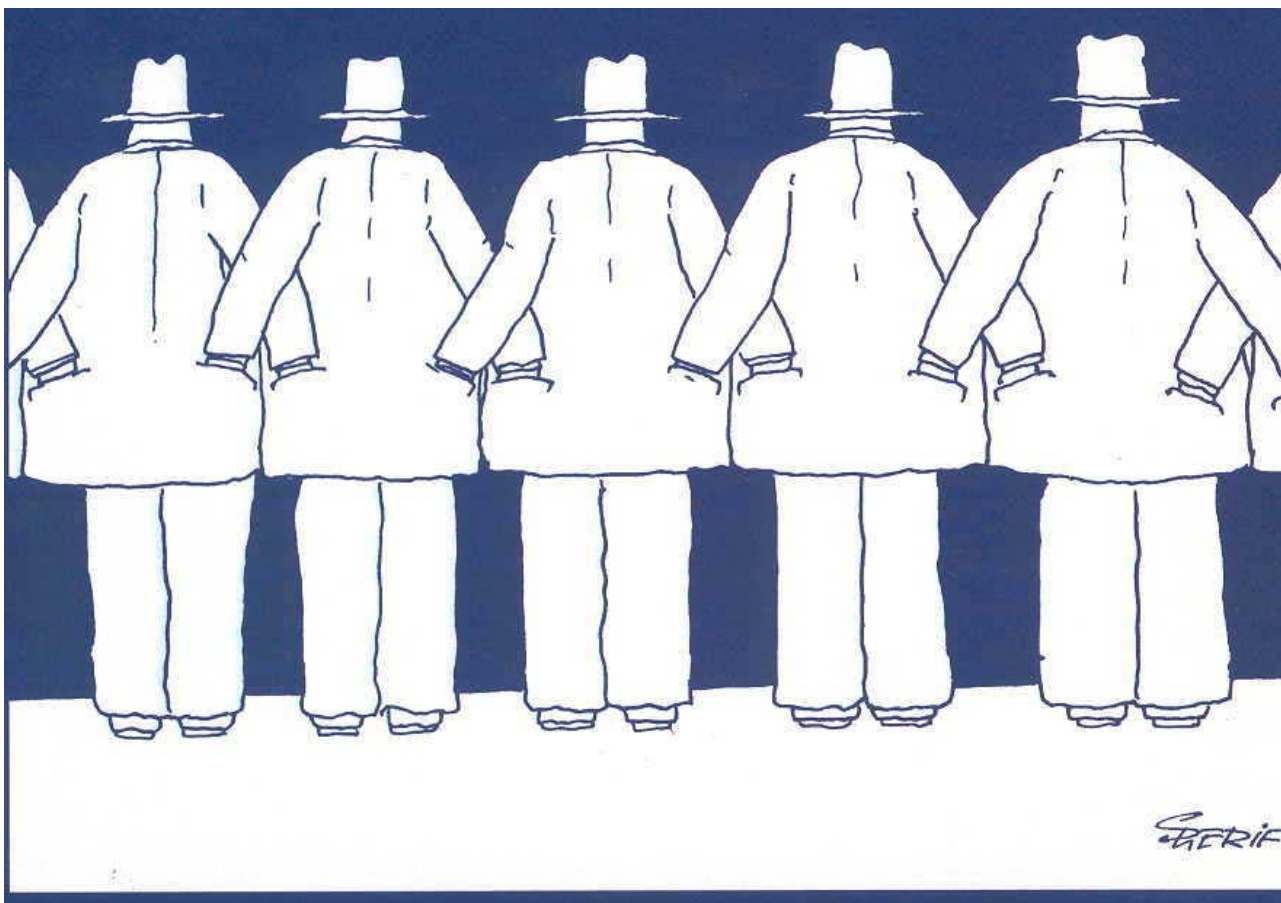


# **COUNTRY CORRUPTION ASSESSMENT: PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY**



**Yerevan – 2002**

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*On behalf of the CRD/TI Armenia, I would like to express my gratitude to all those who helped us implement the first stage of the Country Corruption Assessment Study - Public Opinion Survey. I am grateful to the OSCE Yerevan Office, British Government and USAID Mission in Armenia for providing financial and technical assistance to the Project. I want to address my special thanks to our partner organizations, members of the National Anti-Corruption NGO Coalition - Civil Society Development Union and Development Network. I highly appreciate voluntary contribution of the representatives of the Center for Policy Analysis, AUA, and the International Center for Human Development. And, it is worthy mentioning that without hard work and true commitment of all the survey team members the implementation of this Project would not have been possible.*

*The following materials represent the results of the study exclusively aimed at the establishment of a baseline against which to measure future changes and to determine what is going on wrong in Armenia in the given field, but not at collecting information to criticize individuals or institutions. In this respect, I am glad to mention that most of the respondents - households, businessmen and public officials - were quite supportive and cooperative in sharing their opinion on corruption-related issues. When widely disseminated, the survey findings will hopefully raise public awareness and generate new public debates. They can be also used as a catalyst for collective statements and joint initiatives of all those who are willing and able to make real changes to improve the situation in the country. Success of the Anti-Corruption Movement in Armenia is evidently conditioned by decisive and united actions of all the interested parties.*

*Amalia Kostanyan*

*Chairwoman of the CRD/TI Armenia*

*Chair of the Board of the National  
Anti-Corruption NGO Coalition*

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## **INTRODUCTION**

On-going political and economic reforms in Armenia are currently being hindered by wide spread corruption, poorly functioning system of governance, social tension, and regional conflicts. There is an urgent need in the country to promote transparent and accountable governance, assist the general public in avoiding corrupt practices, ensure citizens' participation in the appropriate policy making process, prevent corrupt behavior of the state authorities, investigate cases of corruption and publicize names of those who are benefiting at the expense of others, etc. Though corruption level of a country is not easy to measure because of the secrecy and commonality of interests among its perpetrators, surveys of some description are internationally recognized as an essential tool in the context of containing corruption.

In April – May 2002, the Center for Regional Development/Transparency International Armenia (CRD/TI Armenia), in cooperation with its partner organizations Civil Society Development Union and Development Network, implemented a project entitled "Country Corruption Assessment: Public Opinion Survey" supported by the OSCE Yerevan Office and funded by the British Government and USAID Mission in Armenia. The purpose of the nationwide study was to obtain the perception of households, businessmen and public officials based on their personal opinion and/or immediate experience related to cases of corruption.

The findings of this country corruption assessment will serve as a good and up-to-date supplement to all the available data, for example, the results of the public opinion survey conducted in 1999 by the Civil Society Development Union, with support of LGI/OSI Budapest or the findings of the 2001 study carried out by the Armenian Democratic Forum within the Public Sector Reform Program funded by the World Bank. It should be also mentioned that in Armenia the public officials' opinion on the corruption-related issues has been examined for the first time within this project.

To examine how people understand, define and evaluate corruption, and how in their opinion it can be eliminated, overall, 1400 people (1,000 individuals, 200 businessmen and 201 public officials) were asked to answer the following main questions:

- How problematic is corruption in Armenia, since when has it been existed, and how has the level of corruption been changed in recent five years?
- What is corruption, what are its main causes, motives and consequences, who mainly initiates it?
- What is the level of corruption in the various state institutions, sectors and services?
- How would people behave when offered to take or to give bribe and why?
- What are the solutions, is there a political will to reduce corruption in Armenia and who can play a determining role in improving the current situation?

The survey findings are presented in *Chapters 1-3*. The *Summary* contains the comparative analysis of the households, businessmen and public officials' opinions. *Appendix 1* introduces the survey methodology and fieldwork. The most frequent comments made by the respondents regarding the asked questions are included in *Appendix 2*.

## HOUSEHOLDS

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Out of total 1,000 of the households, 54.50% were male and 45.50% - female; 20.20% belonged to the age group of “18-30”; 38.10% - “31-46”; 26.60% - “46-60”; and 15.10% - “61 and above”. Of all the respondents, 4.80% had incomplete secondary education; 39.60% - secondary education; 15.20% - vocational education; 9.20% - incomplete higher education; and 30.20% - higher education. The largest percentage of the interviewed households (33.20%) were unemployed; 18.40% were retired; 24.90% worked in the private sector; 13.80% worked in the public sector; 7% were students; and the majority of 2.7% who mentioned “other” option were housewives.

### GENERAL QUESTIONS:

29% of all the respondents stated that corruption is an extremely problematic issue in Armenia; 20% found it very problematic; 31% - problematic; 14% - somewhat problematic; and only 4% though it is not problematic (see *Figure 1a*). According to the survey data, the distribution of answers by gender is almost equal (27.50% and 31.64% correspondingly); while the numbers differ depending on the interviewees' age. Respondents of the age group of “31-45” had a more negative evaluation of the situation (95 respondents chose the answer “extremely problematic”) than those of the age categories of “46-60” - (85 respondents), “18-30” - (57 respondents), and “61 and above” (52 respondents).

There was also an evident trend among the surveyed households with higher education to be more critical of the current situation than others - 37.08% of the respondents of this education group selected “extremely problematic” option. For the rest of the respondents the distribution was as follows: 15.21% with incomplete higher education; 34% with vocational education; 22.97% with secondary education; 22.16% with incomplete secondary education; and 5 out of 10 respondents with elementary education mentioned corruption as “extremely problematic” issue. As to the distribution of answers by occupation, 34.78% of the retired people; 34.33% of the unemployed households; 30.83% of the public sector employees; 23.03% of the private sector employees; 9.58% of the entrepreneurs; and 7.14% of the students marked the “extremely problematic” answer.

As shown in *Figure 1b*, the evaluation of the situation also varies from one region to another. Corruption was seen as a bigger problem in Gegharkunik Marz than in other Marzes - 84.93% of the respondents from this region stated that it is “extremely problematic” and “very problematic”. Yerevan came to the second place – 71.03% of the interviewees living in the Capital City found corruption to be extremely and very problematic. The third was Aragatsotn Marz, where 68.18% of the surveyed individuals shared the same negative opinion.

*Figure 2* demonstrates that 31.60% of the respondents thought that corruption occurred in Armenia before the formation of the USSR; 27.50% supposed it happened after gaining independence; 25.10% - after the formation of the USSR; and 14.10% said corruption always existed in the region. *Figure 3* presents the answers to the next question concerning the recent changes of the level of corruption. More than one third of the interviewees (344) noted that the level of corruption in the country had increased significantly during the last five years; 326 said it had increased; 248 supposed it had not changed, and 28 mentioned it had decreased.

Numbers of the answers indicating a significant rise of the level of corruption were almost evenly distributed by gender (32.47% male and 30.10% female). As to the age distribution, 45% of the respondents of the age group of “60 and above”; 31.32% - of the age of “46-60”; 27.22% - of the age of “31-45; and 29.20% - of the age of “18-30” believed that corruption had increased significantly. When looked at the data based on the education level, it become obvious that one third of the respondents from each education group indicated that the level of corruption had essentially increased. Among the regions, Gegharkunik Marz was leading again with 58.90% of interviewees specifying a considerable growth of the corruption level.

As it is seen in see *Figure 4*, almost all the respondents (97.40%) associated corruption with giving bribes; taking bribes (80.90%); and abuse of power (76.70%). Only a very small percentage of households related the act of giving/taking gifts (24.9%) or reference from a friend (22.7%) to corruption. Comparison of the responses regarding the question “Who mainly initiates corruption in Armenia?” demonstrated the following distribution pattern: 945 interviewees pointed to the state authorities; 412 – to citizens; 252 – to the business sector; and another 252 – to political parties (see *Figure 5*).

As the assessment findings showed (see *Figure 6*), in respondents' opinion, corruption in Armenia is mainly caused by the poor law enforcement (838 interviewees); imperfect legislation/regulations/procedures (693 interviewees); and the absence of appropriate control and punishment mechanisms (590 interviewees). *Figure 7* illustrates that more than half of the respondents explained the corrupt behavior by the willingness to speed up the processes/procedures (616), and by the absence of other ways to get things done (608). Identifying consequences of corruption, the surveyed households paid more attention to a drastic increase of the poverty level (665); an increased number of criminal and law-breaking cases (658); and an enlarged level of migration (652).

### SPECIFIC QUESTIONS:

As demonstrated in *Table 1*, the following 3 state institutions were most frequently pointed out to be extremely corrupt: courts (454 respondents), the Prosecutor's Office (433 respondents) and the Prime Minister's Office (344). However, when asked to particularly name the three most corrupt institutions, the interviewees typically said they are all corrupt and it is difficult to select the worst cases. Some respondents referred to their last year's experience of giving bribes to the state institutions/sectors/services. *Figure 9* illustrates that the majority of the reported cases (11) were related to the local self-government bodies; 8 - to courts; and 3 - to the Prosecutor's Office; while the Prime Minister's Office was not mentioned at all.

According to the answers to the question regarding corruption in different levels of government system, most interviewees (483) said that it exists mainly in the high level; others (379) indicated all levels; and the third group (229) thought it takes place in the middle level of government (see *Figure 8*). Though the distribution of the responses by regions does not vary much, respondents from Tavush, Gegharkunik and Yerevan more emphasized the high-level corruption than all others.

*Table 2* shows that the most corrupt area, in the respondents' opinion, is traffic police (515 - "extremely corrupt" and 174 - "very corrupt"); whereas military is put in the second place (466 - "extremely corrupt" and 186 - "very corrupt"); and healthcare comes the third (432 - "extremely corrupt" and 186 - "very corrupt"). Here again, all the interviewees stated that they could not select a specific sector or service to be the most "hot" spot since they all are corrupt. As seen in *Figure 10*, the majority of personal cases of bribery was related to the healthcare (173 cases); military (129), and education (110). Interestingly, the latter was not chosen earlier to be a "leading" corrupt sector. The amounts indicated by the respondents, as well as frequency of the reported unofficial payments, are presented in *Table 3*.

Only one third of the respondents said that they would not take bribe if offered because it is unacceptable for them; 27.70% mentioned that they would take it because everybody does so, and 23% said they would take if the person offering it has a high income (see *Figure 11*). 16.10% of the respondents pointed out that they would not take bribe if there is a risk; 3.30% specified that they would officially report to the respective authorities; while 2.50% would report to them unanimously. 13.30% of the interviewees could not answer this question; 2.20% provided with other answers. There is some trend among the surveyed male to be more willing to take bribe (33%) than among female (21%). Also, there seems to be almost no difference among the responses given by different age groups: 30.2% of the interviewees in the age group of "18-30"; 25.7% - of the age of "31-45"; 28.7% - of the age of "46-60"; and 27.8% of the age of "61 and above" said they would take bribe.

When asked if they would give bribe, the largest percentage of those interviewed (47.20%) answered that they would try to find "useful" contacts; 29.70% mentioned they would try to negotiate; and 19.10% would pay without any clarification (see *Figure 12*). 4.80% would officially report to the respective authorities; 2.40% would report unanimously; 8.60% could not answer the question; and 12.70% gave other answers, most of which were "I would not give" and "I would have to give" options. In this respect, the difference between male and female respondents who would give bribe without any clarification is small (19.60% and 18.50% correspondingly). Also, men tend to negotiate (32.80%) and use personal contacts (49%) more than women (25.90% and 45.10% respectively). The answers did not vary much among the respondents of different age group either.

It is worth paying attention to the fact that 77.40% of the surveyed households proposed strengthening law enforcement in order to reduce corruption in Armenia; 57.30% mentioned about stricter control and punishment mechanisms and 52.20% pointed out the improvement and simplification of the existing legislation/procedures/regulations (see *Figure 13*). As indicated by the survey data, 302 out of all the respondents believed that there is political will in the country to fight corruption, while 485 stated that there is no willingness to change the situation. However, when asked about the government anti-corruption

initiatives, only 126 out of 1000 interviewees said that they were aware of them (see *Figure 14*). As shown in *Figure 15*, 89 respondents out of 126 found the above-mentioned initiatives ineffective, 26 considered them somewhat effective, only 10 thought they were effective, and only one found them to be very effective.

Among the three main sources of the corruption-related information mentioned by the respondents were mass media (65%), rumors (59.70%), and personal cases (59.40%). The analysis showed that the majority of the interviewees (771) thought that the President could play a determining role in reducing corruption in Armenia; 455 respondents marked the Government, 429 referred to the National Assembly and 419 mentioned the law enforcement bodies (see *Figure 16*). Of all the respondents, 1.60% supposed that corruption could be completely eradicated in Armenia; 43.30% stated that it could be limited to a certain degree; 21.90% believed it could be reduced significantly; whereas 27.30% thought it could not be eliminated at all (see *Figure 17*). Overall, more than half of the respondents (66.80%) have a positive opinion regarding the possible improvements of the situation in the country.



Figure 1a. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?

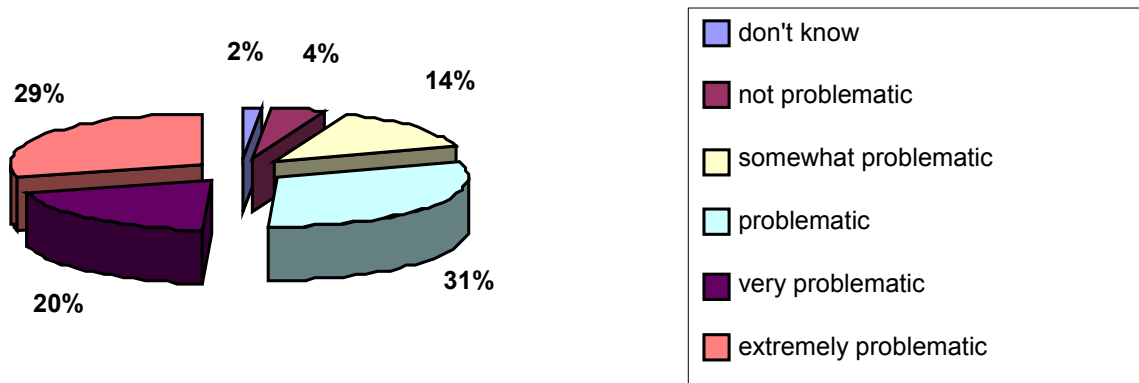
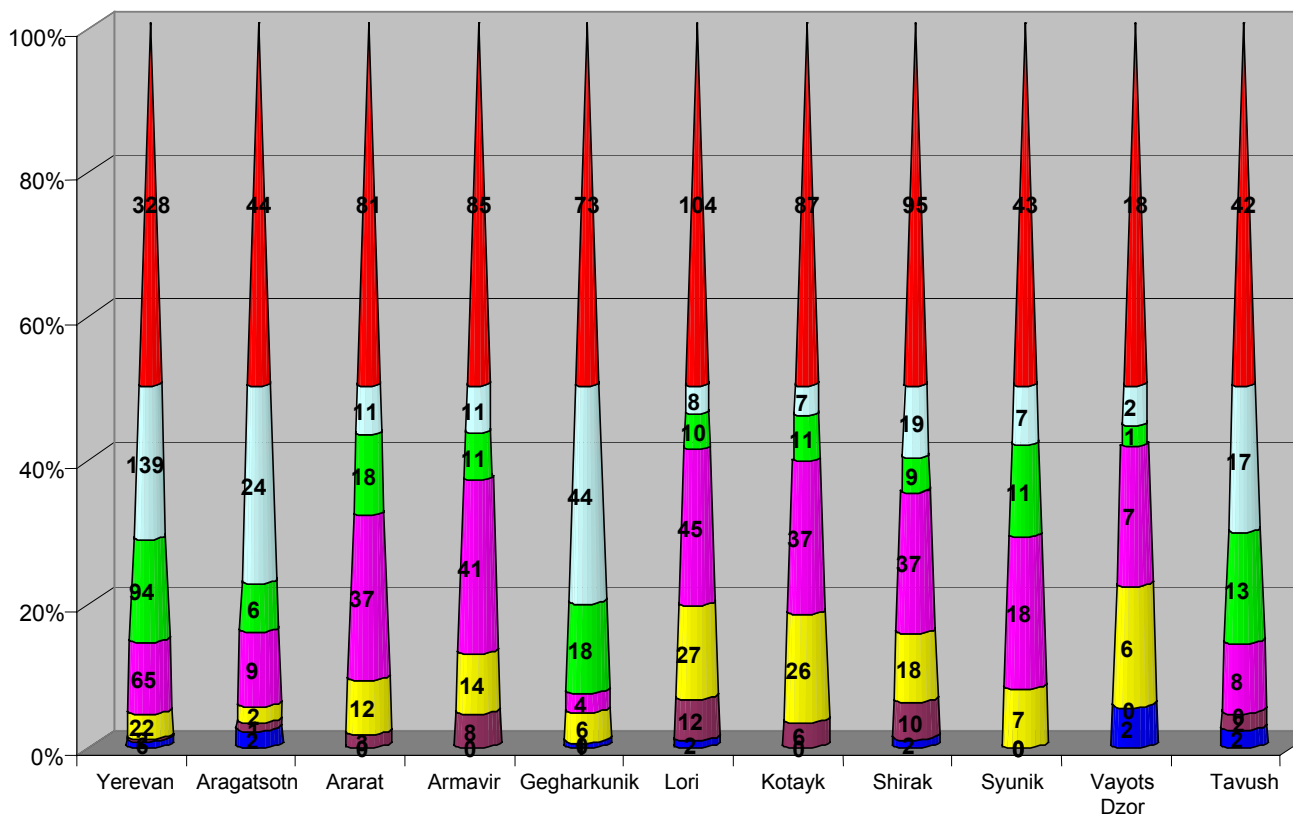
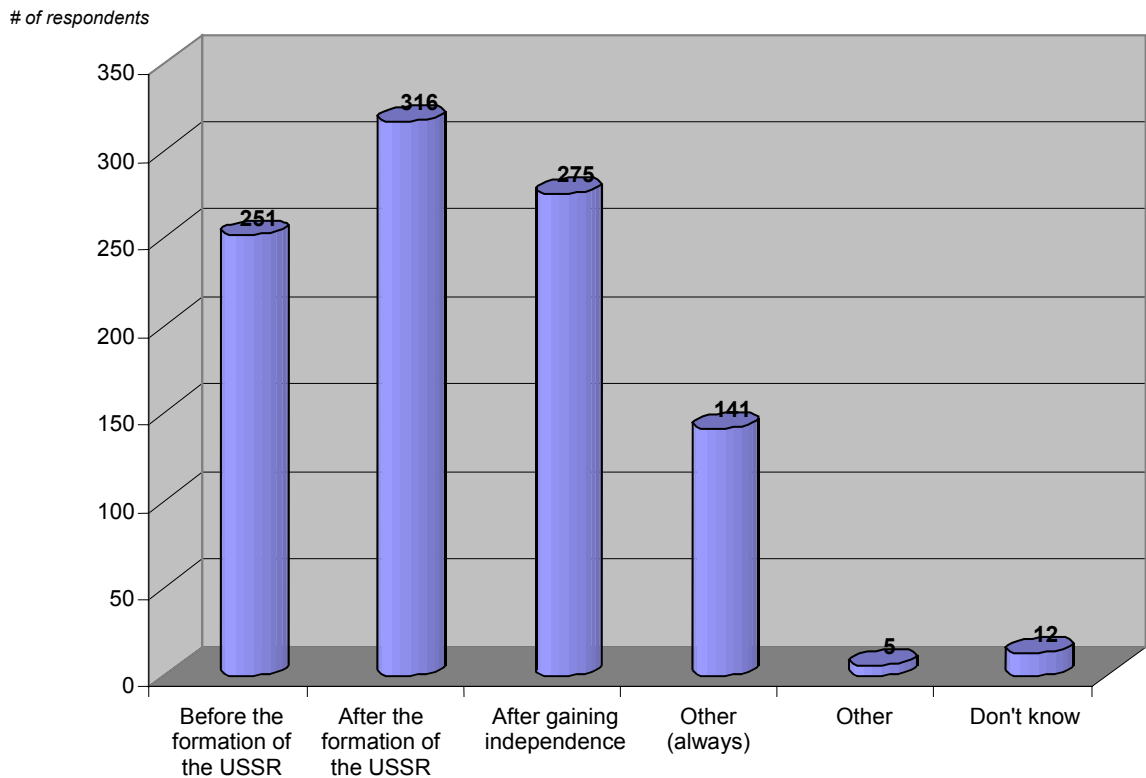


