and Herzegovina: The respondents have chosen private health centers as the most trustworthy institution with an average of 3.5, which followed by public schools, local associations, and police force, all of which have trust ratings of 3 or more (3.4; 3.0; and 3.0, respectively). On the other side of the spectrum were cantonal government, state government, and entity government, all of which average trust rates below 2 (1.6; 1.9; and 1.9, respectively). In the case of Bosnia, other institutions remained between these two groups, ranging from 2.8 (municipality), to EU (2.3) to town government (2.1).

Hungary: Hungarian participants have given the highest rating of trust to state schools (4.0) whilst the lowest one to media (2.0). State doctors, EU, local associations, local government, local council, magistrate, police, religious institutions, tax office, and international funding associations were also rated as mid to highly-trusted institutions, all scoring above 3 (3.6; 3.5; 3.3; 3.2; 3.1; 3.1; 3.0; and 3.0, respectively). After media, the least-trusted institutions in Hungary were EU and (central) government, both carrying an average rating of 2.6.

Italy: Italian respondents have conferred upon the public schools their highest trust (3.3), followed closely by police force, public health centers, private health centers, and local cultural associations (3.2; 3.2; 3.1; and 3.1, respectively). On the other hand, the respondents have listed central government as the least-trusted institution with a score of 1.8, followed by church (2.0), media (2.1), tax office (2.1). Other institutions were somewhere between above two groupings (EU: 2.6; region: 2.7; judges: 2.8; and municipality: 2.9).

Kosovo: Citizens of Kosovo who answered the questionnaire appear to have lowest trust toward the institutions of the country among those surveyed within the scope of this study. Highest score goes to Healthcare providers (2.6), while the least-trusted institutions for Kosovars include traditional authorities, religious authorities, ruling political coalition, opposition parties, district council, and local associations, all scoring below 2 (1.8; 1.8; 1.9; 1.9; 1.9; and 2.0, respectively). NGOs, international donors, police, and village/municipality remain between these two poles (2.1; 2.3; 2.3; and 2.5, respectively).

Mexico: Church was the most trusted institution for the participants in Mexico (4.4), while international donors got the lowest trust score (2.0). Health centers, state doctors, and public schools have come second, third, and fourth in terms of the trust conferred upon them (4.0; 3.8; and 3.8, respectively). Saving for local associations and media, which have the average trust scores above 3 (3.1 and 3.0 respectively), the remaining institutions have average trust levels ranging between 2.2 (judges) and 2.9 (community institutions).

Russia: Russian respondents conferred the highest-level of trust upon following public schools (3.1), and state doctors (3.0), followed by local associations (3.0), international organizations (3.0), health centers (2.9), and tax office (2.8). The least-trusted institutions in Russia were judges (2.2), national government, local government, and church (all sharing the trust score of 2.2). Other institutions' trust averages were somewhere between 2.3 and 2.5.

Tanzania: Media have the highest trust of Tanzanian participants (4.7), followed by local associations (4.4). Police force, health centers, religious institutions, and public schools were also rated as highly-trusted institutions (3.7; 3.6; 3.4, and 3.0, respectively). Other institutions have trust scores that range between 2.1 and 2.6.

Turkey: State doctors, health centers, public schools, and mosque have the top spots in terms of being the most-trusted institutions in the country (3.6; 3.5; 3.4; and 3.4, respectively). The respondents have shown the lowest levels of trust towards the media (2.3), EU (2.5), and international organizations (2.5), followed by judges (2.8), and police (3.0). On the other hand, remaining institutions have gotten high trust averages as well, all scoring above 3 (local associations: 3.2; village/municipality administrations: 3.2; local governments: 3.1; tax office: 3.1; and national government: 3.1).

Experience of good or bad service

Question 8 asked: **"** With which of the following institutions have you or members of your family recently encountered cases of **good service** or of **bad service**:

Institution	**Good Service**	**Bad service**
Village/municipality		
District council		
Church/Mosque		
Judges		
Police force		
Public healthcare providers		
Public schools		
Tax office		
Local associations		
International donors and organizations		

Bosnia

In Bosnia the institutions where good service was most frequently reported are those associated with essential public services: health services and public schools with 49%

and 48% of survey respondents reporting experience of good service. The most bad experiences reported were associated with the state (national level) with and the canton 55% and 53% of survey respondents reporting a bad experience respectively.

Hungary

In Hungary health services were mentioned with most frequency as instances of **both** good and bad service experiences (60% and 40% respectively of respondents who reported an experience with health services). Next associated with good service experiences was city council (57% of respondents who reported an experience with this institution), followed by state schools (64% of respondents having experience with this institution). Ranked second and third in bad experiences reported were police (62% of respondents with experience with this institution) and city council (43% of respondents reporting an experience with this institution).

Italy

In Italy health services were the institution were most experiences were reported of which 61% were characterized as good experiences and 39% as bad experiences. The second institution where most experiences were reported was the municipality with 73% experiences characterized as good and 27% as bad. Thirdly, experiences with public schools were reported as good in 66% of cases and bad in 34% of cases reported.

Kosovo

In Kosovo, the largest number of positive experiences reported with an institution was associated to health services with 69% positive experience
vis-á-vis 31% reporting a negative experience. A smaller number of respondents reported an experience with public schools (34) but of these the experience was overwhelmingly good (91%). Much more divided were the experiences with the municipality as 51% of respondents who has an experience with this institution reported good service and 49% reported bad service. In Kosovo, also, the highest positive result for users of different institutions was associated with the church with 94% of positive experiences reported, however as a percentage of the sample this group was quite small.

Mexico

In Mexico, the institution to which positive experiences were most overwhelmingly reported was the church, with 90% of all survey respondents reporting experiences of good services. 79% of survey respondents reported good experiences with public schools as did 69% in the case of public health services. In the Mexican case the institution that received the worst review of performance was the police, with 52% of survey respondents reporting bad service experiences. It should be noted, however, that police was actually the only institution that received a majority of bad service reports.

Russia

Russia represents a singular case in so far as responses to this question goes. The reason being twofold: a) for most institutions the vast majority of respondents reported not having had any interactions or experiences to report and b) for most institutions as well there was a sizable number of respondents who could not categorize the quality of service received as either good or bad and therefore were reported as ambivalent.

The institutions for which most experiences were reported are those associated with basic public services such as health services (31% reporting bad experiences and 28% reporting good experiences), public schools (with 25% of respondents reporting good experiences and 17% reporting bad experiences) and police (with 25% reporting bad experiences and 13% reporting good experiences).

Tanzania

In Tanzania good services were reported more frequently for local associations (64% of respondents), church (63% of respondents), and health services (51% of respondents). Alternatively bad services were reported among 67% of survey respondents for the case of public schools, 44% of respondents in the case of health services and 42% in the case of judges.

Turkey

In the responses to this question Turkey is also a case that stands out among our sample in that for most of the institutions probed the reported experiences were overwhelmingly positive. Good experiences were reported by survey respondents in 92% of the cases for mosque, 89% of the cases for health service providers, 85% for public schools, 84% for local associations, 83% for the tax office, 83% for the municipality. The institution that received the least favorable account of experiences with services was international donors with 41% or respondents reporting bad service, but even there a majority 59% reported good services.

Across the entire sample of cases studied, health services are consistently reported among the institutions with better track record of good experiences. The same goes for public schools, which were generally positively associated with reports of good service except for the case of Tanzania where public schools were the worst performing institution.

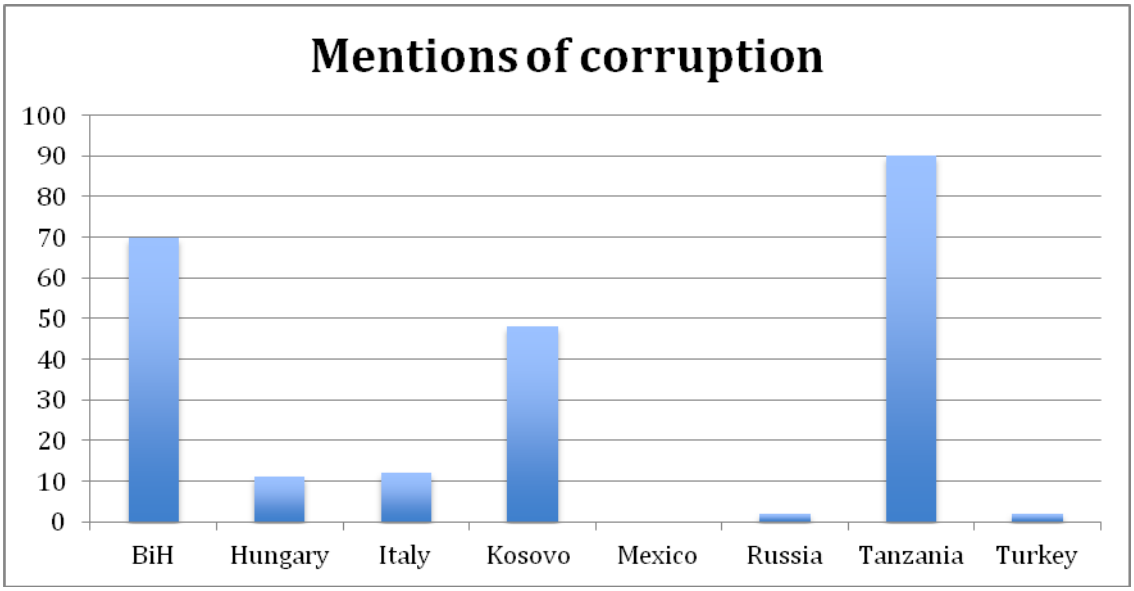
Local Issues

Most important problems

In Question 9 was asked. “What in your view are the most serious problems in your community? List at least three starting from the most important”.

Asking citizens to identify problems in their community is often used a means of assessing whether a government is in touch with the needs and concerns of citizens, listens, and responds to those needs. Comparatively, results may show if a particular issue continues to be seen as a problem, at what rate, and if people think it has been resolved.

Graph 1 summarizes the presence of the issue “corruption” among the most important for the local population.



Graph 1. Number of times corruption was listed as a serious problem in own community.

In Bosnia corruption in public institutions was mentioned by 70 respondents of the total 100 surveyed (mainly mentioning health care and construction sectors). In Hungary corruption was mentioned 11 times by the 103 surveyed respondents. Issues that received most mention were those of security and unemployment mentioned 43 and 34 times respectively.

In the Italian case studies corruption was listed 12 times, buy the 140 respondents surveyed (70 respondents in two regions each, north and south). There is a discrepancy between northern and southern Italy, where they were listed 4 and 8 times respectively.

In Kosovo corruption was mentioned 48 times, preceded by unemployment (55 times) and urban infrastructure (54 times) and corruption 48 times, by the 100 respondents surveyed.

In Mexico corruption was not listed at all out of the 143 respondents surveyed.

In Turkey (100 respondents) and Russia (150 respondents) it is mentioned by only 2 respondents in each country.

In Tanzania, corruption was mentioned 90 times by the 113 respondents. Here corruption included embezzlement, and can be seen as the most important problem in the community, with other issues receiving 25 mentions. Poverty is the exception, which was mentioned 65 times.

Overall, corruption is listed as a serious dominating problem in Bosnia (70 times) and Tanzania (90 times). Kosovo can be placed in the mid-range with 54 mentions.

Italy and Hungary have an equal mention of 11 times each, as do Turkey and Russia at 2 mentions each.

Ability to obtain service from institutions relying exclusively on own means

Question number 10 was aimed at investigating the relationship with institutions in the scope of the ability of the respondents in obtaining services with their own means. Respondents were asked: "With which of the aforementioned institutions do you feel that you are not able to settle a matter/obtain a service with **your own resources**?" Multiple-choice was possible and the options were:

Options were:

Municipality	Health Centers (public)
Province	Public Schools
Region	Tax office
Church	Local Cultural Associations
Judges	

The accessibility to information and the knowledge of the different procedures supposedly play an important role in the way people relate to institutions, some of which may require additional expertise in the understanding of how they work. Respondents were also asked which institutions they feel are not responsive to their

needs for services by relying on own means. The question aims to ascertain whether services from particular institutions could not be obtained without relying on connections, bribes, gifts, etc. (possibilities mentioned by respondents). The phrasing of the question allowed for various interpretations of what constitutes "one's own means." Means were understood to entail education, connections, monies, although not always.

In Bosnia 65% of respondents reported inability to obtain services from state institutions relying on own means. The graphic representation demonstrates that respondents were more frequently unable to obtain the required service with their own resources by institutions placed at higher level of administrative hierarchy (State 65%, Canton 60%, Entity 58% and Town 38%). Judges follow at 35% and are placed in a worst position than public hospitals (32%). The municipality (27%), international organizations (27%) and Tax office (26%), Church/Mosques (22%), Police forces (22%) and the Local community (19%) are at mid-level. Public schools (12%) and Local associations (11%) are at the lower end of the scale.

In Hungary, respondents declared rule of law institutions including courts and police, 25% and 21% respectively, as institutions where they can least rely on their own resources. These are followed by the city council (18%) and tax office (18%), as well as national hospitals (17,4%), and international organizations (16.5%). At the lowest end of the scale are state schools (5.5%), religious institutions (3%), and local associations (2%).

In Italy, significant differences can be observed between the two case-studies. In Monza (north) the lowest reliance is with judges at 57% of respondents claiming non-reliance on own means, while in Lecce it is at 28%. A distinction is also to be found in regard to tax offices, with 56% and 27% reported in north and south respectively. The largest distinctions exist in regard to health centers and municipality. Here the relation is reverse, where 40% of respondents in the Lecce and 13% in Monza reported inability to obtain services relying on own means in health center. For the municipality the relation is 40% and 17%, Lecce and Monza respectively. Commonalities are found in regard to local authorities (province and region). For Lecce and Monza respectively, in regard to provincial government, the percentages were 43% and 44%, and for regional government 38% and 48%.

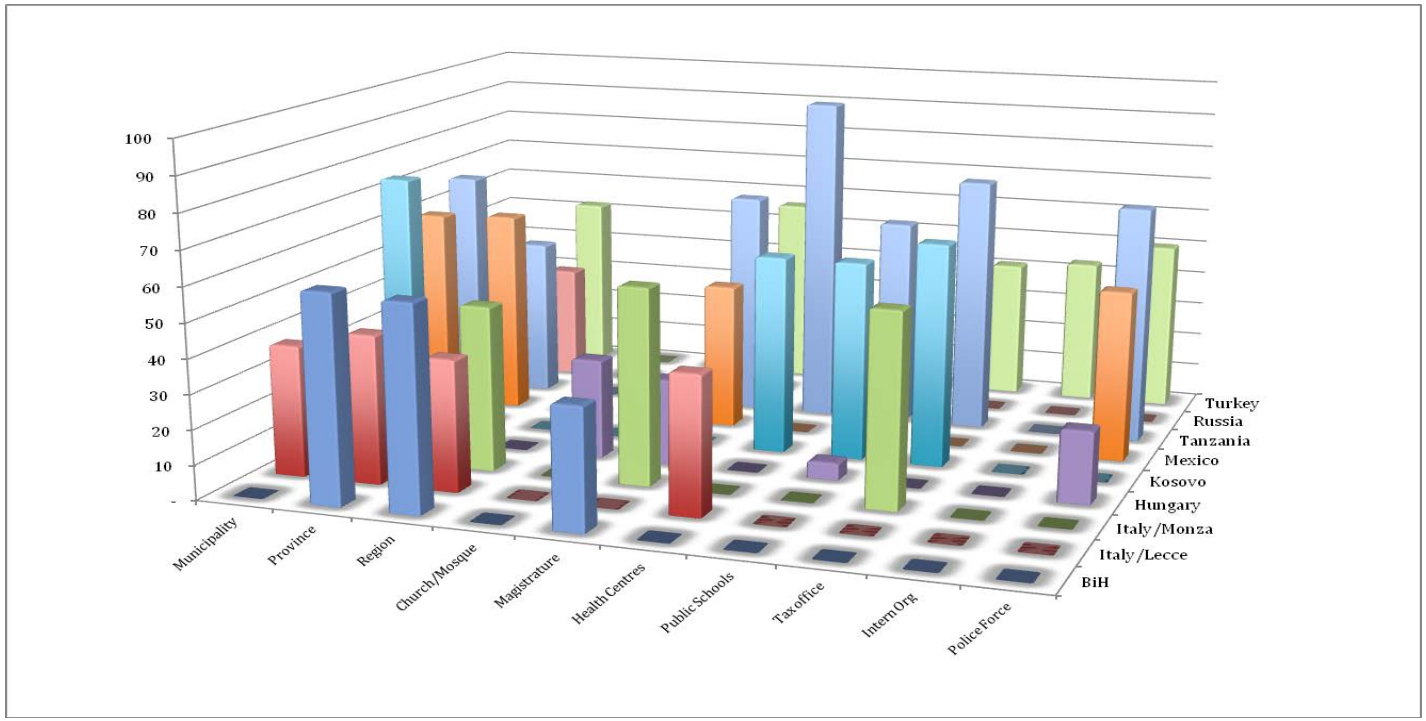
In Kosovo the majority of respondents (72%) declared that they are not able to settle a matter or obtain services at municipality relying only on own resources. Matters and services mentioned pertained to issues beyond the basic services offered, such as birth, death, wedding certificates, etc." Tax offices (64.9%) are on the higher end of scale, while health centers and public schools received the same response percent (57.7%). Also limited contact with international and local organizations (25.8% and 9.2%), with police (15.5%), mosque/church (11.3%), and judges (7.2%), produced lower scores.

