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KOSOVO SURVEY REPORT
ETHNOGRAPHY OF CORRUPTION: THE CASE OF KOSOVO

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SURVEY REPORT
ETHNOGRAPHY OF CORRUPTION: THE CASE OF KOSOVO

1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption in Kosovo has been researched from a variety of perspectives with different methodologies and various research and policy goals in mind. Dominated by quantitative and positivistic studies, where social and historical contexts are seen as direct contributors to corruption, or disregarded at best, the said research takes for granted the need to understand and inquire into socio-economic and cultural relations. Cultural beliefs and traditions, often read as backwardness, remnants of socialism, or post-war criminality, are cited as the most frequent enabling factors, if not determinants of Kosovo's high level of corruption. Therefore, the need to build "a rule of law culture" is frequently followed by discussions on Kosovo's "transition to democratic governance and [need to] strengthen its institutions."[1] As Samuel Zbogar, the head of EU Office in Kosovo and EU Special Representative has declared: "In regard to the corruption we have to build together, together with the laws, a culture of non-tolerance on corruption. This is the European way."[2]
Most people who were consulted for this research have made similar claims "If we wish to become European, enter the EU, we must fight corruption."[3] Nonetheless, understandings of rule of law, culture of corruption, or the "European way" do not mean the same thing to all those who use the terminology. While this research cannot address all of these in detail it does make a recommendation that any study that aims to link the shifting understandings and practices of what are considered social norms and values, as well as experiences with public and private institutions, should take into account: how knowledge about corruption and socio-cultural values is produced, how it resonates among citizens, the forms of consent and dissent they generate, and the ways in which access and resources are distributed by emerging political and economic formations.

To date no ethnographies of corruption have been conducted in Kosovo. The research presented here is a first step, as well as an argument for the necessity of deeper ethnographic inquiry into how the legal, economic, and social worlds collide to produce experiences, practices, and understandings of corruption.[4] Having conducted ethnographic research in Albania, Smoki Musaraj argues "rather than being an

[1] Interview with NGO worker, 10 September 2013.
[2] http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kosovo/press_corner/all_news/news/2013/20131111_en.htm (Accessed on 13 November 2013).
[3] Interview with public servant, 12 October 2013.
[4] See Mandel, Ruth and Caroline Humphrey. *Markets and Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism*. Berg Publishers: 2002.

undisputable form of knowledge about corruption, the making, publication, and interpretation of the data in this corruption perception survey[5] suggests a series of translations and mistranslations regarding the legitimate or illegitimate market transactions and the means to address them on the ground."[6] The same claim can be made of numerous surveys conducted in Kosovo, although it is impossible to treat them here.

This report includes the findings obtained through a survey, interviews with citizens, NGO and think-tank workers, representatives of public institutions, as well as observations at public workshops and roundtable discussions. In many ways it may reproduce the very techniques of knowledge productions it suggests must be viewed more critically. However, conducting and participating in similar survey projects is an important entry for an anthropologist. The limited ethnographic study conducted here has served to develop a background report, attached to this research report, which makes a particular argument: the need to account for activism and civil engagement against corruption and understand the terms based on which such mobilization occurs. For this purpose a desk review was conducted, one focus group was held with anti-corruption activists, and participant-observation was carried out in a citizens group that organized around claims of corruption in the public Kosovo Electric Company. As was noted in the ANTICORRP project document "a striking tendency of the literature on corruption has been the neglecting of anti-corruption movements" (Torsello).[7] Our proposal is that we must take advantage of some very interesting and important ways in which public space and activist networks are linked together in Kosovo in protesting corruption. Current ethnographic research confirms that this approach will give us insight that is often lacking in other analyses, and give an important entry-point to discern for changes in social order and values, particularly definitions of morality and legality within the space of politics and economy.

2. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLING

The data presented and discussed below are from a survey conduced with 100 respondents in seven of the largest urbanized neighborhoods in Prishtina, Kosovo's capital (Center, Bregu i Diellit, Dardania, Ulpiana, Qafa, Taslixhe).

[5] Corruption in Albania: Perceptions and Experience. IDRA, Tirana: 2008.
[6] Musaraj, Smoki (2013; unpublished paper) "Incongruent Translations Conducting Corruption Perception Surveys in Albania."
[7] In addition it was noted that "this shortcoming expresses the true lack of empirical studies on the topic, since little attention has been dedicated to investigate how local actors build associations, civic movements and new political parties that uses anti corruption as a leading item in their agenda. Rather than focusing on the ideology of anti-corruption per se, this theme concerns ways how alternative forms, more democratic and transparent, of political action are envisioned and communicated to the general public, and which strategies are used to involve more citizens in these movements."

Based on the 2012 Census, Prishtina has 198.000 residents, although during the day an estimated 250,000 persons occupy the city (commuters, wage-workers, people seeking services at hospitals, central administration, traders, etc.).[8] Kosovo's population based on this census is 1,847,708; the age group 18-24 comprises 18.5% of which 73% are unemployed, and those aged 25 – 54 make up 41% of which 41.9% are unemployed. This makes for one of the youngest populations in Europe, but also places the poverty rate at 29.7%.[9]

Prishtina is Kosovo's political, economic, educational and cultural center. The national government and administration is located in Prishtina, which continues to serve as one of the main sources of employment. In December 2012, the *Jeta në Kosovë* newspaper reported that every 21st Kosovar works in public administration, or about 80,000 people.[10] This takes a significant amount of the Kosovo budget but continues to provide a steady income for many families in the absence of economic development and new job creation. However, around 30% of those employed in public administration are considered "excess employees", employed through political party connections leaving the public administration in dire need of reforms. In 2012 one person held the job-title "high official for photocopying" at the Ministry of Justice. For these and other reasons, reform of public administration is one of the benchmarks in the Kosovo Feasibility Study, a means for the European Commission to ascertain Kosovo's preparedness for EU candidacy.

The University of Prishtina, the largest public university, has over 30,000 students, who come from all over Kosovo. In addition, over 10 private universities and a number of professional colleges are also concentrated in the city. The high admission rate is often commented as a "welfare policy" that keeps the youth out of the inexistent labor market for longer by turning them into students. The National Theater, National Library, and other art institutions are located in the city.

In addition, the city has the appearance of one large construction site, with new neighborhoods (including new gated communities) appearing at a steady rate. The building of new neighborhoods and buildings is a constant source of contention. The majority of respondents in this survey, also, reported illegal construction, chaotic urban infrastructure and planning, as a major problem (see Graph 3).

The survey participants also reflect the diversity of the city in education, professions, and socio-economic class, and distribution of these within the included neighborhoods. Although a class of *nouveau-riche* increasingly moves to Prishtina's outskirts in 500

[8] http://esk.rks-gov.net/rekos2011/repository/docs/REKOS%20LEAFLET%20ALB%20FINAL.pdf
[9] http://www.ks.undp.org/content/kosovo/en/home/countryinfo/
[10] Musliu, Jeton. "Çdo i 21-ti Kosovar Punon në Administratë." Jeta në Kosovë. 24 December 2012. http://gazetajnk.com/?cid=1,3,4200

square meter homes (average living space in the city is 80 square meters) neighborhoods are mixed in income with the rich and the poor, and the incredibly small middle-class, living side by side. The latter is due in part to housing policy during socialism and the take-over of apartments after the war. Serbs who lived in Prishtina before the war held apartments in the city center and in prime locations; those were abandoned after the war and possessed by new occupants who moved from villages to the city. Many of the new occupants had lost their homes in the war and numerous others took them over forcefully or through connections to the then emerging political class of the Kosovo Liberation Army.[11]

International agencies and organizations are also concentrated in Prishtina and have since the end of the war in 1999 provided a continuous stream of internationals. They lived in the city and aided the creation of local "experts" that they employed; they have also served as a source of income for the city's residents in the way of rented apartments and houses, and the service industry overall. The number of donor agencies has drastically fallen in the past couple of years, but international organizations continue to be determining political and economic agents.

The survey consists of questions that aim to ascertain what participants think of local institutions (trust, access, and experience with), issues, social norms, and values through which ethical identifications and judgments are made. The survey results should not be read as definitions of dominant conceptions but are an indication for existing and shifting social formations. The identification of norms and values, relevant issues, relations and experiences with institutions identified by respondents must be also treated along gender and socio-economic backgrounds (not possible to capture here), and the particular characteristics of their urban context.

Table 1 shows the demographic features our survey participants:

- The sample included an equal number of women and men (100 respondents in total
- In terms of education, 68% of respondents were university graduates and 15% have completed high school, while 6% had no education
- The ratio of those working in public and private organizations was not reported. Based on reported professions an estimated 30% work in public institutions.
- The percentage of professional-experts such as lawyer, doctor, economist, architect, painter, engineers, professor, etc. was 40%. 15% of the respondents are unemployed, while 25% did not state a profession but are employed in

[11] Before the war the rights of Albanian to property had been severely restricted and his take-over must also be seen in light of pre-war discriminations. See Leckie, Scott. *Legal And Protection Policy Research Series. Housing, Land and Property Rights in Post-Conflict Societies: Proposals for a New United Nations Institutional and Policy Framework.* PPLA/2005/01: March 2005. http://www.un.org.kg/index2.php?option=com_resource&task=show_file&id=4162 (Accessed on 15 November 2013).

sectors that do not require professional education and expertise. The remaining 10% work in the private sector (small and medium enterprises).

- The age distribution in the sample approximately corresponds to Kosovo's demographic distribution: ages 15 -24 were 24%, ages 25-34 were 24%, ages 35 – 44 were 16%, ages 45 – 54 were 12%, ages 55-64 were 12%, and age 65 and above were 12%. This distribution also corresponds to the high number of university graduates who responded to the survey.
- All surveys were conducted in five of the largest neighborhoods in Prishtina, Kosovo's capital city.

Table 1: Basic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Gender	**%**
Male	50
Female	50
Age	
15-25	24
25-34	24
35-44	16
45-54	12
55-64	11
65 +	12
Education level	
Primary	1
Middle school	10
High school	15
College	68
No education	6
Occupation	
Occupations that require expertise (doctors, engineers, lawyers and so on)	40
Self-employed-occupations that do not require expertise (grocery, trades, real estate and so on)	25
Private sector	10
Student	10
Unemployed	15
Region (Prishtina, Kosovo)	
Prishtina (7 neighborhoods)	100

3. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

3.1 Trust in institution

Trust in institutions is often treated as an index that speaks of citizen perceptions about the quality of services that those institutions provide. It is often assumed that institutions that enjoy a higher degree of trust have lesser degrees of nepotism and corruption then those that do not. As such, attempts are made to quantify trust despite evidence that shows that trust can be build in multiple ways and does not always give an indication of lack or presence of corruption.

Numerous research makes a direct link between "legal institutional quality" and trust. One such research, focusing on market relations, claims that: "moral norms of cooperative behavior can follow improvements in formal institutional quality. Cultural origin, initial trust and trustworthiness influence opportunistic behavior in markets, but only in the absence of strong formal institutions."[12] However, such research does not account for the ways in which trust can be seen as a reflection of how well certain services are provided to some and not to others - structured by class, gender and ethnicity - as well as how networks of trust are build.[13] Access to institutions and their services is not only a matter of providing infrastructural capacities or compliance with law, rather socio-economic differences are reinforced and already enmeshed within institutions.

As one of our respondents noted: "My family and I always trusted the institutions [courts] because I could rely on the connections I had there."[14] Others, on the other hand, articulated lack of trust not because they did not receive services but because their interactions were marred with prejudice.[15] One divorcee, and the cases are numerous, was told by a judge that she "like all women was being spoiled". Although the divorce procedures went fine, according to her, she was made to feel that she was doing

[12] Cassar, Alessandra, Giovanna d'Adda and Pauline Grosjean. *Institutional Quality, Culture, and Norms of Cooperation: Evidence from a Behavioral Field Experiment*. Australian School of Business Research Paper No. 2013 ECON 10. http://ssrn.com/abstract=2263989

[13] Smoki Musaraj, in her "Incongruent Translations
Conducting Corruption Perception Surveys in Albania" (2013; unpublished paper) points to an important lens offered by Alena Ledeneva (1998) ethnography, which "describes how *blat [*favor, pull, connection] played the role of social lubricant, how it enabled different kinds of social networks of trust that often provided a safety-net for people with no political authority. This has been very much the case in socialist Albania." The same can certainly be said of Kosovo.

[14] Respondent #22.

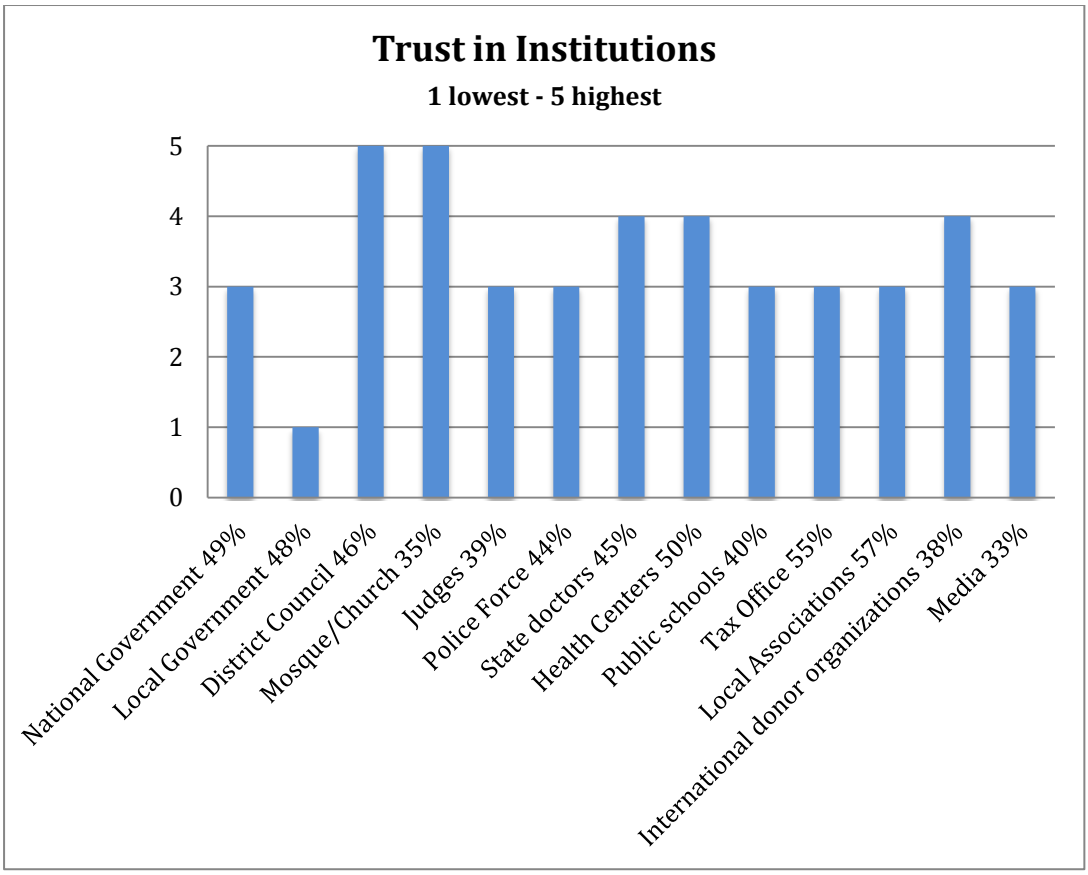
[15] Qosaj-Mustafa, Ariana, Nichole Farnsworth (Kosovo Women's Network). *More Than Words on Paper: The Response of Justice Providers to Domestic Violence in Kosovo*. United Nations Development Program: Prishtina, 2009.

"something wrong by exercising her legal rights, and so this is how justice in not blind."[16]

In order to measure trust in institutions, the following question has been asked:

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

Graph 1: Trust in institutions



The table depicts percentages given to a particular qualifier on a scale of 1 to 5 (lowest to highest). For example, 44% or respondents place their trust in the Police Force at 3. This confirms numerous other reports on public trust in institutions in Kosovo, although in the past two years reported trust in the Police Force has diminished.[17]

[16] Interview with M.S. on 13 October 2013.
[17] A matter of trust. Public perceptions of safety and security in Kosovo, 2009/2010. Forum for Civic Initiatives and Saferworld. Saferworld, November 2010. http://www.saferworld.org.uk/downloads/pubdocs/A%20matter%20of%20trust_ENG_WEB.pdf (Accessed on 1 December 2013).

District councils (46% assessed their trust at 5) and health centers (50% assessed their trust at 4) enjoy a higher degree of trust. The latter can be seen as contradictory to the overall public criticism of doctors and health providers, and therefore the distinction between health centers, that provide primary and secondary care, and University Clinical Center of Kosovo, which provides tertiary care, must be studied more closely.
The trust placed in religious institutions is divided among the 53% who assessed their trust at 4 - 5 and 46 % at 1-3 (1% did not respond). This relation must be further explored particularly as Kosovo lacks a law that regulates the status of religious institutions and the past year has been characterized by irregularities in the election of representatives to the Council of the Islamic Community of Kosovo. In conversation, respondents spoke of their faith more than they did of trust in representatives (imams, etc.) and institutions.