Figure 1b. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?

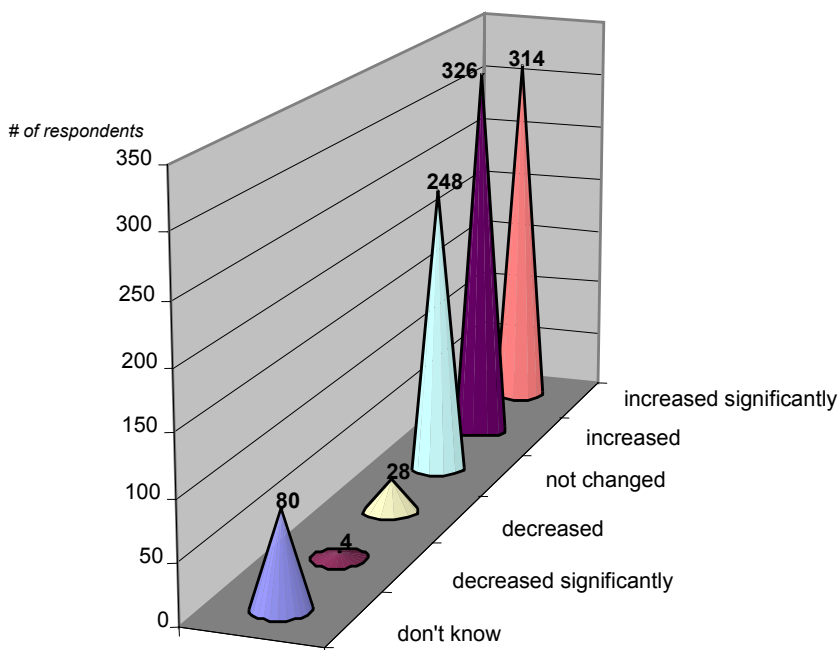
■ don't know ■ not problematic ■ somewhat problematic ■ problematic ■ very problematic ■ extremely problematic ■ total # of respondents



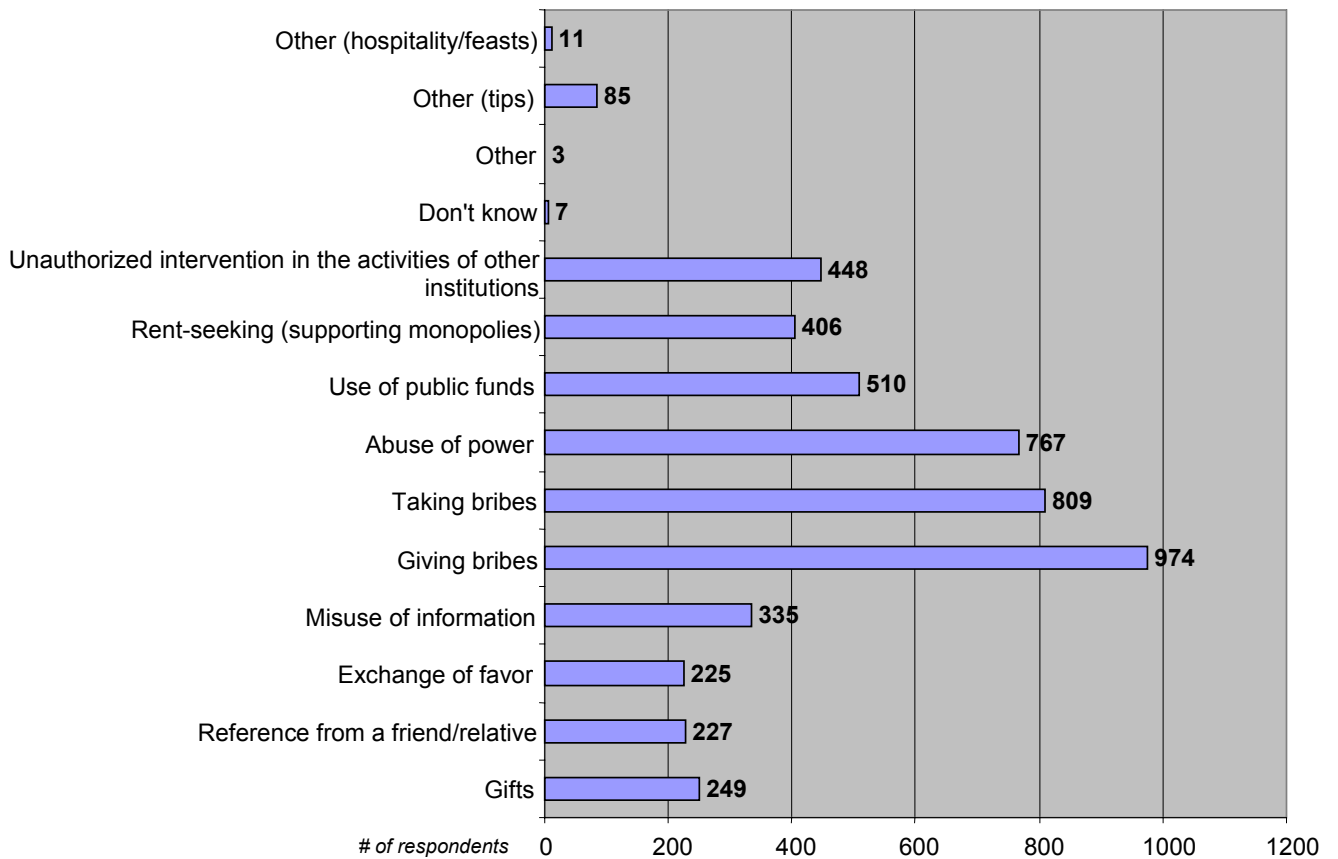
**Figure 2. Since When Has Corruption Been Existing in the Armenian Society?**



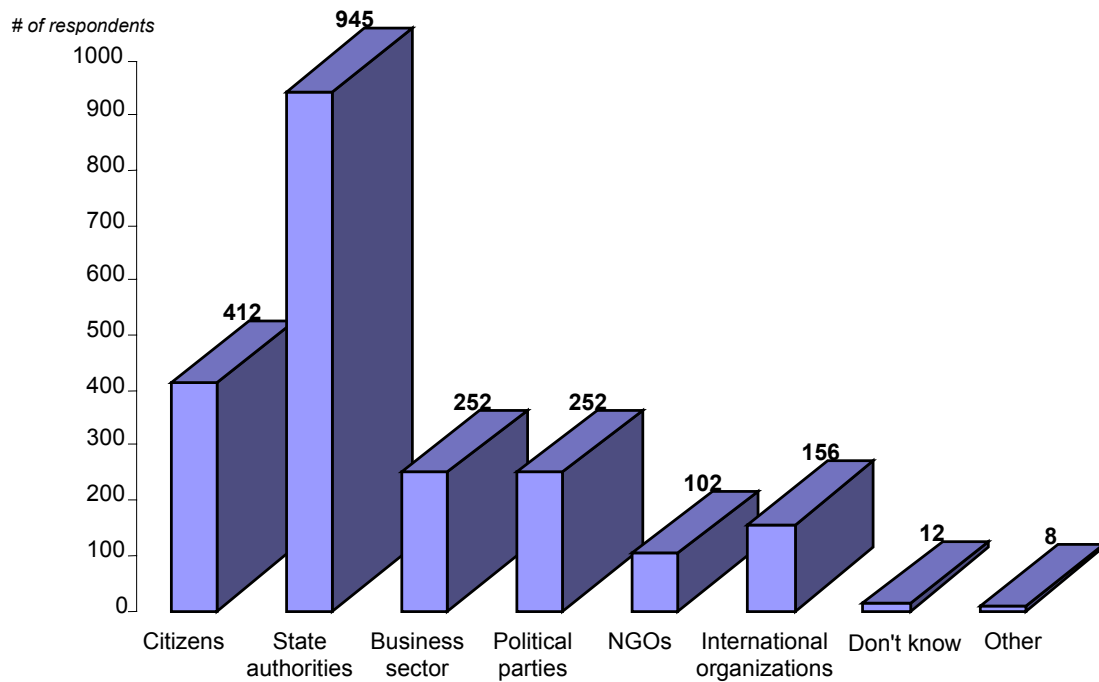
**Figure 3. In Recent Five Years How Has the Level of Corruption Changed?**



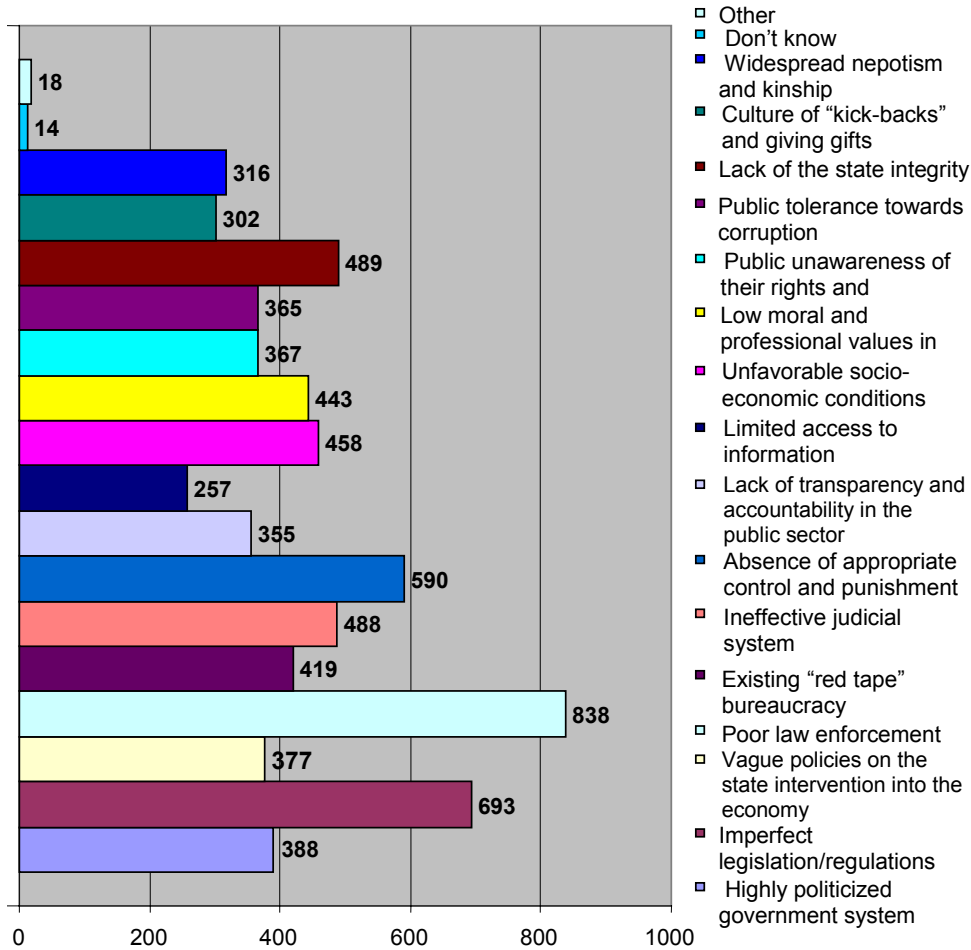
### Figure 4. Types of Corruption



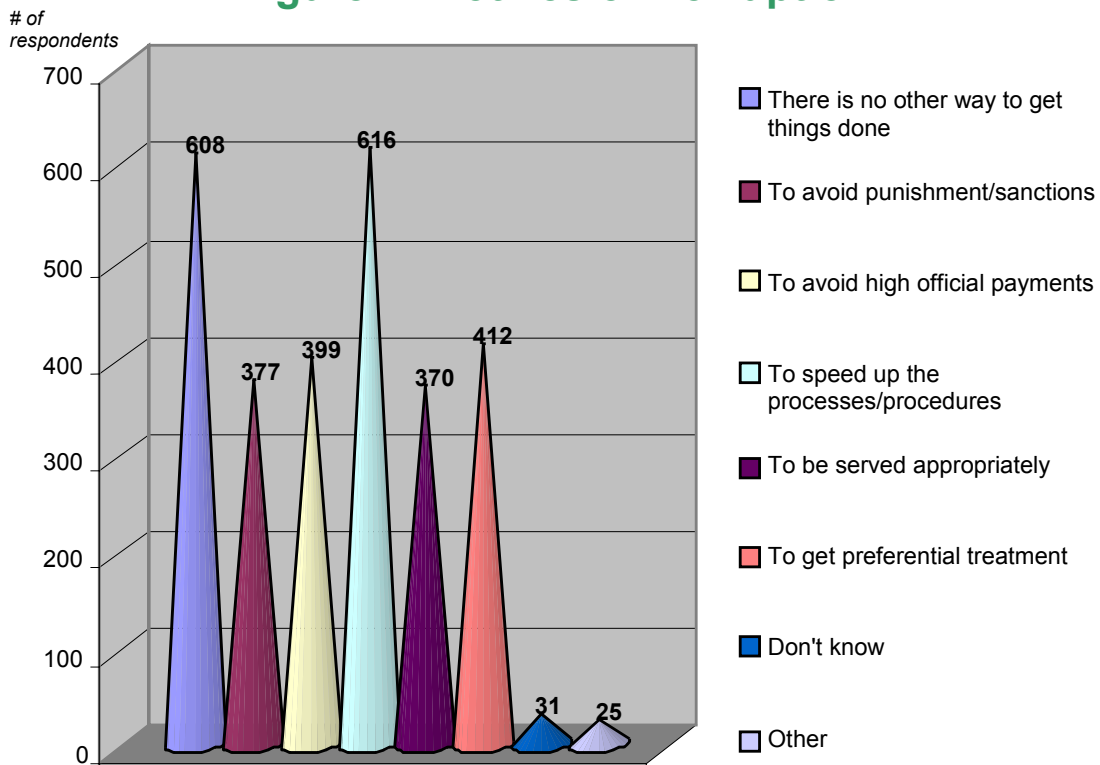
### Figure 5. Who Mainly Initiates Corruption in Armenia?