In Mexico, municipality and state received highest levels of reported inability to obtain the desired services on their own, with 59% and 60% respectively. This may be partially a reflection of the general interpretation of the government as being responsible for the problems of the region and at the same time ineffective in providing solutions. But it may also reflect the fact that the municipality and state government are the instances where citizens at the community level most often have to seek resolution to their problems. These are followed by rule of law institutions: judges (43%) and police force (50%). At the lowest end of the scale are tax offices (27%), hospitals (23%), and local associations (13%). Religious institutions are institutions where only 6% said they could not settle a matter relying only on own means.

In Russia, the values are as follows: judges 41%, district council 34%, police force 32%, municipality 28%, tax office 15%, health centers 15%, international organizations 8%, public schools 6%, church 6%, local associations 3%.

In Tanzania, the values are as follows: hospitals 96%, tax office 75%, police force 70%, municipality 67%, judges 66%, public schools 61%, district council 47%, local associations 17%, international organization 16%, church/mosque 15%.

In Turkey, the values are as follows: judges 56%, district councils 52%, police force 50%, international organization 43%, tax office 41%, local associations 29%, municipality 21%, hospitals 17%, public schools 16%, mosque/church 7%.



Graph 2. Lack of ability to obtain service from institutions relying exclusively on own means

Government at the municipal and regional levels - considering differences in governance structures across the different countries - contain institutions and provide services that most respondents indicated have a difficulty of achieving results relying on own means. Contributing to this is the level of expertise required on the part of citizens to deal with institutional rules and structures. In addition, bureaucratization was noted as a barrier, as well as inability to permeate the informal structures of these institutions.

In Hungary and Turkey this level of government does not seem to provide such a high level of difficulty, rather the judiciary, police force and international organizations are seen as less penetrable in Turkey. Similarly, in Russia 41% of respondents claimed not to be able to resolve issues on their own when deal with judges and courts.

For Bosnia, Italy, Kosovo and Mexico, state, municipal and regional governments are ranked as those institutions with which people think have the least available means to resolve issues on their own. However, in all of these countries, courts and health centers were reported as institutions, which required significant reliance on other means.

In Tanzania, services in all of these institutions seem to create great difficulty for people to access. The exceptions are local associations, international organizations, and religious institutions. This is the country that overall has the highest percentages associated with all institutions.

In Hungary, although with small percentages distributed amongst all of the institutions, people claim they are not able to rely on own means when dealing religious institutions, courts, and police.

Preferred problem resolution methods

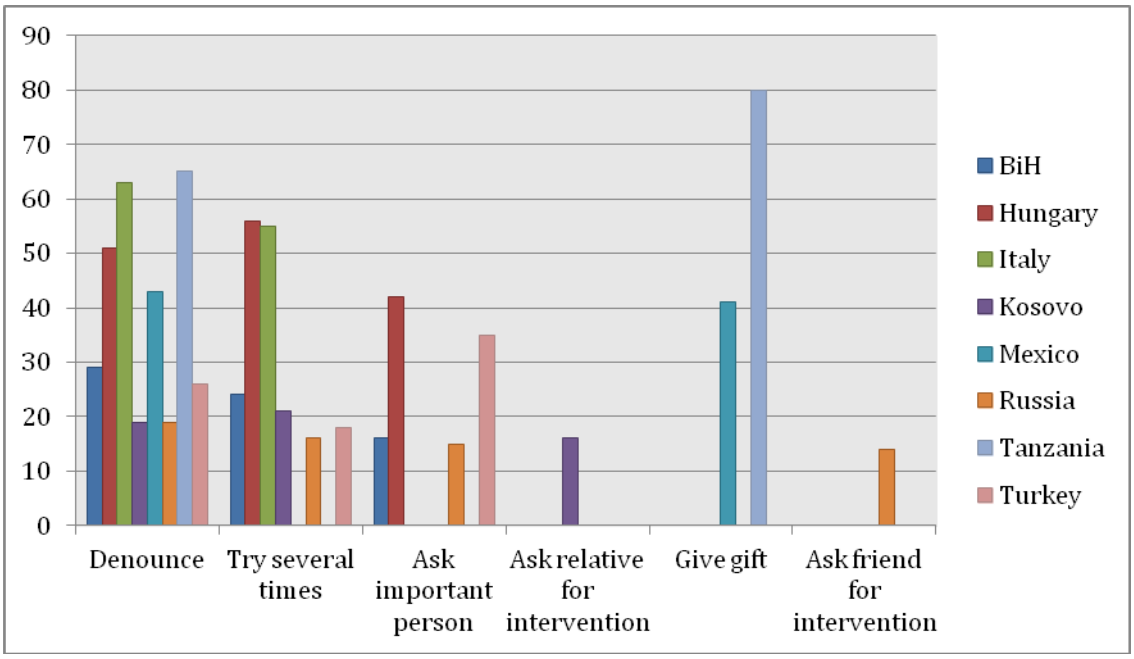
The following question (Q11) was conceived as a consequence of the previous one. Once the respondents had individuated those institutions they find hard to deal with, they were asked what possible solution to obtain the desired service they would a third person. The question was anticipated to lead to a consideration of what citizens, with varying degree of trust, past experience, and means, believe to be most successful options (producing results) in dealing with institutions.

Respondents were asked: “How would you advise a person who can’t successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem?” Respondents were asked to circle one of the following possible answers. “I would advise them to: (multiple answers possible):

I would advice him/her to:

_ask for intervention from a friend
_ask for intervention from a relative
_ask for intervention from an important person
_pay a fee
_give a small gift

_denounce the disservice to the competent authorities
_try several times until I get a good result
_avoid in general dealing with that institution
_don't know



Graph 3. Preferred problem resolution techniques

In BiH, 29% would advise to denounce the disservice, 24% would advise to try several times, and 16% would advise to ask for intervention from an important person. In Italy, 63% would advise to denounce the disservice, and 55% would advise to try several times. In Hunagry, 51.4% would denounce the disservice, 56.3% would advise to try again, and 41.7% would advise to ask for intervention from an important person. In Kosovo, 21% would advise to try several times, 19% would advise to denounce the disservice, and 16% would advise to ask for intervention from a relative. In Mexico, 43% would advise to denounce the disservice and 41% would advise to give a gift. In Russia, 19% would advise to denounce the disservice, 16% would advise to try several times, 15% to ask for intervention from an important person and 14% from a friend. In Tanzania, 80% would advise to offer a gift and 65% would advise denouncing the disservice. In Turkey, 35% would advise asking for intervention from an important person, 26% to denounce the disservice and 18% to try several times.

In all countries denouncing a disservice and trying several times before reaching desired outcome was a problem resolution technique most respondents would advise. This is particularly relevant in the data for Italy and Hungary.

Gift giving is preferred in Tanzania and Mexico as advise for problem solving, although it is not relevant for the other countries. Only for Kosovo a significant percent would advise to seek intervention from a relative.

In Hungary, Russia, Turkey and BiH, advising to seek help from an important person scored a relatively high percentage.

Institutions improving well-being

Question 12 was aimed at gathering the views of the interviewees about the institutions which could help improve the general well-being of their society.

"Who do you think could help to improve the general wellbeing of your community?"

Possible answers were suggested:

_EU (Europe only)
_the state (national government)
_opposition political parties
_district council
_village/municipal council
_ police forces
_ judges and magistrates
_traditional authorities
_citizens themselves
_ media
_NGOs
_international organizations
_other (please specify)

For this question results of all the surveyed countries are available.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: 63% of the respondents in BiH considered the Citizens themselves the most important insitutions for improving well-being. The State at the national level follow with a percentage of 58%. EU was indicated by the 37% of the respondents. Entity council and the Local community (*mjesna zajednica*) were considered among the less important insitutions and were indicated respectively by the 15% and 14% if the respondents. Religious authorities deserved the lower number of preferences (10%).

Hungary: In Hungary the 70% of the respondents indicated Citizens as the most important institution. Government was chosen by the 77% and was followed by the City Council (46%). Magistrature 13%, opposition parties 10% , media 7% were considered among the less important institutions.

Italy: In Italy the Municipality has been considered the most important institution for improving well-being of the community (87%). Local organization (79%) and the Region (63%) follow. Institutions deemed the less important are Magistrature (20%), International Organization (13%) and the Opposition Parties (10%).

Kosovo: The State have been indicated by the 22% of the respondent as the most important insitution for improving well being. Citizens follow with the 22%. The Municipal Council was in the third position but with a considerable lower percentage (10%). District Council (5%), Media (3%), Traditional Authorities (2%) were considered the less important.

Mexico: The central government was indicated by the 79% of respondents, government and Citizens themselves have been chosen by the 62%. Judges (31%), NGOs (22%), Opposition political parties (17%) deserved the lower score.

Russia: Citizens themselves were considered the most important insitutions by the 74% of respondents. Municipal Council follows with the 60% and the State with the 49%. Opposition (19%), International organizations (15%), Judges (13%) were considered the less important.

Tanzania: NGOs (66%), Central government (52%), Media (49%) deserved the higher scores while Mtaa government (22%), District Council (2%), Traditional authorities (0%) were considered the less important

Turkey: The State was indicated by an extremely high percentage of respondents (72%). Judges and magistrates (14%), Citizens themselves (12%) follow with a considerable low number of preferences. Surprisingly the other options offered by the survey were indicated by none of the respondents.

Citizens themselves was indicated by a considerable high percentage of respondents of BiH, Hungary and Russia and resulted to be the most important resource for improving well being. In Mexico and Kosovo we also registered a high percentage of preferences for this option.

The State resulted to be the most important institution for improving well-being in Kosovo and Mexico but also deserved a high percentage of preferences in BiH, Hungary, Russia and Tanzania.

Municipality was indicated as the most important institution in Italy and resulted to be among the first three more important institutions in Kosovo and Russia.

Religious/Traditional authorities were considered extremely irrelevant in countries like BiH, Kosovo, Tanzania and Turkey.

Opposition parties are considered not important in Hungary, Italy, Mexico, Russia and Turkey.

Practices against good society

Respondents were asked in Question 13 about practices that in their opinion are incompatible with the good development of society. They were asked: “In general, which of the following practices, in your opinion, are spoiling the good development of society?”

Multiple choices possible:

_ Buying votes during elections
_ Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them
_ Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services
_ Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school
_Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids
_ Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly
_Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles
_ Using scandals to get rid of political opponents
_ Using development funds for private purposes

In BiH 93% of respondents claimed that giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them were practices spoiling the development of good society. In addition, 88% and 80% reported that buying votes and using developments funds were spoiling the development of the society.

In Hungary, respectively, 84%, 79% and 74% reported using development funds for private purposes, buying votes during elections, and giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them/ Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids.

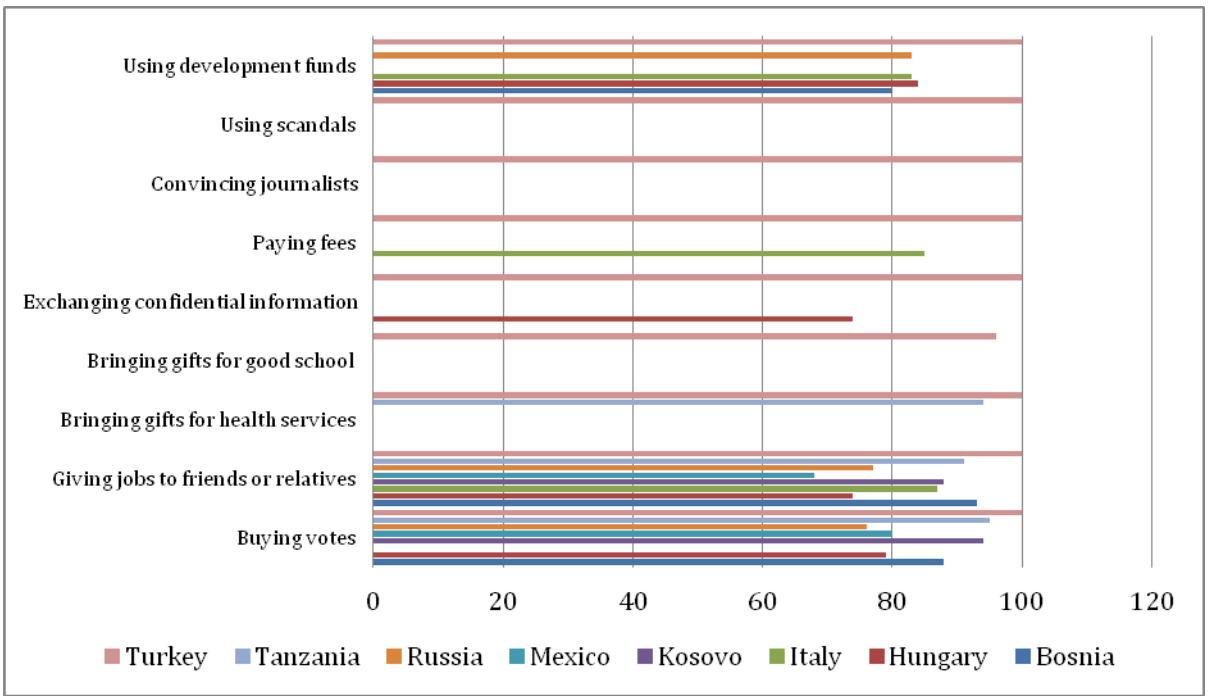
In Italy, 87%, 85% and 83%, listed giving jobs to friends, paying a fee to have documents sorted out quickly, and using development funds for private purposes, respectively.

In Kosovo, 94% and 88%, respectively, claimed that buying votes during elections and giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them were spoiling the good development of society. The same practices were also significant for Mexico, with 80% and 68%, respectively.

In Russia, 83%, 77% and 76%, also reported using funds for private purposes, giving jobs, and buying votes, respectively.

In Tanzania, the overwhelming majority at 95% reported buying votes, 94% buying gifts to obtain health services, and 91% giving jobs to friends and relatives instead of people who deserve them.

In Turkey, all options received a 100% response, apart for bringing gifts to be accepted at a good schools which received 96% of responses.



Graph 4. Practices against good society

Buying votes during elections appears as a relevant concern and practice respondents considered was ruining the good development of their societies. The only exception is Italy, where this is not in the 80 percentile, as is the case with the 0ther countries.

Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them is regarded as a damaging practice in all countries, without exception.

Contrary to all other countries, respondents in Mexico, Kosovo and Tanzania did not recognize the use of development funds for personal gain as a damaging practice in their societies.

Respondents in Turkey were ready to condemn all of these practices as damaging ones. In Tanzania, the overwhelming majority, 94%, stated that buying gifts for health services was spoiling the development of good society.

Exchanging of confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids appeared to be a relevant issue only in Hungary, while in Italy paying fees to get documents sorted out quickly is considered to be one of the most detrimental practices for the development of a community.

Q14. Statement: Public sector officials who provide services do not act the way they should

Question 14 asked survey participants about their experience with public sector officials who offer services in their community. Specifically, they were asked to state in their experience how true they

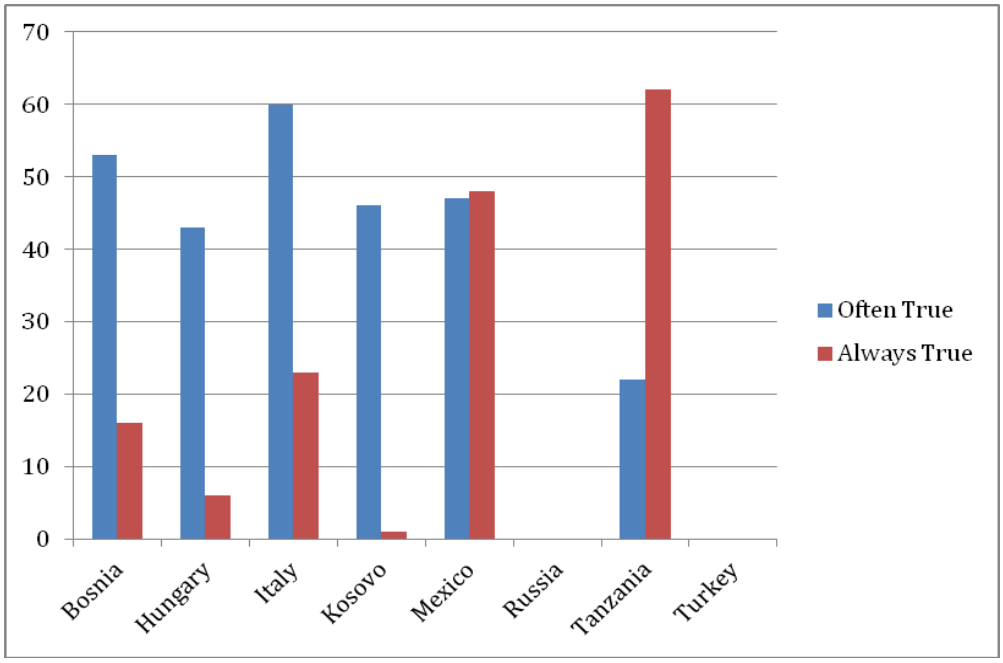
thought was the following statement: “public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should.” As related to the previous questions, respondents have been asked to state whether the actions of public officials conform to their expectations.