The local government faired worst with 48% assessing their trust at 1. Poor urban infrastructure (transportation, childcare facilities, utilities, illegal construction, etc.) ranked as one of the main and most serious problems faced by citizens (see Graph 3 below) - only to be preceded by unemployment and followed by corruption - may be seen as confirmation of the factors that gave Prishtina a new mayor in the November 2013 Kosovo wide municipal elections ending 13 years of one party rule in the municipality.[18]

29% place their trust at 4 and 5 in judges, while 71% at 1 – 3. The judiciary in Kosovo continues to enjoy little trust. According to Hasan Preteni, Director of the Kosovar Anticorruption Agency "more then 800 officials in Kosovar public institutions hold more than two jobs."[19] Among them are judges, prosecutors, and supreme-court judges. At a roundtable event on International Anticorruption Day, organized by the Kosovo Democracy Initiative (KDI) and supported by Transparency International, Merita Mustafa, project manager in KDI's Transparency and Anti-Corruption Program, noted that the judiciary continues to contribute to Kosovo's general inability to fight corruption.[20]

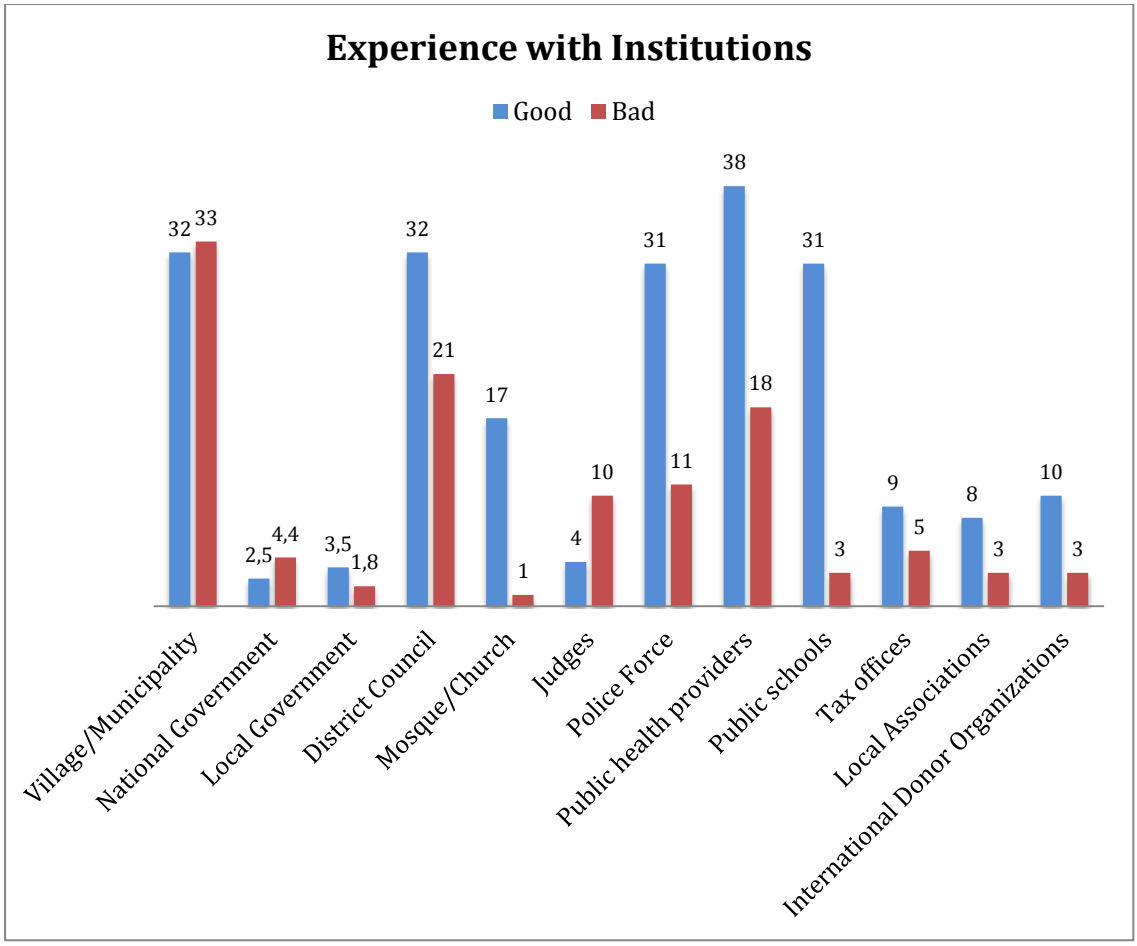
3.2 Experience with institutions

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

The question required respondents to evaluate experiences with institutions in terms of services they received. The respondents were asked whether they would qualify those services as good or bad based on the provider.

[18] Luci, Besa. "The End of Politics as Usual," 3 December 2013.
http://www.kosovotwopointzero.com/en/article/906/the-end-of-politics-as-usual
[19] Interview 4 December 2013.
[20] Public discussion, 9 December 2013.

Graph 2: Experience with institutions



As the chart above shows respondents reported cases of good services in municipalities, district councils, the police force, health care providers and public schools, in much higher numbers. At the same time, higher numbers of bad services were reported for the same institutions, apart from public schools were only 3 cases of bad service were reported. Based on follow-up conversations it was made evident that the numbers correspond to the frequency of contact the respondents have with the listed institutions. For example, 4 reported cases of good services and 10 of bad services with judges, and 3 bad and 8 good experiences with local associations, speak to that fact that 14 respondents in the former and 11 in the latter could report on personal or family members' contact with said institutions. The same applies to international donor organizations, religious institutions, national and local government. The absence of evaluations by the respondents in some cases was also a result of unwillingness to answer.

These responses are an indication of the frequency with which the citizens surveyed have communicated with the listed institutions, as well as how their occupation, familial status, etc. requires or enables this communication. For example, only 14 respondents reported experience with tax offices and these mainly referred payment of property tax

and requests for tax verification certificates for visa purposes (in addition to a barrage of documents Kosovar citizens also have to provide proof to consulates that they have no outstanding tax payments). On the other hand, despite Kosovo's dynamic and vocal civil society – in this survey 20% of respondents mistakenly identified them as public officials – the most recent Kosovo Civil Society Index 2013, reports that only 2% of citizens (1,300 respondents in a survey) are members of a civil society organization.[21]

However, a number or related explanations would have to be sought in order to gain a better understanding of the survey responses, and what according to the interviewees constitutes a "good" or a "bad" experience. The almost equal evaluation of services for the municipality, with 32 good and 33 bad experiences reported, is an important example.

A university lecturer explained that she refrains from going to the municipality to have documents issued. Waiting in line takes too long according to her, and with all of her other responsibilities she does not have two hours to waste waiting in line. Therefore a close family member who works there secures the documents for her, although this has become more difficult in recent years. She judged her experience as bad because she has to rely on others instead of being able to efficiently conduct her own matters.

Another interviewee disagreed with her, saying that the restructuring of services that occurred some years ago has made everything more efficient. According to her "people still imagine the municipality as it used to be, but it has changed. They are much more professional now and the lines are not as long. Certainly the electronic services could be better and could make everything more efficient, but everywhere you go in the world it takes time to get documents issued."[22] She explained that services have been brought closer to citizens, with municipal offices delegated to particular neighborhoods. Nonetheless, she also judges her experience as bad. According to her, the fact that people still rely on connections reinforces the belief, on the part of service providers, that they can "work at a rate convenient to them. Also, what happens is that they might get the documents for you but they will ask you for a favor in return."[23] She was asked by a municipal worker who helped in expediting her new passport, if she could find a job for his unemployed son, a recent university graduate.

Municipalities in Kosovo have also seen quite a bit of turnover in terms of staff, with employment being politically driven. Because in Prishtina the same political party held power for over 10 years, this turnover has not been as high as in some other municipalities. One of the respondents, a middle-aged professional, claimed that previously he used to know everyone at the municipal offices and would get things done quickly. Although according to him he never paid a bribe, he could skip the lines. But this

[21] Kosovo Civil Society Index 2013. Kosovo Civil Society Foundation: Prishtina, 2013 (Draft).
[22] Interviews conducted on 20 September 2013.
[23] Interviews conducted on 20 September 2013

has changed now. As new people occupy positions that could allow such benefits, he now sees others who skip lines and get things done quickly.

According to him this makes things somewhat easier because he can rely on procedures and not on whether the service provider knows, likes or dislikes you. He can now have recourse to filing a complaint because he knows he does things according to the rules. Also, according to him, "people have difficulties in tax offices, in the municipality, and in other institutions, when their papers are not in order. Many people say they have difficulties but that is because they are hiding something, trying to pay less for the fees, they buy property and try to avoid paying taxes."[24]

In all of these cases we see that judgments about bureaucracy and experiences with institutions are made through interpretations of past and present experiences, as well as status. A service is considered to be good when you are able to receive it in a timely manner and the fact that you "do things according to rules" is rewarded. You may also have a good experience because you have connections, but the institution is poorly evaluated because it still allows for such practices. On the other hand, those in a more precarious position have no recourse, such as a day laborer who was interviewed, who will do things according to rules but loses a days' wage when dealing with any institution.

A service provider may act legally and efficiently but the experience is judged based on expectations of rights and responsibilities, and lack thereof. Moral, economic, political and social categories all come together in evaluating services provided by various institutions.

4. LOCAL ISSUES

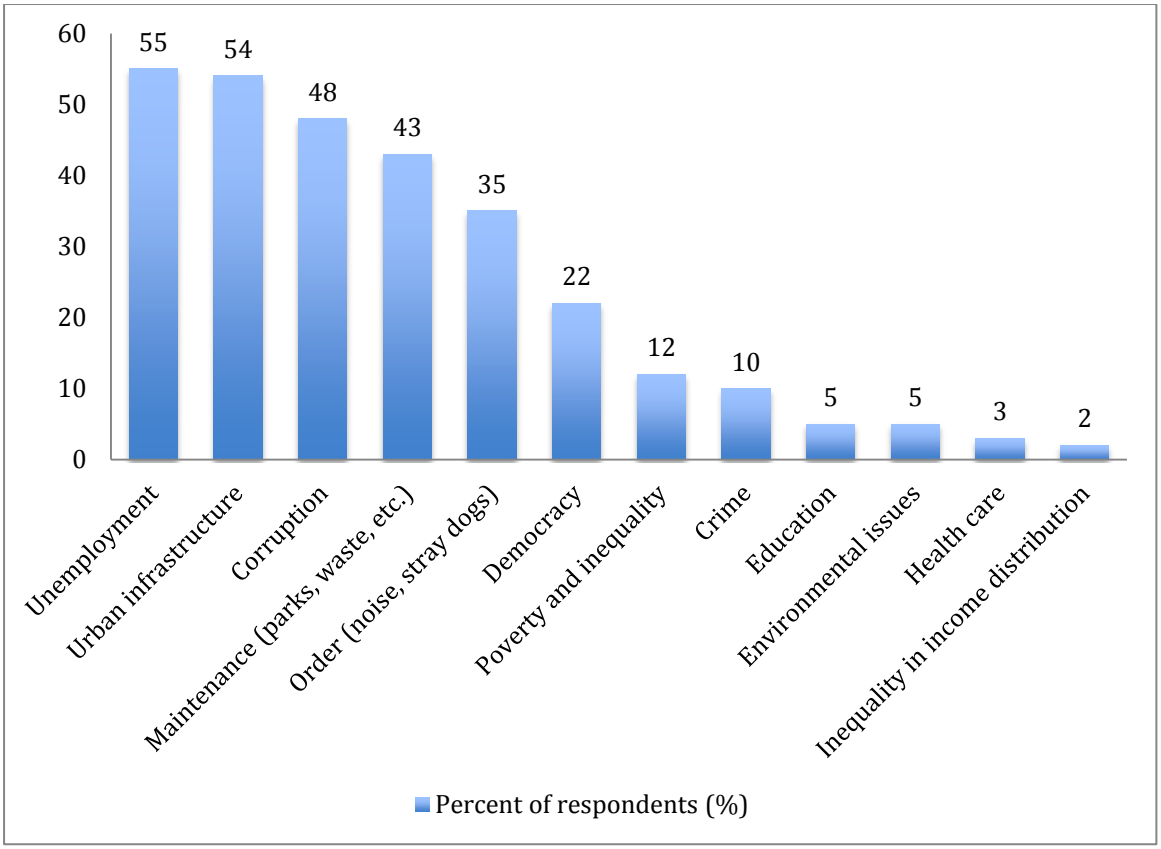
4.1 Serious problems in community

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.

For the purposes of this survey respondents were asked: "What in your view are the most serious **problems** in your community? List at least three starting from the most important."

[24] Interview conducted on 17 November 2013.

Graph 3: Serious problems in community



The graph above shows the percent at which survey participants listed an issue as being a serious problem in their community. Participants were asked to list three in order of relevance. For example, unemployment was listed 55 times, urban infrastructure 54, corruption 48 times, and so on. Other issues, which may have previously been seen as secondary to larger structural issues, such as poverty and democratic governance, are replaced by concerns over city maintenance (removal of waste, cleaning of streets), which was mentioned 43 times, and general order (noise, stray dogs, vandalism, etc.), which was mentioned 35 times.

For the past ten years in Kosovo, unemployment has been continuously identified as the most pressing and serious issue. Ever since the United Nations Development Program launched the Early Warning Report in 2002[25] (now Public Pulse), to ascertain opinion and development of democratic governance and rule of law in Kosovo, Kosovar citizens have not only identified unemployment as a problem but also a cause of all other problems. Unemployment certainly continues to dominate the list of concerns with official labor market numbers at 45%.

[25] "The Reports are intended as strategic planning, response, and policy tools for development and peace-building actors in Kosovo by deriving recommendations for preventative measures from trend analysis and monitoring of key sector indicators of fundamental conflict-causing factors."

However, ten years ago in addition to unemployment people listed lack of electricity and low wages as top issues of concern, and corruption was not mentioned at all.[26] Wages in civil service institutions were raised in 2011 and electricity cuts are not as frequent, which may be the reasons why they no longer figure on the top of the list. Today corruption follows unemployment and urban infrastructure as a problem in Prishtina, however, the connection between these must be further explored.

It is important to note that correlations between problems in communities and priority issues identified by governments, think tanks, and international agencies, and those offered by citizens are not always the same. According to an assessment on democracy and rule of law in Kosova, conducted under the SIGMA Program, supported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and the European Union, there are five main difficulties and weaknesses in Kosovo: 1. Young institutions, 2. Heavy reliance on external support for expertise and funding, 3. The struggle for more international recognition, 4. Lack of legitimacy across the whole territory and by all communities, 5. Rising citizen dissatisfaction with the quality of life, especially due to unemployment and corruption.[27]

This assessment continues to be correct two years after its publication and not much appears to have changed in Kosovo in terms of the hierarchy of challenges faced by the Kosovar state. Respondents agreed that unemployment and corruption are top priorities, and the first may be seen as the cause of the latter, but they all pointed to complex relations between socio-economic transformations (privatization, market economy, welfare), national and international actors, and the ability, which some might call agency, to organize at the community level.

As the table above shows, poverty and income inequality are not mentioned as often - 12 and 2 respondents mention these as problems, respectively. This could be seen as a reflection of the socio-economic groups included in the survey, where most could be placed in the "middle-class" category. However, the lines between socio-economic and ideological identifications are not as clear. This was especially true when it came to meanings of work and development. One of the unemployed respondents argued that "you have to work hard" if you wish to get out of poverty, while an architect argues that

[26] Early Warning Report #1. May – August 2002. RIINVEST, Institute for Development Research. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/Pnacr369.pdf

[27] *Assessment Kosovo March 2012, Democracy and the Rule of Law* (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and European Union, March 2012). As the assessment states "[…] citizens' frustration with the quality of life is rising, especially as expectations were very high. Unemployment, corruption, the poor quality of public services delivery and poor economic performance are serious problems that may erode trust in democracy and in the rule of law. Low participation in past elections is evidence of that disappointment." *Assessment Kosovo March 2012, Democracy and the Rule of Law* (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and European Union, March 2012), p. 2.

"poverty is structural, and you can work as hard as you like but structural changes have to be made for you to get the opportunity."

In addition, there is quite a bit of disagreement on what constitutes corruption. The definition of "corruption" is not singular and has numerous meanings when translated into concrete identifiable practices, something that is discussed further in the forthcoming sections. Here it is important to note that concerns over corruption mattered to respondents as long as they could translate it into employment. As one respondent noted: "there is nothing to do about corruption, as long as people in power continue to have this much power. They wish to get rich for themselves, but they also employ their family members. The first one is stealing, the second one is corruption. "

Avni Zogiani, a prominent anti-corruption activist, journalist, and Executive Director of the anti-corruption organization ÇOHU, more recently declared that keeping checks and balances over the judiciary and other institutions continues to be relevant in the fight against corruption. However, according to him, as long as the current government and particularly its leaders are seen as political partners by the international community, Kosovo will not be able to significantly tackle corruption. Zogiani's statement makes clear that "local issues" cannot be separated from global ones. What happens in Prishtina, and Kosovo in general, is directly connected to what happens in Brussels, and Europe, and according to most respondents, particularity what is decided in Washington D.C.

On other hand, while respondents recognize the relevance and influence of international relations and systemic economic transformations, their responses also speak of their increased interest to focus on their neighborhoods and daily lives.[28] Problems in urban infrastructure, maintenance, and order, mentioned 54, 43 and 35 times, respectively, dominated the conversations. These included lack of parking space, sidewalks overrun by cars, poor waste collection, lack of green spaces and parks, and particularly irregular construction projects (apartment building with stories added on top, additions to homes and buildings, apartment and office buildings that do not comply with urban planning and other standards, etc.).

Most respondents believed that there was not much they could do about the chaos in the city's urban layout. "The only thing to do seems to tear everything down and start building from starch" is a solution one often hears in Prishtina. Much hope also appears to rest on the new mayor of the city, and many have argued that the recent election results showed that citizens do matter.