**Figure 6. Causes of Corruption**



**Figure 7. Motives of Corruption**



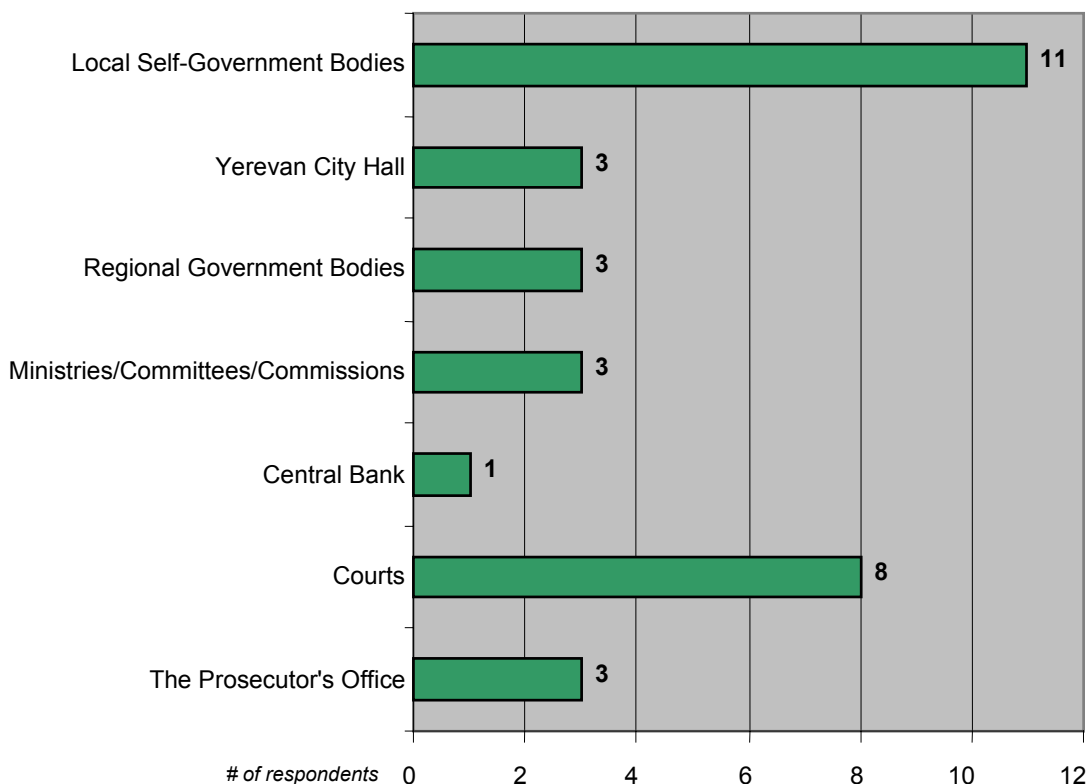
**Table 1. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the Following Government Institutions**

	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
The President's Office	321	65	65	128	97	322
The Prime Minister's Office	291	56	63	131	113	344
National Assembly	238	55	70	175	129	331
Constitutional Court	370	79	111	145	105	188
Prosecutor's Office	159	18	16	164	208	433
Courts	144	14	26	155	205	454
Central Bank	387	99	118	174	93	127
Ministries/Committees/Commissions	203	29	105	267	167	227
Regional Government Bodies	183	41	116	279	154	225
Yerevan City Hall	538	18	50	116	115	161
Local Self-Government Bodies	206	87	159	217	96	233

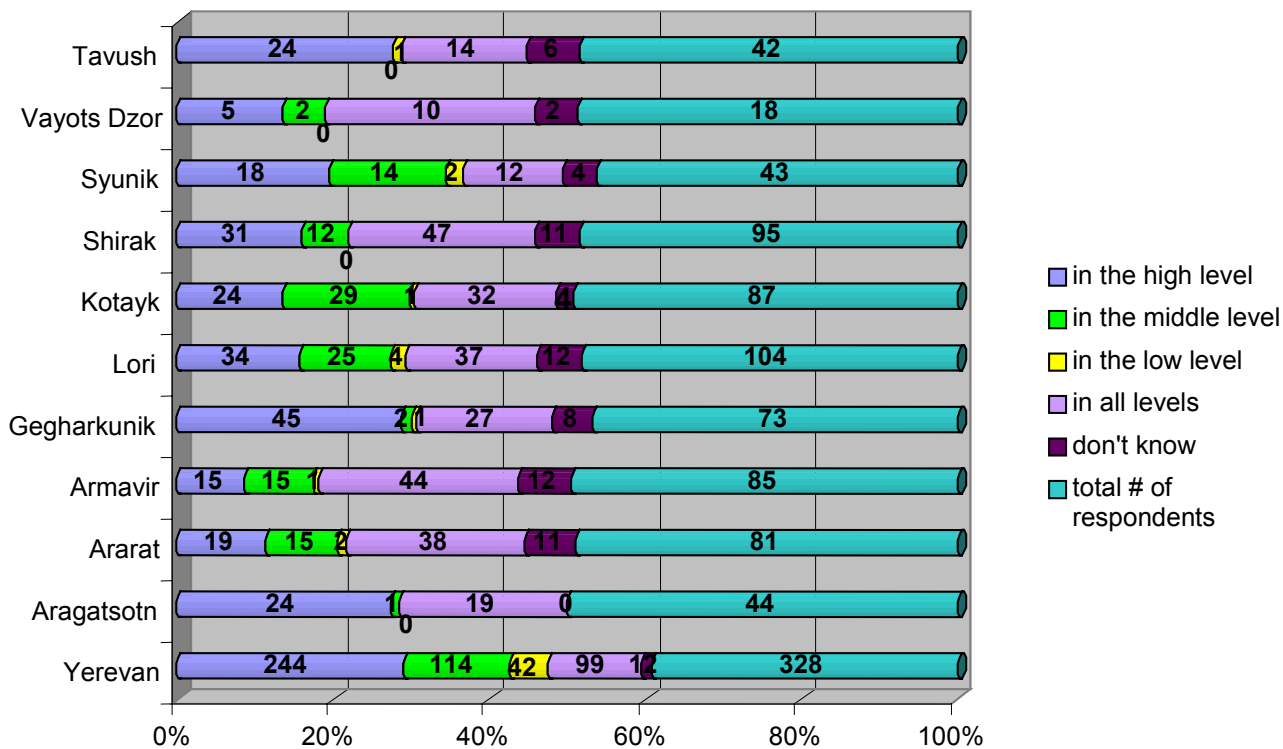
**Table 2. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the Following Services/Sectors**

	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
Healthcare	16	84	80	201	186	432
Education	76	141	125	260	177	220
Reformatories	445	19	42	139	137	217
Justice system	366	81	89	162	141	160
Public procurement	561	92	71	107	81	87
Election System	158	94	87	151	112	397
Military	111	36	40	160	186	466
Customs	339	20	28	149	146	317
Taxation	254	31	39	152	168	355
Licensing/certification/permit issuing	431	35	95	181	126	131
Police	121	21	33	270	219	335
Traffic police	96	14	47	153	174	515
Agriculture	326	179	161	206	70	57
Cadastre	378	143	143	178	89	68
Notary service	246	262	183	146	95	67
Privatization	309	132	125	170	121	142
Banking system	342	211	153	147	80	66
Social Security	151	92	140	298	144	174
Communication	295	371	119	109	49	56
Transportation	292	364	131	120	50	42
Utilities	196	241	214	236	58	54
Construction	327	143	84	146	118	181
Environment related services	396	189	114	152	68	80
Energy sector	136	249	128	142	112	232
Business sector	350	317	133	119	40	40
Mass media	219	336	152	154	58	80
NGO/Charity funds/Professional associations	353	429	83	70	27	37
International organizations	385	337	71	81	67	58
Church	188	556	76	65	42	72
Culture/Sports	299	323	148	118	53	58

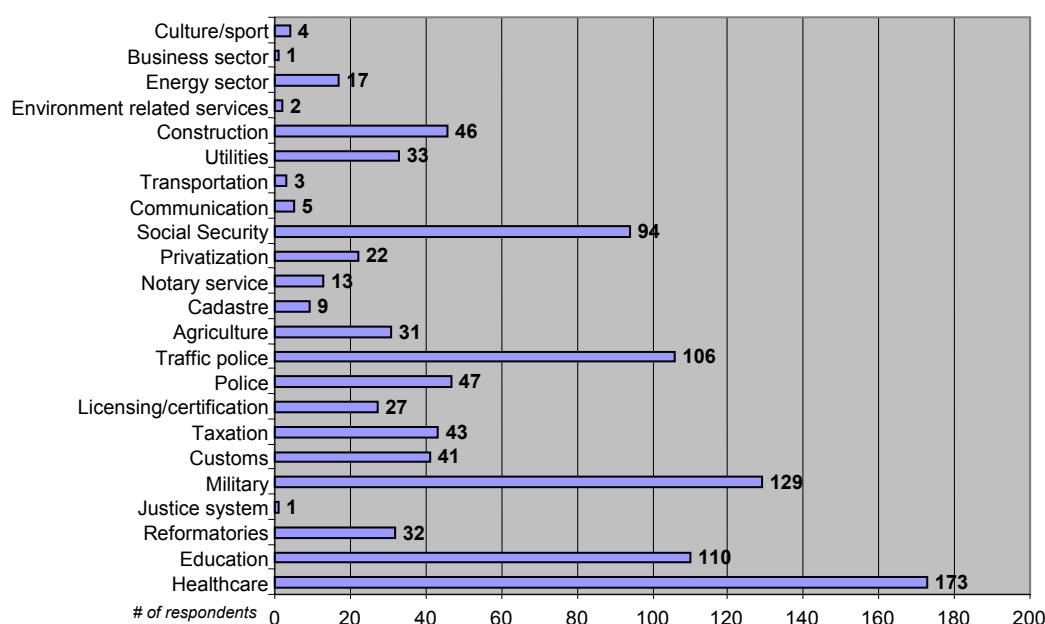
**Figure 8. Number of Respondents Who Made Unofficial Payments to the State Institutions During the Last Year**



**Figure 9. Where Does Corruption Occur Most of All?**



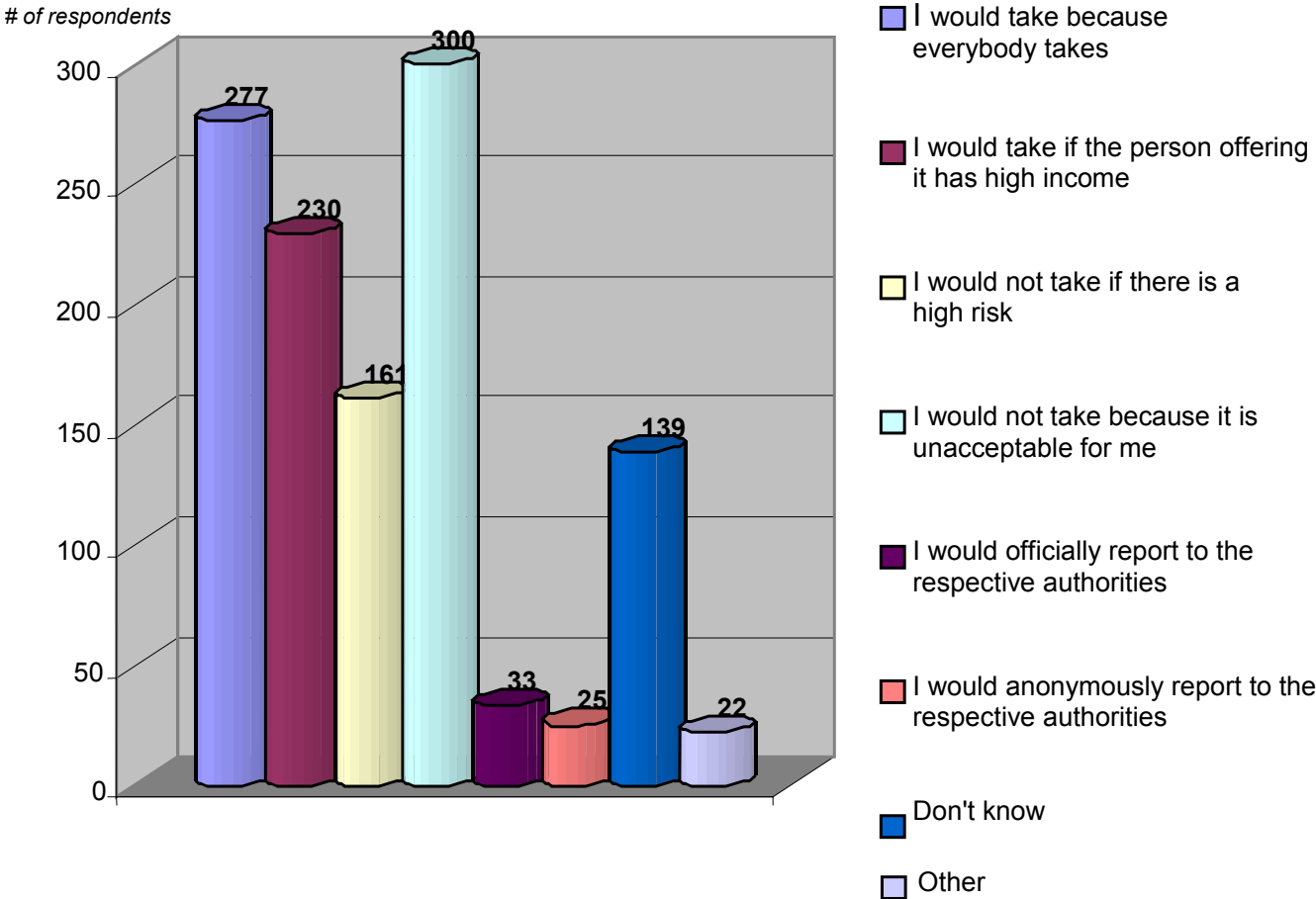
**Figure 10. Number of Respondents Who Made Unofficial Payments to Different Sectors/Services During the Last Year**



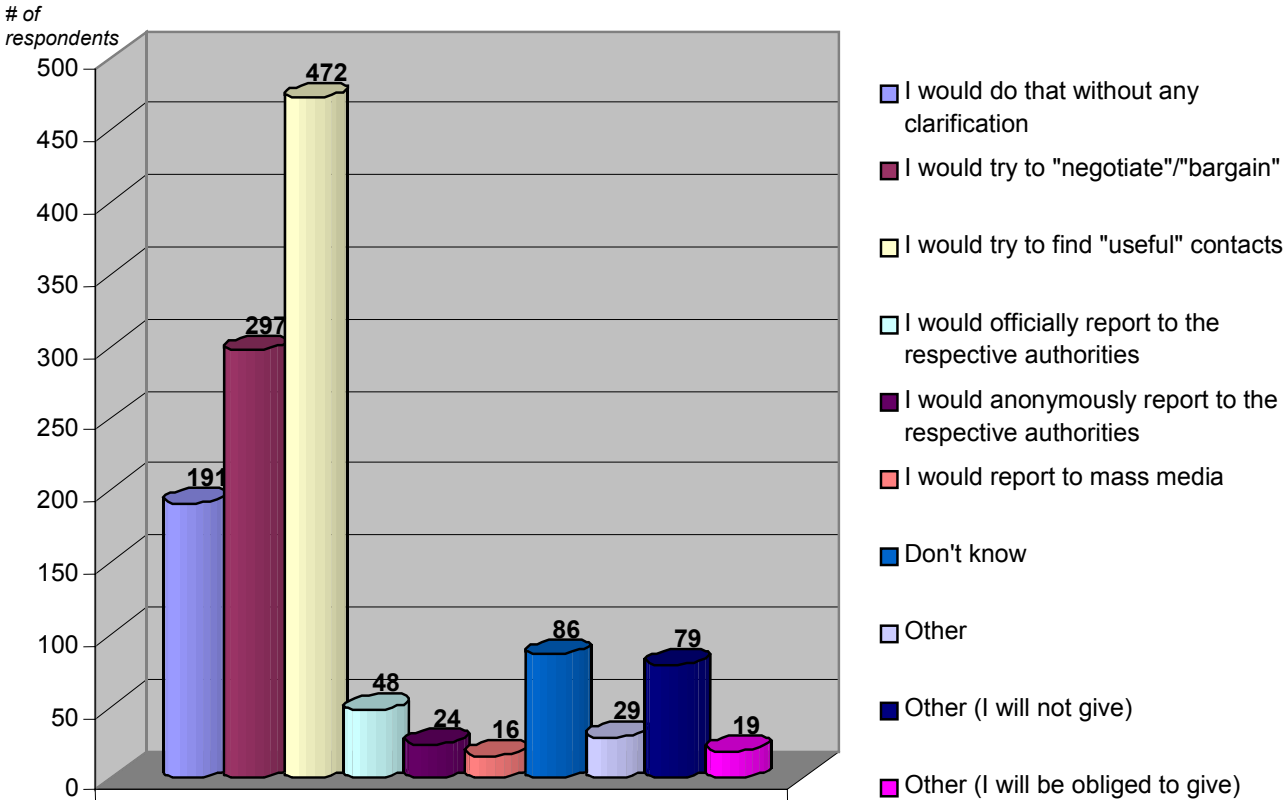
**Table 3. Amount and Frequency of Unofficial Payments Reported by Respondents**

Institution/Sector/Service	Range of Unofficial Payment	Most Frequently Repeated Amount of Unofficial Payment	
		Amount	# of Payments/Year
Courts	\$200 - \$1,500	\$200 and \$2,000	2 times each
Ministries/Committees/Commissions	\$30 - \$100		
Regional Government Bodies	\$50 - \$100		
Yerevan City Hall	\$20 - \$100		
Local Self-Government Bodies	\$4 - \$200	\$50 and \$200	2 times each
Healthcare	\$2 - \$700	\$100	50
Education	\$2 - \$2,500	\$100	19
Reformatories	\$9 - \$700	\$20	16
Military	\$2 - \$2,000	\$200	18
Customs	\$17 - \$5,000	\$50 and \$100	9 times each
Taxation	\$9 - \$1,725	\$100	6
Licensing/Certification/Permit issuing	\$2 - \$1,500	\$60	3
Police	\$17 - \$5,000	\$200	9
Traffic police	\$1 - \$1,000	\$2	80
Agriculture	\$2 - \$27	\$9	9
Cadastre	\$7 - \$150	\$9 and \$35	2 times each
Notary service	\$1 - \$100	\$17	4 times each
Privatization	\$20 - \$700	\$400 and \$600	2 times each
Social Security	\$1 - \$60	\$1 and \$2	10 times each
Communication	\$1 - \$200	\$17	2
Utilities	\$1 - \$500	\$2	7
Construction	\$7 - \$2,000	\$100	8
Energy sector	\$3 - \$1,000	\$9	6