Options available were:

a) Not true b) Rarely true c) Occasionally true d) Often true e) Always true

In the surveyed countries, respondents considered the statement to be respectively “often true” and “always true” with the following percentages:

- BiH: 53% - 16%
- Hungary: 43% - 6%
- Italy: 60% - 23%
- Kosovo: 46% - 1%
- Mexico: 47% - 48%
- Russia*: n/a (question not present in the survey)
- Tanzania: 22% - 62%



- Turkey*: n/a (question not present in the survey)

Graph 5. Public sector officials not acting as they should

In most of the countries the majority of people considered the statement to be often true, which implies that people seem to be quite sure of the fact that public officers do not always act the way they should, though they do not show to have complete distrust in their actions.

Mexico and Tanzania provided, though, different results, since they had both a majority of respondents indicating that the statement is always true, that is that they consider it to be a common practice for employees of the public sector not to act according to the rules, and to provide services according to their own discretion.

Moreover, in Kosovo and Hungary very low percentages of people seemed to completely distrust public officials, and therefore only respectively 1% and 6% of them considered the statement to be "always true." Results are not available for Russia and Turkey, for which the question was not included in the final draft of the survey.

Socio-cultural norms and values

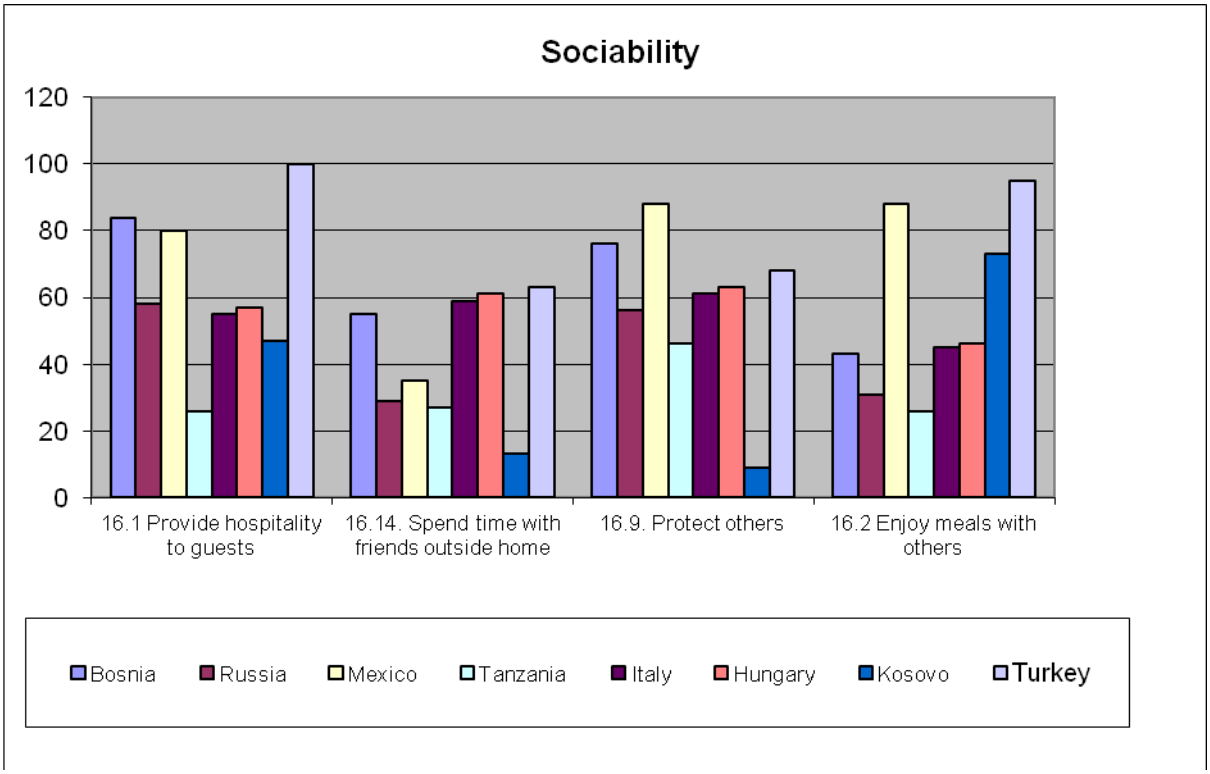
Q16. Social Norms

One of the goals of the survey was to investigate the social norms specific to various communities and countries by looking at specific behaviours that were grouped in four major clusters: sociability, fear, 'corruption', gift giving. As expressed by Question 16 of the survey.

The first cluster – Sociability – included four items:

1. Providing hospitality to guests
2. Spending time with friends outside home
3. Protect others
4. Enjoy meals with others

The behaviours described by the four items were generally considered very important social customs. On average, providing hospitality and sharing meals with others were considered more important than spending time with friends outside home and protecting others with some countries like Kosovo and Tanzania acting as outliers for specific items (see Figure 16.1). Providing hospitality proved an extremely valued behaviour in the case of Turkey (100%), Bosnia (84%) and Mexico (80%). By contrast, only 26% of the respondents from Tanzania considered hospitality very important. Responses from Russia (58%), Hungary (57%), Italy (55%), Kosovo (47%) ranged around the middle value. Closely connected with the idea of hospitality, sharing and enjoying meals with others is another way to measure sociability. Unsurprisingly, the results follow the same pattern, even though at lower percentages: Turkey (95%) and Mexico (88%), followed by Kosovo (73%) are at one side of the spectrum, while Tanzania (26%) was at the opposite end. Russia (31%), Italy (45%) and Hungary (46%) are situated in the middle.

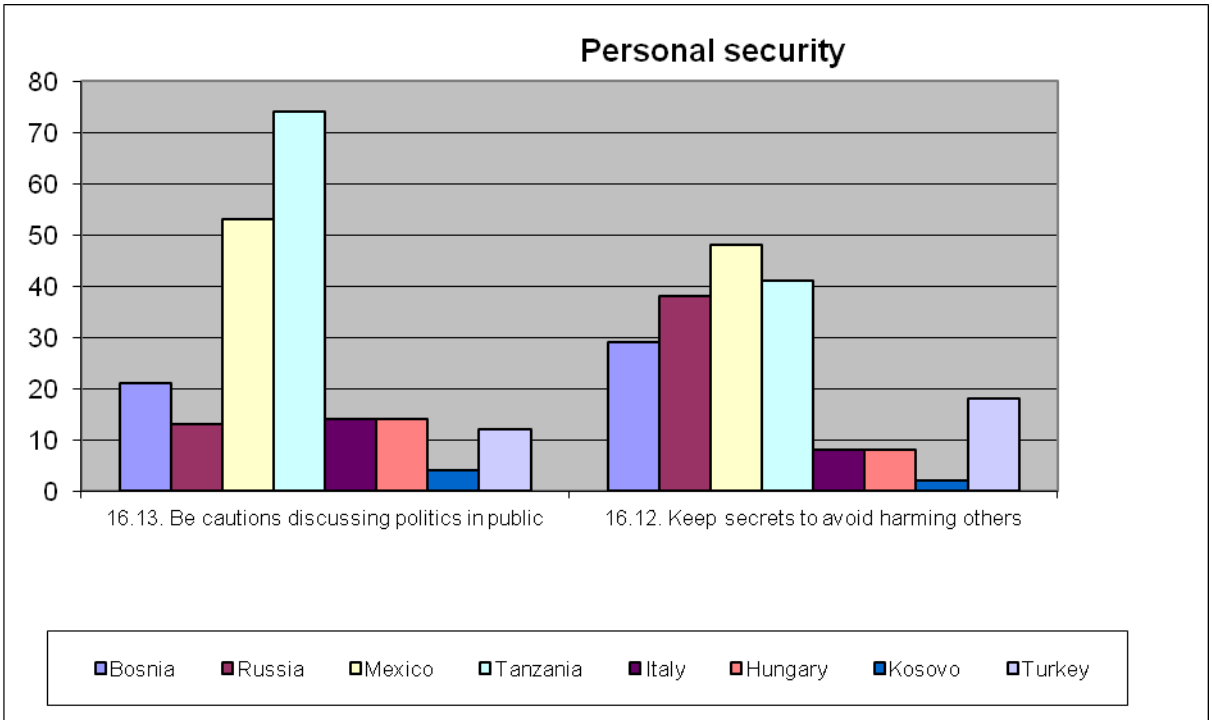


Graph 6.1: Sociability

The second cluster – Personal security – included two items:

- Be cautious when discussing politics in public
- Keep secrets to avoid harming others even if this is illegal

With the notable exception of Tanzania, where 74% of the people considered that one needs to be cautious when discussing politics in public and Mexico, where approximately half of the respondents had the same opinion (53%), in the other countries such issues are not considered important. The country with the least concerns with personal security seems to be Kosovo where only 4% considered this very important followed by Russia (13%), Italy (14%), Hungary (14%), Turkey (12%) and Bosnia (21%). The second part of this cluster, concerning keeping secrets, shows country positions such as Kosovo (2%), Italy (8%) and Hungary (8%) where few respondents were willing to maintain secrets to avoid harming others even if that was illegal. By contrast, the results from Mexico (48%), Tanzania (41%) and Russia (38%) point to the opposite, showing that protecting others is of pristine importance even if illegal.



Graph 6.2: Personal security

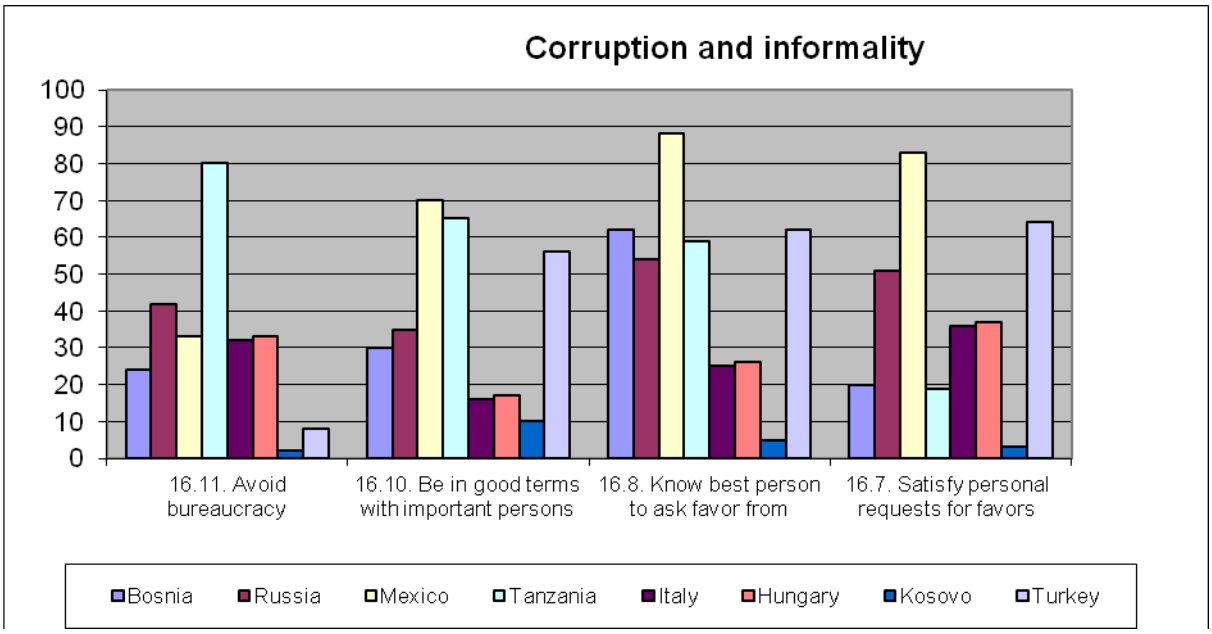
The third cluster – "Corruption and informality" – included the following four items:

- Avoiding bureaucracy
- Being in good terms with important persons
- Knowing the best person to ask a favour from
- Satisfying personal requests for favours

The items included in this cluster relate less to the legal understanding of corruption and more to an anthropological approach to the phenomenon (hence the use of the term "corruption and informality"), which includes informal practices, networking, favour exchanges and avoiding bureaucratic encounters. Avoiding dealing with bureaucracy is essential for respondents from Tanzania (80%), but not essential for respondents from Kosovo (2%) and Turkey (8%). By comparison, in the other countries, approximately one third of the respondents considered that it was important to avoid bureaucracy as in Bosnia (24%), Italy (32%), Mexico (33%), Hungary (33%) and Russia (42%). This may suggest that in almost all countries a portion of the population believes that there might be alternative ways to deal with the state or local government institutions.

Avoiding bureaucracy can be ensured through networking, connections and favour exchange. Networking - which can also involve maintaining instrumental relationships - is viewed as essential by 70% of the Mexican respondents, 65% of people from Tanzania and 56% of the Turks. Only one third of Russians (35%) and Bosnians (30%) consider it very important to be in good terms with important persons, while the results from Kosovo (10%), Italy (16%) and Hungary (17%) show that in these countries this is even less important.

Favour exchange – measured in this questionnaire through the last two items – i.e. “knowing the best person from whom to ask a favour” and “satisfying personal requests for favours” – relates on the one hand with networking and on the other hand with the laws of *quid pro quo*. The results on the last two items are similar – for example, knowing the best person to ask a favour from is very important for 88% of Mexicans *and* satisfying personal requests for favours is very important for 83% of them. The relation is also visible in the case of Turkey, where 62% indicate the importance of knowing whom to ask a favour from and 64% the necessity to satisfy personal requests for favours. Trends of similarity among the two questions, even though at lower values, can be observed in the case of Russia (54% and 51%), Italy (25%. 36%), Hungary (26%, 37%). In two cases, there is a gap between the two answers: in Tanzania and Bosnia. In Tanzania, 59% of the respondents acknowledge the importance of networking and knowing the best person to ask a favour from, but only 19% think it is important to satisfy personal requests for favours. Similarly, in Bosnia the majority of respondents (62%) consider very important knowing the best person to ask favours from, but only 20% would satisfy personal requests for favours. A very special case is Kosovo, where none of these strategies seem to matter (respectively 5% and 3%).



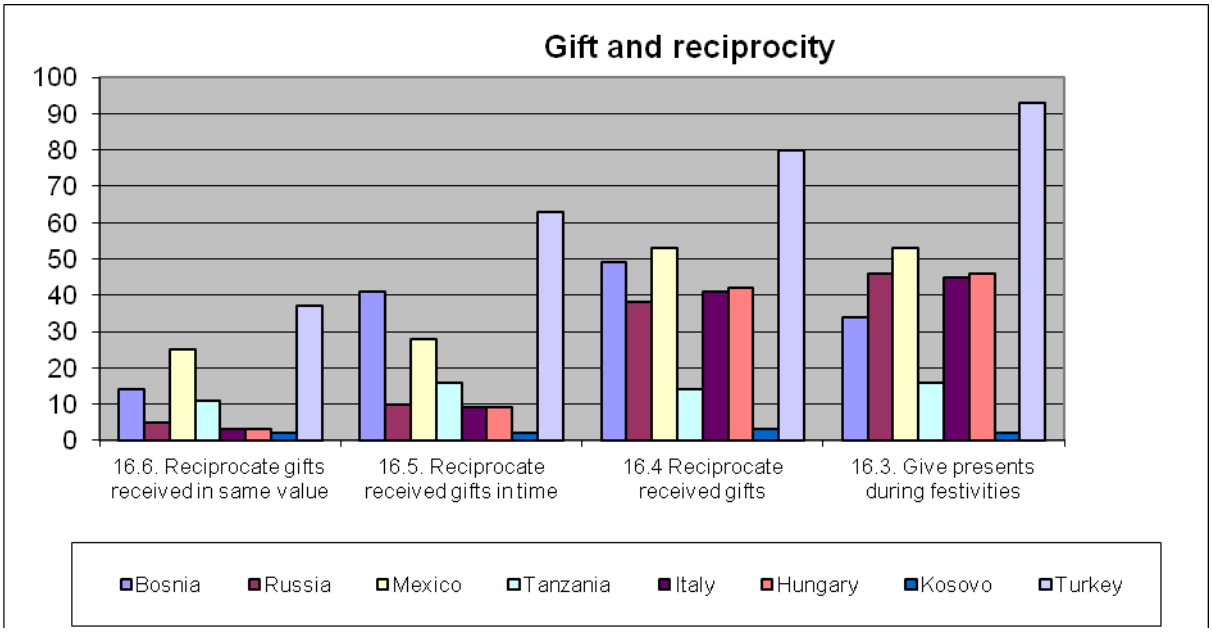
Graph 6.3: “Corruption and informality”

The fourth cluster – Gift and reciprocity– includes four items:

- Reciprocate received gifts in the same value

- Reciprocate received gifts in time
- Reciprocate gifts
- Give presents during festivities

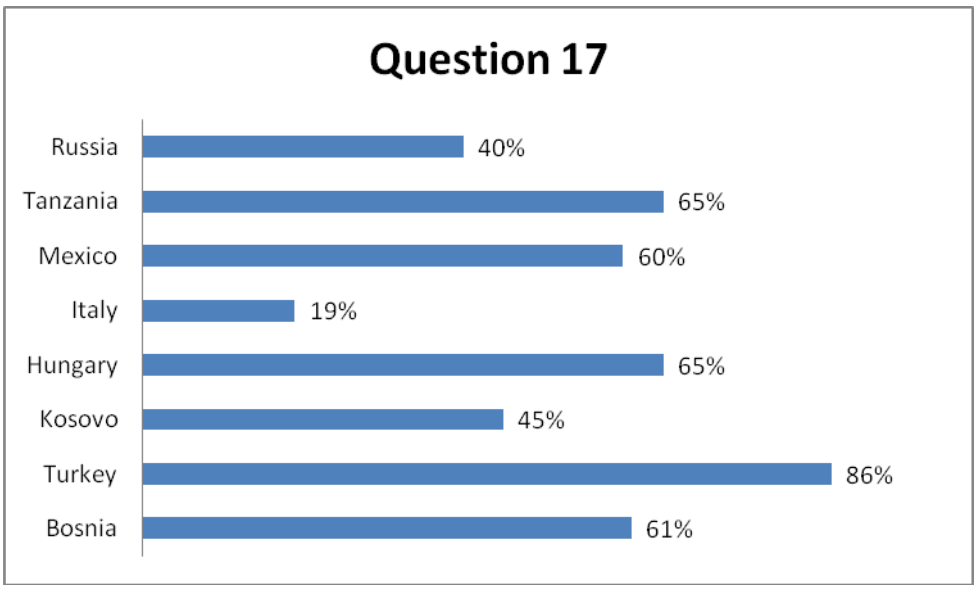
Gift giving and reciprocity are important values for the respondents. For example, 80% of the Turkish respondents considered that reciprocating gifts is very important and 93% related this to giving presents during festivities. Nearly half of the Mexicans (respectively 53% and 53%), Italians (41% and 45%) and Hungarians (42% and 46%) had the same opinion. By contrast, only 14% of the respondents from Tanzania considered important to reciprocate gifts and only 16% of them to exchange gifts during festivities. Kosovo acts as an outlier in this case with less than 5% of the respondents crediting the two strategies (3% and 2%). Reciprocating gifts in time and in value are less important than the general principle of reciprocity. The temporal dimension seems to be more important, especially in the case of Turkey (63%), Bosnia (41%) and less for Mexico (28%). The same countries display care for equivalence of value in the gift giving process (Turkey 37%, Mexico 25%, Bosnia 14%). At the opposite end, the respondents from the other countries do not consider time and value as very important dimensions of gift giving.