Other options were also given. One respondent was adamant about strategies people should take: "When you see that people at the top do not want to put the state in order

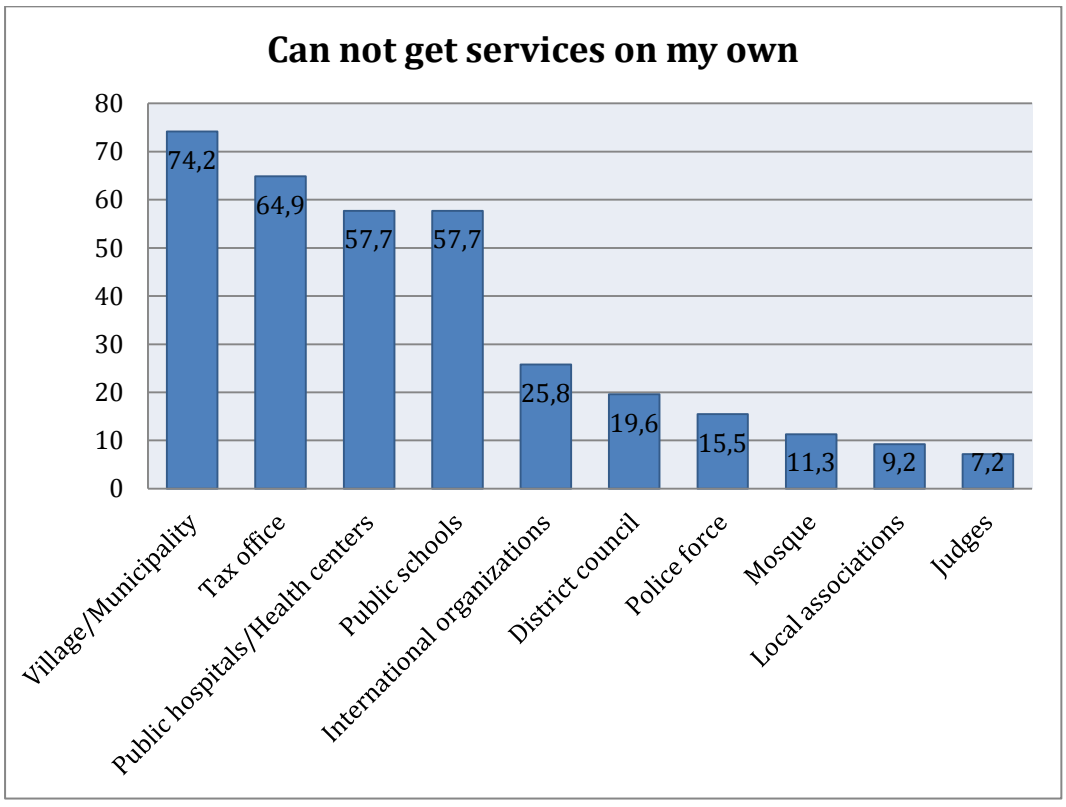
[28] See UNDP & Global Integrity. *A Users' Guide to Measuring Corruption*. Oslo, Norway: UNDP, 2008.

the only thing you can do as a citizen is to start asking for a receipt every time. Every time you buy anything, when you cut your hair, even when you buy tissues, even when you buy a doughnut. Every-time you buy anything." Similar ideas expressed the need for citizens to act as regulators of corrupt practices. If a store clerk does not issue you a receipt it most certainly means that taxes on those goods are not paid. There is little belief that the market "regulates itself," or that the state is interested in acting on behalf of citizens. Whether and how citizens respond, organize and challenge this quandary is a matter that deserves further analysis.

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

Interviewees were also asked which institutions they feel are not responsive to their needs for services by relying on their own means. The question aims to ascertain whether services from particular institutions could be obtained without relying on connections, bribes, gifts, etc. (possibilities mentioned by respondents). 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 possible).

Graph 4: Ability to obtain services from institutions relying exclusively on own means:



The graph above shows the percentage at which respondents believed they could not resolve a matter of obtaining a service relying only on own means at a particular institution.

The leading institution here is the municipality. The majority of respondents (72%) declared that they are not able to settle a matter or obtain services there only with their own resources. Matters and services mentioned pertained to issues beyond the basic services offered, such as birth, death, wedding certificates, etc. It appears that most of such services have become streamlined. Also limited contact with international and local organizations (25.8% and 9.2%), with police (15.5%), mosques (11.3%), and judges (7.2%), produced lower response numbers. In these cases respondents noted "I don't know," "Have not had the opportunity," or "Have not dealt with them."

While respondents were asked to make the distinction between "own means" and connections they could utilize, many spoke of these connections as their private resource. Paying for services was also seen as a matter of using own financial means. One respondent mentioned a complaint she had logged about a broken elevator in her building. She visited the Directorate for Public Services, at the municipality, each week to check on the status of her complaint but was not able to receive any information.

"It has been four months since the elevator has worked. I live on the 10th floor and it makes things very difficult. I am Ok with the exercise I get, but there are others, elderly people who cannot walk as easily. In some cases, I know from a friend, the people living in another building got together and paid for a new elevator. But, the people on the first two floors did not pay because they say they do not need it. It may be this, or maybe they can't afford to pay."

In another apartment building I noticed that the tenants had installed a new elevator but only those who paid received an access card. This meant that visitors could not access the elevator and it would have to be sent down to them. These and similar issues (in maintenance, etc.) are most often discussed as a matter of changes in the responsibility of institutions and increased privatization of services. The previous Housing Offices within Self-Managed Interest Associations (*Bashkësitë Vetëqeverisëse të Interesit*) were responsible for maintenance of socially and publicly owned properties. However, the new Public Housing Company (*Ndërmarrja Publike Banesore)*[29] is no longer responsible for carrying out similar responsibilities, with its main activities now focused on new construction projects. In order to find out that the Public Services Directorate handles issues of maintenance it required my respondent to ask two acquaintances and then find

[29] Despite a large e-governance project, supported by USAID (http://www.demi-ks.org/?cid=2,58,335), which led to the adoption of the E-Governance Strategy 2009-2015 by the Kosovo Government, the only online available information on this body is the address and phone number. http://kk.rks-gov.net/prishtina/Municipality/Departments/Ekonomi-dhe-Zhvillim-Lokal/Ndermarrjet-Publike-Komunale/Ndermarrjet-Publike-Banesor.aspx. (Accessed on 1 December 2013).

the information online.[30] She relied on the information of people she knew and some digging though the municipal website. Others, bypassed this process altogether and pooled their financial resources to resolve the problem.

Today, shifts in property regimes and relations between public and private institutions, have lead to "fuzzy" arrangements.[31] The increased privatization of all spheres of life, such as the example of purchasing the elevator, still leads to ownership (including rights and responsibilities) that is not individual but collective. A significant change has occurred in the relationship to the things that are owned, and their meanings. Having paid for a new elevator themselves, the tenants of the apartment building I visited considered the elevator as "their own" but considered the pileup of garbage at the entrance the responsibility of local government. It is unclear to them who would "own" or "has responsibility" for the building itself.

Tax office, public hospitals/health center, and public schools also show a high respondent rate with 64.9%, 57.7%, and 57.7% respectively. However, respondents did not report significant distrust or bad experiences with the same institutions. 50% had placed their trust in health centers at 4, and 55% and 40% had placed their trust in tax offices and public schools at 3. The high rate for tax office and public schools was not further analyzed for the purposes here, but there appeared to be no clear correlation between ability to settle matters based on own means and peoples' trust in those institutions. This again shows that relations of trust are built along various paths and means.

As shown below (Graph 5), 42% of respondents would advise a friend to find some kind of connection (from a friend, relative, or person of influence) in order to solve a problem. While 38% of respondents reported good experience with heath care providers and only 11% reported bad experiences, 57.7% reported the inability to conduct matters at these institutions without relying on other means.

The equivalence assumed between bribes and gifts in our question "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?" is not the same one assumed by the respondent. For example, the majority of people interviewed agreed that the poor conditions in hospitals, as well as other institutions, are a result of general theft and corruption in

[30] http://kk.rks-gov.net/prishtina/Municipality/Departments/Sherb-Pub-Mbrojtje-dhe-Shpet-.aspx

[31] See Verdery, Katherine. "Fuzzy Property: Rights, Power, and Identity in Transylvania's Decollectivization." In Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World, Michael Burawoy and Katherine Verdery, ed. Boulder, CO: Rowan and Littlefield, 1998.

procurement for infrastructural projects.[32] Also, doctors were reported of telling patients to visit their private clinics, something many respondents defined as "stealing" and agreed was a failure to fulfill your obligations at work.[33] The incentives of such recommendations may be shorter waiting times for examinations, test results, etc. At times the recommendation may be "legitimate" considering that private clinics are better equipped, or even just equipped with the resources that public hospitals lack. Often, though the ones who can receive "better services" are patients who can afford to use the private clinics.

One doctor who was interviewed recently had an acquaintance, a relative of a patient, call her and ask her to "show more care in the interpretation of the results. There is the idea that if you have a connection the doctor will show you more care. This certainly happens, but I don't see how I would aim for a *better* analysis for one patient over another."[34] There is also the expectation of gifts on the part of doctors, as part of a longer standing practice. The expectation of gift giving, on the part of both parties, occurs once services are rendered. As such it is not conceived as "corruptive," rather a fulfillment of expectations of conviviality. As one responded noted: "The hospitals do not have medicine, their equipment often does not work. Recently when a relative was sick the family had to buy everything and bring it with them. But the doctor was very good… My cousin bought the doctor a gift (*peshqesh*) to show his gratitude."

Generally, people agree that services in private clinics are better and there you do not have to rely on connections or bribes. As "a paying customer, you can make more demands on the doctors" we were told. While money may mediate relations of trust and responsibility, as well as status, public health care facilities are seen as "better" in other regards. A young mother told me that she went to a private hospital for her delivery because there the nurses are more attentive, it is clean, you have your private room and bathroom, including cable TV, but during complications she noticed that one woman was rushed to the public University Clinical Center. "In the end, when things go wrong all patients are sent to the Clinical Center," she had observed. A doctor at the gynecology clinic there also confirmed.

Another interviewee, however, spoke of her experience at the Clinical Center as one of trauma: "Everyone was so rude. We were all lined up in one room, maybe 10 or 15 of us. All of us waiting to go into labor. Like animals. " Although she knew the doctors and had connections, she was treated as everyone else. During a visit to a doctor at the University Clinical Center, almost one-year ago, I patiently waited in line with some 20 other people. When they saw me speak to the doctor, the assumption was that he would

[32] See Kosovo Democratic Institute. *Transparenca dhe Llogaridhënia në Prokurimin Publik: Raport i Monitorimit të Prokurimit Publik në Ministrinë e Shëndetësisë*. Korrik, 2013. http://www.kdi-kosova.org/publications/Raporti%20i%20Monitorimit%20te%20Prokurimit%20Publik%20ne%20MSH%202013.pdf
[33] Focus group, conducted 18 October 2013.
[34] Interview, 20 August 2013.

see me before those who had been before me in line. I kept standing in the line and was commended for waiting, despite the fact that I knew the doctor and could have asked him to see me through the back door.

4.3 Preferred problem resolution techniques

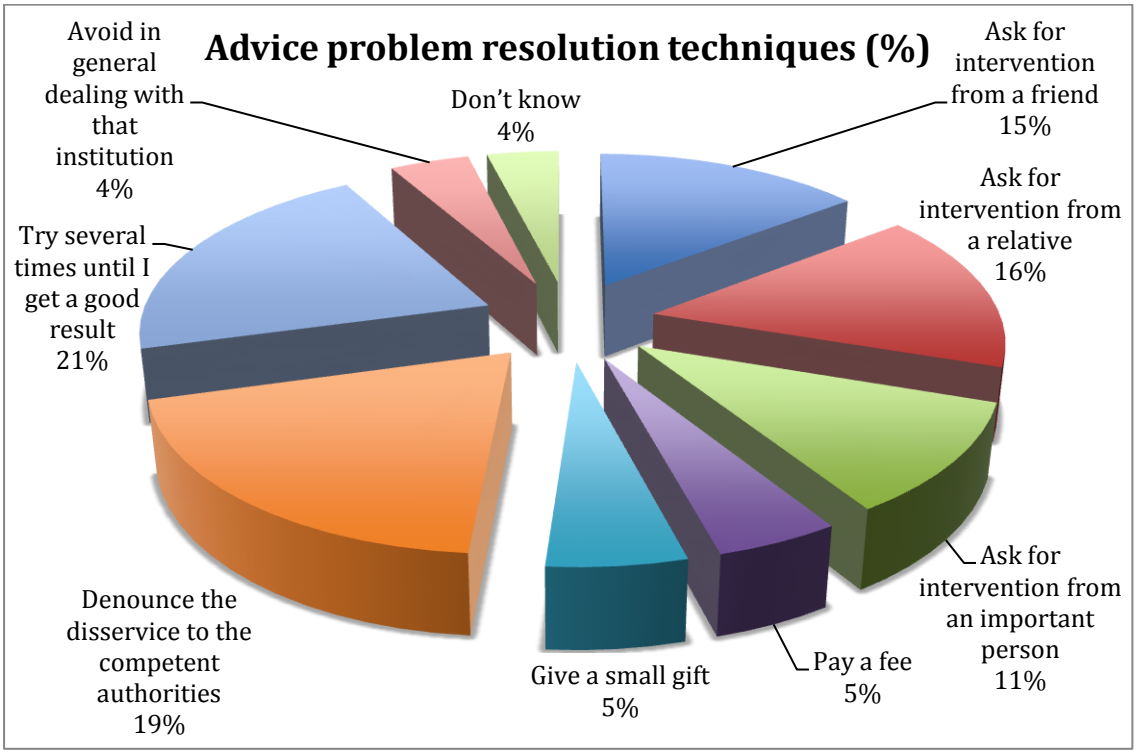
All of the questions above lead to a consideration of what citizens, with varying degree of trust, past experience, and means, believe to be most successful options (producing results) in dealing with institutions.

Respondents were asked: "How would you advise a person who can't successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem?"

Respondents were asked to choose one of the following possible answers. "I would advise them 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 5: Advice for problem resolution techniques



The question produced a variety of responses, showing there is no dominant preference for problem solving, although gift giving, payment of fees and avoidance (5%, 5%, and 4% respectively) were chosen less to a significant degree. During conversations it became evident that when a problem or request was considered legitimate and rightful the respondents did not see the need to advise such options. On the other hand, numerous examples to the contrary were given whereby the situations described were defined by a lack of perceived fairness, as well as social and economic equality that determines successful resolution of a problem. One such example is discussed below.

First it should be noted that the assumption of the question may be that whatever advice a respondent offers to a friend is also what they would chose for themselves. It also may be a reflection of the means respondents believe are available to them and the person they are advising. However, the results below are treated as advice and not as direct indications of past and potential future choices respondents had or might make.

A significant number of respondents (21%) declared that they would advise a friend to rely on himself or herself and try a number or times before reaching their aimed results. Also, 19% declared that they would denounce a disservice. If added together, a majority of 42% would recommend seeking assistance from a friend or relative (31%) or would recommend asking an important person to intervene (11%). Generally, it is possible to argue that the respondents were almost equally split between those relying on formal and informal channels.

When read together with the results on declarations of "practices against good society" (see Graph 8), the findings here confirm that bribes and similar practices, particularly when a public official is involved, are considered unethical and illicit to varying degrees. A 65 year-old economist stated that he would recommend a friend to find "connections" or offer "a small gift" in resolving a problem, but was categorical against the buying of votes and on his demands for transparency and legality in job allocation (as were 94% and 88% of all respondents, respectively).

As stated earlier, additional insight would be gained if options for advice given were treated in regard to the particular institutions respondents had in mind. Two respondents who compared "problem-solving" options within higher education gave an interesting insight. A part-time lecturer and administrator at a private university explained the kind of pressure she is put under by the students' parents:

"There is the expectation that since they pay for their education they will also get good grades. You can see this in many private universities and I think its is the fault of the management. In addition, the students who got top grades in high school expect the same grades at the university. So many students have excellent marks, but they don't deserve them. This one time I was dealing with a student who was suspended for failing

to keep the minimum grade point average. His mother came to consult with me. She came wearing a fur coat, in this expensive car. She told me that her son would work for his father anyway and did not need the grades just the diploma…At public universities there are also the scandals of ministers and members of parliament who are also teaching staff but regularly fail to hold their classes, or get these jobs because the university is so politicized."[35]

Another lecturer who was interviewed spoke of more direct harassment by her student. He kept sending her emails every other day because he was not content with his grade, a B, although the lecturer had explained numerous times the decision behind the grade. The student took the matter to the academic director who in an attempt at fairness towards the student questioned the lecturer. She was not hired for the course the following term and according to her showed that "junior faculty are always more vulnerable, but not only for being junior but also for not being part of the 'old-boys club'." Such situations are in no way particular to the education system in Kosovo. Amidst recent debates about grade inflation in US universities a Harvard University teaching assistant explains she gave higher marks as otherwise students would complain that she ruined their lives with a B.[36]

On the other hand, a student interviewee complained that students have little recourse and often deal with professors who do not show up for class, are late with exam results, and do not hold office hours.[37] Solutions are found in using connection of all kinds – a relative or friend who may be a professor or teacher, a school-director director, and more recently political (such as party belonging) and business connections have become more frequent.[38] When formal channels for solving such matters exist and are supported they can protect both students and teachers. Such was the case when a student raised a claim of sexual harassment and the professor was retired. Although most such cases, reportedly, go unaddressed.

A major issue of contention in education institutions is grading and acceptance at a university (although "strings have to be pulled for entrance to kindergartens as well").[39] The perception is also that teaching positions are more easily given to children of professors and those with political connections. As shown below 41.8% of respondents declared that bringing a gift to be accepted to a good school is a practice against good society. On the other hand, limited acceptance numbers and competition at some faculties at the university, as well as competition over grades (determining scholarship,

[35] Interview 5 September 2013.
[36] See Allison Schrager. "Confession of an Ivy League teaching assistant: Here's why I inflated grades". http://qz.com/157579/confession-of-an-ivy-league-teaching-assistant-heres-why-i-inflated-grades/ (Accessed on 13 December 2013).
[37] See http://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/article/840/education-for-the-people-kosovos-public-universities and http://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/article/826/exploring-kosovos-colleges-and-universities
[38] Focus group discussion, 18 October 2013.
[39] Interview 20 October, 2013.