**Figure 11. How Would You React if Offered to Take Bribe?**

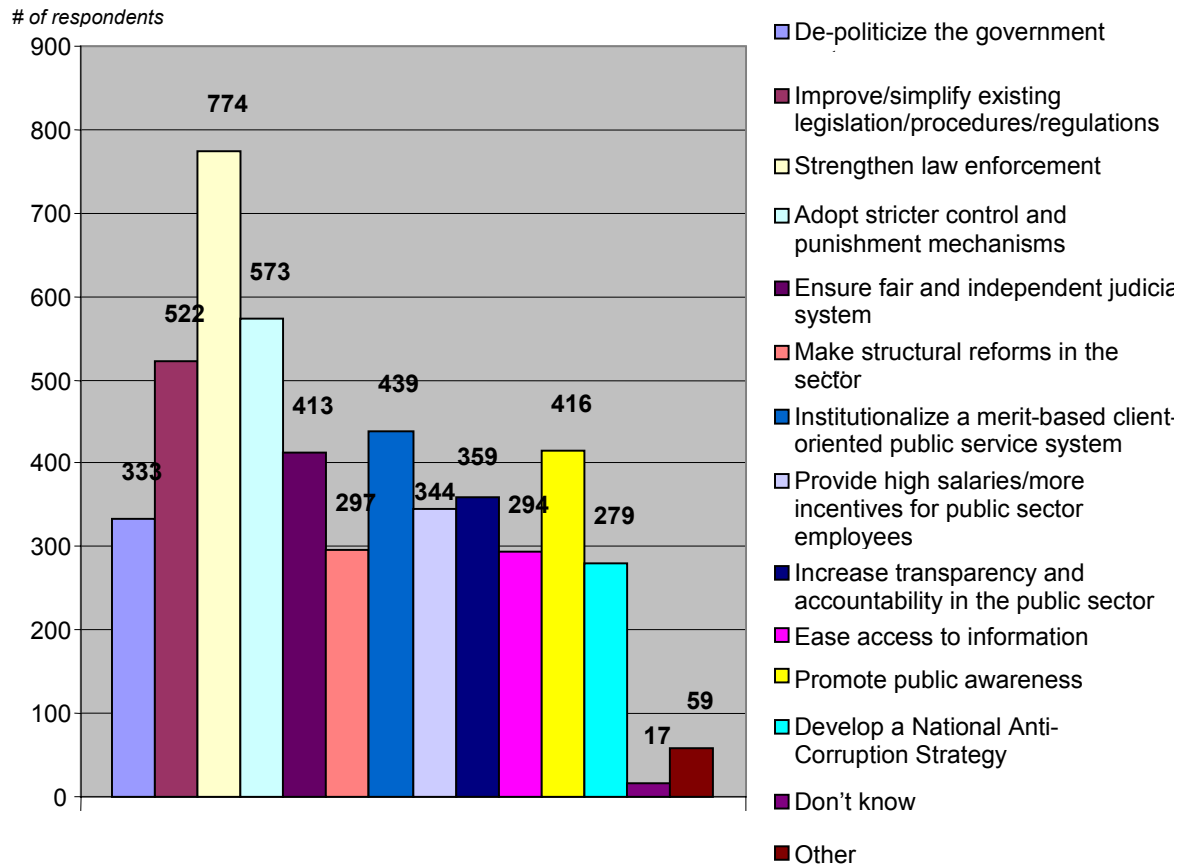


**Figure 12. How Would You React if Asked to Give Bribe?**

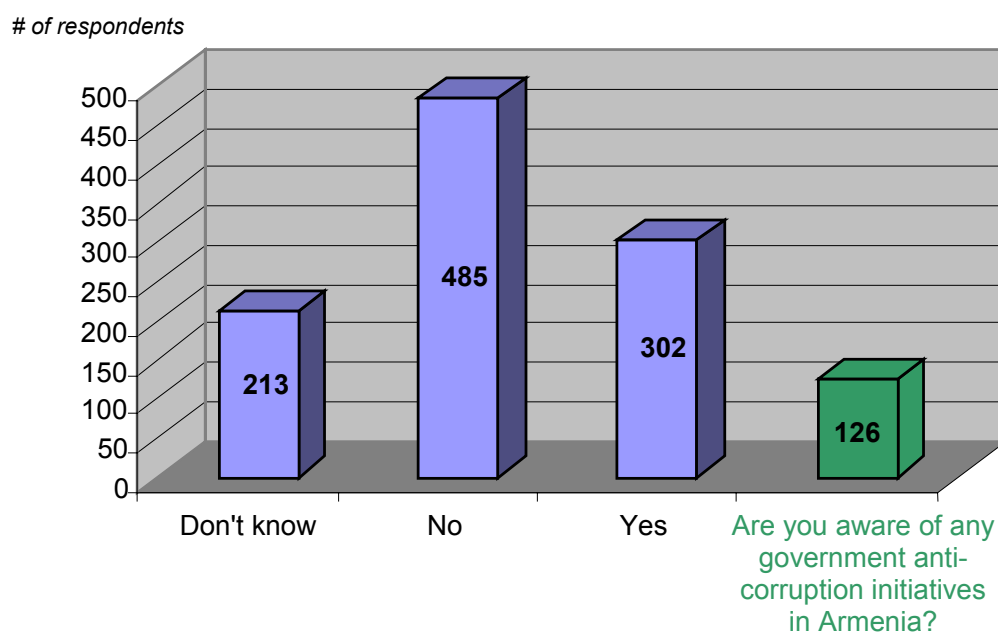




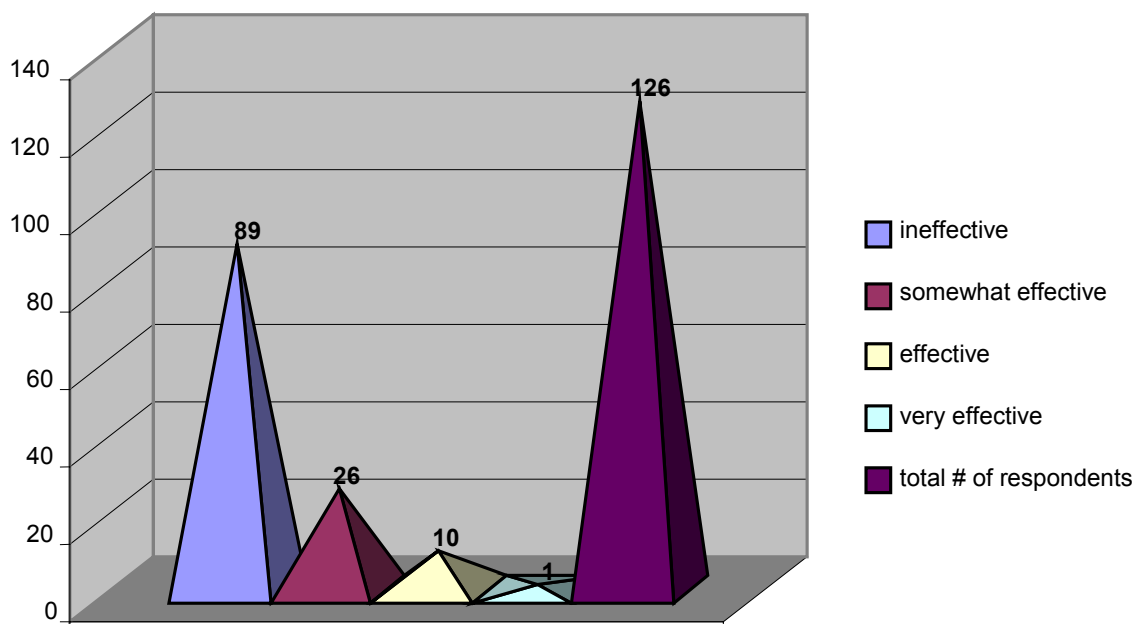
### Figure 13. How to Improve the Current Situation in Armenia?



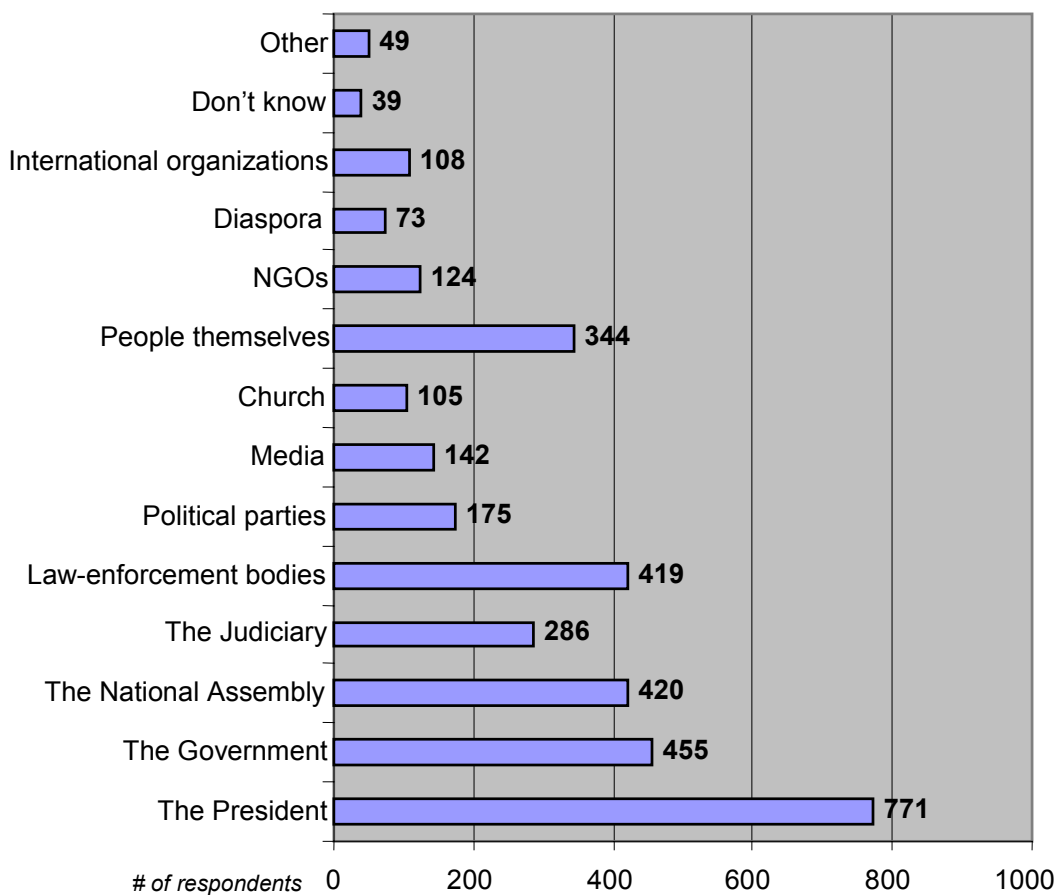
### Figure 14. Do You Think there is a Political Will to Change the Existing Situation in Armenia?



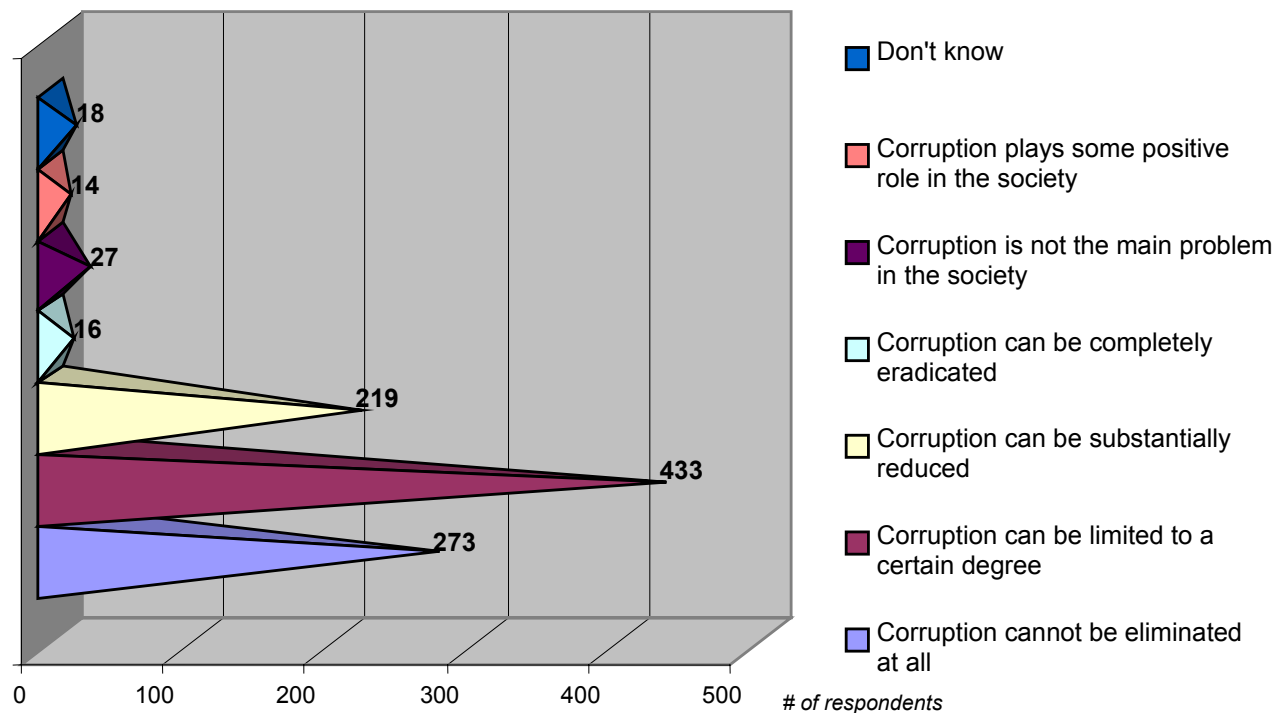
**Figure 15. How Would You Evaluate the Current Anti-Corruption Initiatives?**



**Figure 16. Who Can Play a Determining Role in Reducing Corruption in Armenia?**



**Figure 17. Which of the Following Statements is the Closest of What You Think About Corruption in Armenia?**



## **ENTERPRISES**

### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION:**

Overall 200 entrepreneurs were surveyed, out of which 181 represented local and 19 international companies. 131 were representatives of small; 50 – medium; and 19 - large enterprises (small - up to 20 employees; medium – from 21 to 100 employees; and big - more than 101 employees). Among the surveyed companies 89 represented were industrial; 71 - service providers; and 40 - commerce-related enterprises. When looked at both size and sector, all large businesses (19) represented industry sector; while medium and small size companies were distributed by the following pattern: 33 industrial, 13 service and 4 commercial companies; and 37 industrial; 58 service and 36 commercial enterprises respectively. As to the distribution by location, the survey data indicated that 54% of respondents represented Yerevan-based companies and 46% - companies based in 10 Marzes of Armenia.

### **GENERAL QUESTIONS:**

Answering the question “How problematic is corruption in Armenia?”, 18.90% of the respondents evaluated it to be extremely problematic; 20% - very problematic; 41.50% - problematic; 15.50% - somewhat problematic; and only 3.50% said that corruption is not problematic (see *Figure 1a*). Corruption was viewed as extremely problematic issue by a larger number of the representatives of service providers (25.30%) than by those from the industry sector (15.70%) and commerce (15%). In the meantime, more small business representatives (24.40%) considered corruption as an extreme problem than entrepreneurs from the large (15.7%) and medium (12%) companies. Moreover, respondents from some regions found the current situation in Armenia more critical than other interviewees (see *Figure 1b*). For example, all the surveyed businessmen from Aragatsotn Marz and 9 out of 11 interviewees from Gegharkunik Marz indicated that corruption is an “extremely problematic” issue; while no representative of the business sector from Kotayk chose this option.

A great number of the respondents (45%) thought that corruption occurred in Armenia after the formation of the USSR; 22.20% - before the formation of the USSR; 21% - after gaining independence; and 13% said that it had always existed (see *Figure 2*). Regarding the changes of the level of corruption, 41 interviewees out of 200 stated that corruption had significantly increased in recent five years; 41 said it had increased; 60 noted that it had not changed, and 8 believed that it had decreased (see *Figure 3*).

*Figure 4a and 4b* illustrate that among various types of corruption most businessmen selected the following three options: “giving bribes” (95.50%); “abuse of power” (85.50%); and “taking bribes” (71.50%). It is interesting to note that only 7% of the respondents viewed reference from a friend as corruption; and only 19% of the interviewees said that gift can be considered as a type of corruption. 194 respondents believed that the state authorities mainly initiate corruption in Armenia; 96 interviewees mentioned business sector representatives; and 72 - average citizens (see *Figure 5*).

Majority of the interviewed businessmen pointed out that corruption is caused by the poor law enforcement (167 respondents); imperfect legislation/regulations/procedures (152), lack of state integrity (103), as well as absence of control and punishment mechanisms (102) (see *Figure 6*). Only 14.50% of the respondents noted that the culture of “kick-backs” and giving gifts is a cause of corruption. These answers are quite consistent with the earlier ones concerning types of corruption (see *Figure 4a*) according to which very few interviewees found gifts and references from friends and relatives to be cases of corruption.

*Figure 7* shows that the majority of respondents (151) explained the motives of corruption as an effort to speed up processes/procedures. Meanwhile, 130 respondents mentioned that corrupt behavior is justified by efforts to get things done; and 76 pointed to attempts to avoid high official payments. As to consequences of corruption, a significant number of interviewees stated that corruption in Armenia would negatively affect economic development of the country (152); increase the level of crime and law breaking (125); and decay societal values (124).

### **SPECIFIC QUESTIONS:**

When ranked the state institutions by the level of corruption (see *Table 1*), 81 respondents out of 200 pointed out courts to be extremely corrupt, 81 – the Prosecutor’s Office, 46 – Yerevan City Hall and the National Assembly. In the meantime, when asked to name the three most corrupt ones, representatives of the

business sector referred to the President's Office, courts and the National Assembly. Only 1 respondent referred to the personal experience of giving bribe of \$400 to a court representative; 1 person mentioned about the bribe of \$50 given to a public official from one of the Ministries; and 1 interviewee pointed out Yerevan City Hall where \$200 was unofficially paid. As to the corruption in different levels of government, 76 respondents shared the opinion that the former occurs most of all in the middle level; 57 – in the high level; and 11 – in the low level. At the same time, 67 interviewees believed that corruption exists in all levels of government (see *Figure 8*).

*Table 2* indicates that respondents found traffic police to be the first most corrupt area (114 mention it as “extremely corrupt” and 39 - as “very corrupt”); tax administration - the second most corrupt (114 – “extremely corrupt” and 35 - “very corrupt”); and customs authorities - the third most corrupt (78 – “extremely corrupt” and 44 “very corrupt”). Interviewees named the same three areas, though in a different order: the first corrupt - customs, the second - taxation and the third - traffic police. However, when asked about their personal experience of making unofficial payments, most respondents (74 out of 200) reported about cases related to the inspection services; tax administration (69); and licensing/certification/permit issuing agencies (67). Interestingly, traffic police and customs authorities, ranked above as the worst, were put by respondents in the fourth and fifth places (see *Figure 9*). *Table 3* presents the range and the most frequently mentioned amounts of unofficial payments made by the interviewees in the sectors/services listed below.

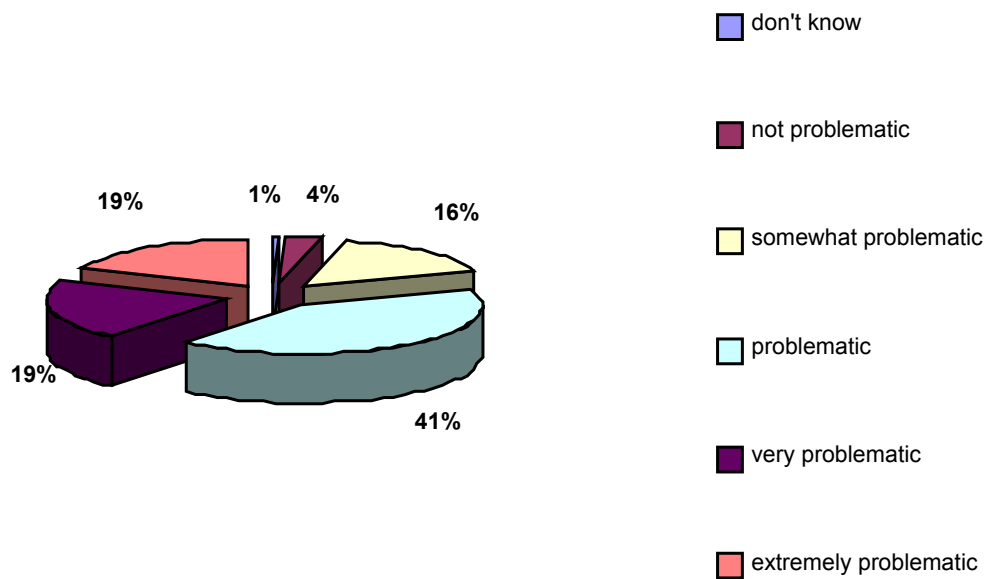
Meanwhile, only 15% of all the respondents thought that the business sector itself is corrupt; 35% said it is somewhat corrupt; and 28% believed it is not corrupt at all. The “don't know” answer was given by the 22% of the interviewees. In this respect, it is worth referring back to the answers to the question “Who mainly initiates corruption?” based on which 48% of the interviewees stated that corruption is initiated first by the state authorities (97%) and second by the business sector representatives (48%). Reviewing the distribution of data by regions, one could say that businessmen from Armavir Marz seemed to be less critical concerning this issue - 6 out of 9 stated that there is no corruption and only 2 believed that there is some corruption in the sector (see *Figure 10*).

As to taking bribe if offered, 26.50% of interviewees answered that they would take bribe because everybody takes; 19% would not take if there was a high risk; 15.50% would not take since it was unacceptable for them, and 22% would report to the respective authorities; and nobody mentioned that they would anonymously report to them (see *Figure 11*). However, when asked “How would you react if asked to give bribe?”; 20.50% of the business sector representatives stated they would do that without any clarification; 33.50% would try to “negotiate”; 51% would try to find “useful” contacts; only 2% said they would not give and only 1% noted that they would report to the respective authorities (see *Figure 12*).

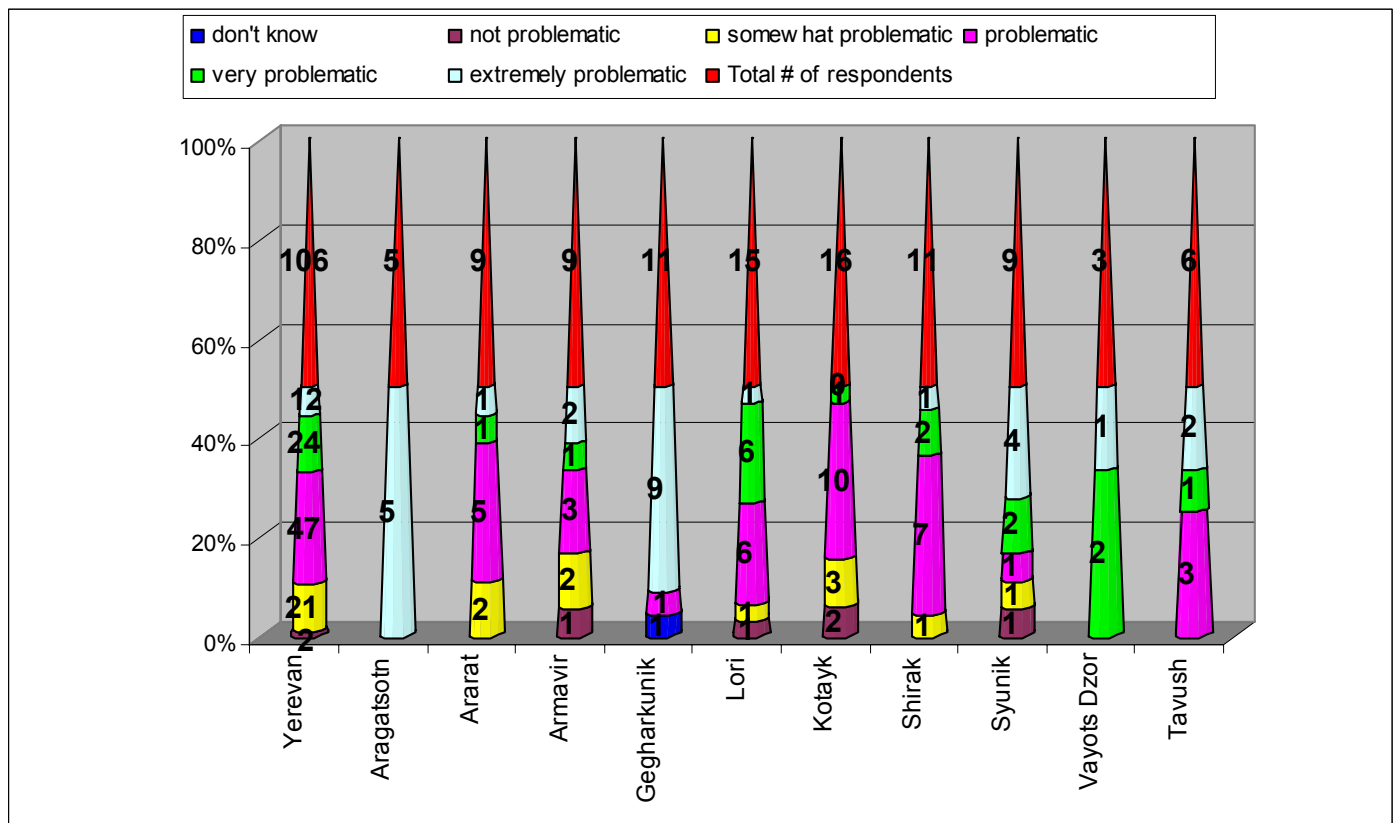
As demonstrated below in *Figure 13*, 79% of the respondents proposed strengthening the law enforcement in order to reduce corruption in Armenia; 61% mentioned the improvement/simplification of the existing legislation/procedures; and 49% pointed to the adoption of the stricter control and punishment mechanisms. Of all the interviewees, 84 businessmen stated that there is political will to change the existing situation in Armenia; 69 respondents gave a negative answer regarding this question; and 47 said that they did not know about the issue (see *Figure 14*). Nevertheless, 91.50% of the interviewees were unaware of any government anti-corruption initiatives. Out of the informed 17 respondents, 12 found them ineffective; 4 – somewhat effective; and 1 – effective (see *Figure 15*). Three main sources of the corruption-related information, mentioned by the surveyed representatives of business sector, are personal experience (39%); rumors (22%); and mass media (31%).