Graph 6.4: Gift and reciprocity

Q17. Gift-giving and services

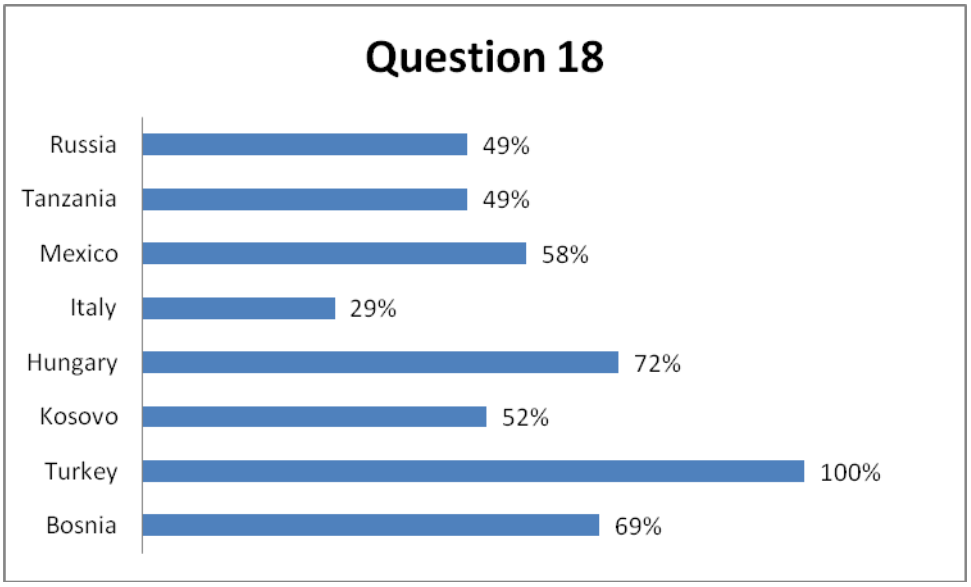
Question 17 asked: 'Do you agree with the following statement: "gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service next time they visit the clinic/office?"



Graph 7. Gift and services

Q18. Statement: quality of services affected by personal relations

Question 18 asked: 'Do you agree with the following statement: "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"



Graph 8 Quality of services and personal relations

Q19. Integrity dilemma scenarios

In **Question 19** five scenarios were presented to the surveyed sample. These scenarios were meant to test the perception of integrity by checking whether the respondents felt similar or dissimilar with the main character of the stories. The scenarios take place in an unknown foreign country.

SCENARIO A

In the district council, a new person has recently been appointed. This person is very hardworking and loves to do things transparently. He would never accept any fees or gifts from citizens to sort out problems. Because of this, he avoids people and lives a lonely life all by himself, so that he will not be put under pressure for demands of favors. Thus, the local people avoid him.

SCENARIO B

Mario is a very resourceful person; he does what he can to help his friends and relatives and he knows a lot of people. When he needs a favor, he always finds someone to turn to, because he has always helped out. Unfortunately, last week, he was jailed for fraud and corruption. Most of the people who know him, however, still esteem and care for him.

SCENARIO C

A family has plans to build a new house in another village. They have asked what the official procedure is, and are ready to follow it carefully. After some months, everything starts to become difficult and they realize they will not be able to resolve it without paying some fee to the right person. They decide to leave the village and look for another where things go according to the rules.

SCENARIO D

Peter has a small business preparing sandwiches, which he sells to local schools. Last year, he was successful in winning a tender and gained a contract with one local primary school. Unfortunately, the school head changed this year, and his contract expired. Before applying for the next tender, he is looking for an influential person who will introduce him to the new school head.

SCENARIO E

Lucy runs a local NGO for human rights protection. She is very active and well established in the region, but she also has a lot of competitors. There was a large bid by an international donor last year, so she applied, being one of the most successful in that field. In the end, she failed, because she was not aware that some politicians wanted a share of the money in order to approve the projects. Next time, she will secure the proper agreements with them first.

Scenarios A,B deal with putative situations in which integrity is related to sociability and favor granting behavior. The element which emerges out of these scenarios is that the character has to chose between doing favors to others/being a sociable person and acting in a transparent way. On the other hand, Scenarios C,D focus on individual strategies when confronting transparency or lack of it in cases of services or offers (jobs) provided by local public authorities. Here the choice is whether to accept corruption and lack of transparency and stay in the system, or whether to exit it and follow transparent behaviors. Finally, Scenario E introduces a wider context, where the character (who manages an NGO) is confronted with corruption as access to bidding in development projects.

Concerning the first cluster **sociability/favor granting vs. transparency,** SCENARIO A was picked up mostly by Turkish respondents as the most typical of scenarios (over 70%) confirming that sociability may be seen in this country as the opposite of transparency. The most common pattern in this story is a mid-range of answers (38 -42%) of respondents who felt similarity with the introduced scenario, only Russia scored low (28%) providing inconsistency with the sociability-corruption association.

SCENARIO B focuses on favor granting rather than sociability vs. transparency. Here results are consistent with those of SCENARIO A, with even more accentuated trends, Turkey scored at 72% whereas all other countries stayed in low position from 15 (Italy) to 25

(Tanzania) percent. The lowest score is that of Kosovo (3%) showing that granting favors is in this country seen as absolutely coincident with corruption practices.

Concerning the nexus between **institutional performance/exit strategies**, for SCENARIO C Italy (78%) has the highest choice of exit strategies in order to obtain institutional transparency. Most of other countries show a preference towards an exit strategies even though at a rate that is just above 50%. This indicates that at least 40% of respondents would rather pay a fee or accept corruption than leave for a place where public authorities are transparent. The top low cases are Turkey (9%) and Kosovo (6%). This not only shows a degree of similarity between the two countries' cultural mindsets, but it suggests evidence given in anthropological studies that links to the territory are more important discriminates than ethical standards.

In SCENARIO D where doing business and contracting with local authority (public school) is opposed to transparency and integrity there is much less ambivalence of answers, most of the countries' respondents chose exit strategies with less compromises. The range of answers of those who would pursue corruption goes from 9% (Italy) to 29% (Mexico and Tanzania) and 30% (Hungary). This data suggests that when coming to business and to private incomes there is more awareness of the damages of lack of transparency, even though in three countries on eight one person on three would rather follow the corruption solution.

Finally, SCENARIO E deals with bidding system in an international context for non-profit organizations. This story may have a slight bias of intelligibility for those countries in which international donor activity is more frequent and important (in the survey cases Kosovo, Tanzania, Mexico, Bosnia). Tanzania (77%) is, as expected and demonstrated by the data above, the case by far affected by the perception that corruption is necessary in order to win international bids. A mid-high score is that of Kosovo (43%) confirming the salience of NGO-s development projects and their dependence on corruption networks in the country. Most other countries score low (below 20%) with Turkey (8%) and Italy (4%) as the two cases in which respondents would not pursue corruption.

To conclude, from the analysis it emerges that there is far more ambivalence in the scenarios in which sociability and favor granting behavior is opposed to lack of transparency, proving that when pro-social behavior is at stake corruption can be difficult to eradicate. On the other hand, when economic profit is at stake considerations about integrity are more evident. The two extreme cases are those respectively of Italy, where exit strategies in both business and public sector are more important and Turkey, where sociability and territorial belonging is more important than integrity.

Q21. Value orientations

Question 21 investigated some value orientations in the countries in exam. Most of these answers, with a 6-points scale response system are from standard sociological value surveys,

they were introduced in this survey in order to test the relevance of some selected values for the socio-cultural elements that inform corruption or integrity.

The values enlisted in the survey are:
a) autonomy,
b) conformity with rules,
c) respect of tradition,
d) following advice from elderly,
e) religiosity,
f) attitude toward strangers,
g) sociability,
h) loyalty to superiors,

i) selfishness,
j) jealousy of wealth.

Concerning **a)** respondents from Mexico (28%), Turkey (37%) and Russia (48%) feel less autonomy in their lives, whereas Tanzania (90%), Italy (81%) and Hungary (69%) are those countries in which personal autonomy is felt as higher.

In the case of **b),** Russia (38%), Bosnia (54%) and Hungary (64%) present cases in which conformity with rules is weaker, whereas in Turkey (89%), Tanzania (86%) and Italy (76%) have the highest scores.

In **c)** Turkey (74%), Mexico (71%) and Hungary (68%) have high rates of respect of tradition, on the other hand Kosovo (39%), Tanzania (42%) score mid-low.

In **d)** advice from elderly is strictly followed only by Mexican respondents (84%), with mid-high scores from Turkey (64%) and Kosovo (54%). The only and striking low score is from Russia (17%).

As for **e)**, religiosity is felt as important in Tanzania (70%), Mexico (69%) and Turkey (62), as unimportant in Hungary (8%) and Russia (3%), with however low scores in Bosnia, Kosovo and Italy.

Attitude towards strangers **f)** is almost in all country the same, with very low levels of refusal of strangers in the community save for the cases of Tanzania (42%) and Mexico (38%).

Sociability **g)** is a strong value for respondents from Turkey (86%), whereas it has mid-scores in Tanzania, Italy and Mexico. Low values are in Russia (26%) and Kosovo (27%) where economic conditions can affect the degree of social interaction expressed as “being often visited by guests”.

As for **h)**, being loyal to one’s superior is important respectively in Kosovo (78%), Tanzania (73%) and Italy (66%) suggesting the salience of dyadic relations in these countries. Low scores are to be detected in Hungary (19%), Bosnia (22%) and Russia (24%).

In the case of **i)**, respondents from Mexico (62%), Tanzania (57%) and Kosovo (57%) are more concerned with selfishness and egocentrism in social behavior, whereas in Hungary (11%) and Turkey (15%) people have the least concern.

Finally, in the case of **j)**, showing off that may cause jealousy is considered an issue in Tanzania (72%) and Mexico (70%) where lower living standards may justify strategies towards harmonization of social behavior, and somehow at a mid-range in Kosovo (43%). Low consideration of this value is given in Turkey (14%), Russia (17%) and Hungary (19%).

Section Three: Country Reports (Attached)

Annex 1:

WP4 Survey: Institutional performance and social values

A. Personal data

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Education level
4. Occupation

B. Local Institutions

5. Which of the following institutions are **important** for the wellbeing of your community?

Institution	**Not important**	**Fairly important**	**Very important**
Village/municipality			
District council			
Ruling political coalition			
Opposition parties			
Traditional authorities (Not for Europe)			
Health care providers			
Religious authorities			
Police			
Local associations			
NGOs			
International donor organizations			
EU (Europe only)			
Others (please			

specify)			

6. Please tick all those in the following categories that in your opinion are **public officers**.

_ Village/city counselor

_ Policeman

_ State school teacher
_ State university professor
_ Private doctor

_ Journalist
_ NGO activist
_ Priest/religious functionary

_ Attorney

_ Company manager

7. How much do you **trust** the following institutions (from 1: lowest, to 5: highest trust)

Village/municipality
National government
Local government
District council
Church/Mosque
Judges
Police force
State doctors
Health Centers
Public schools
Tax office
Local associations

International donors and organizations
Media
EU (Europe only)

8. With which of the following institutions have you or members of your family recently encountered cases of **good service** or of **bad service**:

Institution	**Good Service**	**Bad service**	**Reason for choice**
Village/municipality			
District council			
Church/Mosque			
Judges			
Police force			
Public healthcare providers			
Public schools			
Tax office			
Local associations			
International donors and organizations			

C. Local Issues

9. What in your view are the most serious **problems** in your community? List at least three starting from the most important.

10. With which of the aforementioned institutions do you feel that you are not able to settle a matter/obtain a service with **your own resources**?

Institution	**Unable to obtain the desired service on my own**
Village/municipality	
District council	
Church/Mosque	
Judges	
Police force	
Public hospitals/health centers	
Public schools	
Tax office	
Local associations	
International organizations	

11. How would you advice a person who can't successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem? (more than one answer possible):

I would advice him to:

_ Ask for intervention from a friend
_ Ask for intervention from a relative
_ Ask for intervention from an important person
_ Pay a fee

_ Give a small gift

_ Denounce the disservice to the competent authorities

_ Try several times until I get a good result

_ Avoid in general dealing with that institution

_ Don't know

12. Who do you think could help to improve the general wellbeing of your community?

_EU (Europe only)

_the state (national government)

_opposition political parties

_district council
_village/municipal council

_ police forces

_ judges and magistrates

_traditional authorities

_citizens themselves

_ media

_NGOs

_international organizations
_other (please specify)

13. In general which of the following practices are, in your opinion, spoiling the good development of a society? (Multiple choices possible).

_ Buying votes during elections

_ Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them

_ Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services

_ Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school

_Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids

_ Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly

_Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles

_ Using scandals to get rid of political opponents

_ Using development funds for private purposes

14. In your experience how true is the following statement: “public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should”

a) Not true b) Rarely true c) Occasionally true d) Often true e) Always true

15. Do you feel you have the means to express dissatisfaction when the services provided by your local practitioner/service provider are not appropriate? If yes, what are they?

D. Social norms

16. In your community, how important is to:

Custom	**Not important**	**Fairly important**	**Very important**
Provide hospitality to guests			
Enjoy meals with other people			
Give presents during festive celebrations			
Reciprocate received gifts			
Reciprocate received gifts in time			
Reciprocate received gifts in same value			
Satisfy a personal request of favour			
Know who is the best person to ask a favor to			
Protect a person if I am in the position to do it			

Be in good terms with important persons			
Avoid bureaucracy because it is inefficient			
Keep a secret not to harm another person even if this is not legal			
Be cautious when talking of politics in public			
Spend time with friends outside the home			

17. Do you agree with the following statement: "gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service next time they visit the clinic/office?"

18. Do you agree with the following statement: "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"

_____

19. The following stories have happened in other countries in the world. Please indicate if you would in principle agree with the behavior of the characters (1. strongly disagree to 6. strongly agree)

a. In the district council a new person has been appointed recently. This person is very hard-working and loves to do things transparently. He would never accept any fee or gift from citizens to sort out problems. For doing this he avoids people and lives a lonely life all by himself, not to be put under pressure for demands of favors. For this, local people avoid him.
b. Mario is a very resourceful person, he does what he can to help his friends and relatives and he knows a lot of people. When he needs a favor he always finds someone to turn to because he has always helped out. Unfortunately, last week he has been jailed for fraud and corruption. Most of the people who know him, however, still esteem and care for him.
c. A family has plans to build a new house in another village. They have asked what the official procedure is and are ready to follow it carefully. After some months everything turns difficult and they realize they would not get ahead of it without paying some fee to the right person.

They decide to leave the village and look for another where things are going according to the rules.

d. Peter has a small business in preparing sandwiches which he sells to local schools. Last year he was successful to win a tender and gained a contract in one local primary school. Unfortunately the school head has changed this year and his contract has expired. Before applying for the next tender he looks for an influential person who will introduce him the new school head.
e. Lucy runs a local Ngo for human rights protection. She is very active and well established in the region, but she also has a lot of competitors. There was a large bid by an international donor last year so she applied, being one of the most successful in that field. In the end she failed because she was not aware that some politicians wanted a share of the money to approve the projects. Next time she will secure the proper agreement with them first.