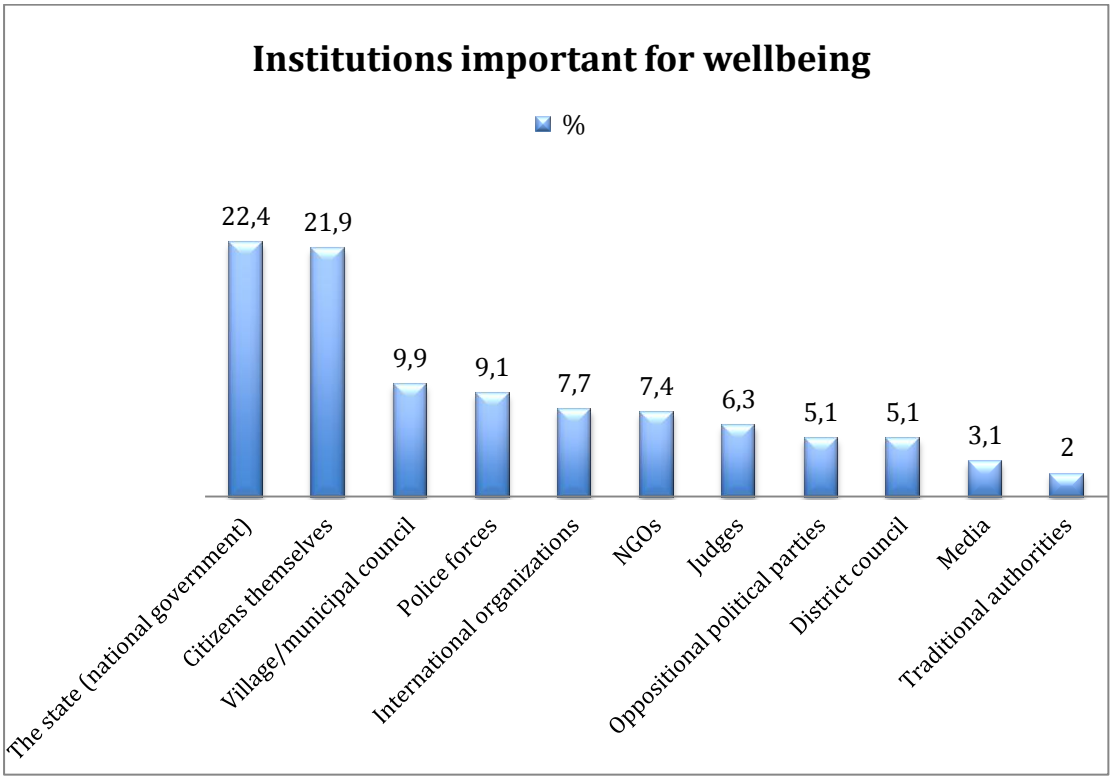
acceptance to graduate school, employment, etc.) have produced a situation where the problems are systemic, according to my respondents, and not individual.

A most recent case made public a longer-standing suspicion. A group of mainly teaching assistants at the Faculty of Medicine, including one from the Faculty of Philosophy and an economist, supported by some professors as is believed, were reported of having created a sophisticated system of receiving payment for grades, diplomas, and securing placement in a program. The teaching assistants involved were arrested for abuse of official duties, accepting bribes, falsification of documents, and legalization of untrue information.[40] One person is assumed to have paid 4,500 Euro bribe to be admitted at the Faculty of Medicine.

4.4 Institutions important for improving wellbeing

Respondent were also asked to select from a list of institutions that they think can best improve the wellbeing of society. They were asked: "Who do you think could help to improve the general wellbeing of your community?" and were given a list of eleven options from which to choose one.

Graph 6: Institutions important for improving wellbeing



[40] See http://www.koha.net/?page=1,13,169641

The responses are distributed among the various options, but the wellbeing of communities is primarily seen as a responsibility of the state and its citizens, with 22.4% and 21.9% responses respectively.

In reference to the government, respondents explained that the government has to act with responsibility and that it holds the means through which to improve the wellbeing of communities. Many respondents noted that it was not only a matter of who could help but also who ought to help. Therefore the results show different understandings about the possibilities that institutions have (legal, financial, infrastructural, etc.) and which ones according to them can and should have an effect in improving wellbeing. In addition, the responses give evidence of the rights and obligations attributed to citizenry. One respondent argued that:

"The government, central and local, can do the most. Citizens are also responsible for their action. If the government acts badly citizens think it is ok to do things that way. They [government] give an example. So they think, if they are getting rich or whatever like that why should I be honest. I don't get rewarded...So they think, I can't steal but I can slack of at work. This is more acceptable."[41]

Participants particularly discussed matters that pertained to their vision of society. Therefore, other institutions such as NGOs, police, local governments, judges, the opposition, and media, are seen as relevant for wellbeing. The ideas expressed here are that government has to be monitored and it is the responsibility of these institutions to make sure that the government protects and develops the wellbeing of citizens.

According to statements from NGO activists, the government not only could help improve the wellbeing of its citizens but should also provide oversight and some kinds of control over private companies and protect workers. The relations to political belongings, and relations between state and the market, and thus overall political-economic transformations remain largely unexplored in Kosovo.[42]

An additional idea expressed in regard to the given options is that citizens are better equipped when media and other non-governmental institutions are on their side. This is complicated by the fact, as the figures below show (Graph 7), that 28.8% or respondents identified journalists as public officials. While media are held to this expectation there is also the belief that there is not much they can do. Speaking about one corruptive affair a

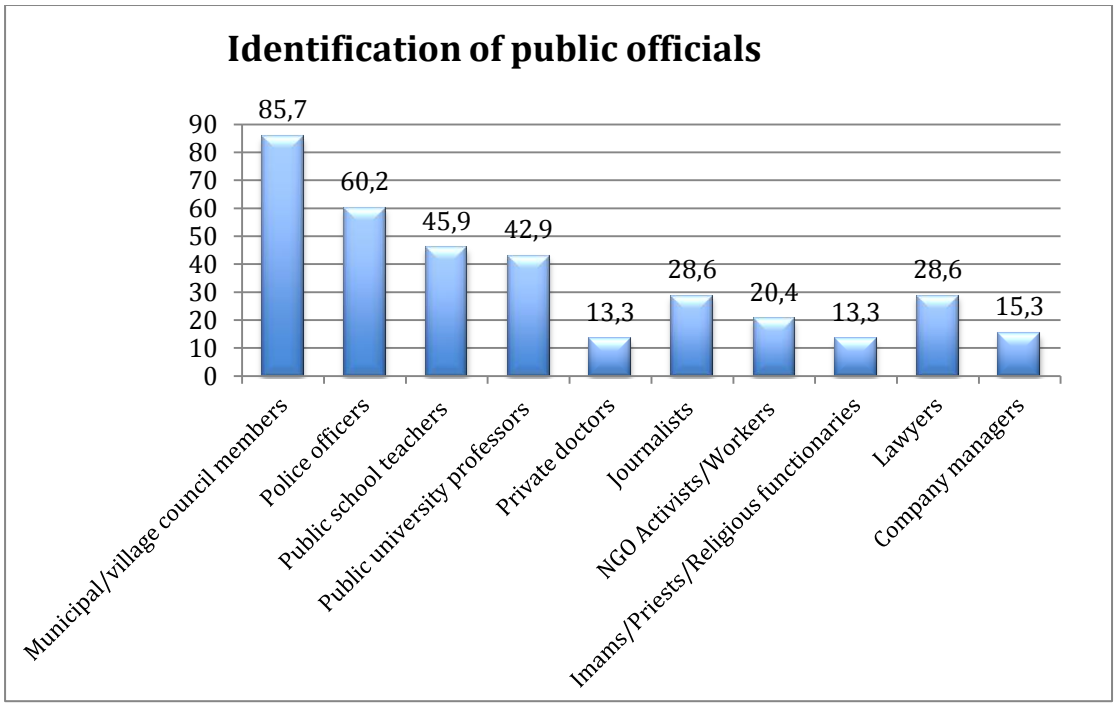
[41] Focus group. 18 October 2013.
[42] See Pula, Besnik. "Transmission Belts of the European Financial Crisis in the Balkan Super-Periphery." Paper presentation at "Economic Development and Political Transition in Kosovo," conference, American University in Kosovo, 12-13 October, 2012. http://www.aukonline.org/web/doc/other/conference/Besnik%20Pula.pdf. Also "Components of economic growth and rentier capitalism in Kosovo," in http://globalfield.wordpress.com/2013/01/10/components-of-economic-growth-and-rentier-capitalism-in-kosovo/

participant said: "Nothing, they wrote two pages that day and the journalist will probably win some award for the best article on corruption, or something like that. But, again nothing will happen, you know."[43]

4.5 Identification of public officials

Survey-participants were asked to select from a list all those that they think are public officials.

Graph 7: Identification of public officials



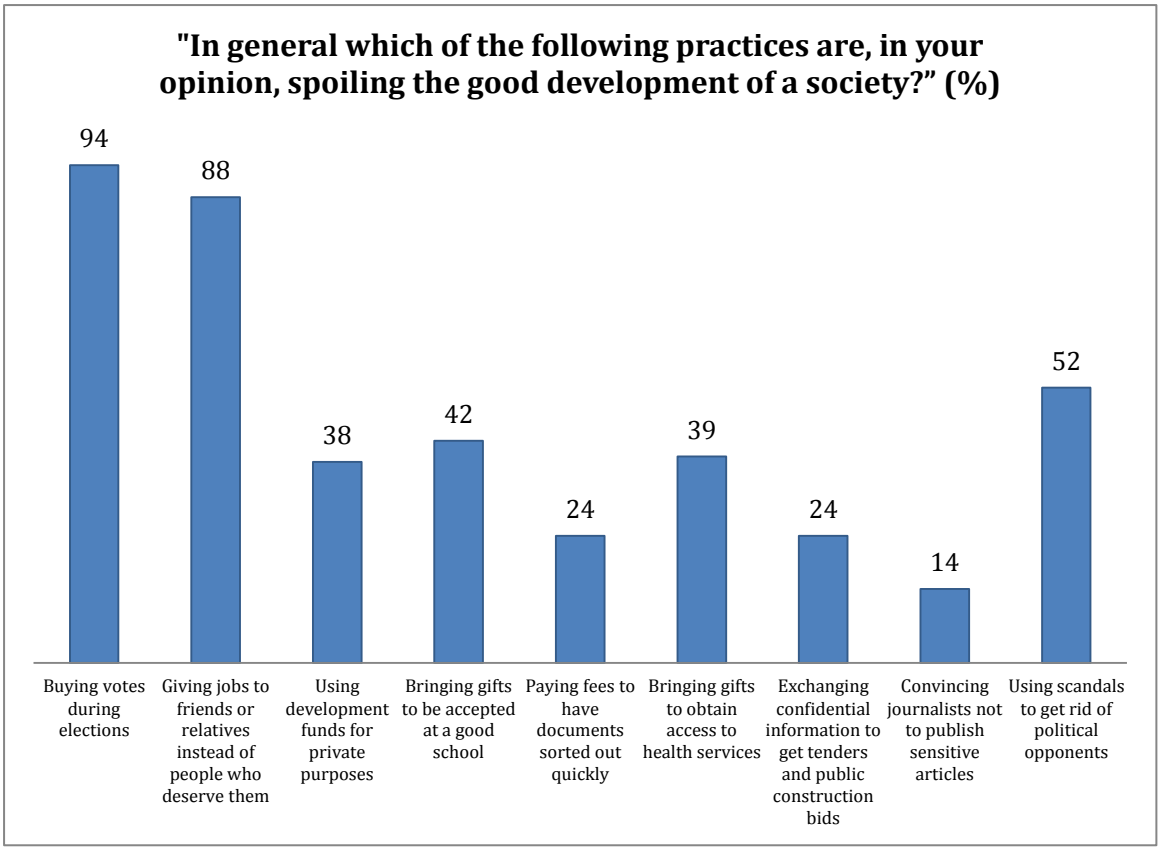
A large number of responses were correct, whereby 85.7% identified municipal and village council members, 60.2% police officers, 45.9% identified public school teachers, and 42.9% public university professors. A significant number did not identify these and also listed private doctors, journalists, religious leaders, NGO workers and lawyers as public officials. Some of these responses are discussed in relation to the questions below.

4.6 Practices against good society

Respondents were asked 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?" They could choose more than one.

[43] Focus group, 18 October 2013.

Graph 8: Practices against good society



The majority of respondents identified buying of votes (94%) and giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them (88%) as practices against good society. The other responses - buying of gifts, paying fees, etc. - were discussed above in more detail, specifically in regard to education and health care and relations with trust, access to services, and problem solving. The use of funds for private purposes and exchange of information to get tenders is further discussed below in relation to the two main objections depicted in the graph here (Graph 8) and in Section 5.4.

According to various reports on corruption in Kosovo, highly politicized public administration has been a major obstacle for delivering services to citizens. In 2008, the European Commission stated that: "Civil servants continue to be vulnerable to political interference, corruption and nepotism." [44] According to Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, the Kosovo administration faces widespread corruption.[45] In

[44] See the series of reports "Nations in Transit", published by Freedom House, Country Report for Kosovo 2004, 2010, and 2011. The vulnerability of civil servants to political interference was emphasized in the European Commission's Kosovo Progress Report for 2008. In the following years, the European Commission stated that there is lack of political support for public administration reform." See http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2013/01/09/feature-02, published January 9, 2013.

[45] See Bertelsmann Stiftung. *BTI 2012 – Kosovo Country Report*. Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2012.

2012, 79,112 officials were paid in accordance with the Law on Budget.[46] The legal framework for civil servants was improved and included further guarantees for a more professional public administration.[47] The most important laws promulgated were the Law on Civil Service, Law on Civil Service Salaries, and Law on State Administration. However, according to UNDP, "83% of Kosovo citizens believe public sector employment is obtained by means other than merit -- a 16 percent increase from 2011."[48] Evaluations produced by the Office of the Auditor General (OAG) concur.

The situation was well described by one of the focus group participants:

"I remember when Astrit Haraqija [Minister of Culture 2004-2007] was saying that the reason he can not invest in culture is because his budget is only 3 million Euros and all those three million go to paying salaries. So my question is why do you have a minister if all he does is pay salaries. So he might not be breaking any laws or rules but this way all he is doing is pay people who do nothing. And if this is not corruption I don't know what is."

Both Haraqija, and a latter minister of culture Valton Beqiri (2008-2010), in 2012 had charges brought against them by the Prishtina District Prosecutor for abuse of office.[49] Public officials are thus both vulnerable to interference and operate through interference. In most published reports, the employment of friends and relatives, decisions and skimming of procurement awards, etc., appear to be systemic and used as an instrument for economic gain as well as for consolidating political power. Despite the work of anti-corruption instruments such as the Kosovo Anti-Corruption Agency and the Auditor General (AG), who are perceived as credible, lack of political will is often seen as a cause. Examples abound on the lack of official follow up and prosecution of corruption cases identified through official mechanisms, NGO monitoring, citizen complaints and the media. Among these, the lack of action by the National Assembly on AG reports showed unexplained losses at €0.5 to €5m per year per ministry; and the lack of prosecution on almost all cases forwarded to prosecutors by the Kosovo Anti-Corruption Agency.[50]

In 2010, the attention focused on EULEX's investigation of the so-called "big fish." To date none of these investigations resulted in indictments or convictions. No charges were brought against Minister Fatmir Limaj or his colleagues. The governor of the Bank of Kosovo, Hashim Rexhepi, was arrested in July and charged with bribery and misuse of his official position.

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[46] *Annual Report 2012*. Prishtina: Ministry of Public Administration, January 25, 2013.
[47] See "Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on a Feasibility Study for a Stabilization and Association Agreement between the EU and Kosovo", Brussels: European Commission, October 2012.
[48] Brajshori M., "Kosovo civil society targets public sector reform."
[49] http://www.koha.net/?page=1,13,96411
[50] EU, *Kosovo Progress Report, 2008*

The most problematic areas are those related to public procurement, contracting and privatization. This is evident in the AG reporting, which consistently shows noncompliance by government entities with public procurement regulations and the lack of action by these agencies to address previous AG audit findings -- this includes the Office of the Prime Minister, the Office of the President, the National Assembly and the Public Procurement Agency.[51] According to the Freedom House Report 2012, the new Public Procurement Law does not meet the EU criteria. In our survey 38% of respondents thought that use of funds for private purposes was a practice against good society.

Some NGO reports state that parties consolidate their power and remove political opponents by using accusations of corrupt activities.[52] Although some arrests are made, there are few trials. Attaining witness testimony is also difficult. Public officials do not report governmental abuse and there are no whistle blower protections. The Kosovo Anti-Corruption Agency reports being under pressure to release the names of those who report abuse, and says informants whose names are made public often recant.

As the responses of survey show, attempting to convince a journalist not to publish a sensitive article was more acceptable, and respondents most often thought of private affairs "that are nobody's business." Only 14% would consider such a practice harmful. However, 52% agreed that using media to eliminate political opponents (the dominant means through which scandals are created and information gained) is damaging to good development of the society. The important distinction being drawn here was between private and public affairs. While respondents discussed the relevance of free media and free speech the influence of politicians over editorial politics is assumed and most people are left wondering whether the charges "are real or just another attempt to delegitimize opponents." As one of the focus group participants remarked:

"What is happening here is that people are confused; especially because of the reports in media and in newspapers, and in posters and public service announcements. There is one hand in one corner that is giving out the money and there is another hand receiving [describes an anti-corruption campaign]. You know, every report you see the same image appears and people do not have time because they are dealing with poverty and they cannot study what is corruption conceptually. They don't have that luxury. And I think this is a problem, that it becomes this abstract thing."[53]

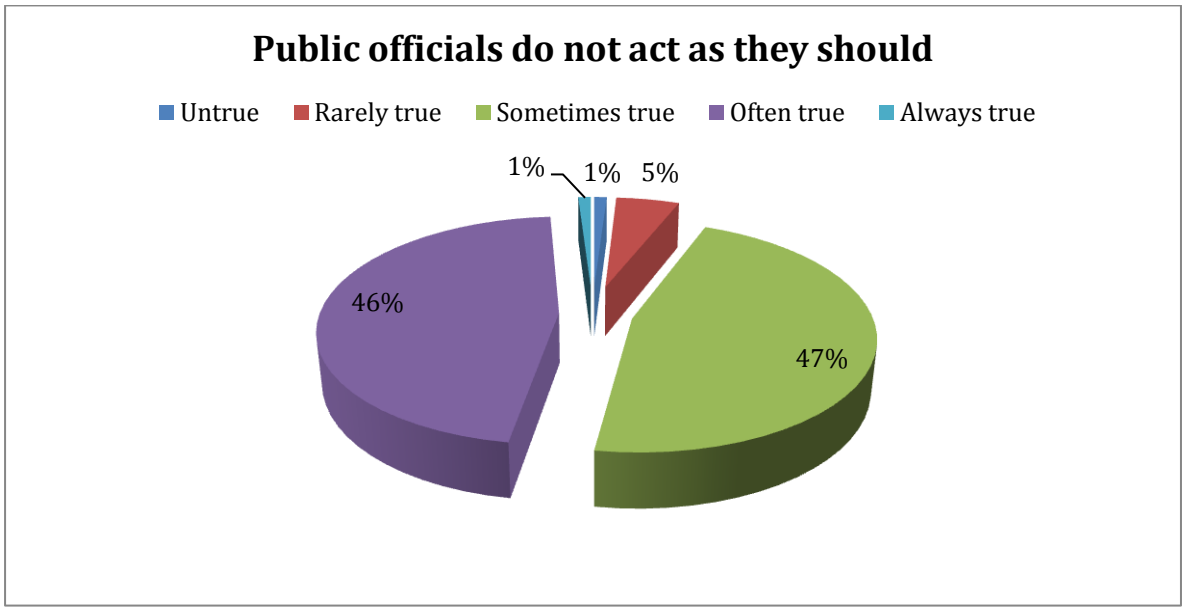
The survey also showed that 94% of respondents see the buying of votes as a practice against good society. Incidents of fraud and payment for votes were noted in the last general elections in Kosovo. Until general elections held in 2010, the prosecution offices and courts were reluctant in addressing cases of election fraud. According to the Kosovo

[51] AG Audit Reports for 2007
[52] Interview with think-tank researcher, 10 November 2013.
[53] Focus group. 18 October 2013.