*Figure 16* displays the distribution of answers to the question “Who can have a determining role in reducing corruption in Armenia?”. According to the survey data, the overwhelming majority of interviewees (162) believed that it is the President that could change the situation; 87 respondents pointed to the law enforcement bodies; 67 referred to the Government; and 61 mentioned the National Assembly. Lastly, 18.50% of all the interviewees stated that corruption could not be eliminated in Armenia; 45% thought it could be limited to a certain degree; 22.50% said that it could be substantially reduced, and only 6% supposed it could be completely eradicated (see *Figure 17*). In general, regardless of the all the difficulties they are currently facing, most of the business sector representatives shared a positive view concerning the possibilities of reducing corruption in Armenia.

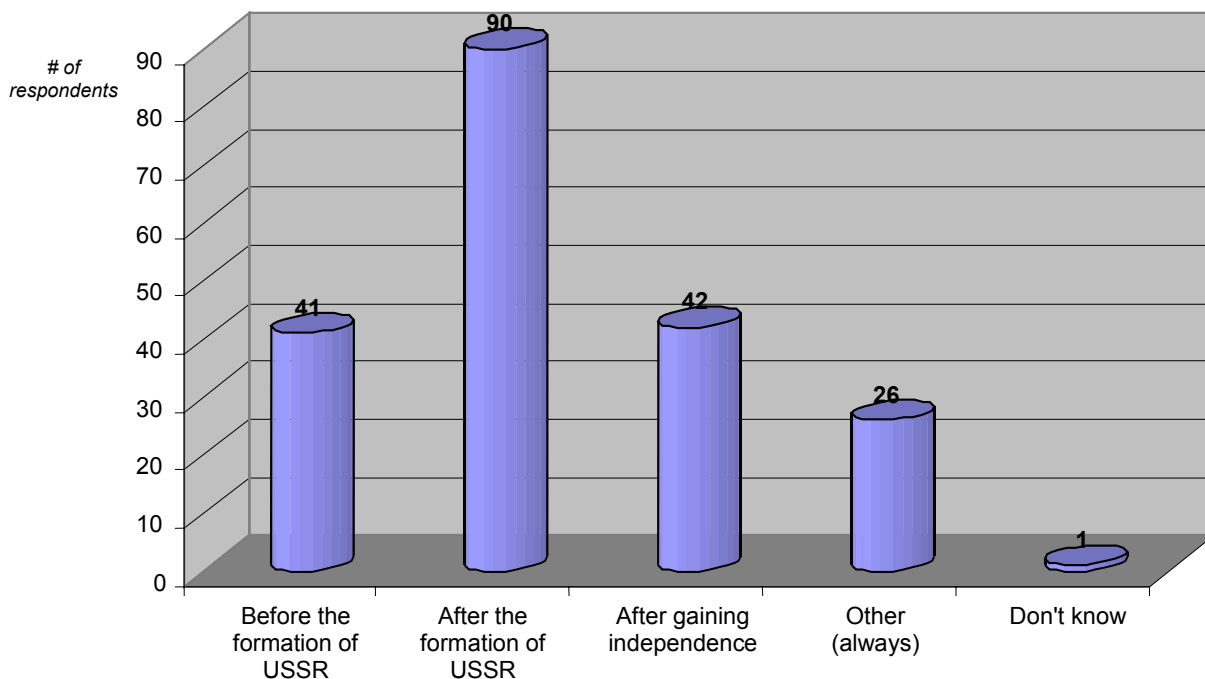
**Figure 1a. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?**



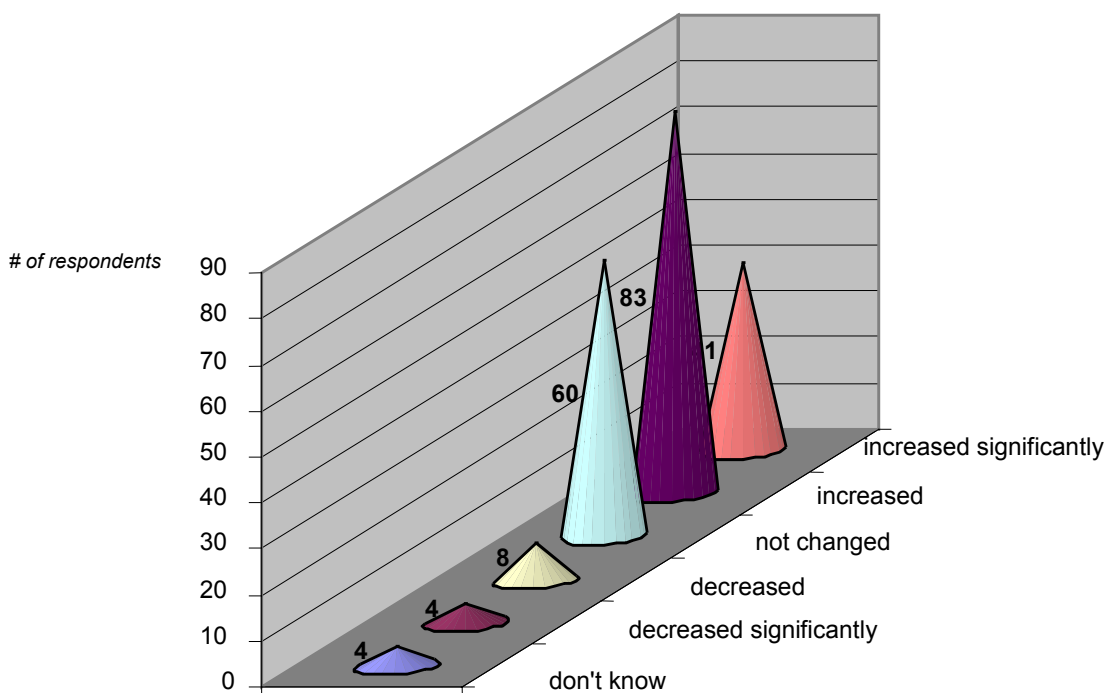
**Figure 1b. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?**



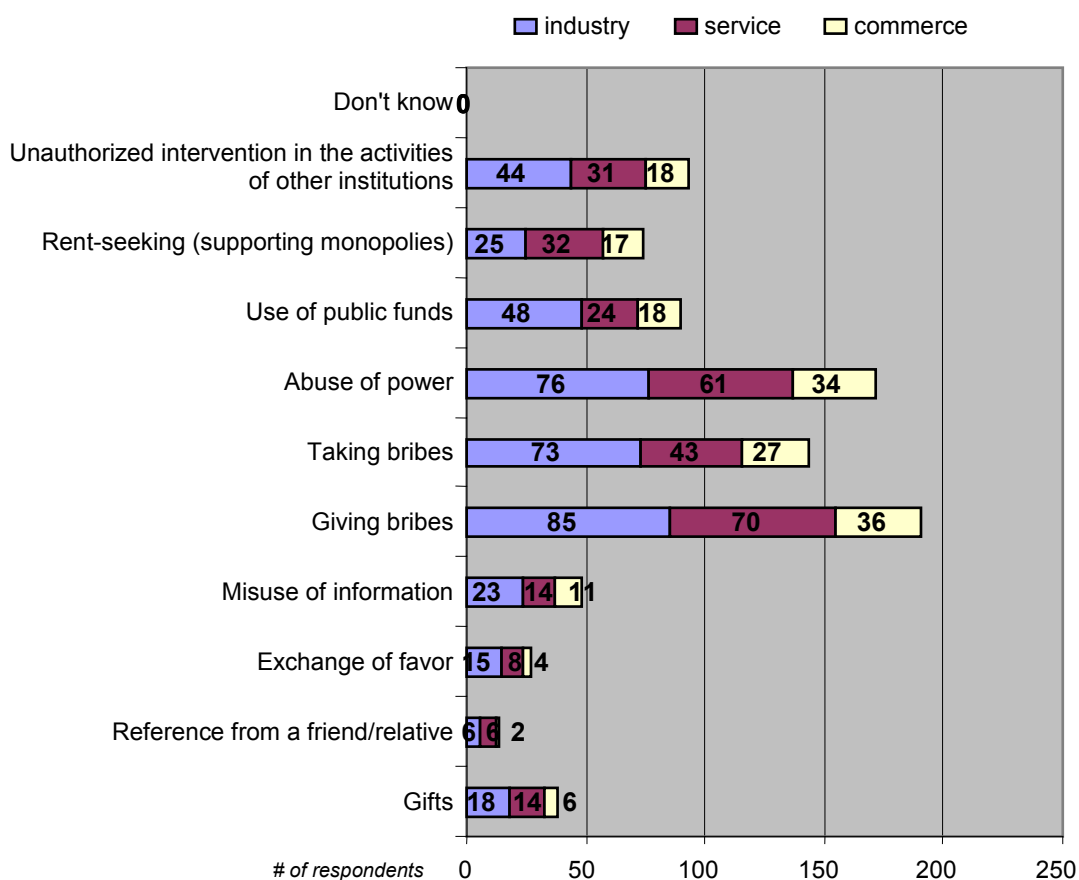
**Figure 2. Since When Has Corruption Been Existing in the Armenian Society?**



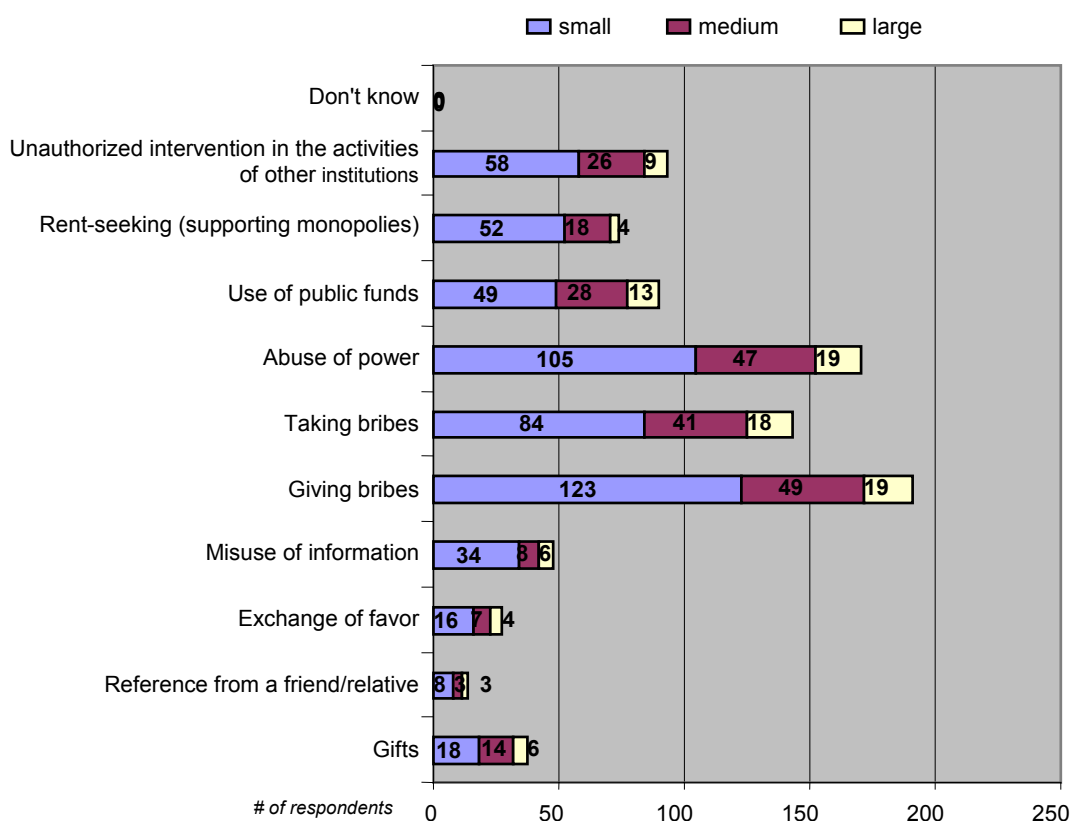
**Figure 3. In Recent Five Years, How Has the Level of Corruption Changed?**