20. What is a leader in your community expected to do? (check all that apply)

a) Strictly follow the legislation governing his/her mandate
b) Adhere to the rules of the community
c) Provide goods and services to all citizens
d) Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her
e) Protect members of the community from intrusion from outside influences
f) Act in a transparent way
g) Follow the guidelines from their political parties
h) Provide for the poor
i) Make sure harmony prevails in the community
j) Redistribute public budgets to reduce inequalities
k) Other

E. Values

21. From 1 (not similar) to 6 (very similar) can you tell me how similar to you do you think this person is to you:

a. He lives his life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible.

b. He would not break the rules because rules are what make order in a society

c. He thinks that traditions must be respected because they make up one person´s culture.

d. He believes that young generations should learn more from listening to the advices from elderly people.

e. He is very religious because religion helps people to be part of a community and get together regularly.

f. He thinks that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so

g. His house is often visited by guests and he has an intense social life

h. He thinks that being loyal to one's superior or boss is a very important virtue

i. He will try not to show his true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric

j. He prefers not to show to others his economic standards of living to avoid jealousy

22. Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you

_ to believe living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions

_ to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions

_to believe only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions

_ to believe no matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily

23. Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you:

_to do all my best to help the community in which I live

_to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves

_to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of those who administer the country

_to do what I can to improve my living standards, this will help to change things as everyone will do his best too

Annex 2.

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI BERGAMO

ANTICORRP - ANTICORRUPTION POLICIES REVISITED

GLOBAL TRENDS AND EUROPEAN RESPONSES TO THE CHALLENGE OF CORRUPTION

WORK PACKAGE 4 - THE ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF CORRUPTION PRACTICES

WP4 SURVEY

INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL VALUES

JAPAN

PROF. DAVIDE TORSELLO

COORDINATOR

MARIA GIULIA PEZZI

RESEARCHER

BERGAMO

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- 3.2 Public officers
- 3.3 Trust in institutions
- 3.4 Experience with institutions

4. LOCAL ISSUES

- 4.1 Problems in the community
- 4.2 Ability to obtain services from institutions relying exclusively on own means
- 4.3 Preferred problem resolution techniques
- 4.4 Institutions important for improving well-being
- 4.5 Practices against good-society
- 4.6 Statement: "Public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should"
- 4.7 Means to express dissatisfaction

5. SOCIAL NORMS

- 5.1 Importance of social customs

5.2 Statement: "Gift-giving is related to better treatment/service"

5.3 Statement: "Personal relations affect quality of service"

5.4 Agreement/Disagreement with different scenarios

5.5 Expectations on community leaders

6. VALUES

6.1 Self-identification with character, from "not similar" to very similar"

6.2 Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you

6.3 Choose from the following list the statement that is the most important to you

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The following report is based on data collected during ethnographic fieldwork, as a part of the ANTICORRP project, Work Package 4 - The Ethnography of Corruption. In particular, it deals with the results of a survey conducted in Japan on a sample of 100 citizens.

The aim of the survey is to collect information on how different areas of the public and private life are perceived by the respondents, and in particular: public institutions, local development, local customs, and values. The main focus of the questions is to investigate how people deal with the problem of corruption (if perceived at all), its effects, practices, social and cultural norms, as well as with the anti-corruption discourse, both at a local and national level. It is important to stress that the word "corruption" itself is not directly used in the survey, with one exception in section D, where it is used to address an hypothetical scenario. Avoiding direct references to corruption as a phenomenon was a choice based on the awareness that corruption itself is hard to define and to frame, since it consists of multiple practices not always perceived as fraudulent or illegal, which are not necessarily fitting the social understanding of *object* corruption. Using a word that has such strong moral and social implications in the public discourse would have possibly influenced the results of the survey, and make the respondent feel at unease when dealing with such matters.

The survey target has been the ordinary residents of Tokyo, in an attempt to give a bottom-up perspective of the relationship between the citizen and the institutions at multiple

levels (from local to nations and supranational), as well as to underline how the citizens relate to such institutions in matter of social trust and ability to interact with them.

The survey is aimed at providing comparable data among the countries it has been conducted in, in the scope of the WP4 research. Therefore it serves a double purpose: attempting a comparison within two different areas in Italy, as well as providing information which could be used in a wider, transnational framework.

2. Methodology, sampling and field

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, the results of this survey were obtained with a sample of 100 respondents, living in Japan.

The questionnaire was translated into Japanese from the original in English, with only minor changes to adapt it to the Japanese political and institutional reality. The preliminary indications on how to select the respondents was to provide only one survey per household and that the surveyed should be male/female in working age, between 18-65 years old, though there have been some exceptions.

The research has been conducted in December?? 2014. The used methodology was online distribution. As a consequence of such an approach, a face-to-face relation between respondents and researchers hasn't been possible.

As summarized by Table 1, the sample is constituted as follows:

Number of people surveyed: 100.

- Gender: 48 males, 52 females
- Age: the most represented age group is that of people in their 30s (47%), followed by 40 (27%), 20s (25%), and finally 50s. (both 8%)
- Education level: the majority of the respondents claimed to have a university degree, either BA (73) or MA (25%). Two respondents had a PhD
- Occupation: the answers to this question were categorized into 3 groups, namely public sector employee (24%), private sector employee (60%) and civil servants (16%).

Gender	
Male	48
Female	52
Age	
20s	20
30s	45
40s	27
50s	8

Education level	
University (Bachelor)	73
University (Master)	25
PhD	2
Occupation	
Public sector employee	24
Private sector employee	60
Civil servant	16

Table 1 Sample

Getting access to the sample hasn't always been an easy task and has made it necessary for us to rely on other forms of distribution, such as the internet and contacts through social networks, rather that face-to-face surveys.

3. Local institutions

The first part of the survey was supposed to investigate how people relate to different kinds of institutions, both at a local and national level, and how do they evaluate their importance for the society they live in.

3.1 Institutions important for promoting well-being

The first question was

> *"Which of the following institutions are **important** for the well being of your community?"*

Respondents were given a list of institutions and were asked to rate them either as not important – fairly important – very important.

The proposed institutions were:

- Village/Municipality
- District Council
- Ruling political coalition
- Opposition parties
- Traditional authorities
- Health care providers
- Religious authorities
- Police
- Local associations
- NGO's
- International donor organisations
- Other

It is important to note that the respondents indicated only those institutions that were relevant for them.

None of the respondents indicated alternatives in the section named "other".

Villages/Municipalities were recognized as the institutions that play a bigger role in granting people their well being, with 57% of the respondents thinking they are very important. Religious authorities were second, with 29% of the surveyed people thinking they play a very important role. The institution which proved to be considered as less potentially effective among the important ones, with 14 %, were Local Organisations.

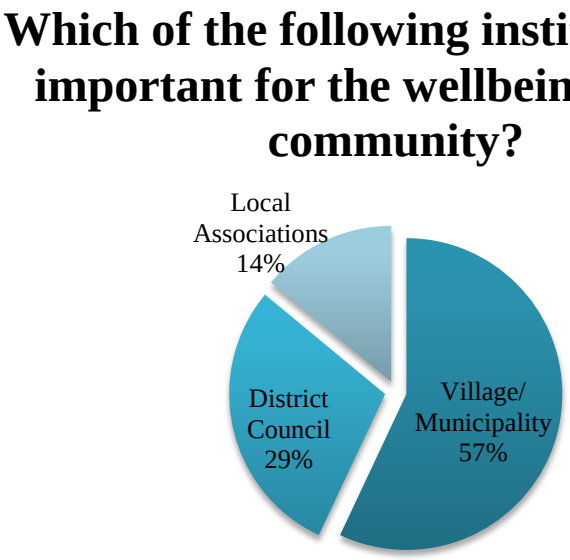


Figure 1 Institutions important for the well being of the community

The most striking fact is probably the general lack of confidence in all the other proposed institutions, since the surveyed people only seemed to think that those important for their well being are the institutions which are closer to them, showing a sort of distrust in the effectiveness of the others.

3.2 Public officers

The second question of this section is aimed at understanding what kind of institutional figures do people perceive as being public officers.

*"Please select among the following categories, those that according to your understanding apply to **public officer**". (multiple choices allowed)*

This prompt is particularly important if we take into account the commonly accepted definition of corruption as the "abuse of a public office for personal gain". Individuating a working category as public officer, or not, kind of preselects the perception of possible fraudulent actions and corruption attempts.

As figure 2 shows, respondents seemed to have a clear conception of the category. Almost the totality of the respondents – 85% – indicated Village/City Councillors as public officers. High scores have also been collected by Policemen (79%), and State School Teachers (72%). Relevantly lower are State University Professors (38%), while all the other professionals have received zero votes.

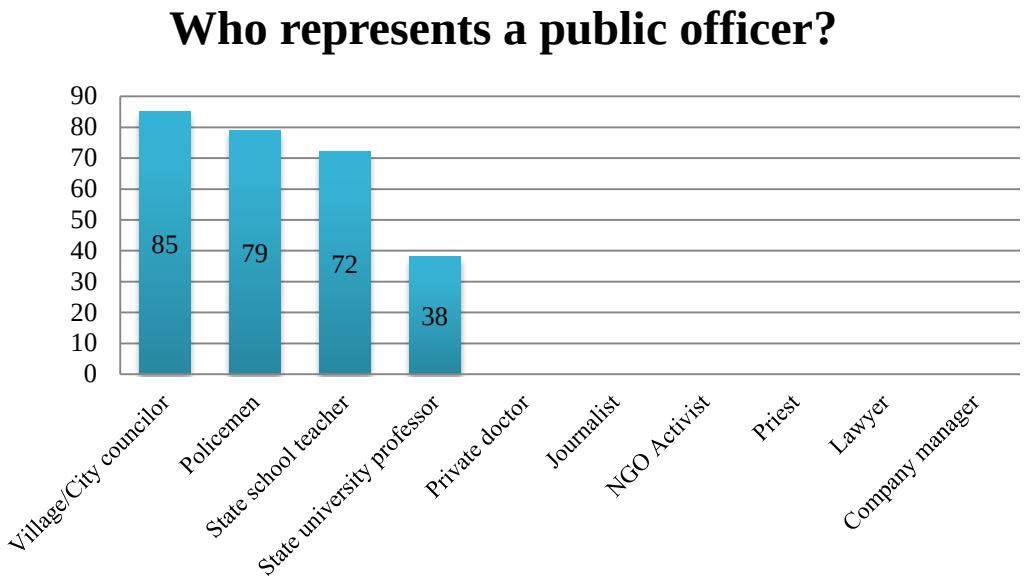


Figure 3 Public officer

3.3 Trust in Institutions

Trust is a very important component of the relationship between citizens and the institutions. It has been reported by many authors that countries with high levels of generalized social trust tend to be more democratic and have better performing institutions, and trust in trust can be considered as a mutually reinforcing phenomenon. That should imply that those institutions that are more trusted in, tend indeed to provide better services, based on

some kind of "positive social pressure". On the other hand, countries that have a low levels social trust, tend to develop negative values such as envy, cynicism and pessimism, which in the end lead to the increase of the so called "personalized trust" (Uslaner 2002), which implies that people only trust close friends and family members and distrust the people outside those circles.

Attempting the evaluation of such a complex phenomenon, which includes a series of historical, social, cultural and economic variables, with one survey question can be considered risky and not representative of the reality, especially in the case of Japan, where the difference between the relations to close kin and friends vs those with "outsiders" are culturally striking. Nevertheless we have tried to at least obtain an impression of how people relate to different areas of the institutions they (almost) daily find themselves confronted with.

The prompt was

*"How much do you **trust** the following institutions"*

were the surveyed people were asked to rate each option with a number from 1 (lowest) to 5 (highest).

In the Japanese survey, the provided options were:

- Village/Municipality
- National Government
- Local Government
- District Council
- Religious Authorities
- Judges
- Police Force
- Village/Municipality
- National Government
- Local Government
- District Council
- Religious Authorities
- Judges
- Police Force
- State Doctors
- Health centres
- Public Schools
- Tax Office
- Local associations
- International Donor and Organisations

- M edia

According to the results, as it can be seen in the figure below, most institutions were given an average score (3), indicated by the green colour.

There are two relevant exceptions. First, one institution had the great majority of votes indicating the lowest level of trust and that was the District Council (76). Second, three institutions scored relatively higher than others as highest level of trustworthiness, that is Judges (26), International donor and Organisations (24) and Police Force (17).

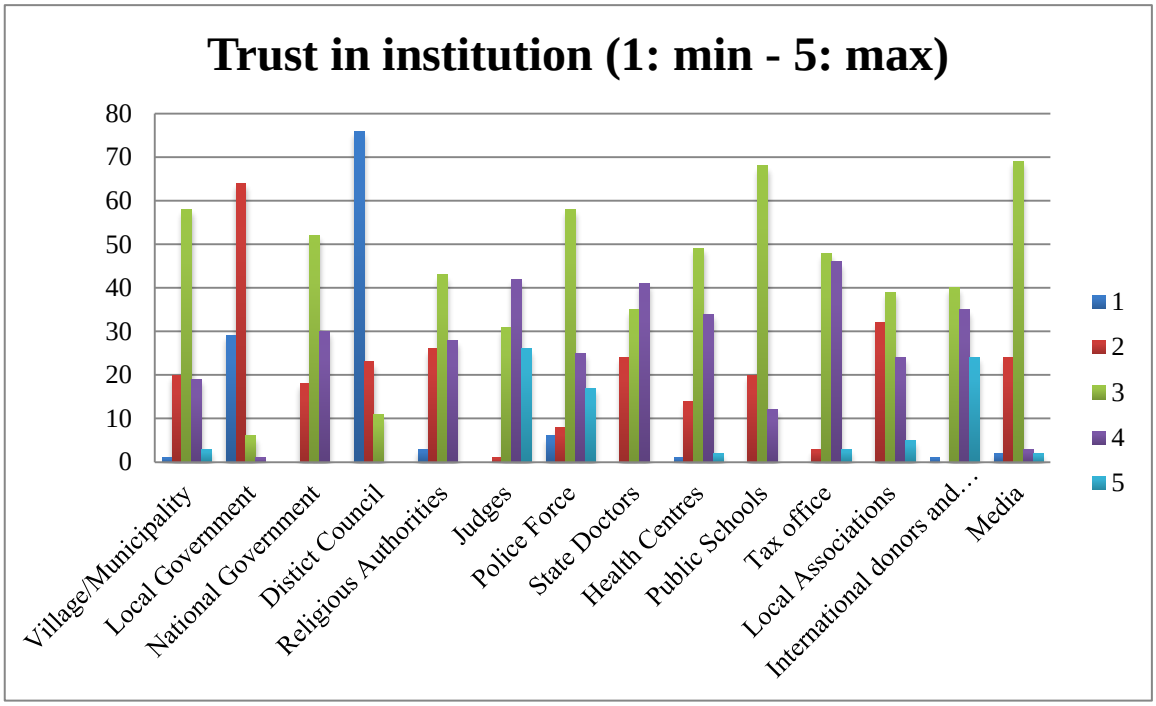


Figure 4 Trust in institutions (absolute)

3.4 Experience with institutions

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, trust in institutions might be influenced by the interactions occurred between the service providers and the citizens. It can be implied that having received a good service could increase levels of trust, as well as the opposite.

Respondents were asked to rate their experience with different institution with which they had to deal recently. The question was:

*"With which of the following institutions have you or members of your family recently encountered cases of **good service** or of **bad service**"*

The possible choices were very similar to those of the previous question: in the Italian survey, the provided options were:

- Village/Municipality
- District Council
- Religious Authorities
- Judges
- Police Forces
- Public Healthcare Providers
- Public Schools
- Tax Office
- Local Associations
- International donors and organisations

People were asked to state whether they had received a good service or a bad service and eventually motivate their choice. Assuming that not all the respondents had to deal with each institution in the latest period, the figure is related to those who have provided answers. In particular, it is worth noticing that respondents have only indicated institutions with which they had a good experience, negative comments are missing.

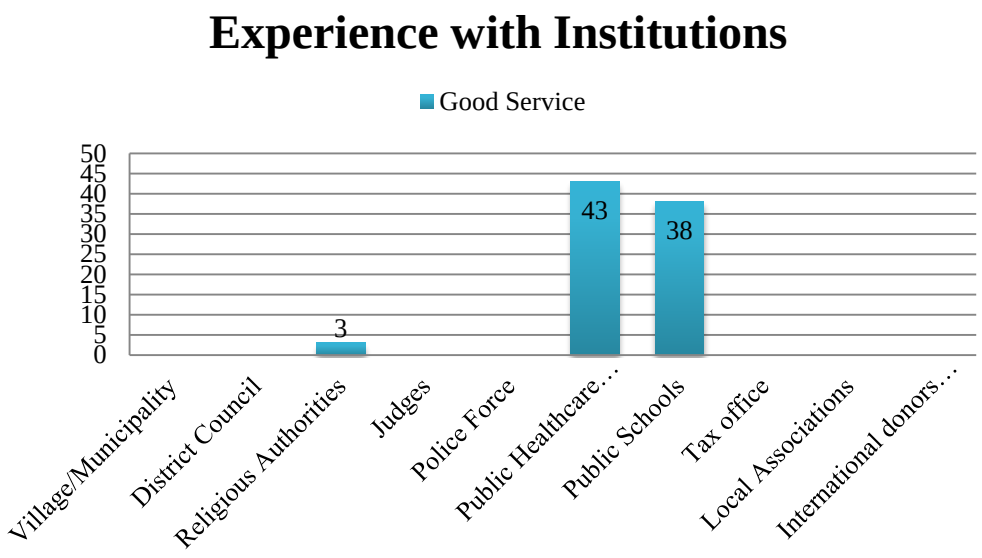


Figure 5 Experience with institutions

The two institutions that have proved to have provided most "good services" are Public Healthcare providers (43), Public Schools (43). Religious Authorities have also collected 3 preferences, and the reason for the choice was stated to be "Temple protects ancestors". The reason for having chosen Public healthcare Providers was "Benefits of daycare services for elderly members", while that for Public Schools was "Fine educational service".