Law Institute, "The Election Complaints and Appeals and the Counting and Results Center supplied relevant information on 854 cases related to elections, which involve over 5,000 people. Prosecutors have filed indictments on 221 cases which involve 1,516 people and they are conducting further investigations on 758 additional people"[54]

Considering all of the above, respondents were asked whether, based on their experience, public officials that offer services in their community act the way they should.

Graph 9: Public officials do not act the way they should



The responses depicted above show that 46% of the respondents, based on their experience, found public officials often acting contrary to how they should; 47% reported that public officials sometimes do not act as they should.

Respondents were also asked if they felt they could express dissatisfaction when services offered by a service provider are not satisfactory, and if yes to list those.

Satisfactory:

- Yes, by directly confronting them and if necessary also by communicating it to the police
- Yes, the bad treatment towards the elderly
- Yes, transparency of access to documents
- Yes, in some places where you can write a complaint or even turn the key managers
- Yes, in the form of a written complaint

[54] See "Organized Crime in Election Process: An Analysis of Prosecution and Adjudication Policy". Prishtina: Kosovo Law Institute, 2012.

- Peaceful public protest
- I Can express dissatisfaction in the media and only partially

Unsatisfactory:

- No respect for the legal access to documents, labor law, etc.
- Irregularities in tender and procurement procedures
- Life standards do not match with the opportunities we have
- You have no where to complain, anyone is hired anywhere with interventions, which protect them from complaints and eventual punishment or reprimand
- I do not think so; they do not fall in the right ear
- No, it would not be taken into account anyhow
- You do not even have the opportunity to complain, each institution is based on keeping [protecting] workers with connections [hired through interventions]
- No, there is no possibility; it rarely happens that they are taken into account.

3. SOCIAL NORMS

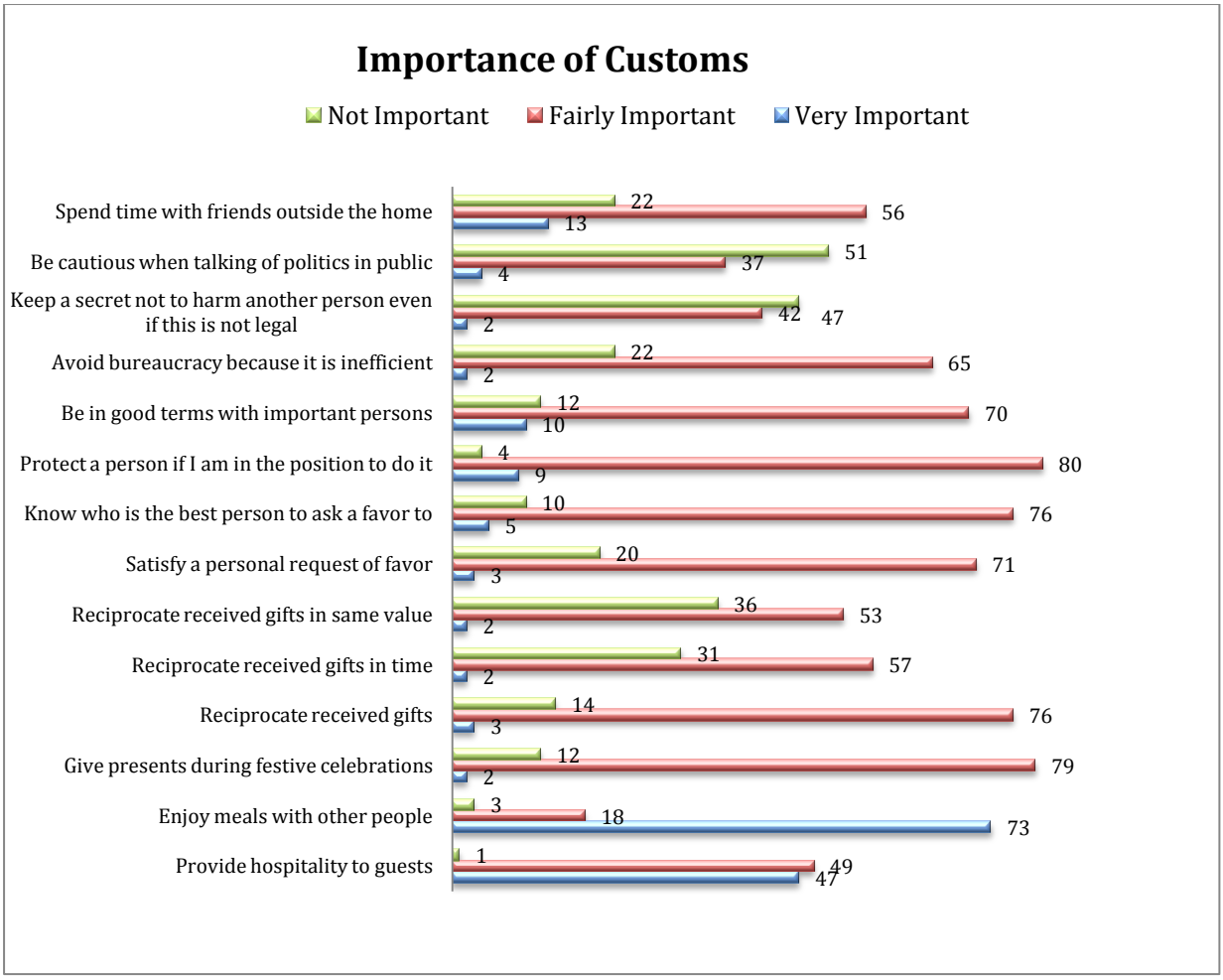
5.1 Importance of customs

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

Graph 10: Importance of Customs



The customs that were "very important" providing hospitality to guests and enjoying meals with other people dominate with 47% and 73%, respectively. The first is also considered "fairly important" by 49%. Only 2 – 5% considered the other practices as "very important," apart from "spending time with friends outside the home" was thought of as very important by 18% of the respondents.

Most were considered "fairly important," and particularly those that allow for relationships that could be of some personal benefit (satisfying a personal request of favor 71%, know who is the best person to ask a favor 76%, be in good terms with important persons 70%).

Avoiding bureaucracy is also considered fairly important by 65%, as indicated by the responses above who evaluated their satisfaction with services offered by pubic officials. 80% declared that it is "fairly important" to protect a person if they are in a position to do so, but 42% thought that keeping a secret in order not to harm another person even if this is not legal is "not important." Being cautious when talking of politics in public was considered "not important" by 51%. Personal relationships, connections, and interventions were elaborated above and show that a number of structural arrangements are contributors.

Giving gifts during festivities is “fairly important” for 79% of the respondents, although “very important” for only 2%. Reciprocating gifts is “fairly important” for 76% and “not important” for 14%. Reciprocating received gifts is “fairly important” for 57% and “not important” for 31%. Reciprocating received gifts in the same value is “fairly important” for 53% and “not important” for 36%.

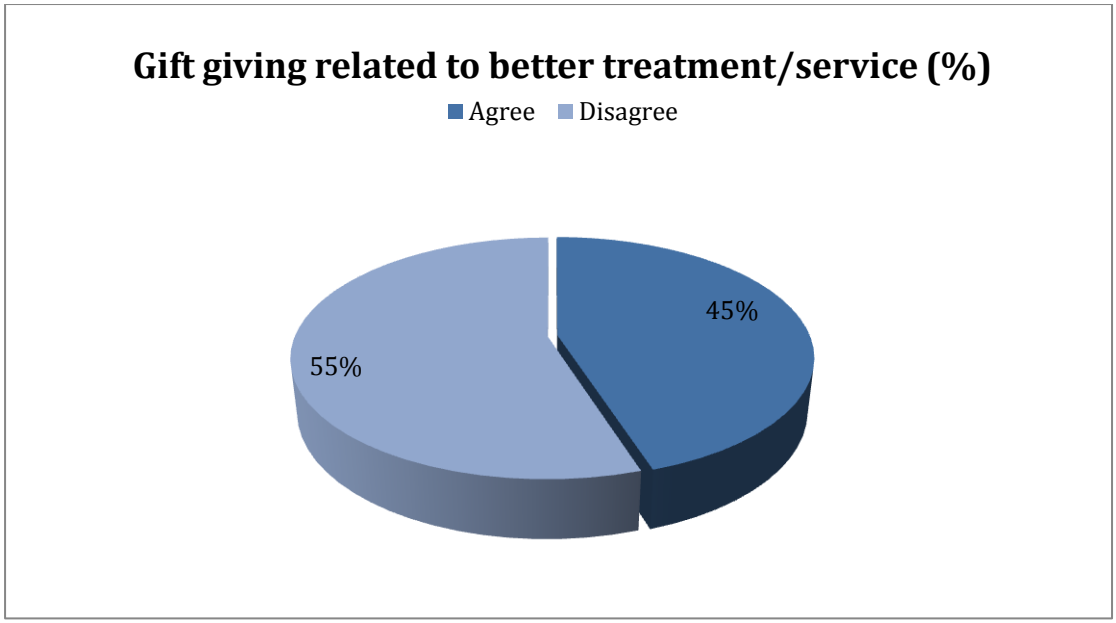
Treating these as examples of the relevance and attributes of social norms, without the proper contextualization is problematic, in the least, for any ethnographer. Kosovars pride themselves for their hospitality and a visit to the Ethnological Museum will teach you that: “for an Albanian the guest is the head of the household.” Many societies also find pride in practices of hospitality. Also, as all societies, they also enter complex gift-giving arrangements and therefore in anthropological literature a significant distinction is made between gifts and bribes. A distinction the literature on corruption does not make. Therefore, the objection is to treating social, political and economic relations as mere relations of preexisting customs (read culture), which create social environment susceptible to corruption.

A more nuanced analysis would require and provide understanding of the short and long-term relations built through gift giving, expectations on reciprocity, hospitality, and how they intersect markers of class, gender, etc. Also, as has been explained above people do make the distinction between abuse of power and reciprocities. As the graph below shows, gift giving is attributed to better treatment and services by 45% of respondents. The other 55% did think that gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service.

5.2 Statement: Gift giving related to better treatment/service

In order ascertain an understanding of gift giving in respondents, they were asked whether they agreed 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 11: Gift giving related to better treatment/service



Respondents were split in their judgment of whether gift giving created the kinds of bonds that lead to better treatment and services. During conversations some respondents noted that they focused on whether gifts created bonds, and the kinds of bonds, while others were thinking of obligations of return that the gift create.

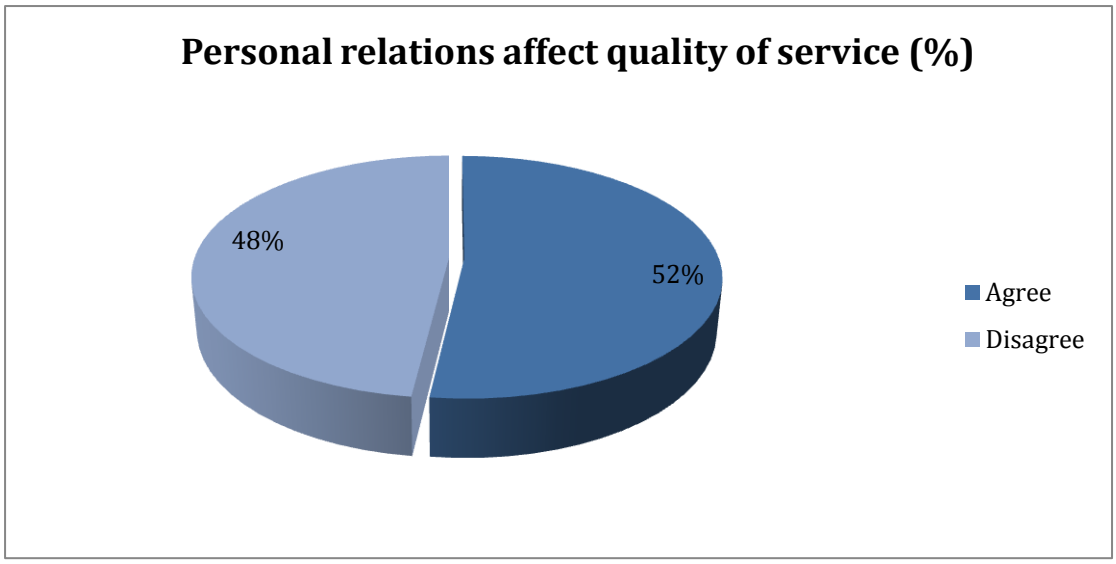
As one respondent noted: "You may not create a close bond with the person, and maybe don't even stop to greet them in the street. It depends on how the other person thinks of your gift. Some people may give a gift because they wish to thank the person, and you can always reciprocate with a gift yourself. It doesn't have to be a service. But, of course, people, you know, give gifts because they want you to feel obligated to help them."

As things, such as gifts, move within different settings and among various actors, their meanings are not fixed and can be changed. While some rules may apply to certain settings - weddings would be one example, although money, which some years ago was not imagined as a possible gift, is today quite common – a variety of ethical, legal, and social norms are negotiated and applied.

5.3 Statement: Personal relations affect quality of service

Respondents were also asked whether they agreed with the statement that "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"

Graph 12: Personal relations affect quality of service



The responses here are also almost equaly devided. See Section 4.2 for a more detailed discussion. It can be noted that many respondents gave the same example as a clarification. Being that most were against using ones position to hire friends or relatives they also noted that it is more difficult to tell a friend or relative they are not doing a good job or reprimand them. Therefore, workig closely with friends and family is seen as leading to worse work performance. Additional information could be gained if family businesses were included in the survey, as well as household economies that are built on extended kin.

One respondent noted that it was awkward for her to go to her cousin who is a denist because she would not know whether to pay or buy a gift, and is usually seen by her releative once she has finished with her paying customers. Another respondent, who is a doctor, explained his frustration at having to offer services for free to friends as well as the emotional toll it has on him.

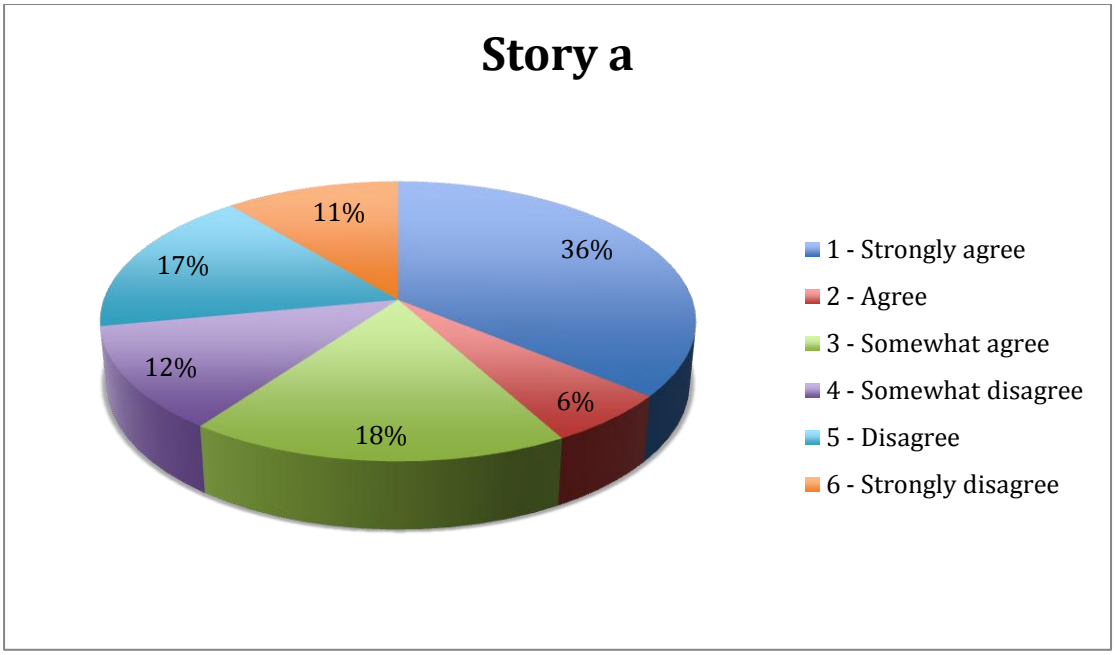
5.4 Agreement/dissagreement with different scenarios

With the aim of understanding the social values that influenece decision-making and ethical judgements that shape those decisions and choices, five different scenarios were given to the repsondents. Respondens were asked: "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, by circling one of the following: "Strongly disagree", "Disagree", "Somewhat disagree", "Somewhat agree", "Agree", "Strongly agree":

Story a.