**Figure 4a. Types of Corruption Based on the Field of Activity of the Businesses**

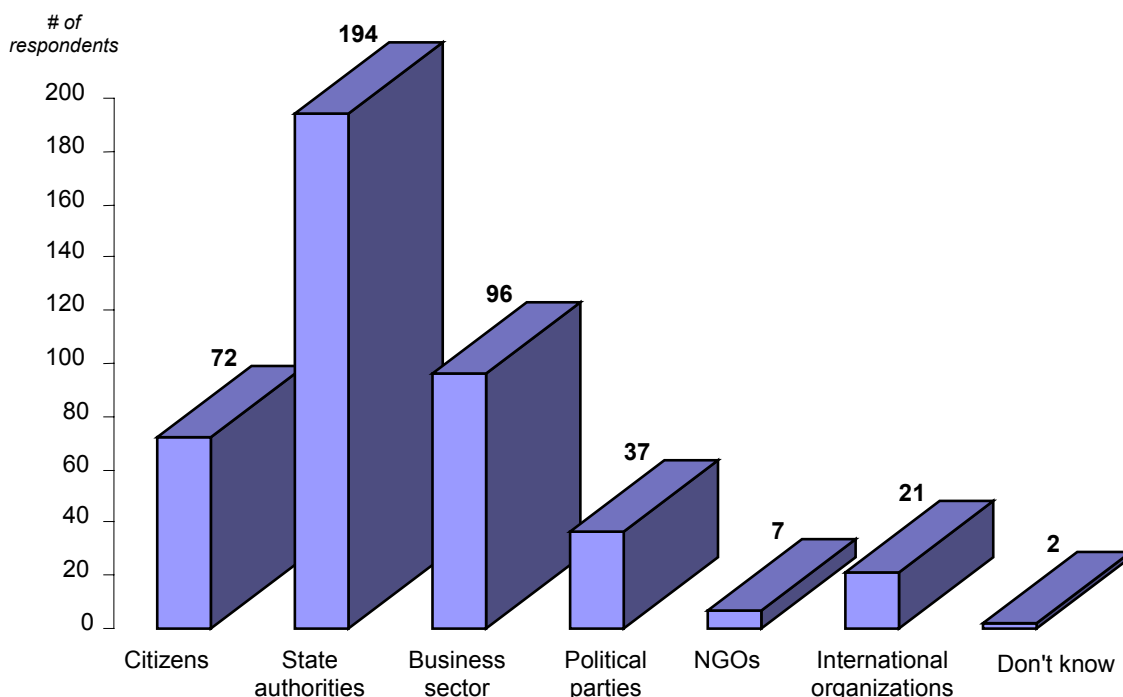


**Figure 4b. Types of Corruption (by the Size of the Businesses)**





**Figure 5. Who Mainly Initiates Corruption in Armenia?**



**Figure 6. Causes of Corruption**

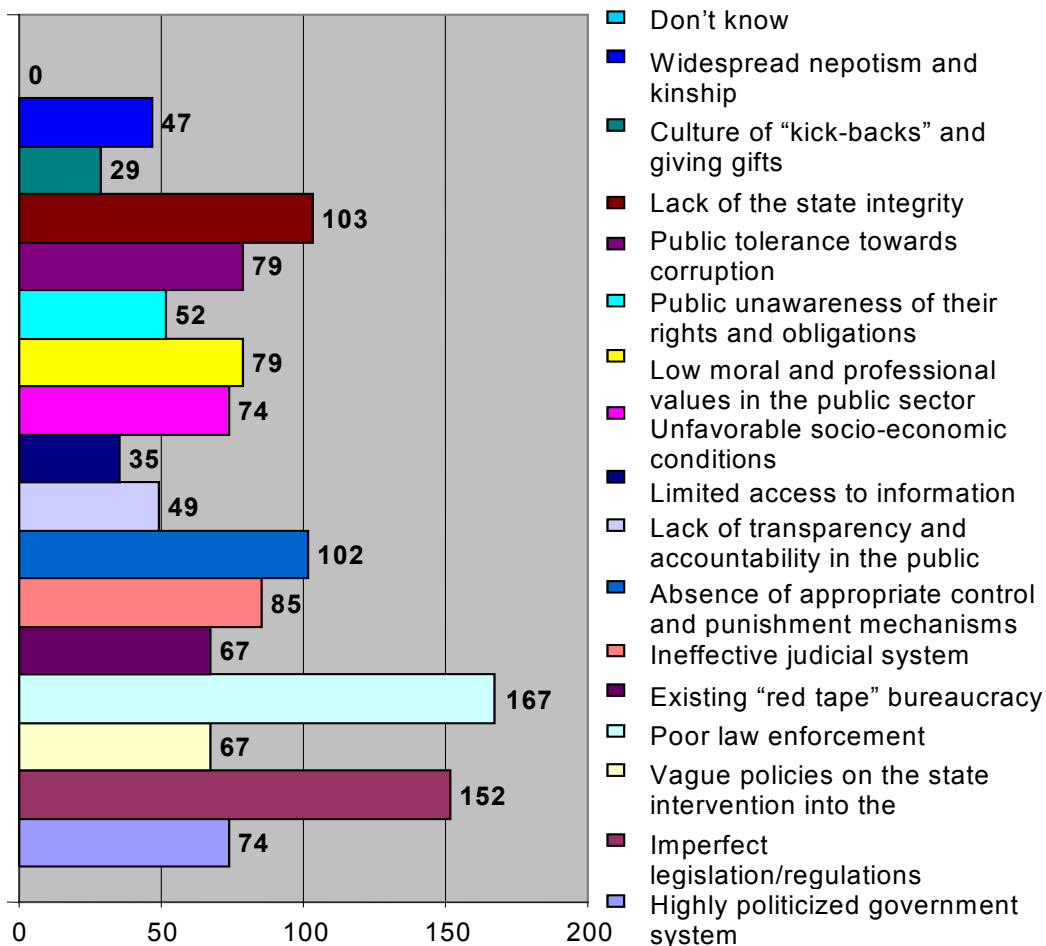


Figure 7. Motives of Corruption

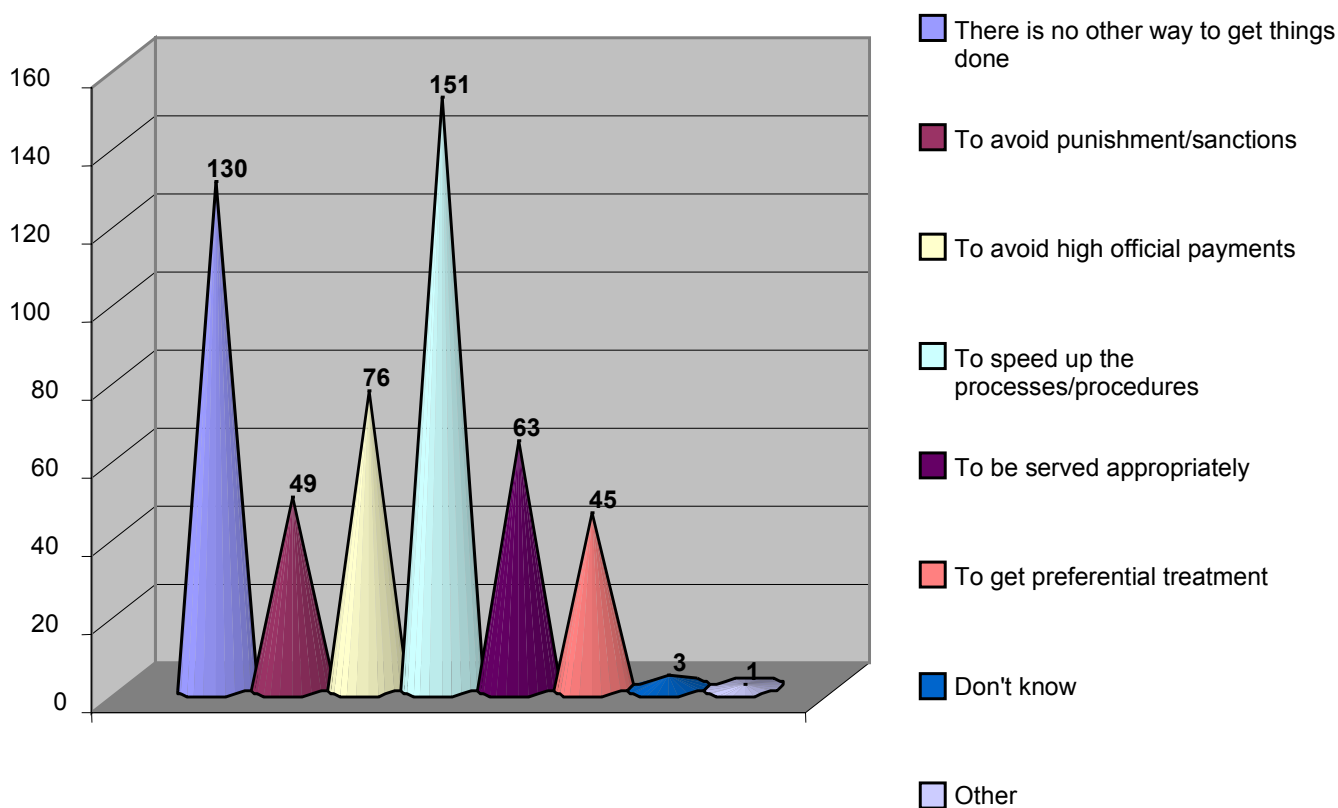


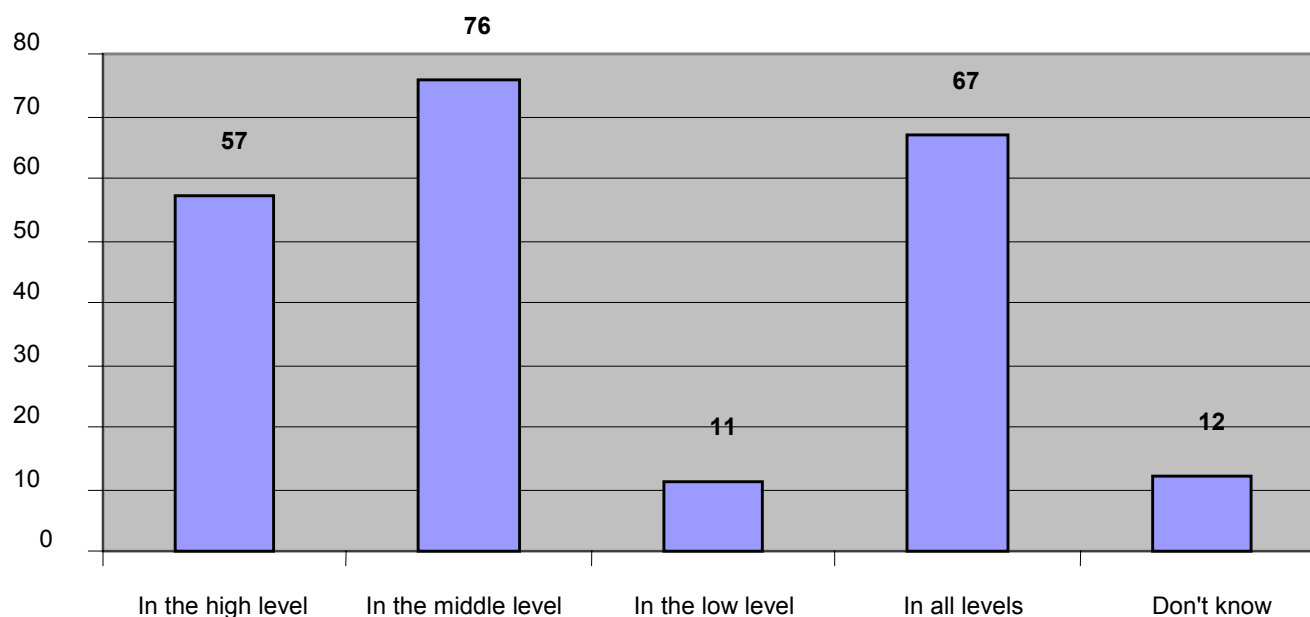
Table 1. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the State Institutions

	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
The President's Office	89	27	12	27	6	39
The Prime Minister's Office	81	22	16	28	13	40
National Assembly	66	12	17	34	25	46
Constitutional Court	92	17	20	43	8	20
Prosecutor's Office	15	6	8	37	65	69
Courts	12	4	6	35	62	81
Central Bank	62	15	40	46	11	16
Ministries/Committees/Commissions	16	8	36	68	33	39
Regional Government Bodies	69	13	33	51	10	24
Yerevan City Hall	70	5	12	25	42	46
Local Self-Government Bodies	37	14	39	52	30	28

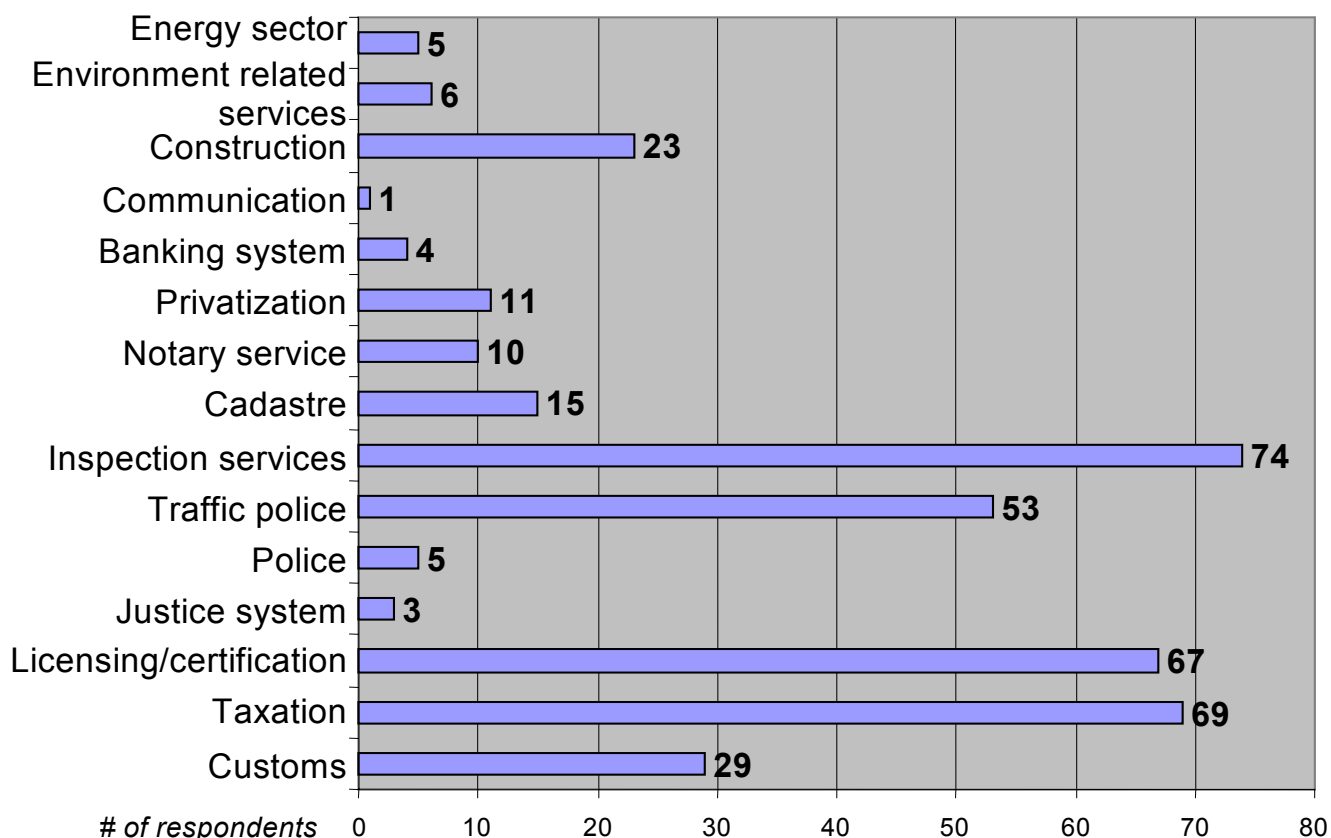
**Table 2. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the Following Services/Sectors**

	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
Public procurement	117	11	23	27	10	12
Customs	46	3	2	27	44	78
Taxation	1	5	6	39	35	114
Licensing/Certification/Permit issuing	12	7	47	52	29	52
Justice system	41	18	59	45	21	16
Police	14	10	19	90	43	24
Traffic police	4	1	5	37	39	114
Agriculture	138	32	8	15	4	3
Inspection services	11	8	53	40	26	62
Cadastre	34	35	45	42	32	12
Notary service	14	65	82	24	10	5
Privatization	39	25	35	45	27	29
Banking system	36	54	75	23	5	7
Communication	32	96	47	16	5	4
Transportation	45	96	25	23	4	7
Construction	35	25	37	51	17	35
Environment-related services	56	38	29	37	21	19
Energy sector	9	44	61	48	16	22
Mass media	29	91	28	29	10	13
NGO/Charity funds/Professional associations	54	116	15	8	4	3
International organizations	62	94	13	14	5	12
Culture/Sports	84	78	24	11	1	2

**Figure 8: Where Does Corruption Occur Most of All?**



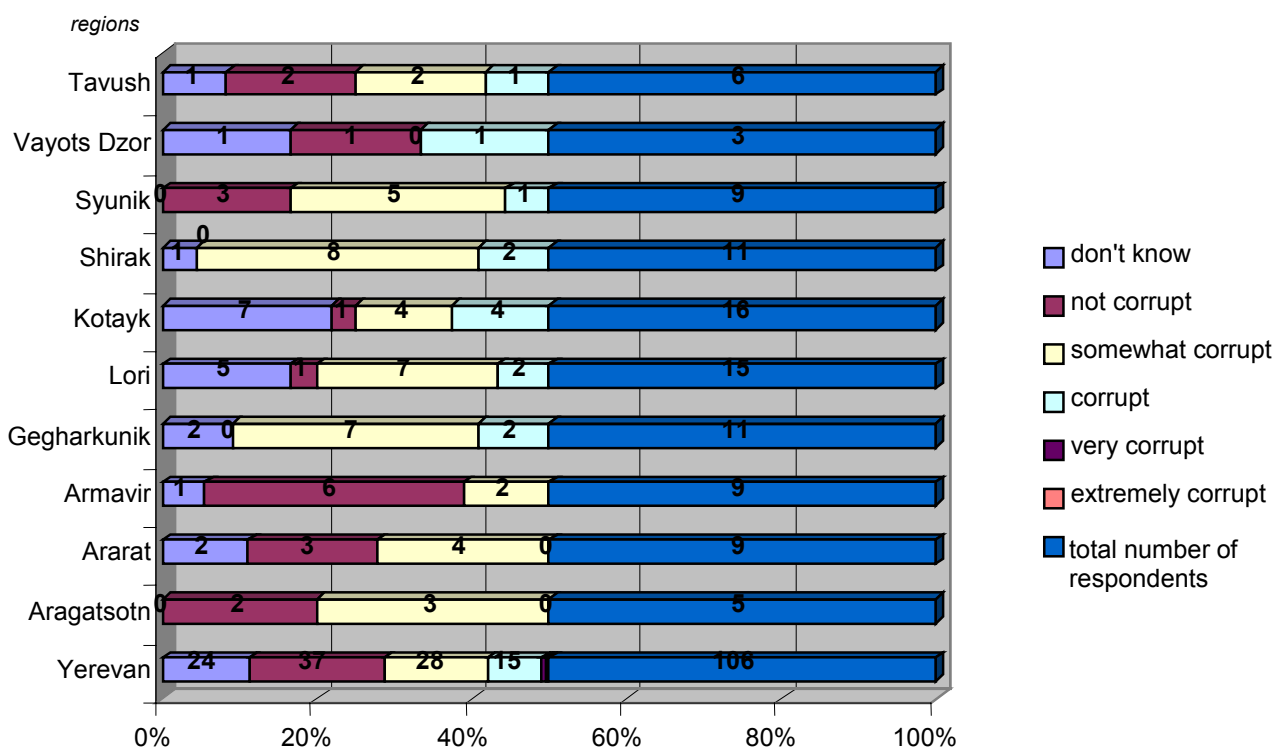
**Figure 9. Number of Respondents Who Made Unofficial Payments During the Last Year**



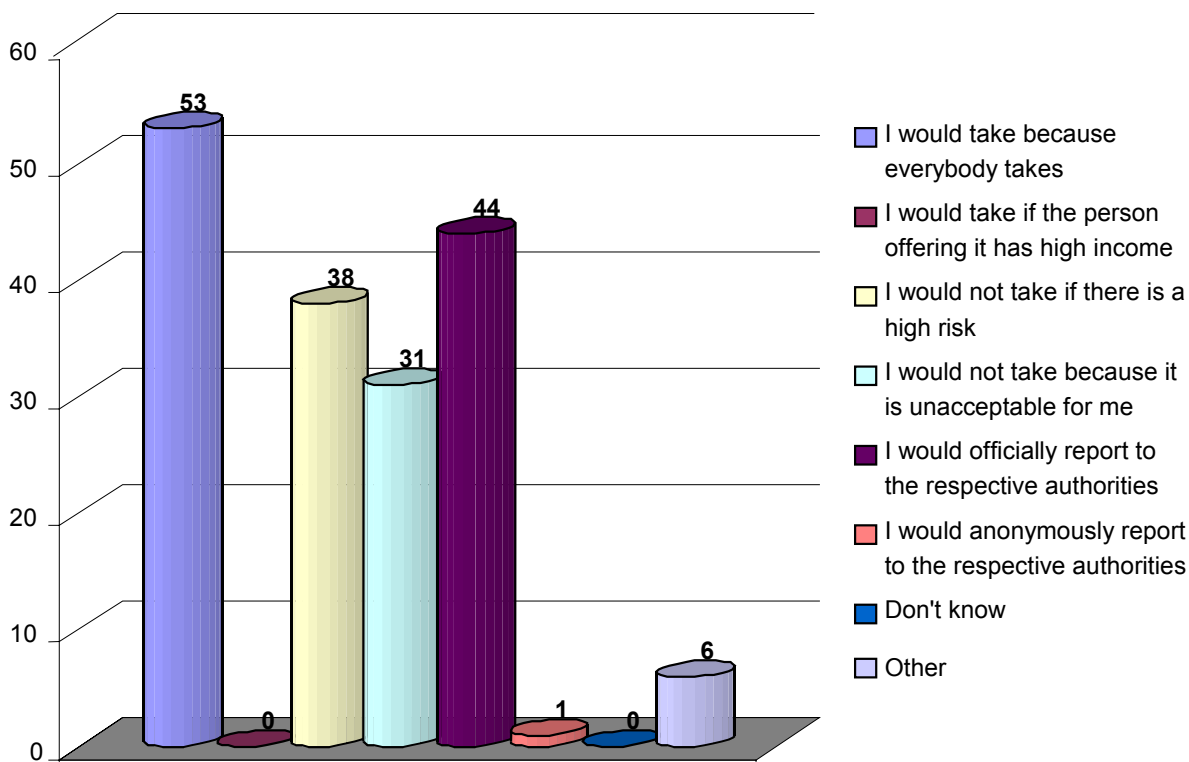
**Table 3. Amount and Frequency of Unofficial Payments Reported by Respondents**

Sector/Service	Range of Unofficial Payment	Most Frequently Repeated Amount of Unofficial Payment	
		Amount	# of Payments/Year
Customs authorities	\$100 - \$1,500	\$500	7
Taxation	\$6 - \$3,000	\$100	10
Licensing, certification, permit issuing	\$8 - \$5,000	\$50	15
Justice system ( <i>ministry, state registrar, etc.</i> )	\$30 - \$200		
Police ( <i>excluding traffic police</i> )	\$20 - \$1,000		
Traffic police	\$1 - \$9	\$1.73	43
Inspection services ( <i>sanitary, food, fire, etc.</i> )	\$3 - \$250	\$20	15
Cadastre ( <i>registration, assessment, etc.</i> )	\$17 - \$1,500	\$50	7
Notary services	\$9 - \$20	\$10 and \$20	4 times each
Privatization ( <i>ministry, auction center, etc.</i> )	\$20 - \$3,000	\$20 and \$100	2 times each
Banking system	\$20 - \$1,500		
Construction ( <i>permits, materials, etc.</i> )	\$4 - \$2,000	\$500	4
Environment related services	\$9 - \$100	\$30	2
Energy sector ( <i>generation and distribution</i> )	\$30 - \$70	\$50	2

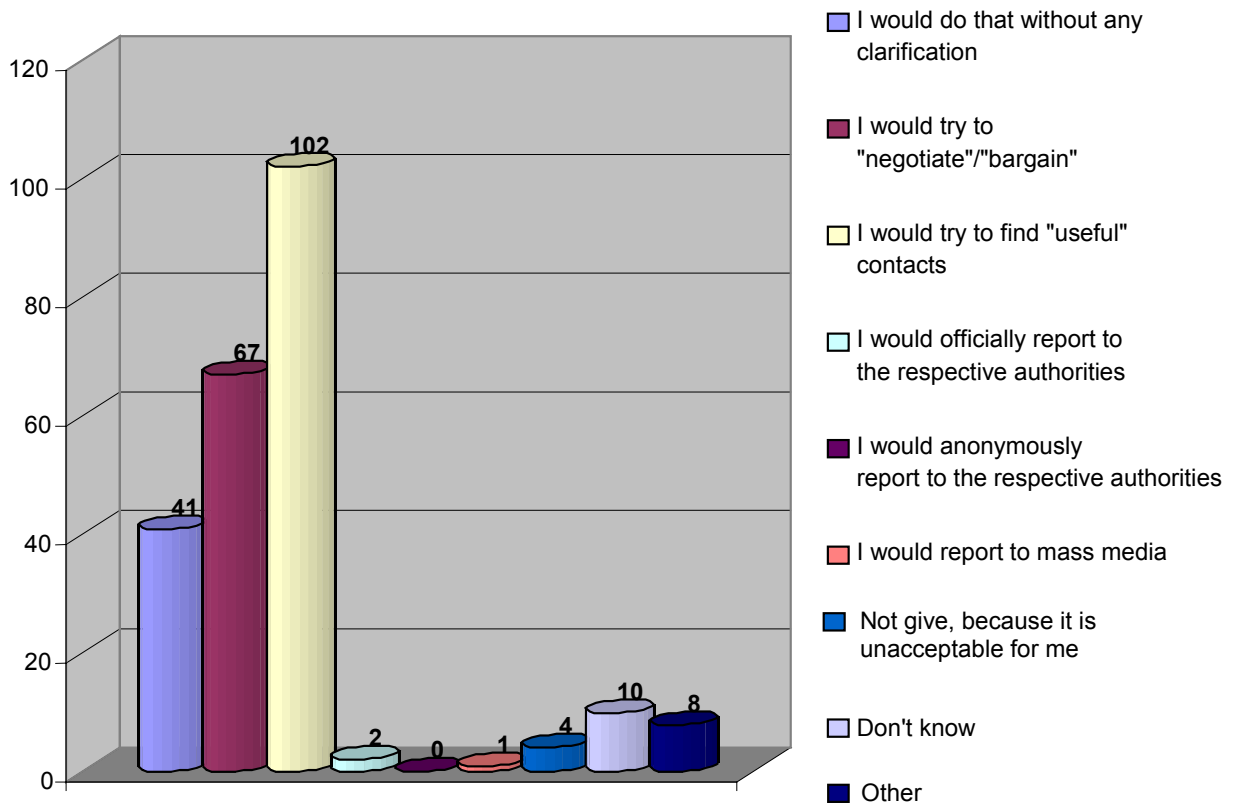
**Figure 10. How Would You Evaluate the Level of Corruption in Business Sector?**