4. Local Issues

The second section of the survey was aimed at investigating how the respondents relate to the role that institutions might - or might not - have in the improvement of local issues, but also to look at the strategies which might be put into act in order to obtain a certain service.

4.1 Problems in the community

The first question of the section required the respondents to list three main problems encountered in the city of residence, in an open format:

> *"What in your view are the most serious **problems** in your community? List at least three starting from the most important."*

According to the results, most people seem to have individuated the same problems, although not all of them have provided a complete answer. The issue to be most felt by the

respondents is "Unknown neighbours and crime" (72), a fact explainable by the high importance that neighbourhood and good relationships with the people living close by has in the Japanese society. Not knowing who they are seem somehow directly related to crime, which is interesting.

The second listed problem is "Elderly ones live alone and isolated" (53), another peculiar feature of Japan, where people have the highest life expectation in the world and where caretaking of older people is becoming one of the major issues, both in relation to welfare measures and to intra-family relations getting more problematic.

The third most serious problem is also related to neighbourhood, that is "Noise and careless to neighbours" (36), which is strictly related to the first issue that arose.

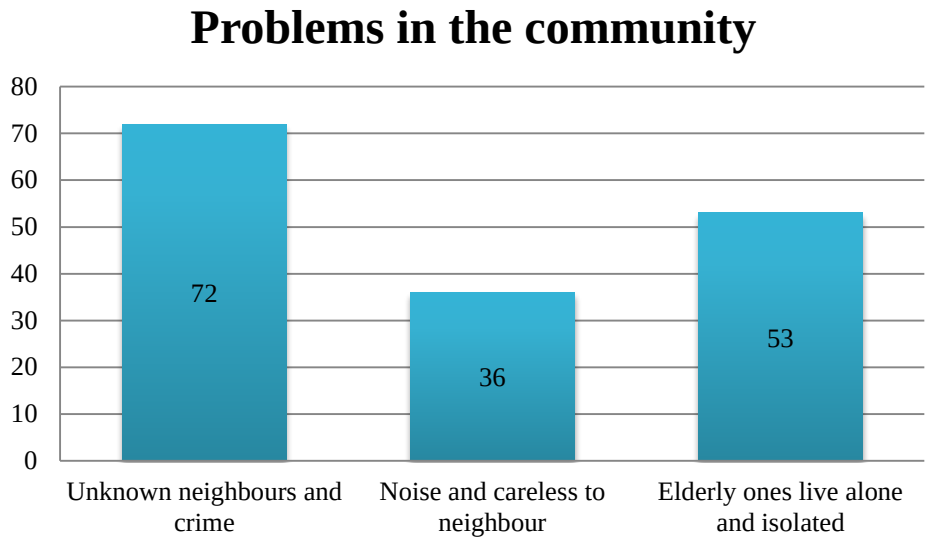


Figure 6 Problems in the community

4.2 Ability to obtain services from Institutions relying exclusively on own means

Question number 10 was aimed at investigating the relationship with institutions in the scope of the ability of the respondents in obtaining services with their own means. The accessibility to information and the knowledge of the different procedures supposedly play an important role in the way people relate to institutions, some of which may require additional expertise in the understanding of how they work.

Prompt:

*"With which of the aforementioned institutions do you feel that you are not able to settle a matter/obtain a service with **your own resources**?"*

Options were:

- Village/Municipality
- District Council
- Religious Authorities
- Judges
- Police Force
- Village/Municipality
- Public Hospitals/Health Centres
- Public Schools
- Tax office
- International Organisations
- Local Associations

Results show that the interviewed Japanese citizens maintain to be able to obtain the desired services with most of the institutions provided, with the exception of three of them, as show by the figure below: Village/Municipality (36), Religious Authorities (5) and Tax Offices (6).

The reasons listed were mainly pertaining three categories. In the first case the provided reason was "unhappy for elected governors actions", in the second case "Expensive fees for funerals are required", and in the third case "much works for submitting process of withholding tax".

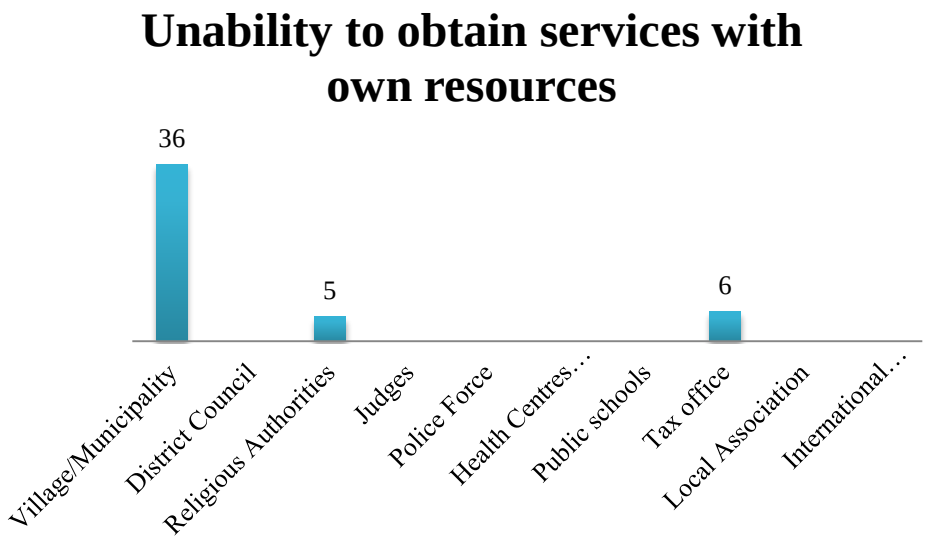


Figure 7 Non-ability to obtain services with own resources

4.3 Preferred problem resolution techniques

The following question was conceived as a consequence of the previous one. Once the respondents had individuated those institutions they find it hard to deal with, it was asked to them what would they advise to a third person as a possible solution to obtain the desired service.

> *"How would you advice a person who can't successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem?" (More than one answer possible):*
>
> *I would advise him to:*
>
> - *Ask for intervention from a friend*
> - *Ask for intervention from a relative*
> - *Ask for intervention from an important person*
> - *Pay a fee*
> - *Give a small gift*
> - *Denounce the disservice to the competent authorities*
> - *Try several times until I get a good result*
> - *Avoid in general dealing with that institution*

- *Don’t know*

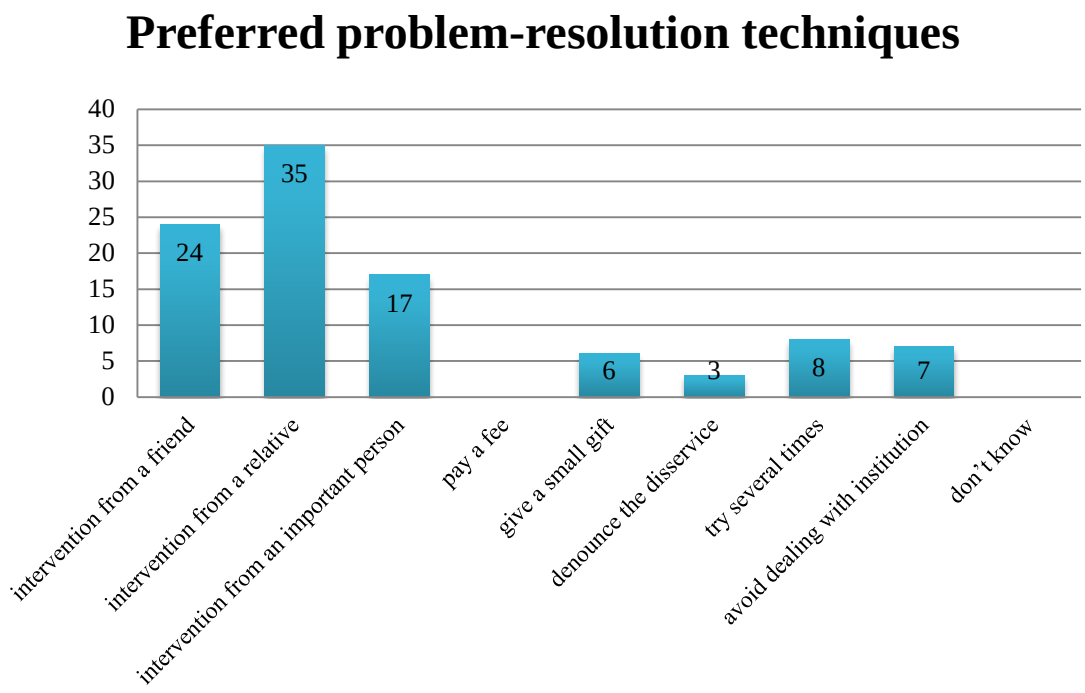


Figure 8 Preferred problem resolution techniques

Surprisingly the most preferred options were "ask for intervention from a relative", "ask for intervention from a friend" and "ask for intervention from an important person", which stress once again the great importance that personal relations (either formal or informal) and ties have in the Japanese society..

The second set of options which gained the most votes was that which individuated personally dealing (or not) with the institution as a way to obtain a service, in particular: "try several times"(8), "avoid dealing with that institution" (7) and "denounce the disservice" (3).

What is interesting to notice, in this case, is that "give a small gift" obtained 6 votes, 3 more than "denouncing a disservice", while "pay a fee" had no preferences. It could be implied that paying a fee (which is a corruptive practices) is considered to be detrimental and the least viable option to obtain a service, while giving a small gift doesn't have such a negative connotation, although it is not a very common way to bypass eventual bureaucratic obstacles. Paying a fee or giving a gift are probably chosen when no other attempt at dealing with the institution (or with the single person representing it in that specific case) has been successful, or even when more or less directly requested.

4.4 Institutions important for improving well-being

The next question, which aimed at gathering the views of the interviewees about the institutions that could help improve the general well-being of their society, was worded as follows:

> *"Who do you think could help to improve the general well-being of your community?"*

Given options:

- The State
- Opposition Political Parties
- Opposition Parties
- District Council
- Village/Municipal Council
- Police Force
- Judges and Magistrates
- Traditional Authorities
- Citizens themselves
- Media
- NGO's
- International Organisations
- Other (specify)

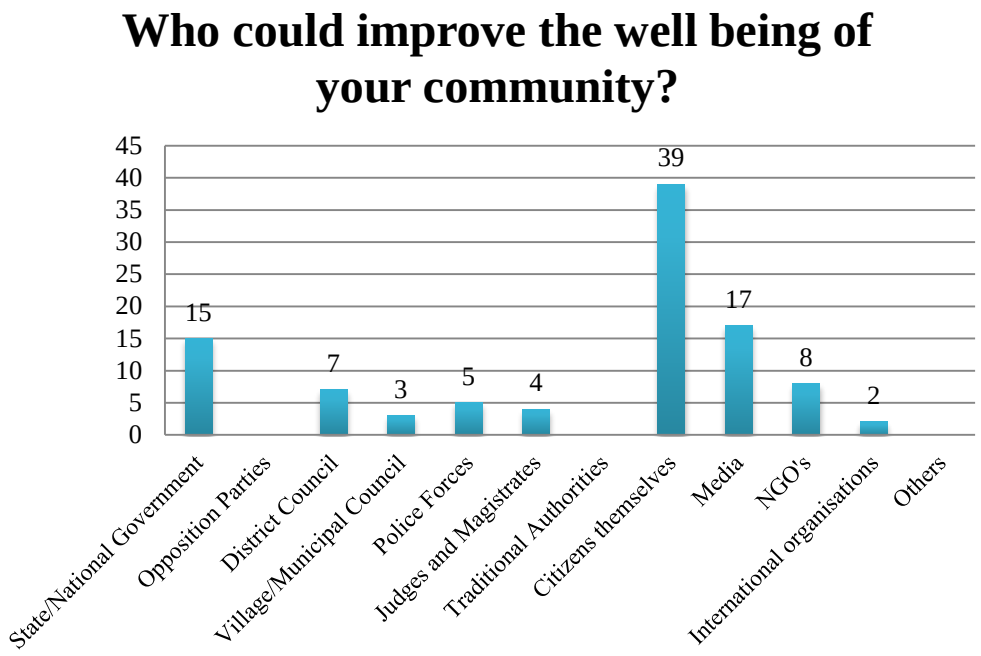


Figure 9 Institutions important for improving well-being

In this case many respondents indicated more than a preference, therefore the data presented reflect the difference of amount of answers given.

Results show that the citizens themselves are considered to be those that have more means when it comes to improving the life of a community, collective 39 votes. Following are "Media" (17) and "the State/national Government" (15), with about half of the preferences collected by the first. These results probably show that citizens do expect the State to take care of their well-being and consider information as vital to this aim.

Other institutions collected much lesser votes, respectively: NGO's (8), District Council (7), Police Forces (5), Judges and Magistrates (4), Village/Municipal Council (3), International Organisations (2). Traditional Authorities collected no preferences.

These results are quite in contrast with those obtained for the question at paragraph 3.1, where the institutions which were considered to be most important for the well-being of a community were the "Village/ Municipality", the "Religious Authorities" and the "Local Associations" (the last two not being present as options in this question). What strikes the attention is that the surveyed people seem to consider the Municipality to be the institution which is most important to provide well-being, but not to improve its status.

4.5 Practices against good society

Question number 15 was aimed at obtaining the views of survey participants about the some practices that are incompatible with the development of the society:

> *"In general which of the following practices are, in your opinion, spoiling the good development of a society?" (Multiple choices possible).*

- *Buying votes during elections*
- *Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them*
- *Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services*
- *Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school*
- *Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids*
- *Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly*
- *Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles*
- *Using scandals to get rid of political opponents*
- *Using development funds for private purposes*

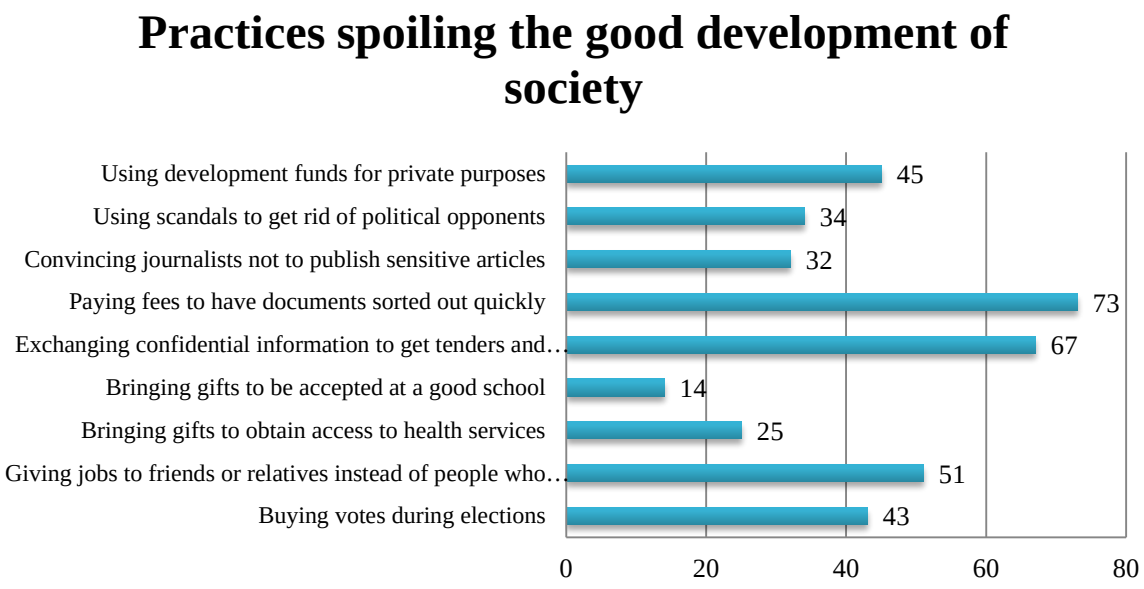


Figure 10 Practices spoiling the good development of a community

Though all the hypothetical practices proposed are potentially harmful for the good development of a society, results show that not all of them are actually perceived as such.

This question posed the problem of what could be considered as an issue potentially damaging for the development of a community.

The top three practices to be considered mostly detrimental were:

- Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly (73)
- Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids (67)
- Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them (51)

Followed by

- Using development funds for private purposes (45)
- Buying votes during elections (43)

All the above mentioned issues are somehow related to the problem of the potential lack of competition existing in a society, which would diminish the chances of fairly accessing services, job positions and funds.