In the district council a new person has been appointed recently. This person is very hardworking 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.

Graph 13: Story a



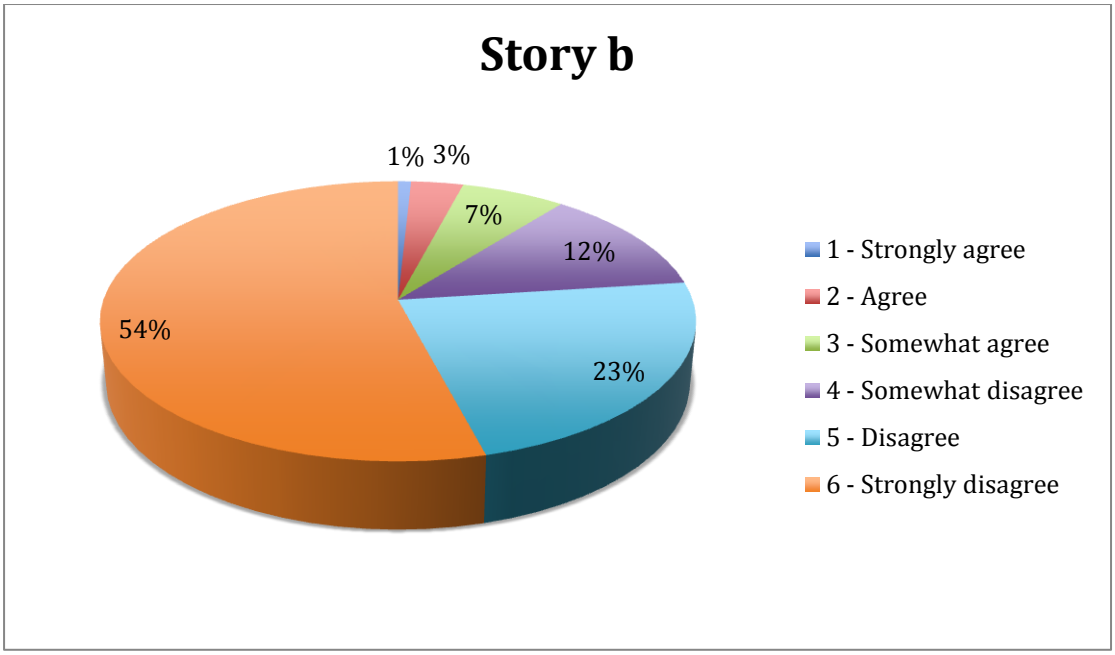
Overall 49% responded on the scale of disagreement and 51% on that of agreement. Separately, most respondents (36%) strongly agreed with the behavior described in the scenario. On the other hand, the scenario created conflicting emotions among the respondents, particularly in regard to the person's social life and the necessary connection with the needs of the community. As Graph 18 below will show, having an intense social life was considered important of a leader by only 9% or respondents.

The following excerpts from interviews give some evidence of how respondents treated this scenario:
- "He is acting how he should, but you should not isolate yourself."
- "This person is probably sad because he does not have a social life"
- "If people avoid you how are you going to know what they need? Its not like officials here are very interested in our needs, or want to be our friends. But, people need people."
- "If the only way to be fair and not corrupt is to be like this, maybe he is right"

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.

Graph 14: Story b



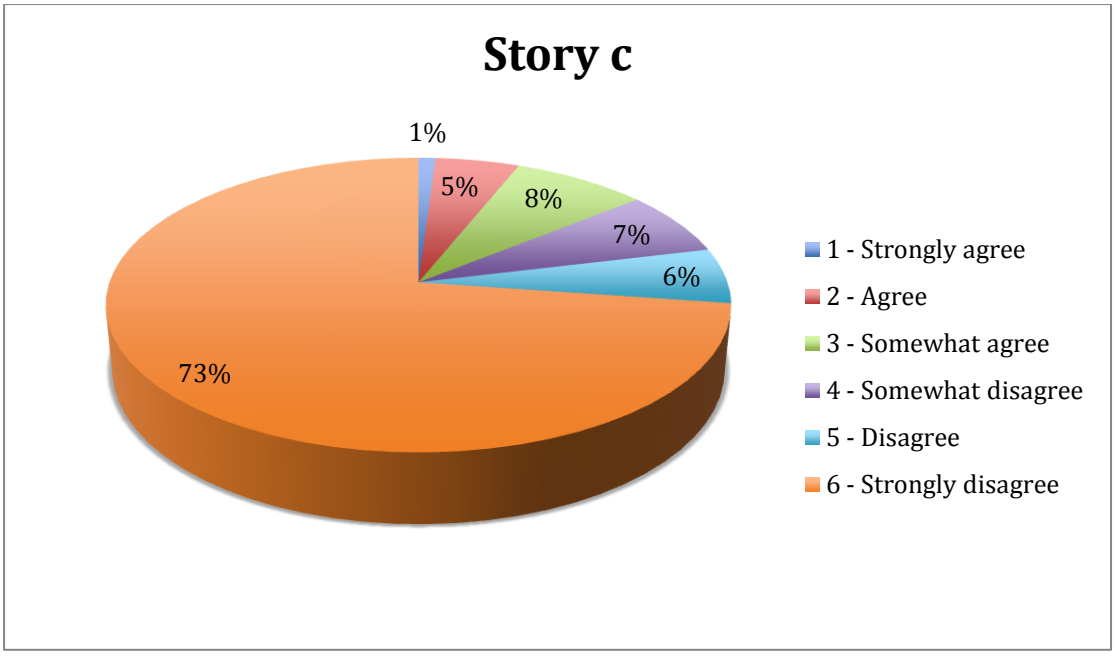
The responses given to the previous scenario correspond to the identifications made here. 54% of respondents strongly disagree that such a person should be held in esteem, and only a minority (11%) would agree to any degree.

The respondents articulated their readiness to disassociate from someone who committed fraud or corruption. One respondent explained that she has a work colleague who was charged for similar things and was similar to the person depicted here. She cannot afford not to speak to them because he still holds an important position but she does not respect him. According to her, if more people would do this it would become more difficult to commit fraud or corruption.

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.

Graph 15: Story c



Respondents predominantly disagreed (73%) with the solution chosen by the family described in the scenario. The disagreement was not due to the fact that the family did not choose to find other informal means to settle their problem, but to the fact that they gave up and "let the system win," one respondent exclaimed. Also, land continues to be largely seen as inalienable and thus to be made to leave or sell it is experienced as traumatic. Respondents often referenced the mass deportation and expulsion that occurred during the war and with memories so fresh one respondent noted "the Serbs wanted to drive me away from my land, and I would not let our own do that to me."

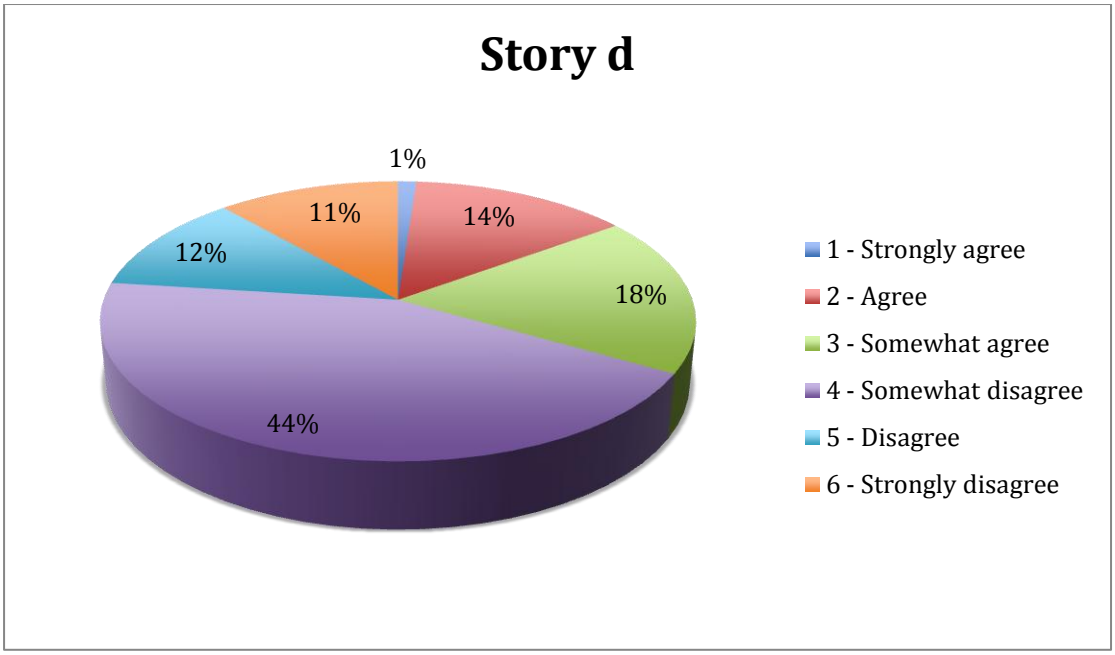
As has been discussed previously, illegal construction and payment of bribes for building permits is a major concern in Prishtina, as well as Kosovo overall. While it has become customary to offer a payment, or other in-kind contributions, the decision is a perplexing one. It is worth noting that earlier 19% of respondents had declared that they would denounce a wrongdoing. Interviews with owners of mountain homes located some 60 km from Prishtina revealed that most had made payments in form of fees to get a building permit, which cost them anything from 3,000 to 5,000 Euros. Many homes were apparently build without a permit but municipal officials, also receiving these payments, did not intervene when the violators were politicians or persons of influence.

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.

Graph 16: Story d

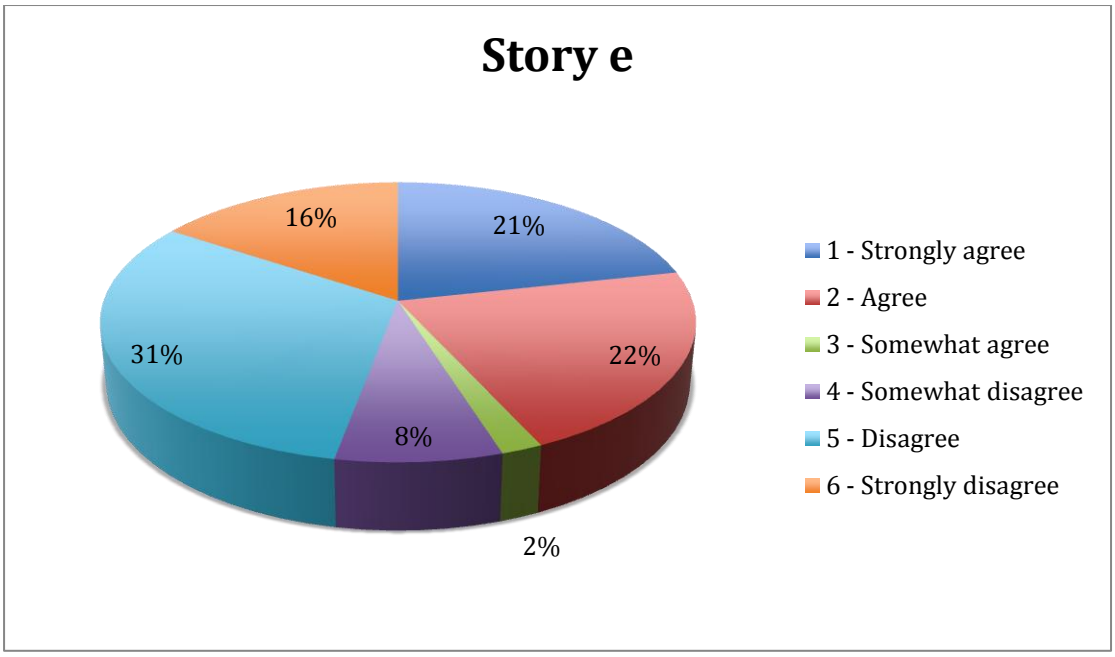


Similar to other responses thus far strong disagreement to finding connections to get things done is not expressed, although most respondents (67%) are found on the scale of disagreement. The implication was that introduction to the new school director, often assumed to have such positions as a results of a political favor, would lead to some kind of bribe and not just an opportunity to present the shop owners business plan or product. Others identified with the shop owner and his predicament: "I have been without work for some time. Once you get out of the game, it is difficult to get back in," explained an unemployed economist. Huge unemployment and lack of economic development in Kosovo have many citizens thinking about where to draw the line between ethical and illicit practices.

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.

Graph 17: Story e



This scenario elicited more "strong disagreement" and "disagreement," 16% and 31% respectively, then the previous one, also respectively 11% and 12%. However, overall disagreement to the previous scenario was 77% and here 54%.

A number of respondents commented that "securing an agreement" did not mean that she would pay them, something to which strong disagreement was made. Others commented that they really do not know how things are done in the NGO and donor sector and even assumed that this is common practice. A somewhat high percentage (44%) strongly agrees or agrees with the scenario. They explained that it was international donor money and the important thing was to receive the grant and implement the project, otherwise the money would go to another country. As noted earlier, Kosovars continue to rely on remittances and international funding. Today, an estimated seventeen percent of Kosovars live abroad, about three hundred and fifteen thousand, and, of these, 70% send remittances to family members in Kosova.[55] This means that every fifth family receives support from relatives abroad (amounting to more than the formal foreign aid Kosova receives). In 2004, Kosova ranked seventh in the amount of remittances received (including Europe and Asia), and was twentieth worldwide. For the year 2007, an estimated seventeen percent of Kosova's GDP came

[55] In large numbers they work in service, with men concentrated in construction, where only an estimated three percent have supervisory or decision-making positions. Women comprise thirty-five percent of the diaspora (and, on average, have fewer children than their families in Kosova). Of these women, 18% work in education and health. Good gender disaggregated data is missing, but the tendency is for women to work in education and health, earning less then men, but when employed they hold more socially prestigious employment.

from remittances, and, despite warnings that the global financial crisis would thwart this support, remittances increased in 2012.[56]

6. VALUES

6.1.What is expected of a leader in your community? (Select all that apply)

Graph 18: What is expected of a leader in a community

In order to understand what values are attributed to good leadership respondents were asked to select from a list all those characteristics they consider relevant or desirable in a leader in their community.

A very small percent of respondents (6%) appears to consider age relevant and therefore do not conform to the idea that younger people should exclusively learn from their elders. Although 35% (Graph 22) would characterize themselves as a person who listens to the advice of elders a distinction is made when speaking of leadership qualities. Young people are seen as innovators, capable and deserving of making own decisions, although there is some worry that they do not show respect, as do older generations. This is a considerable distinction if generally compared to Kosovo of some twenty years ago when age rank was a key determinant in decision-making and power,

[56] See Forum 2015 & Riinvest. *Diaspora dhe Politikat e Migracionit.* Prishtina: FORUM 2015, 2007.

particularly in the private sphere. On the other hand, younger generations have consistently been agents of change and challengers to the status quo in Kosovo.[57]

Holding religious values/beliefs (15%) is also not perceived as relevant for a leader, although 50% of respondents considered themselves on the religious scale and 14% did not answer the question (Graph 23), speaking to a Kosovar commitment to a secular state.

In addition, 74% out of 100 thought that a leader should "live their life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible" and out of the same 100 those that considered following rules relevant, because they secure order in a society, where 69%. While many respondents claimed that they aim to rely on themselves, as one respondent noted: "As often as I can. I do not want to be a burden," they also agreed that following rules is what makes a good leader. According to them, the assumed collective responsibilities in protecting order and following rules are closely connected to respect for social norms, but also enable autonomous decision-making.

Similarly, only 9% stated that it was important for a leader to have an intense social life, whereby 26% self-identified and 61% did not. This was particularly noted as relevant in institutional settings, as exemplified in these responses: "If you work based on rules then others can not influence you," "Focus on your work. Politicians spend too much money on dinners and in restaurant," and "I like having guests but none of us has the time anyone. It used to be different." Being able to follow rules was seen as connected to having to rely less on others, and therefore autonomy was not seen standing in opposition to order. Also, a more dynamic pace of everyday-life has greatly transformed notions of time and the kinds of activities people find important.

The same respondent cited above, continued: "In our society family is very important. We love and respect our families. This is part of our tradition. We take care of the elderly. But things are changing. I expect my children to take care of me when I get older, but not like my generation used to do, or how some people still believe." However, others also commented that it is "a pity we are changing some very positive social values we used to have."

Therefore, 67% agreed that leaders must respect traditions, because they make up one person´s culture, but 64% also considered themselves autonomous individuals (Graph 19). A better understanding of which traditions respondents had in mind would shed

[57] See Schwandner-Sievers, Stephanie. "Beyond the family? Making Modernity and New Social Capital in Yugoslav Socialist Kosovo." In *Das neue Kosovo: Eigenstaatlichkeit, Demokratie und „Europa" im juengsten Staat des Kontinents*, by Konrad Clewing and Vedran Dzihic. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2011.

further light on these responses. Based on conversations with the respondents, relying less on others, securing order, and cultural belonging were significantly more important that autonomy, and while rules could be broken if they are unjust, preserving and protecting ones culture was a priority. As one respondent elaborated: "Traditions are very important, although younger generations have a different outlook. They are not always wrong. But we need to know who we are, our language, and our history… This is very important."

At the same time, the values that the majority attributes to their character are also qualities sought in a leader: 82% stated that they follow rules (Graph 20), 67% respect tradition (Graph 21), and 74% take advice for the elderly (Graph 22).

48% of respondents thought that a good leader would not accept strangers in the community if most of the people wished so. While only 6% considered such to be true of themselves and 27% halfway true of themselves, 24% did not consider this at all true of themselves (Graph 24). It appears that the respondents had divided opinions when acceptance of strangers is concerned. If non-acceptance of strangers were considered a sign of conservative or progressive values, this question would have to be further explored in order to gauge a better understanding of imagined relationships such strangers would engender.