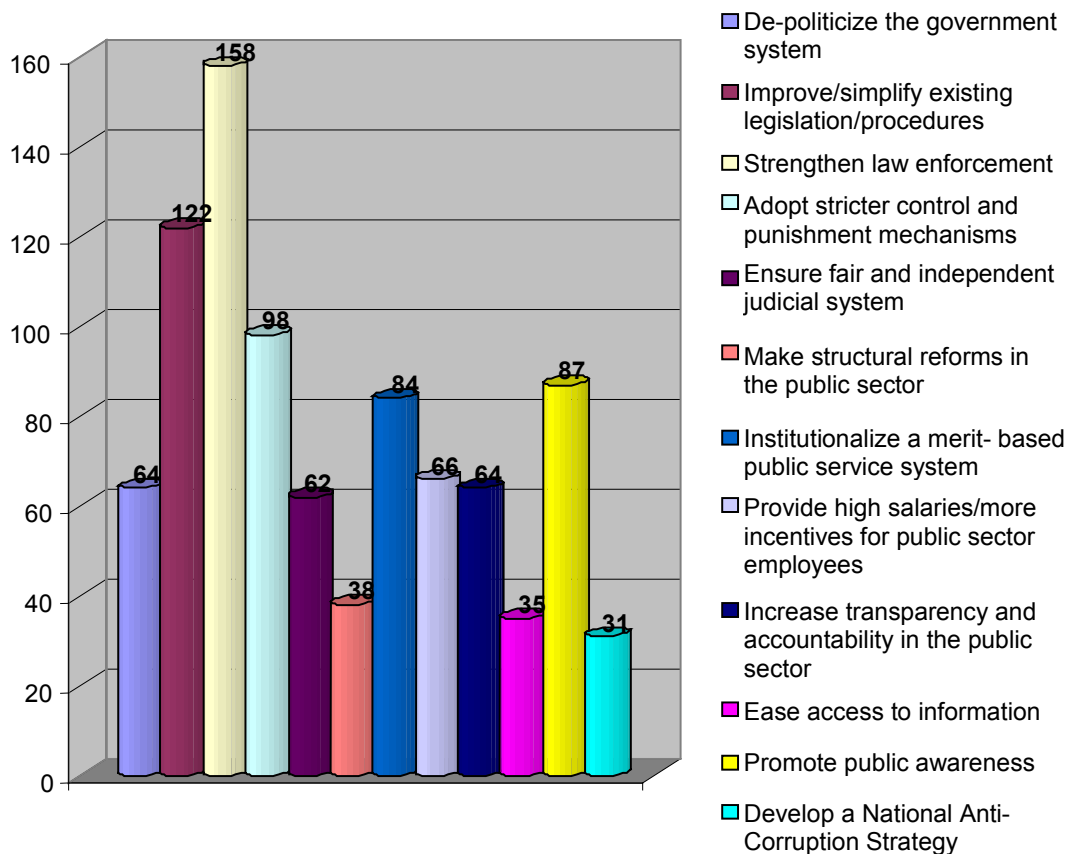
**Figure 11. How Would You React if Offered to Take Bribe?**



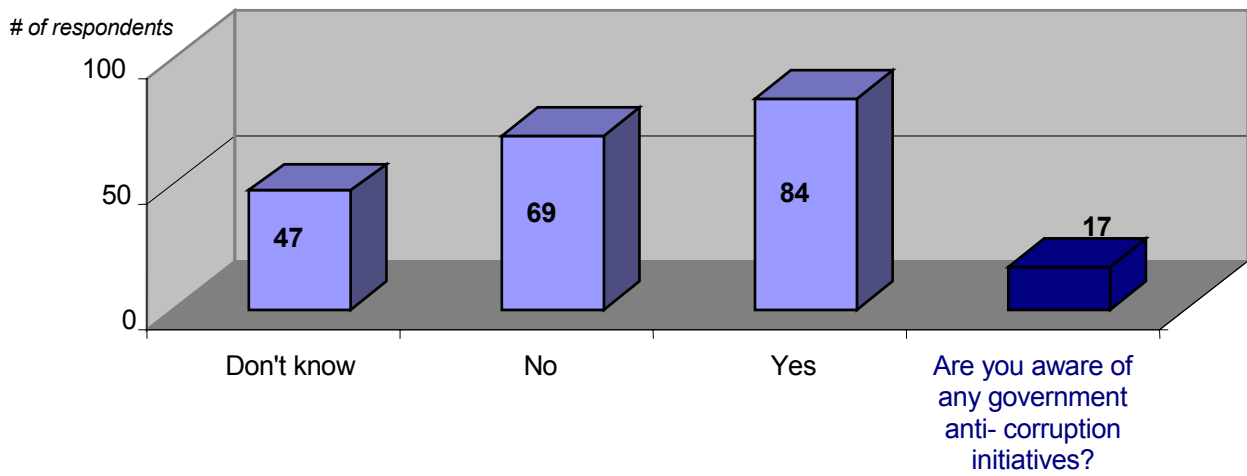
**Figure 12. How Would You React if Offered to Give Bribe?**



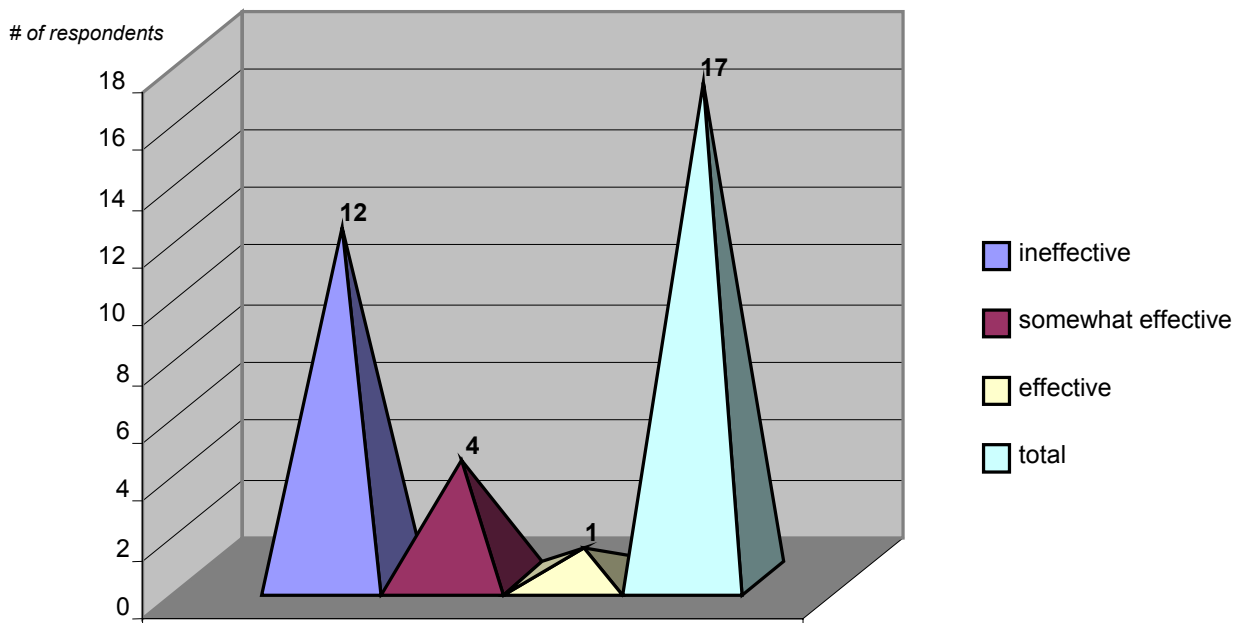
**Figure 13. How to Improve the Current Situation in Armenia?**



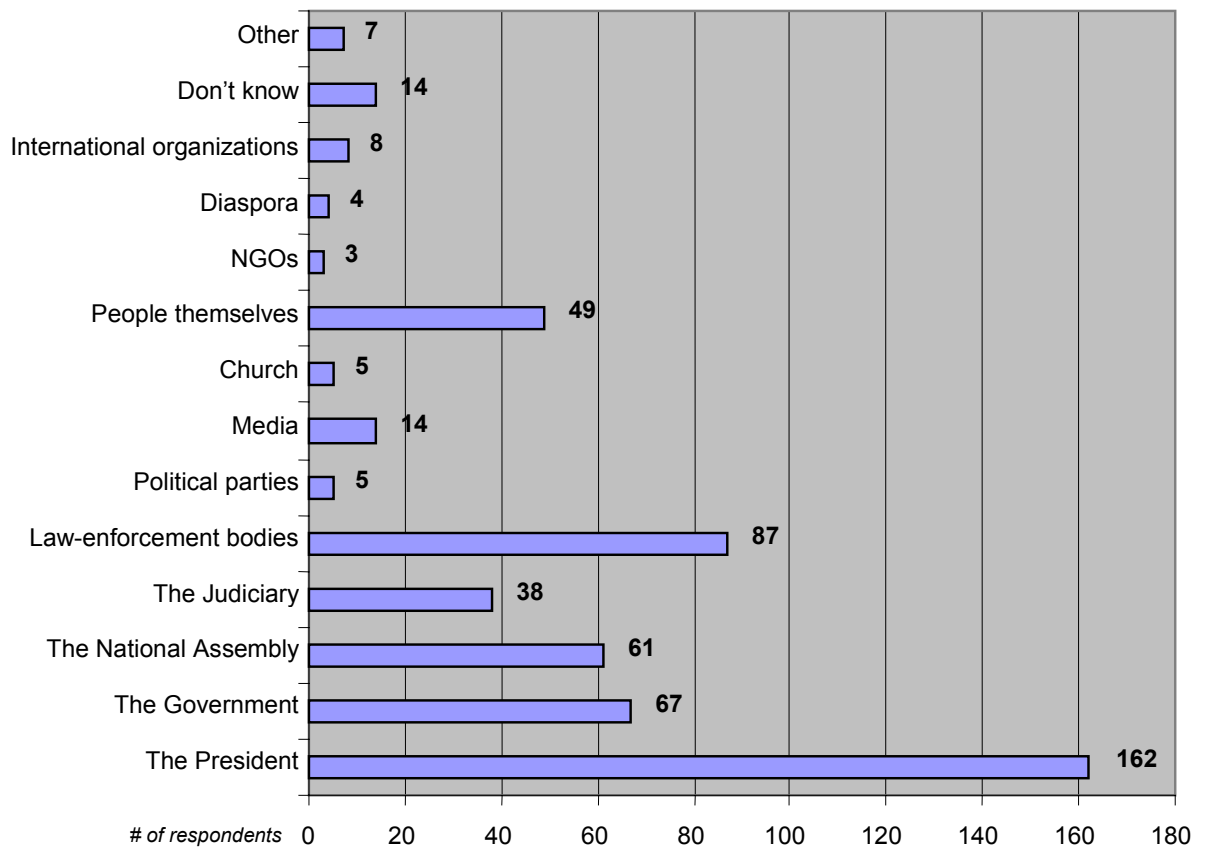
**Figure 14. Is There a Political Will to Change the Existing Situation in Armenia?**



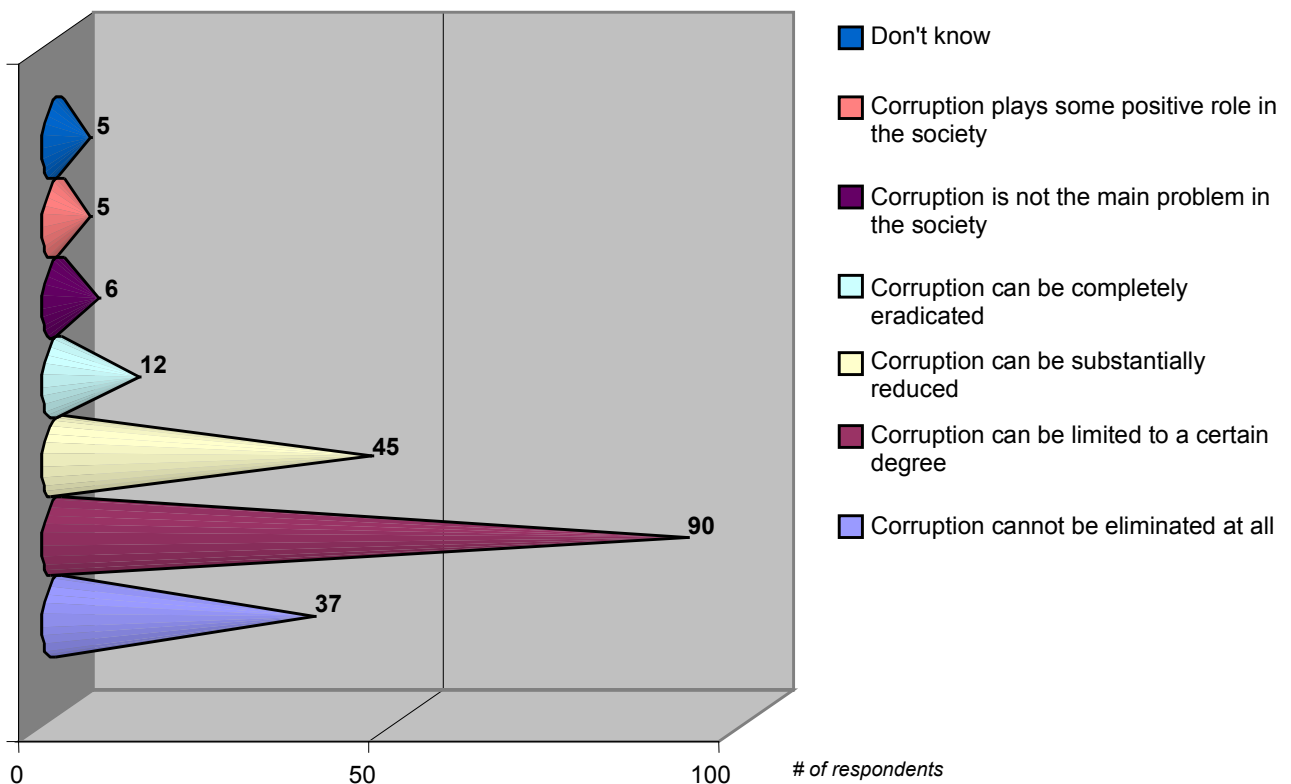
**Figure 15. How Would You Evaluate the Current Anti-Corruption Initiatives?**



**Figure 16. Who Can Play a Determining Role in Reducing Corruption in Armenia?**



**Figure 17. Which of the Following Statements is the Closest of What You Think About Corruption in Armenia?**





## PUBLIC OFFICIALS

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

Of all the 201 surveyed public officials, 117 worked in the state institutions for more than 10 years; 25 - 7-9 years; 30 - 4-6 years; 26 – 1-3 years; and only 3 persons had less than 1 year of work experience in the given area. Position levels were distributed in the following pattern: 67 high level; 68 middle level and 66 low level officials. As to the age distribution, 37 interviewees were of the age group of “18-30”; 81 – of age of “31-45”; 76 – of the age of “46-60”; and 7 - “61 and above”. Among the respondents, 52 were female and 149 - male. The largest percentage (88%) of the interviewees had a university degree; 3% completed a postgraduate study; 5% took an undergraduate degree and the rest marked the category of “other” (secondary education, professional training, etc).

### GENERAL QUESTIONS:

When asked “How problematic is corruption in Armenia?”, 22% of all the respondents considered it as extremely problematic, 35% - very problematic, 27% - problematic, 13% - somewhat problematic, and only 2% found it not problematic at all (see *Figure 1a*). Interestingly, more middle level officials than those holding high and low level positions (22 vs. 14 and 9 correspondingly) ranked this issue as extremely problematic. Also, the data showed that corruption was more frequently indicated as a very problematic issue by the interviewees having more work experience in the state institutions (10 and more years) than by those less experienced. The public officials from various geographic areas evaluated the current situation differently. As *Figure 1b* demonstrates, corruption was considered to be a more problematic issue in the regions than in the Capital City. Judging by the answers, the situation was seen to be the most alarming in Syunik Marz (69.23% of the respondents from this region marked “extremely problematic” and “very problematic” options); Ararat Marz (66%) is in the second place; and Gegharkunik Marz (57.14%) comes the third.

*Figure 2* illustrates that 39% of respondents believed that corruption occurred in Armenia before the formation of the USSR; 34% - after its formation; 13% - after gaining independence; and 9% thought it was always there. 49 out of 201 interviewed officials stated the level of corruption had increased significantly in recent 5 years; 61 believed it had increased; 58 thought it had not changed, and only 13 supposed it had decreased (see *Figure 3*). Here again there was a correlation between the work experience and a more critical approach to the issue under consideration. 27.30% of the respondents working in the state institutions for 10 and more years; 28% of the respondents with a work experience of 7-9 years; 20% with work experience of 4-6 years; and 11.5% with the work experience of 1-3 years pointed to the significant rise of the level of corruption in the country. In the meantime, only 1 respondent out of 3 surveyed officials having less than 1 year of work experience said that there was a significant rise of corruption level in the past 5 years.

As shown in *Figure 4*, public officials mainly associated corruption with taking and giving bribes (88.55% and 93.53% correspondingly); abuse of power (93.53%); unauthorized intervention in the activities of other institutions (79.10%); rent-seeking (78.10%); and misuse of public funds (78.10%). It should be mentioned that most respondents shared the same opinion regardless of their position and work experience. Only 31.30% of the interviewees viewed giving and taking gifts as a type of corruption; and only 38.8% found reference from a friend or relative as such. Most frequent answers to the question “Who mainly initiates corruption in Armenia?” were distributed as follows: 186 interviewees mentioned state authorities; 106 – political parties; 98 – average citizens; 96 – business sector; and 77 – international organizations (see *Figure 5*).

*Figure 6* presents 5 main causes of corruption in Armenia identified by the vast majority of the surveyed officials: poor law enforcement (181 respondents); imperfect legislation/regulations/procedures (167 respondents); unfavorable socio-economic conditions (165 respondents); ineffective judicial system (159); as well as low moral and professional values of public officials (153). 37.30% of the interviewees who believed that culture of “kick-backs” and gifts could cause corruption can be easily compared with those 31.30% of the respondents who earlier mentioned gifts as corruption; and 38.80% of those who found reference from a friend and relative to be a corrupt case (see *Figure 4*). Of all the interviewees, 170 stated that corrupt behavior is typically motivated by the willingness to evade high official payments; 164 – to avoid punishments/sanctions; 162 – to get preferential treatment, and 148 – to speed up processes/procedures (see *Figure 7*). Among the suggested consequences of corruption, the respondents more often pointed to the increased level of crime and law-breaking (174); the decayed societal values (169); and a negative impact on the economic development of the country (163).

## SPECIFIC QUESTIONS:

In the respondents' opinions, the first three extremely corrupt institutions in Armenia are courts, the Prosecutor's Office and Yerevan City Hall (see *Table 1*). However, when the interviewed officials were asked to name the most corrupt institutions, 65 of them referred to the Prosecutor's Office; 68 – to courts; and 38 – to the Ministries/Committees/Commissions. Analysis of the answers regarding to the question "Where does corruption occur most of all?" showed that 91 respondents indicated the middle level; 88 – high level; and only 20 - low level of the government system. Interestingly, regardless of their position and location, the interviewed officials shared the same opinion on this issue (see *Figure 8*).

Majority of the surveyed officials (124) stated that the most typical chain of corruption in Armenia is a cross-sectorial one. As demonstrated in *Figure 9*, there is almost no correlation between the answers to this question and the position level of respondents. According to the respondents' evaluation (see *Table 2*), the interviewed public officials believed that the most corrupt sector/ service provider is traffic police (79 – ranked it as "extremely corrupt" and 36 as "very corrupt"); then customs and tax administrations (63 – "extremely corrupt" and 41 - "very corrupt"); and, lastly, energy sector (55 and 42 correspondingly). While answering to a separate question on what the three most corrupt sectors/services are, the interviewees mentioned traffic police as the first and second options; and energy sector - as the third one.

61.69% of all the respondents noted that there is no corruption in their organizations; only 26.36% considered their organizations somewhat corrupt; 5.47% - corrupt; 0.99% - very corrupt; and 0.49% - extremely corrupt (see *Figure 10a*). At the same time, 92.53% of the surveyed officials said earlier that it was the state authorities that mainly initiated corruption in Armenia. When looked at *Figure 10b*, one could conclude that public officials from Ararat Marz made the least negative self-evaluation - all of them said that their institutions are not corrupt at all. The survey findings also indicated that for the surveyed officials the main sources of information related to corrupt practices in their organizations are: citizens' complains (31%); conversations with their peers (29%); and mass media (28%); but not officials reports/statements (12% only).