Surprisingly "Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services" and "Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school" were the two options which obtained the lowest scores (respectively 14 and 25), which is to some extent in contradiction with the results obtained in the above mentioned question (see par. 4.3), where people stated that paying a fee of giving a gift was the least favorite option in order to solve an issue with an institution. It can be maintained that, though the respondents wouldn't pick it as a "good solutions", they also don't consider such practices to be negatively affecting the fair development of their community, stressing once more the difference between how "grand corruption" and "petty corruption" are perceived on a moral basis.

4.6 Statement: “public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should”

As related to the previous questions, respondents have been asked to state whether the public officials' actions conform to the expectations. The question was worded as follows:

> *In your experience how true is the following statement: “public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should”*
>
> *a) Not true b) Rarely true c) Occasionally true*
>
> *d) Often true e) Always true*

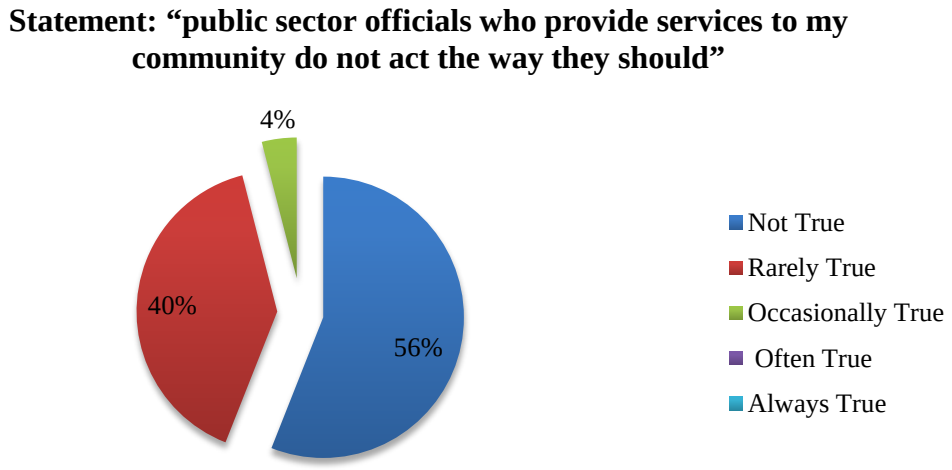


Figure 11 Statement: “public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should”

56 % of the respondent claimed that the statement is not true, while according to 40% of them it is rarely true, and only a small amount of them (4%) thinks that it is occasionally true. None of the respondents indicated the statement to be either often true or always true, showing a good degree of trust in the work of public officials.

4.7 Means to express dissatisfaction

The last question of this section asked the respondent to state whether they thought they had the means to eventually express their dissatisfaction about the services provided:

> *"Do you feel you have the means to express dissatisfaction when the services provided by your local practitioner/service provider are not appropriate? If yes, what are they?"*

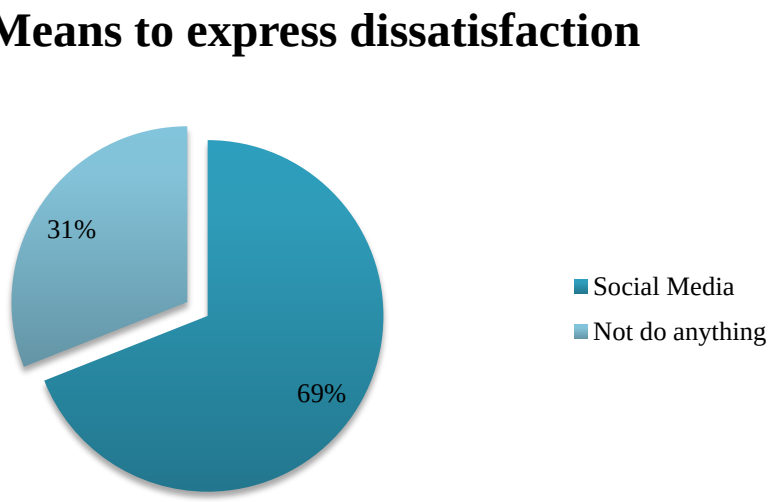


Figure 12 Means to express dissatisfaction

According to the great majority of the respondents (69%), it is possible to express dissatisfaction and the only way to do it is through social media.

The rest of the surveyed people believed that nothing can be done when the services provided are not appropriate.

5. Social Norms

The following section of the survey was aimed at having a deeper look into what the respondents consider to be positive social norms and how to they rely to them.

5.1 Importance of social customs

Participants of the survey have been asked to evaluate the importance of customs below on the scale of "Not important", "Fairly important" and "Very important".

"In your community, how important is to:

- *Provide hospitality to guests*
- *Enjoy meals with other people*
- *Give presents during festive celebrations*
- *Reciprocate received gifts*
- *Reciprocate received gifts in time*
- *Reciprocate received gifts in same value*
- *Satisfy a personal request of favor*
- *Know who is the best person to ask a favor to*

- *Protect a person if I am in the position to do it*
- *Be in good terms with important persons*
- *Avoid bureaucracy because it is inefficient*
- *Keep a secret not to harm another person even if this is not legal*
- *Be cautious when talking of politics in public*
- *Spend time with friends outside the home"*

In general, answers appeared to be mostly concentrated on high values, that is for all the provided customs, people mainly chose the "very important" option.

The top three customs to be considered most important were:

- Spend time with friends outside the home (89)
- Be in good terms with important persons (87)
- Reciprocate received gifts in time (80)

Top three "fairly important" customs were:

- Enjoy meals with other people (74)
- Give presents during festive celebrations (68)
- Know who is the best person to ask a favor to (65)

Top three customs to be considered as "not important" were:

- Satisfy a personal request or a favor (54)
- Enjoy means with other people (21)
- Give presents during festive celebrations (20)

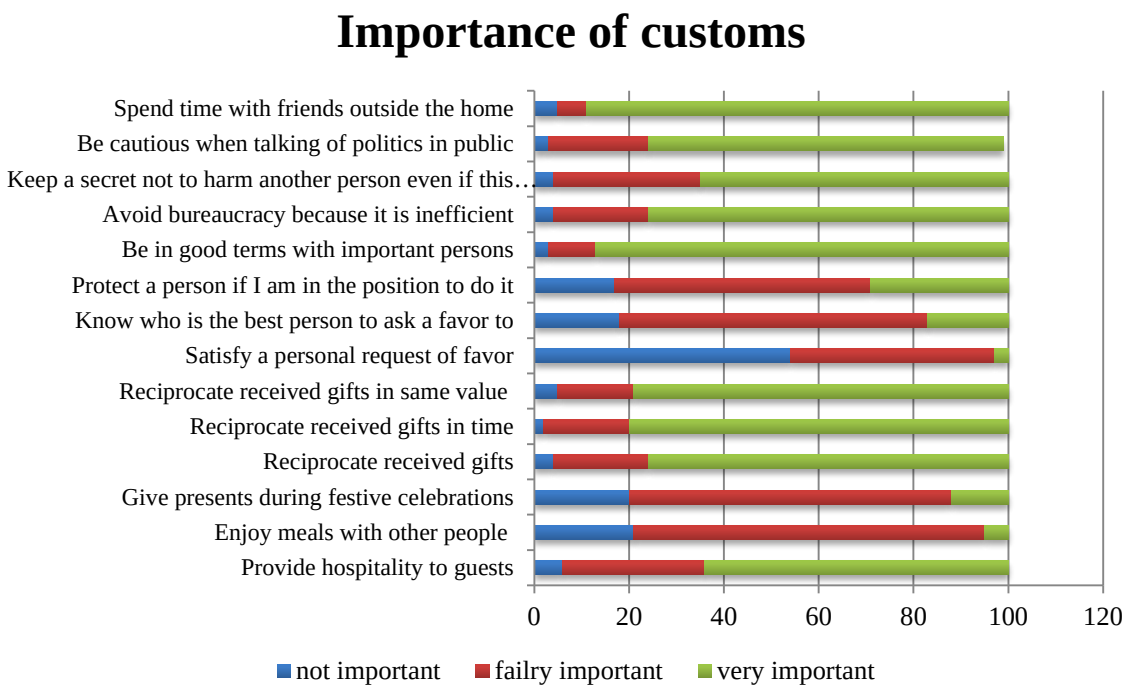


Figure 13 Importance of customs

The first element to be considered is that two customs are in the top three of two different categories, that is "Enjoy meals with other people" and "Give presents during festive celebrations". In both cases though, they scored more as "fairly important".

What is also important to be noticed is that the results show that the respondents consider as very important knowing to whom they should ask a favor, but at the same time they seem to be reluctant in satisfying other people's personal requests or favors, which is the option that scored the highest as "not important". These results might imply on one side a sort of selfish attitude towards help requests, on the other side they might mean that people generally feel inadequate when it comes to satisfy requests by others.

5.2 Statement: "Gift giving is related to a better treatment/service"

The following two questions were asked in order to get a better understanding of how people perceive different modes of personal relations to public officials. The first question was about gift giving and was phrased as follows:

> *Do you agree with the following statement: "gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service next time they visit the clinic/office?"*

Respondents were given 2 options:

1) Yes

2) No

Results are shown by the following figure:

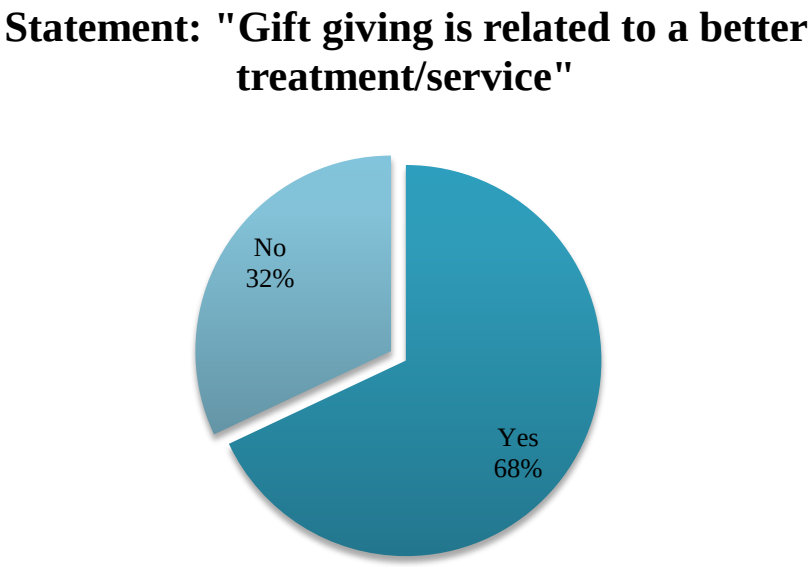


Figure 14 Statement: "Gift giving is related to better treatment/service"

In this case we can see some differences in the perceptions of citizens and the general results are hard to compare with those obtained for question at paragraph 4.3, where "giving a gift" was one of the least preferred solution option to obtain a service.

Most of the respondents strongly agreed with the statement (68%), while only 32% of disagreed, showing that although people find such practices to be profitable not many of the respondents would engage in them or would advise anyone to do so.

5.3 Statement: "Personal relations affect quality of service"

The other case question is not about gifts, but about the link between personal relations with the institutions and the quality of the provided services. Question has been stated in the survey as follows:

> *Do you agree with the following statement: "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"*

Respondents were given 2 options:

1) Yes

2) No

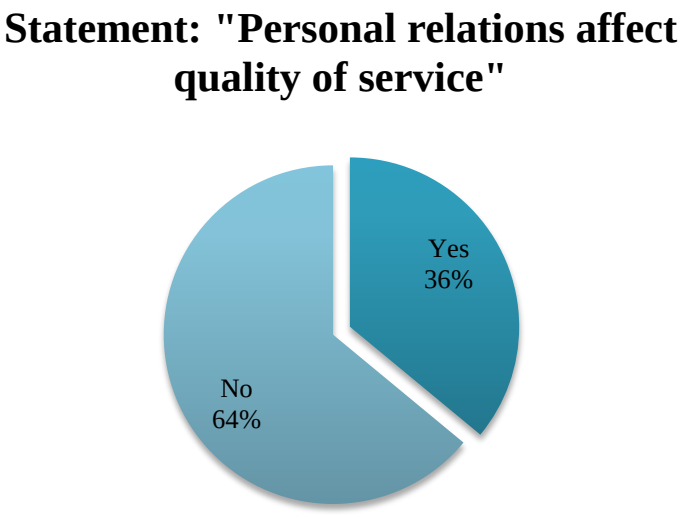


Figure 15 Statement: "Personal relations affect quality of service"

In opposition to the previous question, we can observe that a slight higher number of respondents seemed to agree to the statement (64%). This seems to be in contrast with the results obtained in other questions, where personal relations appeared to be of primary importance for the surveyed people. On the other hand it could also be interpreted as a statement on the general quality of services, which are of the same standard despite the existence of informal relations or not.

5.4 Agreement/disagreement with different scenarios

Participants to the survey have been given some hypothetic scenarios in order to understand behavioral patterns and social values. There have been five scenarios in the survey.

The given prompt was:

"The following stories have happened in other countries in the world. Please indicate if you would in principle agree with the behavior of the characters"

The participants have been asked rate the scenarios, according to how they felt about them, on the scale of "Strongly disagree", "Quite disagree", "Disagree", "Quite agree", "Agree", "Strongly agree". Available data only refer to answer pertaining the option "strongly agree".

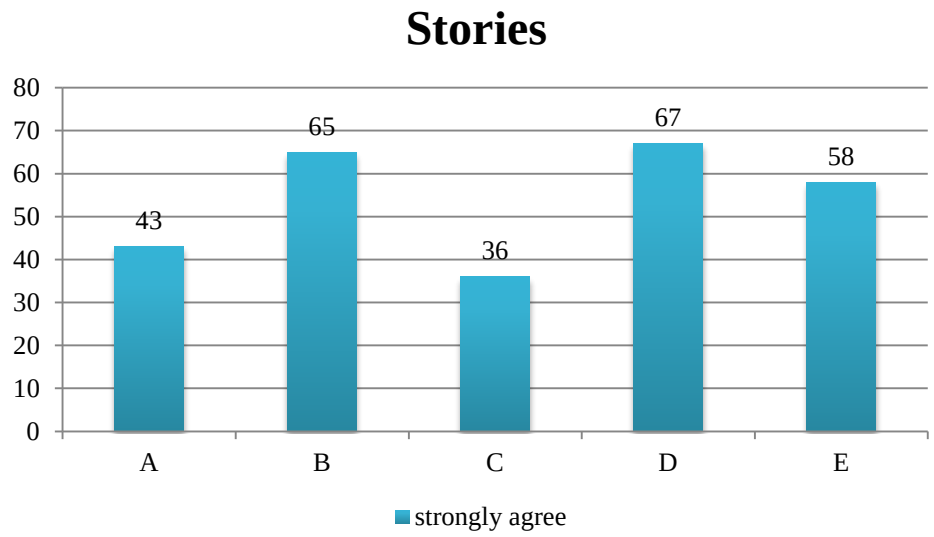


Figure 16 Agreement with hypotetical scenarios

Story A.

In the district council a new person has been appointed recently. This person is very hard-working and loves to do things transparently. He would never accept any fee or gift from citizens to sort out problems. For doing this he avoids people and lives a lonely life all by himself, not to be put under pressure for demands of favors. For this, local people avoid him.

43 respondents claimed to "strongly agree".

Story B.

He is a very resourceful person, he does what he can to help his friends and relatives and he knows a lot of people. When he needs a favor he always finds someone to turn to because he has always helped out. Unfortunately, last week he has been jailed for fraud and corruption. Most of the people who know him, however, still esteem and care for him for what he has done to them.

65 respondents claimed to "strongly agree".

Story C.

A family has plans to build a new house in a village. They have asked what the official procedure is and are ready to follow it carefully. After some months everything turns difficult and they realize they would not get ahead of it without paying some fee to the right person. They decide to leave the village and look for another, where things are going according to the rules.

36 respondents claimed to "strongly agree".

Story D.

He has a small business in preparing sandwiches which he sells to local schools. Last year he was successful to win a tender and gained a contract in one local primary school. Unfortunately the school head has changed this year and his contract has expired. Before applying for the next tender he looks for an influential person who will introduce him the new school head.

67 respondents claimed to "strongly agree".

Story E.

She runs a local Ngo for human rights protection. She is very active and well established in the region, but she also has a lot of competitors. There was a large bid by an international donor last year so she applied, being one of the most successful in that field. In the end she failed because she was not aware that some politicians wanted a share of the money to approve the projects. Next time she will secure the proper agreement with them first.

58 respondents claimed to "strongly agree".

As it is possible to see from these results, once again the surveyed people seemed to give more importance to the existence of a network of relationship with people in power positions to obtain certain services. Story B, D and E were those that scored most votes for the "strongly agree option" and they respectively proposed scenarios where people still show care and respect for someone who was jailed for fraud, but had done lots for the community; people recognize the importance of finding help from an influential person; and people are ready to make agreements with politicians in order to win tenders. All these scenarios aren't properly showing correct behaviors, from a legal point of view, and yet people could relate to them positively. These results imply the importance of informality and to some extent of clietelism as well, for the Japanese people interviewed.

The two scenarios (namely A and C) that described attitudes that would require the hypothetical people involved to break ties and to exit one's social group in order to avoid potentially detrimental practices, received significantly less votes.