51% said that loyalty to one's superior or boss is a very important characteristic for a leader, and was the one character description which most identified in themselves (63%). 56% said that a leader would try not to show their true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric, and 67% self-identified (Graph 27). 34% thought that a leader should not show to others their economic standards of living in order to avoid jealousy, whereby 58% self identified and 41% did not (Graph 28). The respondents frowned upon flaunting ones wealth, and harsh criticism was given to those "who think money can buy everything." Many said they were not concerned over jealousy "if one earned their wealth by working hard," but did think that it is not "tasteful," "can be offensive" and "can be hurtful" when one considers how high unemployment and poverty are in Kosovo. The common phrase that "money does not make you human" was repeated.

6.2 Self-identification with character

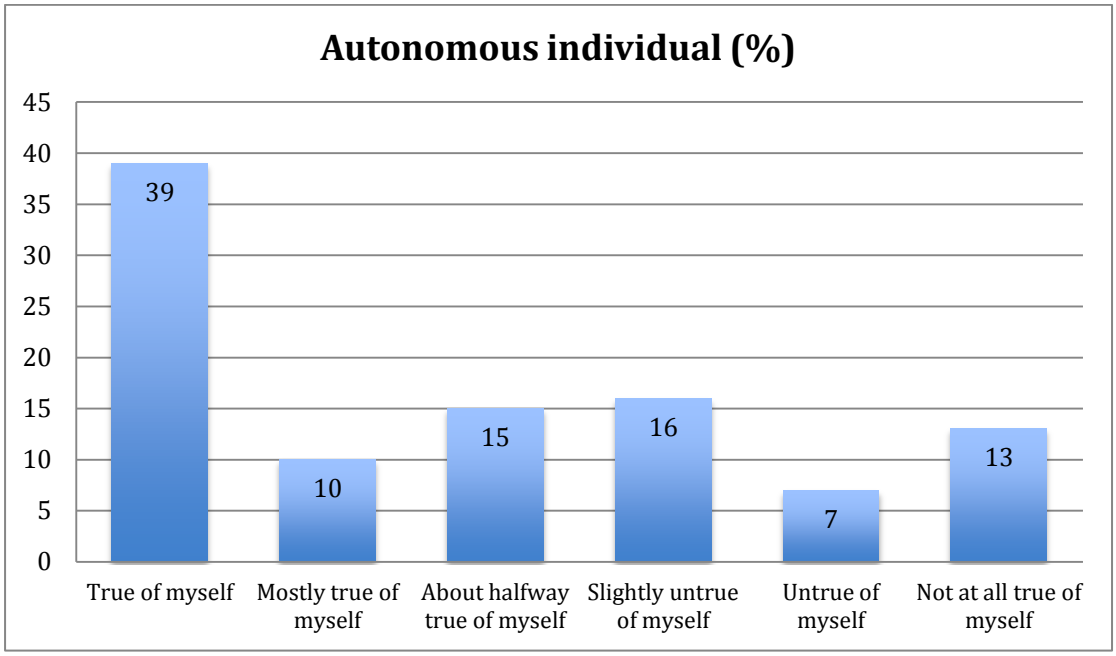
Participants were asked how they relate, or self-identify, with 10 different personalized characteristics. Respondents were asked: "From 1 (Not at All True of Myself) to 6 (True of Myself) can you tell me how similar you think this person is to you?"

The responses are calculated in percentages and presented in graphs below, whereas they were discussed in relation to the question on leadership characteristics above (Section 6.1).

Character a.

They live their life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible.

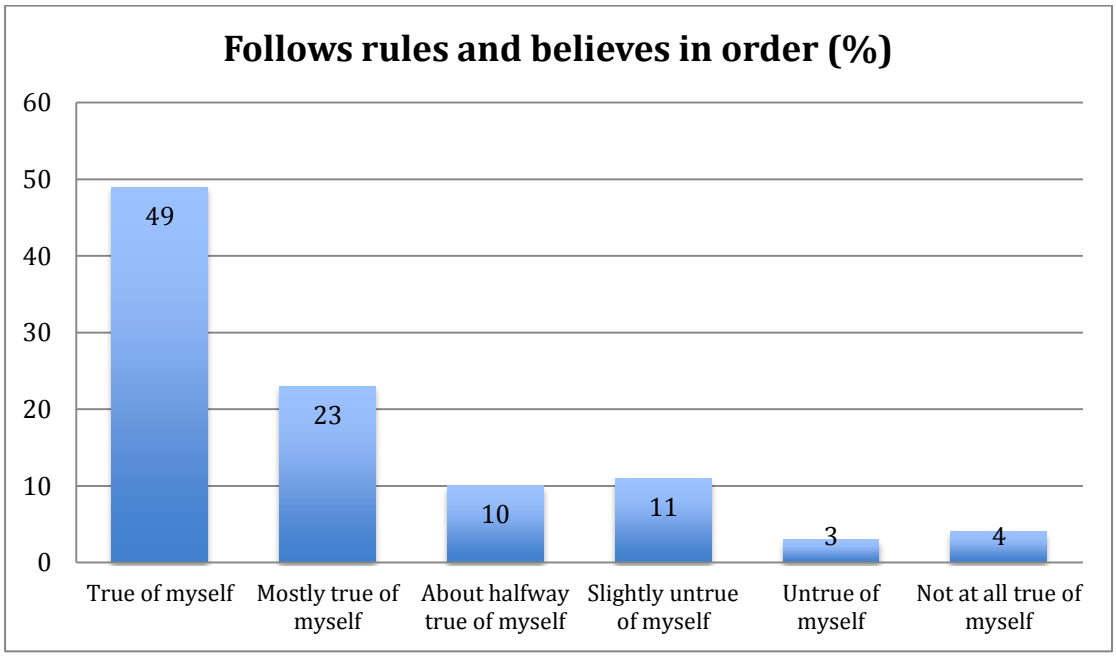
Graph 19: Character a



Character b.

They would not break the rules because rules are what make order in a society

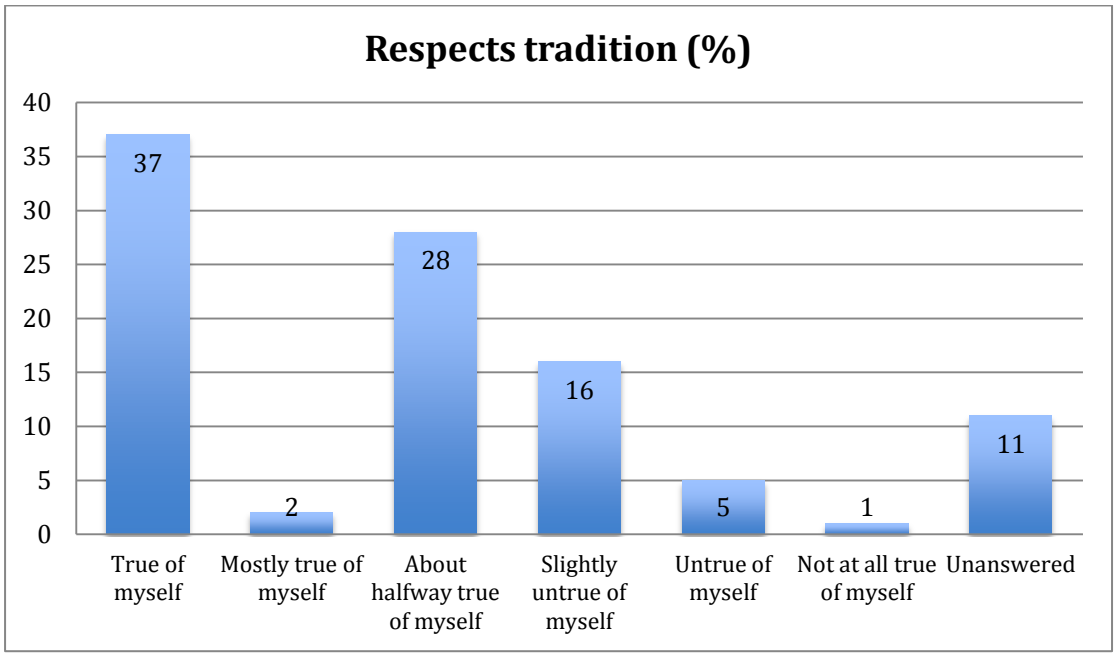
Graphic 20: Character b



Character c.

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

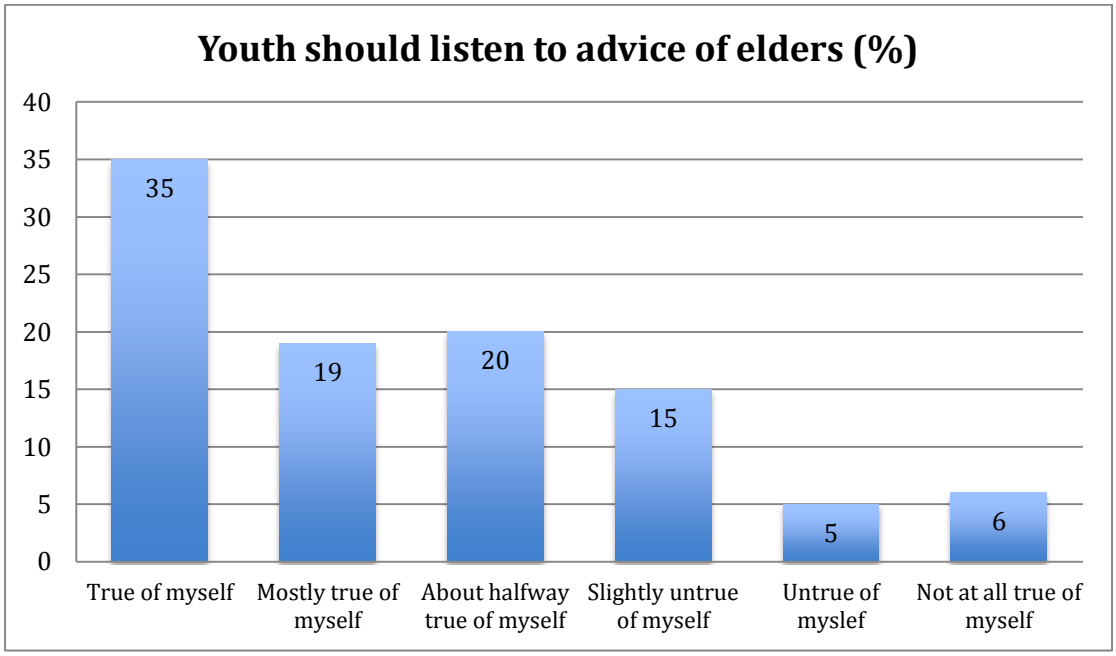
Graphic 21: Character c



Character d.

They believe that young generations should learn more from listening to the advice of the elderly.

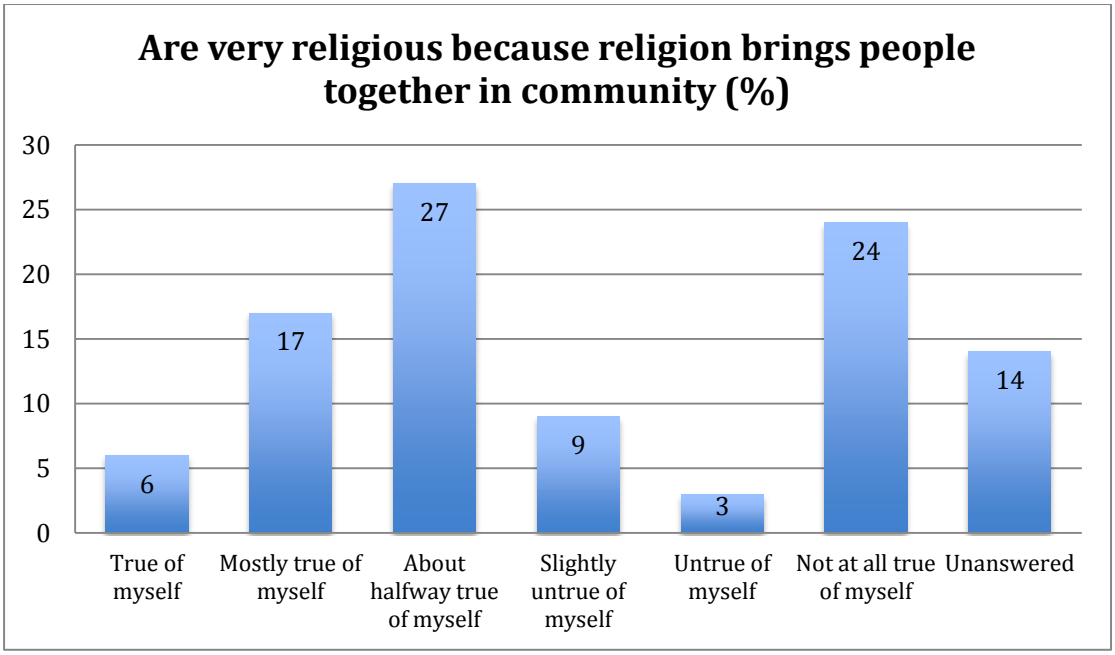
Graphic 22: Character d



Character e.

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

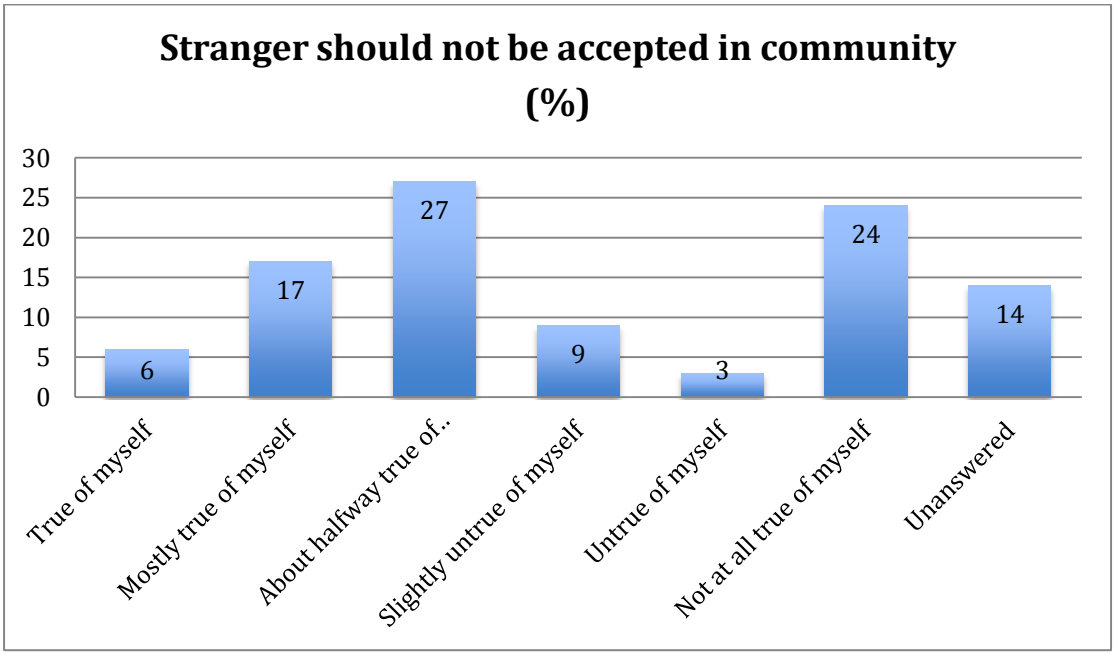
Graphic 23: Character e



Character f.

They think that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so.

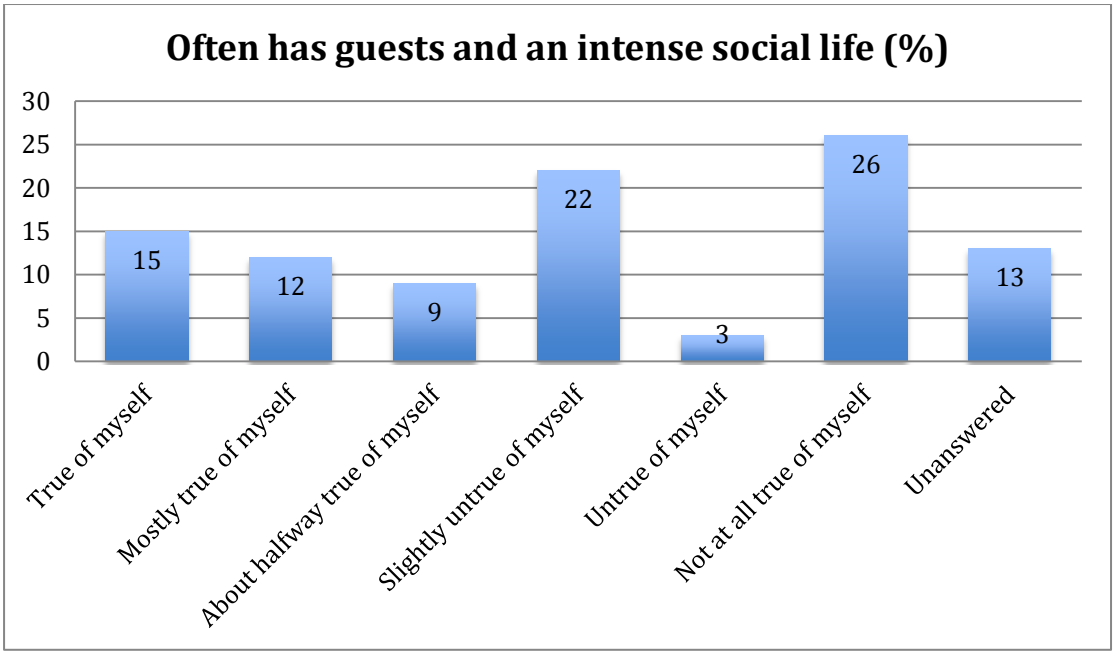
Graphic 24: Character f



Character g.

Guests often visit their house and they have an intense social life.