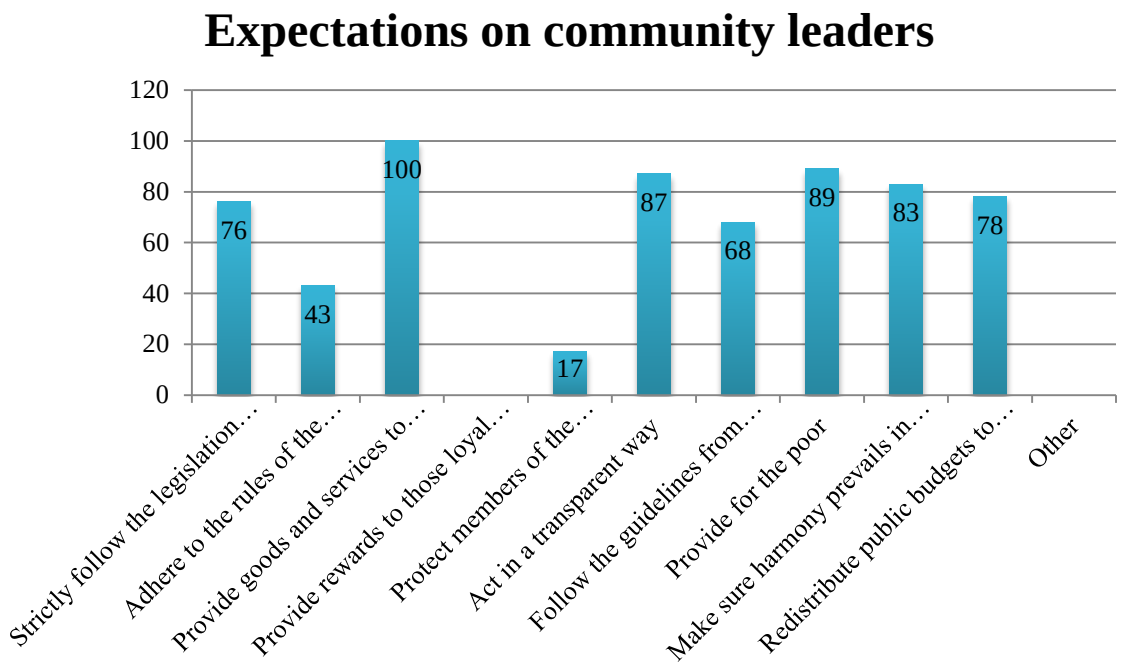
5.5 Expectations on community leaders

This question was aimed at investigating what are people's expectations on the cores of community leaders:

> *What is a leader in your community expected to do? (check all that apply)*

Options were:

- *Strictly follow the legislation governing his/her mandate*
- *Adhere to the rules of the community*
- *Provide goods and services to all citizens*
- *Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her*
- *Protect members of the community from intrusions from outside influences*
- *Act in a transparent way*
- *Follow the guidelines from their political parties*
- *Provide for the poor*
- *Make sure harmony prevails in the community*
- *Redistribute public budgets to reduce inequalities*
- *Other*



Results were quite homogeneous apart for what concerns three options fairly different from each other.

One expectation received zero preferences, and that was "Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her". "Protect members of the community from intrusions from outside influences" was ticked 17 times, proving not to be felt as a core issue. A third one was chosen 43 times, that is "Adhere to the rules of the community", a result which is definitely worth mentioning, since apparently respondents didn't believe that obeying the rules is one of the important features of a leader.

6. Values

6.1 Self-identification with character from “Not similar” to “Very similar”

Figure 17 Expectations on community leaders

In the survey, we have tried to understand how the participants relate themselves some values through gauging their association with a list of statements.

A Five-scale tool involving the following options was used in evaluating portrayals of each hypothetical character: “Not similar”, “Quite dissimilar”, “A little dissimilar”, “A little similar”, “Quite similar” and "Very similar". Results are only available for the "very similar" option".

Portrayals of characters stated in this group begin with an explanatory sentence:

> *"How similar to yourself is the person described by the following statements"*

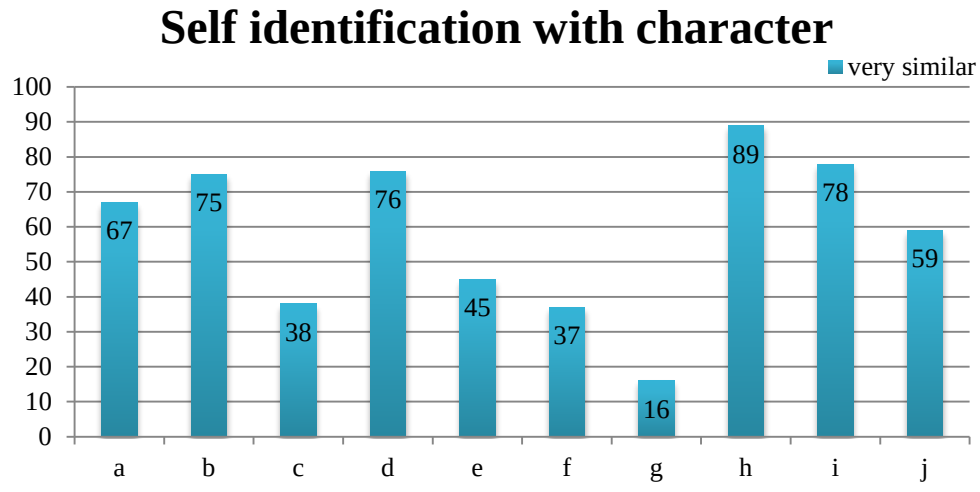


Figure 18 Self identification with character

Statement A.

He lives his life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible.

67 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement B.

He would not break the rules, because rules are what make order in a society.

75 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement C.

He thinks that traditions must be respected because they make up one person's culture.

38 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement D.

He believes that young generations should learn more from listening to the advices from elderly people.

76 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement E.

He is very religious because religion helps people to be part of a community and get together regularly.

45 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement F.

He thinks that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so

37 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement G.

His house is often visited by guests and he has an intense social life.

16 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement H.

He thinks that being loyal to one's superior or boss is a very important virtue.

89 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement I.

He will try not to show his true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric.

78 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Statement J.

He prefers not to show to others his economic standards of living to avoid jealousy.

59 respondents felt very similar to this statement.

Results show that the surveyed people seem to give a lot of importance to social relations. Story H, I and D were those that scored most votes for the "very similar" option and they respectively were:

- *He thinks that being loyal to one's superior or boss is a very important virtue. (89)*
- *He will try not to show his true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric.(78)*
- *He believes that young generations should learn more from listening to the advices from elderly people. (76)*

These statements show that the surveyed people tend to take good care of their "public face" and consider hierarchy as a core aspect of the way they interact with each other. They also have a high consideration of elderly people and take them as point of reference

On the other hand, the three statements (namely G, F and C) that collected the least votes also have a tight relation with the way one habits its social space, and they were:

- *His house is often visited by guests and he has an intense social life.(16)*
- *He thinks that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so (37)*
- *He thinks that traditions must be respected because they make up one person's culture.(38)*

From these results we can imply that the interviewed people don't have a very intense social life, that they seem to be quite open to foreigners and their integration in the Japanese society, but also that they don't think that tradition has a great importance, an element which could be considered to be quite in contrast with the results showed above, where people maintained that elderly people could have a role in the education of younger generations.

6.2 Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you:

One of the last items in the survey has made the participants choose from the following statements, the one that mostly apply to them:

Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you

- *to believe living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions*
- *to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions*
- *to believe only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions*
- *to believe no matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily*

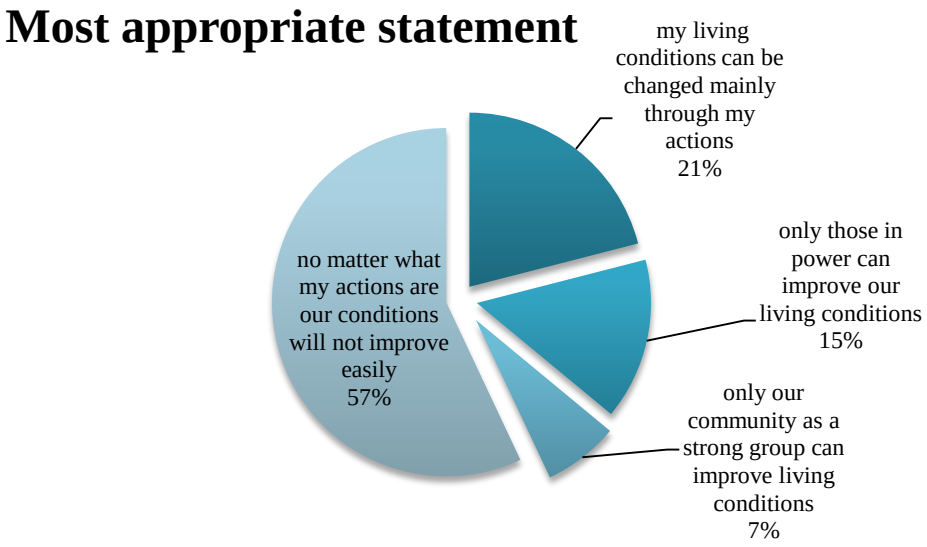


Figure 19 Most appropriate statement

One statement got the highest amount of choices (57%): " to believe not matter what my actions are, our conditions will not improve easily", which denotes somehow a fatalist attitude. Second, with 21% was "to believe living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions", third "to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions" (15%); these two options have a rather *positive* connotation, which are. Remarkably, "to believe only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions" gathered only 7% of the choices, which denotes some sort of distrust in the potential of cooperative behavior,

something that should be strongly felt by the Japanese culture, that sets an high degree of importance on cooperation at all levels.

6.3 Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you:

Participants have been asked to choose “the most important” statement for themselves. Question is as follows:

> *Choose from the following list the statement that is mostly true to yourself:*
>
> - *to do all my best to help the community in which I live*
> - *to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves*
> - *to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of those who administer the country*
> - *to do what I can to improve my living standards, this will help to change things as everyone will do his best too*

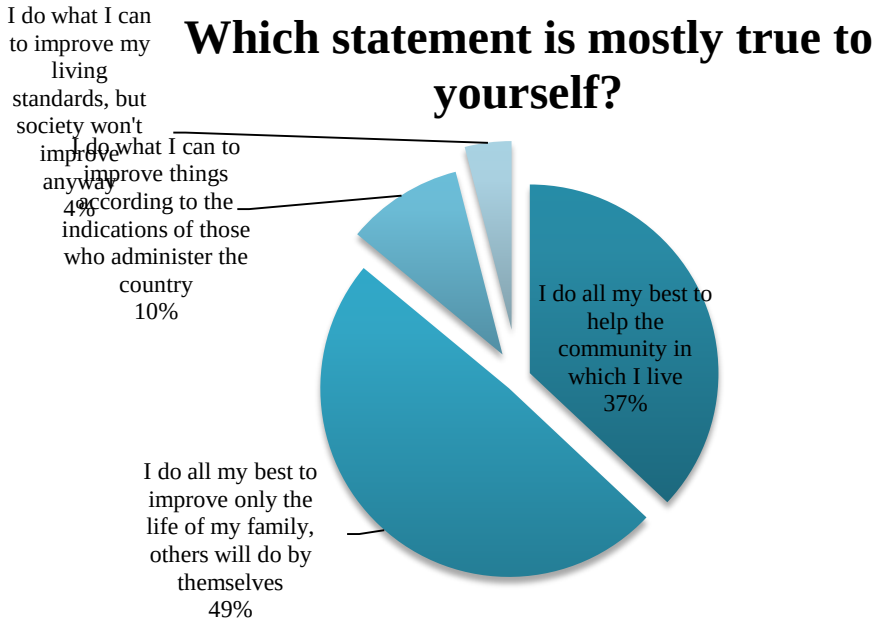


Figure 20 Statement mostly true to oneself

49% of the respondents, almost one half of the totality, claimed to do all the best they can to improve the life of their family, others shall do by themselves, a data which is in accordance to the results of previous questions.

On the other hand, a remarkable 37% of the surveyed, stated that they do all their best to improve the life of the community they live in, which is to some extend with the results of

the question above. It could be implied that they do believe in the "powers" of the single as a part of a community, but not that the community as a whole can effect on its living conditions, which is an interesting point of view. The remaining 14% was divided between the other two options, with a minority of pessimists that believe that no matter what, society won't improve anyway.

Conclusions

The results of the survey conducted in Tokyo provided valuable information, although the methodology used to collect the results proved to have some limits. In particular, some of the data collected are partially incomplete.

The first section of the survey was aimed at investigating how the respondent relate to local institutions on the basis of their relationship with them, on trust and on the satisfaction (or lack of) with the services provided at multiple levels. Municipalities, the District Council and Local Associations seemed to be the three institutions which are considered to be the most important when it comes to provide the well-being of a community. When asked about their trust in institutions, surveyed people individuated in the Judges, Police Force and International Donor and Organisations the three bodies to be most trustworthy. The results obtained by the District Council shall be probably further investigated in the scope of understanding how comes that it is considered to be one of the most important institutions to provide well-being and at the same time it is the less trusted one.

Experiences with institutions show some differences with the results obtained in the previous questions. In general, it can be maintained that Public Health Centres and Oublic Schools are considered to be the ones which provide better services. Religious Authorities were also mentioned three times.

The second section of the survey was intended to investigate how the respondents relate to the role that institutions might - or might not - have in the improvement of local issues, but also to look at the strategies which might be put into act in order to obtain a certain service. The results were quite various.

First, it was asked what were the most serious problem in the own community. Major problems were altogether encountered in the relationships among neighbours, but also care-taking of elderly people seemed to be strongly felt.

Secondly, the respondents were asked to state with which local institution they thought they could not obtain services relying on own means. Village/Municipality, Religious Authorities and Tax Offices were individuated as the most problematic.

Moreover, as a consequence of the previous question, surveyed people were asked to indicate a possible solution to obtain the desired service from the above mentioned

institutions. The great majority chose "ask for intervention from a relative", followed by "ask for intervention from a friend", pointing out that people are supposedly ready rely on informal relations when dealing with institutions.

Surveyed people have also been prompted at indicating which institutions shall have more means in the improvement of the well-being of their community. Results show that Citizens Themselves are considered to be the most important by a large majority.

A list of hypothetical practices against good society was then proposed to the respondents, asking them point out those which were incompatible with the good development of a society. Although all the possibilities were potentially harmful, results show that not all of them are actually perceived as such.

"Paying a fee" or "exchanging confidential information" where the two least favourite. Surprisingly, "Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school" was the option which obtained the lowest score, that is, people didn't seem to consider it to be too damaging. It can be maintained that, though the respondents wouldn't pick them as "good solutions", they also don't consider such practices to be negatively affecting the fair development of their community.

Respondents have also been asked to state how do they relate to the statement "*public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should*, and the great majority considered it to be "not true" or "rather true", making it clear that their expectations on how a public service should work are often met.

The last question of this section asked the respondent to state whether they thought they had the means to eventually express their dissatisfaction about the services provided. 69% of them answered "no", while the others claimed they would turn to Social Media and the Internet.

The third section of the survey was dedicated to social norms and local customs.

First, the respondents have been asked to evaluate the importance of the latter from a given list, on a scale from "not important" to "very important". Top three customs to be considered as very important were: "Spending time with friends outside the home", "Be in good terms with important persons" and "Reciprocate received gifts in time". On the other hand, "Satisfy a personal request or a favour", "Enjoy meals with other people" and "Giving presents during festive celebrations" were considered not to be that relevant.

The next two questions were asked in order to get a better understanding of how people perceive different modes of personal relations to public officials, including gift-giving. The majority of surveyed people believed that gift-giving does lead to obtaining a better treatment/service, although they didn't even seem to particularly agree with the fact that the

quality of services provided can be influence by the personal relation to the workers in the institution, as 64% percent of the respondents didn't agree with the statement.

Participants to the survey have been given some hypothetic scenarios in order to understand behavioral patterns and social values. There have been five scenarios in the survey. Respondents have generally reported to agree with hypotetical corruption practices which would allow them to keep ties with kin and one's social group.

The next question was aimed at understanding what are people's expectations on community leaders, choosen from a given list. One expectation received zero preferences, and that was "Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her". "Protect members of the community from intrusions from outside influences" was ticked 17 times, proving not to be felt as a core issue. A third one was chosen 43 times, that is "Adhere to the rules of the community", a result which is definitely worth mentioning, since apparently respondents didn't believe that obeying the rules is one of the important features of a leader.

The last section of the survey was dedicated to values. We have tried to understand how the participants relate themselves some values through gauging their association with a list of statements portraying different characters under the explanatory sentence "*How similar to yourself is the person described by the following statements"*.

Results showed that respondents seem to give a lot of importance to social relations, they tend to take good care of their "public face" and consider hierarchy as a core aspect of the way they interact with each other. On the other hand, they didn't seem to believe that they care to have a very intense social life, although they are pretty open to strangers and their integration.

One of the last items in the survey has made the participants choose the one that mostly apply to them, from two groups of statements. It emerged that the great majority of them believes that no matter what their actions are, the living conditions won't improve. In accordance to that, they also claimed to do all the best to improve the life of their family, others shall do the same.