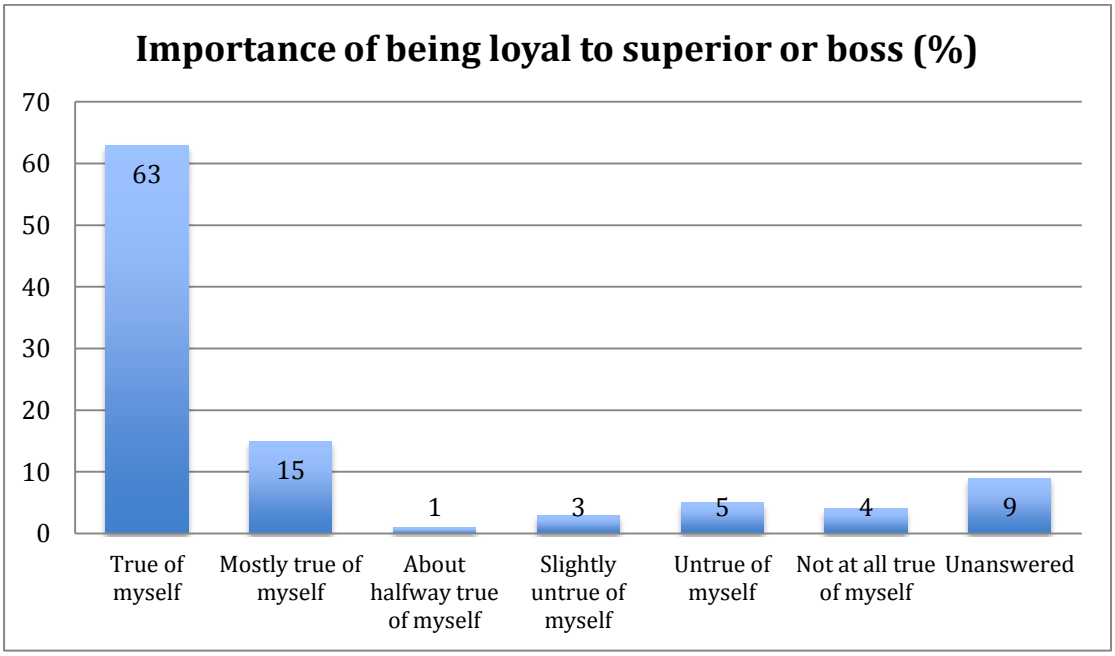
Graphic 25: Character g



Character h.

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

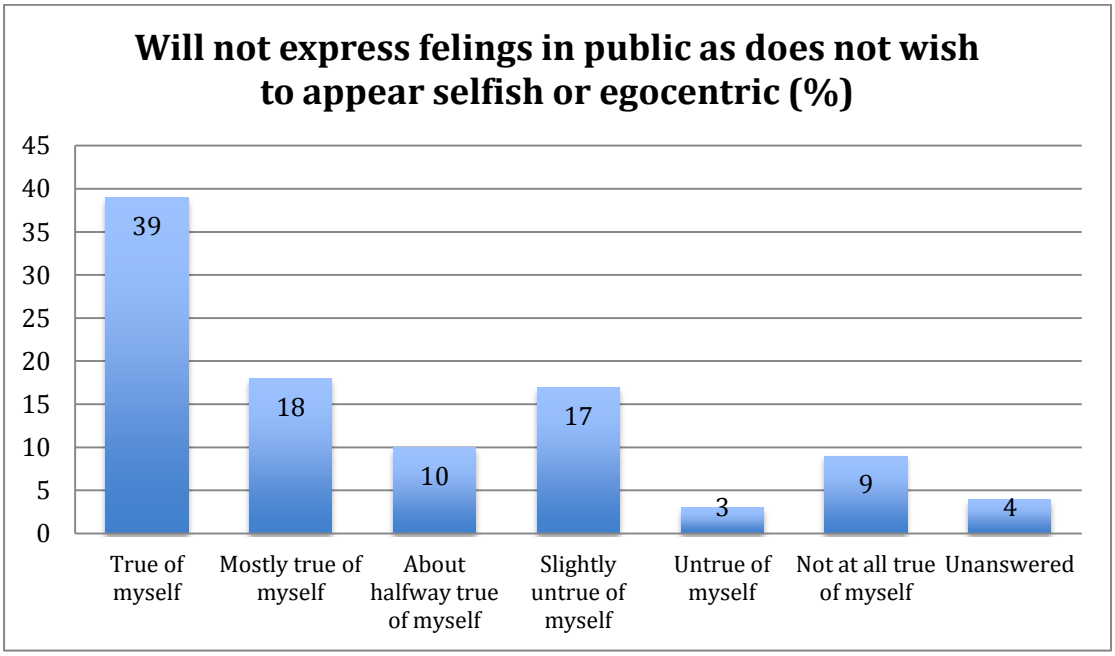
Graphic 26: Character h



Character i.

They will try not to show their true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric

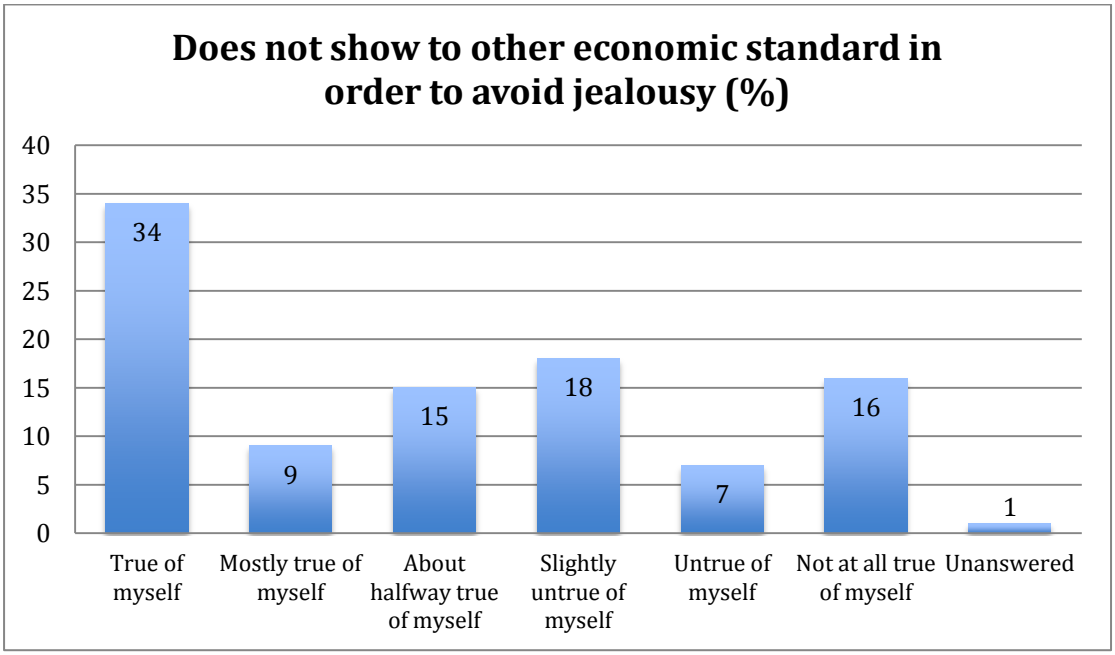
Graphic 27: Character i



Character j.

They prefer not to show to others their economic standards of living in order to avoid jealousy

Graphic 28: Character j

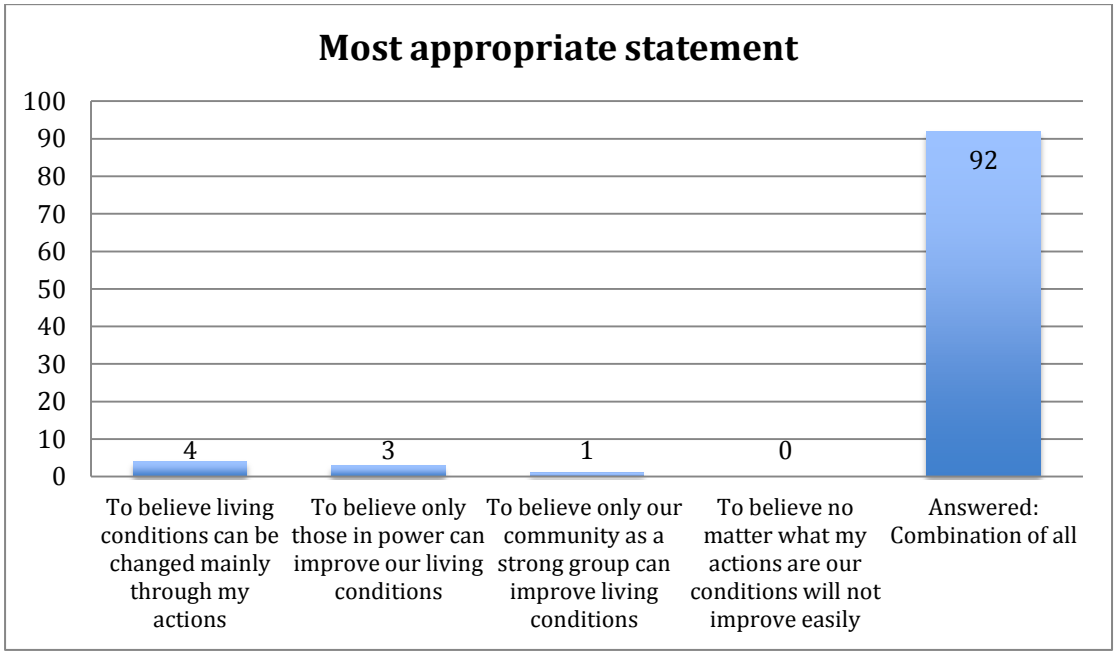


6.2 Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you:

One of the last items in the survey given to the participants was to choose from the following statements they deem most appropriate to them:

- 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

Graph 29: "Most appropriate to you"



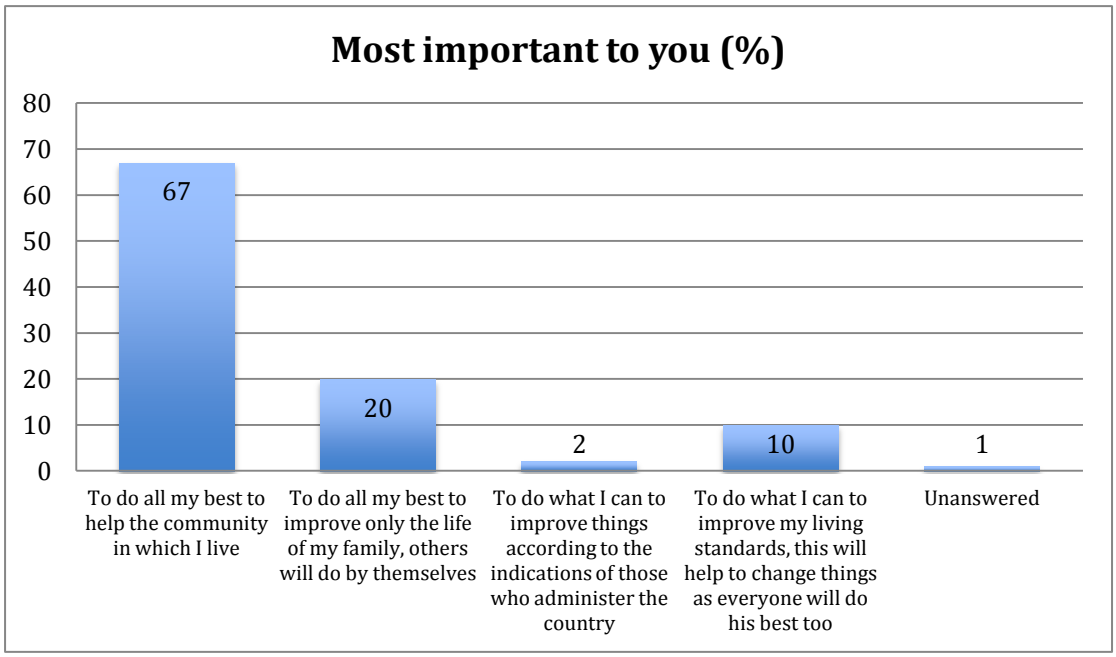
As the graph above shows, respondents were uneasy to think of themselves as falling within only one of the listed categories. Rather, 92% selected all of the statements, with the exception of "To believe no matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily." One of the main explanations given was that "It depends on the situation." Read comparatively with results discussed here overall, the ability to negotiate various relations and situations, and flexibility, may be considered as traits relevant to the respondents of this survey. Transformations in political and economic circumstances in Kosovo, if not considered tenuous are at least treated with some caution. Also, here it is relevant to remember that respondents considered the state and citizens just as important to wellbeing, and attributed relevance to a number of various actors (Graph 6).

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

The final question participants were asked required them to choose from a list of statements the one that was most important to them. They were instructed to: "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

Graphic 30: "Most important to you"



The majority of respondents, 67%, declared that the statement most important to them was to do their best in helping the community in which they live. A small percent, in comparison, claimed that they would only focus on their family and consider that others can fend for themselves (20%). Also, only 10% thought that focusing on improving ones standards would trickle down to others.

As has been discussed previously, the respondents paid most attention to problems in their communities, and expressed concerns over matters that affected their everyday lives. A shift from concerns on matters "of national importance" to the community level has been significant (Section 4.1). That only 2% would follow what was indicated to them by those who administer the country may speak to issues of trust and perspectives on power. The responses may also be treated as an indication of the relevance of community over personal betterment, but also concern of how the first affects the other.

8. Conclusions

The research presented and discussed here aims to provide some new perspectives and questions in comparison to the more normative approaches in research on corruption. Envisioned as an ethnography of corruption the research set out to inquire into the social and cultural relations – as well as their ongoing transformation – that shape, enable, alter and preclude practices of corruption. The data, as previously noted, was collected through a survey carried out with 100 respondents in Prishtina, Kosovo's capital. In addition, the research entailed interviews with citizens, NGO and think-tank workers, representatives of public institutions, one focus group, as well as observations at public workshops and roundtable discussions.

The research was partly carried out along the more traditional definition of ethnography as participant-observation, and partly as a reflexive perspective on the methodological and conceptual categories employed. The initial argument was that "corruption" is not necessarily something we can observe, and therefore the aim has been to begin to unearth and more critically understand the social and cultural dynamics that permeate practices of corruption. Therefore, the research does not offer any conclusive observations on the relations between socio-cultural norms and values with corruption. Rather, it utilizes the insight gained to identify some relevant themes and questions for further inquiry. An important recommendation is that ethnographies of corruption must remain suspicious of simple correlations made between cultural values, corruption, and illegality.

The diversity of responses and perspectives on questions and issues discussed with the respondents speak to socio-economic differences present in Prishtina as an urban context. Also, the intersection between the ongoing transformations in the bureaucratic apparatus (political, educational, economic, etc.) and shifting ideological formations (whether considered as state-building, transitions, democratization, marketization, etc.) provide a compelling context to further inquire into social change and relations of power that permeate practices of corruption.

As is common practice in studies on corruption, this research also began with an inquiry into trust, and particularly trust in institutions. Here, however, the question of trust in institutions is discussed along the terms offered by respondents themselves. Specifically, there was no predetermination of what ideally constitutes a trustworthy or untrustworthy institution. The relevant observation was that access to services and interactions with representatives of institutions frame people's definitions of trust as a relationship among actors with diverse socio-economic and political resources. Interviews, in particular, showed that people build trust in multiple ways and as such does not always give an indication of lack or presence of corruption.

Respondents reported cases of good services in municipalities, district councils, the police force, with health care providers, and in public schools. The same institutions,

however, were also noted as examples of bad experiences. The almost equal evaluation of municipal services, with 32 good and 33 bad experiences reported, is an important example. Overall, judgments about bureaucracy and experiences with institutions are made through interpretations of past and present experiences, as well as changing social status (e.g. social capital that may be leveraged). The data collected reflects that influence, often defined as connections, is a relevant category through which shifts in socio-economic positions and social capital is harnessed through political affiliations, and shapes distribution of rights and responsibilities between citizens and institutions.

In particular, when quantified, trust was highest with health centers and doctors, with local associations, and district councils. Trust in the judiciary and local government was significantly low. The latter appears to be in a correlative relationship with problems in the community identified by the respondents, as well confirmed in other research reports. Kosovars, overall, continue to worry most about unemployment. On the other hand, the respondents here consider the state of urban infrastructure to be just as severe, something they consider a direct responsibility of local government. While respondents recognize the relevance and influence of international actors, systemic economic transformations, and the fragility of new institutions in Kosovo overall, their responses also speak of their increased interest to focus on the local level, their neighborhoods, daily lives, and the exercise of their rights as citizens. A large majority considers that they cannot receive municipal services relying solely on their own resources. Therefore, "blurry arrangements," between the ethical and unethical, legal and illegal, are maintained.

The lack of a dominant preference for resolving problems can be explained by important ethical distinctions made by the respondents. Perceived lack of fairness, as well as social and economic inequality, was seen as a direct contributor to the unsuccessful resolution of a problem. In addition, they were almost equally split between those relying on formal and informal channels for problem resolution. While connections and gift-giving may be justified in some instances, clear lines were drawn in practices that are considered as harmful to social development; these include the buying of votes, nepotism in employment practices, using scandals against political rivals, gendered discrimination, discrimination on economic grounds, fraud.

The state continues to be seen as the main potential contributor to the wellbeing of citizens, but citizens, non-governmental organizations and activists are seen as just as relevant. In particular, the expectation is that citizens should monitor and conduct checks and balances over the government, as well as the private sector.

Civil service, which continues to be one of the largest employment sectors, remains the most problematic. Public officials are seen as both vulnerable to interference and operate through interference, particularly in procurement, employment, and especially in privatization procedures. Therefore, the overwhelming majority of respondents

indicated that they aim to avoid bureaucracy as much as possible. As such, relying on friends and family becomes relevant, but so does disassociation from those who committed fraud or corruption.

It is difficult to summarize or offer a meaningful analysis at this stage of how all of the above said observations and conclusions relate to social values and norms. The majority of respondents declared that it is very important to them to do their best in helping the community in which they live. The ability to negotiate various relations and situations, and flexibility, may be considered as traits relevant to the respondents of this survey. Individual, group, and institutional rights and responsibilities are seen as both stable and dynamic. What may be considered as typical "conservative" and "liberal" values do not dominate singularly; this is well reflected in the kinds values and expectations attributed to leadership. High value is places on individual autonomy but social order achieved partly through adherence to select traditions, is what characterizes an ongoing negotiation of political, social and economic relations.