As demonstrated in *Figure 11*, 60% of all the interviewees stated that if offered they would never take bribe, 18% would try to explain a bribe giver how to do things legally; 17.41% marked "other" choice; 13% would take it; and 4.47% chose "don't know" option. The distribution of answers by the level of position showed that 44 out of 67 high level officials said they would not take bribe; 5 mentioned that they would take it; and only 2 would try to explain the proper way of doing things. In the case of middle and low level officials, the appropriate ratios are 40, 10 and 3 out of total 68; and 34, 11 and 3 out of total 66. As to the work experience, there was almost no difference among groups with different work experience – nearly 59.25% in each category answered they would not take bribe. Responses to the question "How would you react if asked to give bribe?" were distributed in a different way: 41% of the interviewees said they would not give; 32% would give; 14.42% gave the answer "other", 5% would try to do things legally; and 4.47% selected "don't know" option (see *Figure 12*). It should be mentioned that the surveyed officials were of a similar opinion regarding this issue regardless of their position level.

With respect to the proposed solutions on how to improve the existing situation in Armenia, 5 options were more frequently selected by the interviewees (see *Figure 13*). 93.03% of all the respondents believed that it should be done through ensuring fair and independent judicial system; 92.04% – providing high salaries/more incentives for public officials; 89.05% - strengthening law enforcement; 86.60% - promoting public awareness; and 83.08% - institutionalising a merit-based client-oriented public service system. 100 of the surveyed officials stated that there is political will in the country to reduce corruption; 65 respondents thought that there is no political will; and 36 gave the answer "don't know" (see *Figure 14a*).

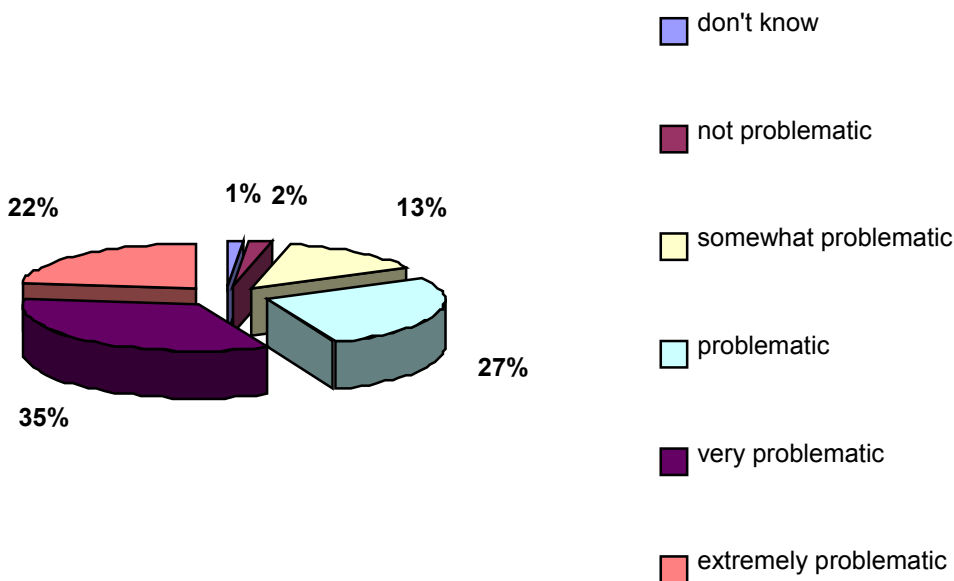
Responses to the question mentioned above were distributed almost evenly if grouped by the level of position, but they differed by regions - respondents from Gegharkunik and Syunik Marzes as well as from Yerevan had a more optimistic view concerning this issue than others (see *Figure 14b*). However, a total of 34.32% of the respondents were not aware of any anti-corruption government initiatives; 19.90% thought nothing was going to be changed; 19.40% found the current initiatives ineffective; and only 18.40% called them effective (see *Figure 15a*). It is important to note that public officials from Gegharkunik and Ararat Marzes were less informed about the government initiatives than those working in other regions, though these Marzes are quite closer to the Capital City (see *Figure 15b*).

As to the citizen's attitude towards the government anti-corruption activities, 60 out 201 respondents called it indifferent; 86 – mistrustful; 14 – negative; and only 33 – supportive (see *Figure 16*). In this case, more low level officials (43 out of 66) believed that citizens have a negative and mistrustful attitude to the government anti-corruption initiatives than those holding middle and high-level positions (27 and 30 out of 68 and 67

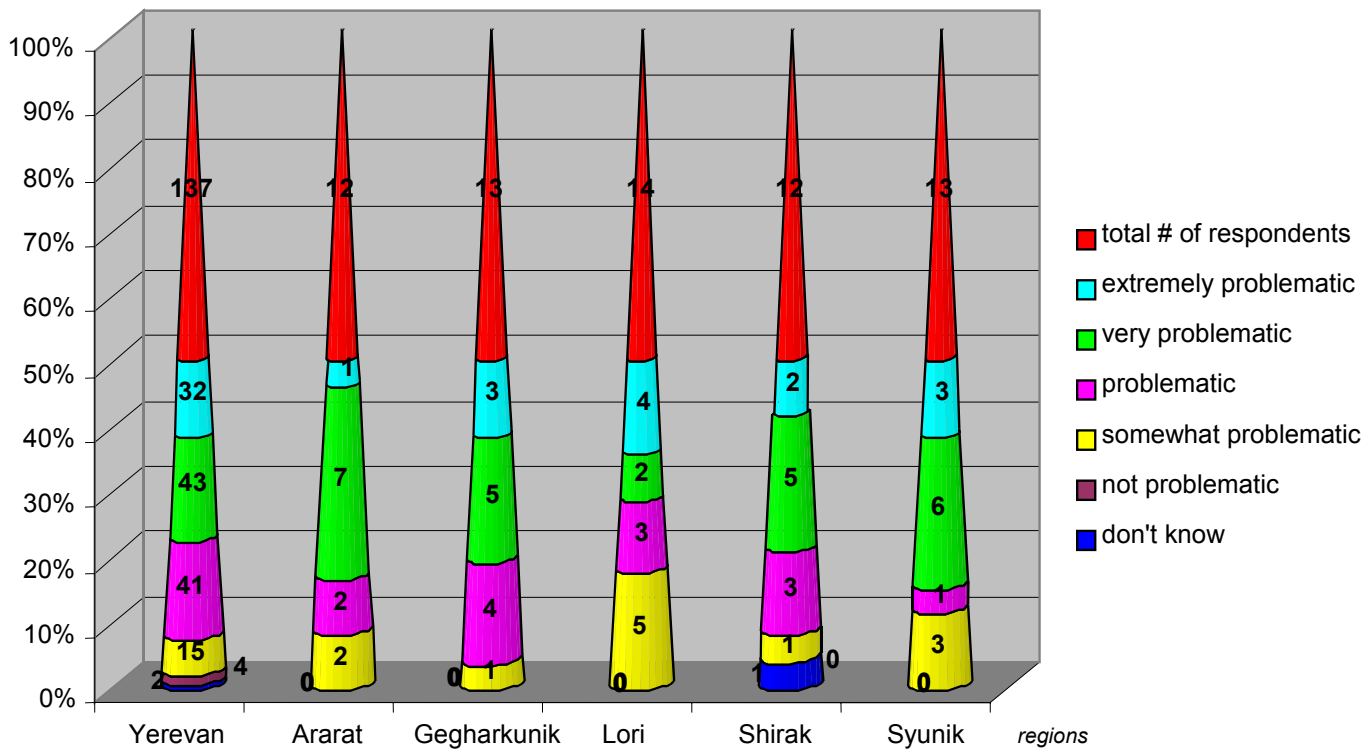
correspondingly). Providing answers to the question “Who can have a determining role in reducing corruption in Armenia?”, most interviewees identified the President (169), then the Government and the Judiciary (159 each) (see *Figure 17*).

Finally, public officials were asked to choose one of the statements that in their opinion was the closest of what they thought about corruption in Armenia. As seen in *Figure 18*, 18.09% believed that corruption could not be eliminated at all; 36.19% thought it could be limited to a certain degree; 33.33% stated it could be substantially reduced; and 1.42% noted it could be completely eradicated; while the rest (6.66%) mentioned other options. Overall, 70.94% of respondents are positive in their responses on whether it is possible to reduce corruption in the country or not.

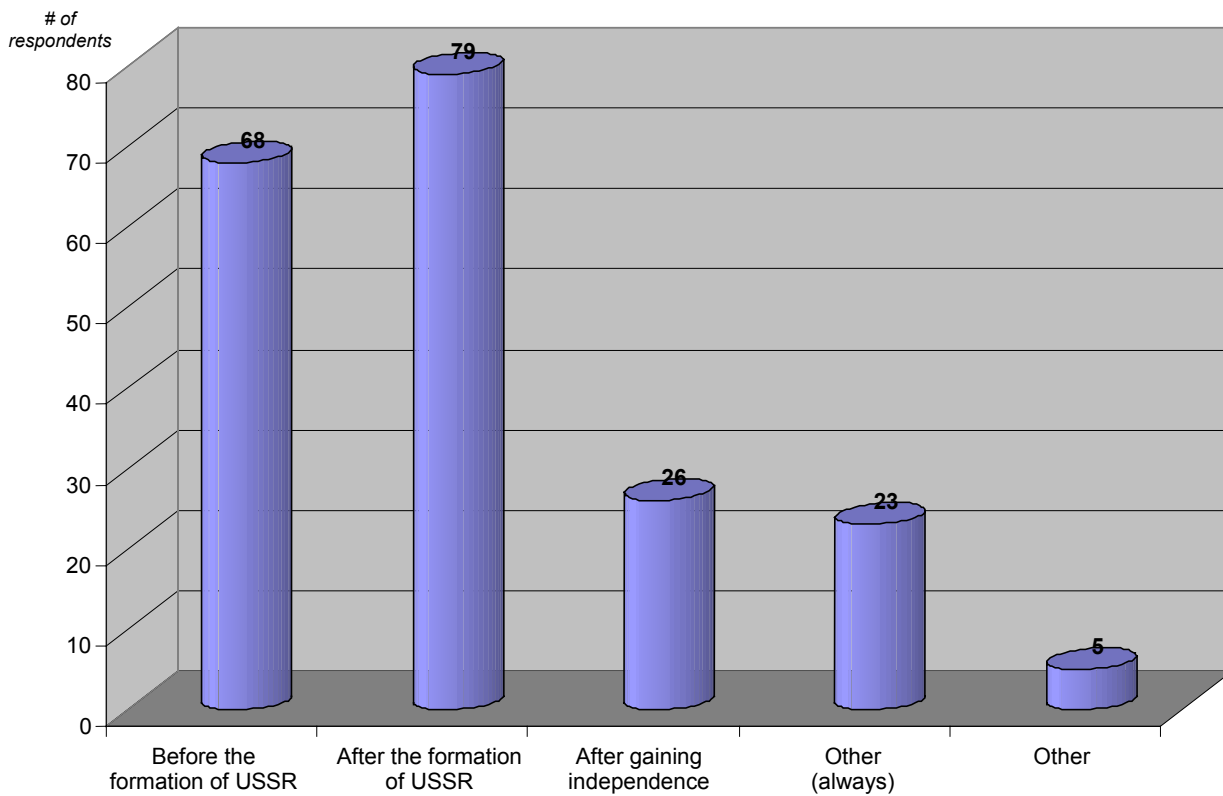
**Figure 1a. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?**



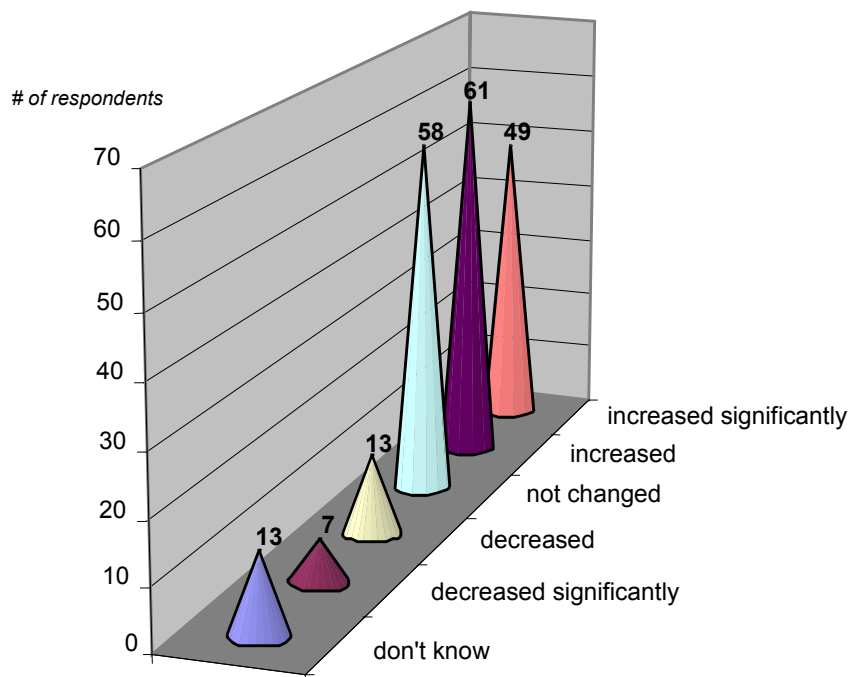
**Figure 1b. How Problematic is Corruption in Armenia?**



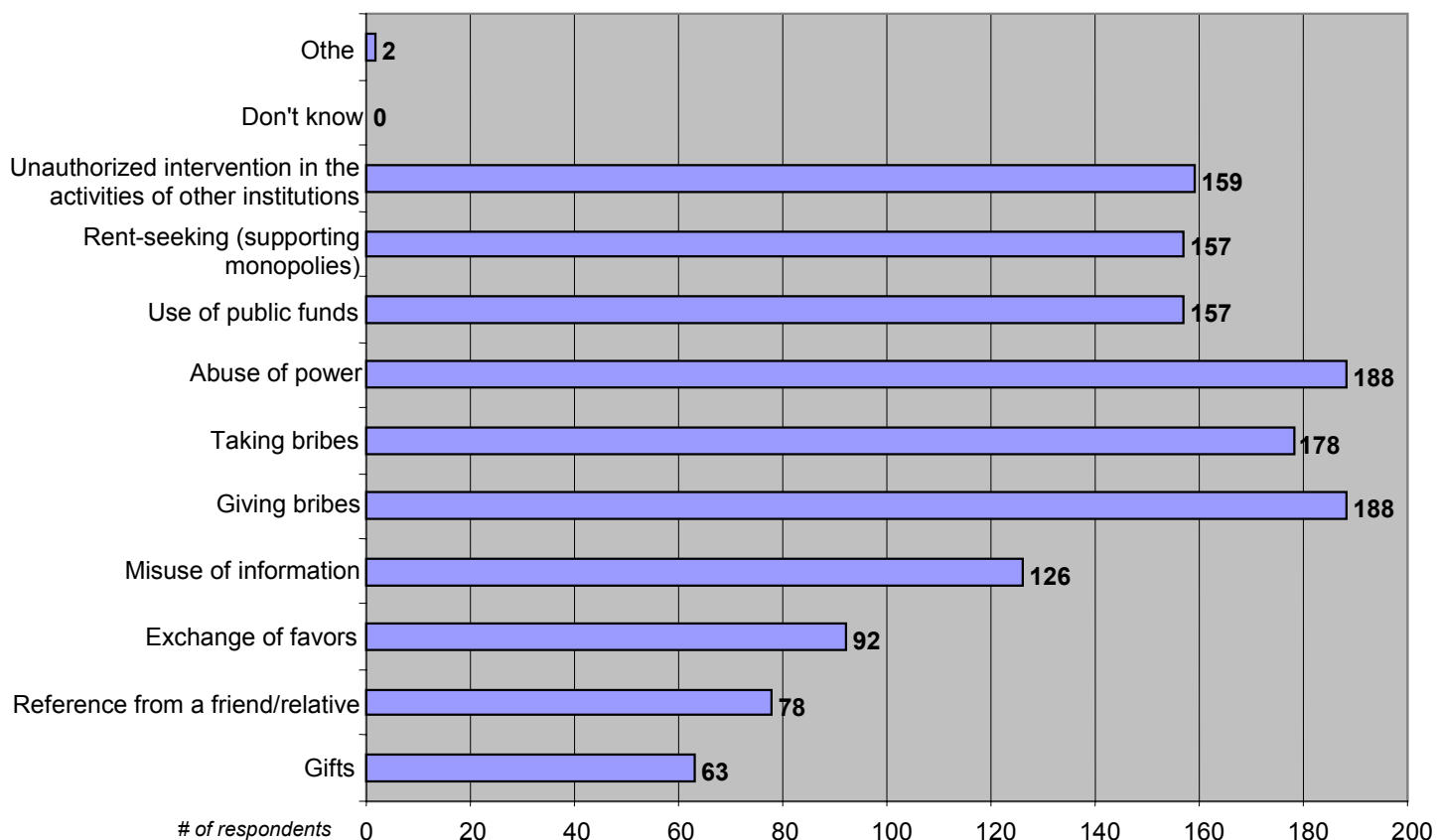
**Figure 2. Since When Has Corruption Been Existing in the Armenian Society?**



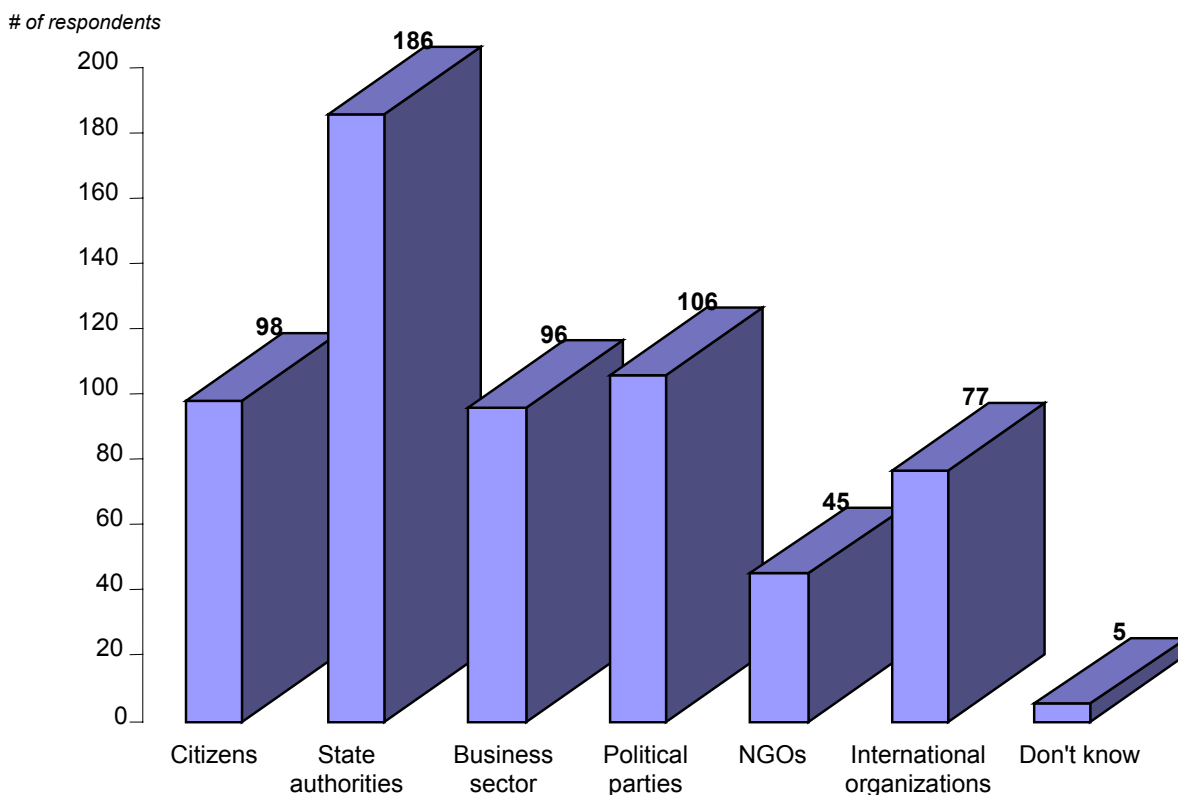
**Figure 3. In Recent Five Years How Has the Level of Corruption Changed?**



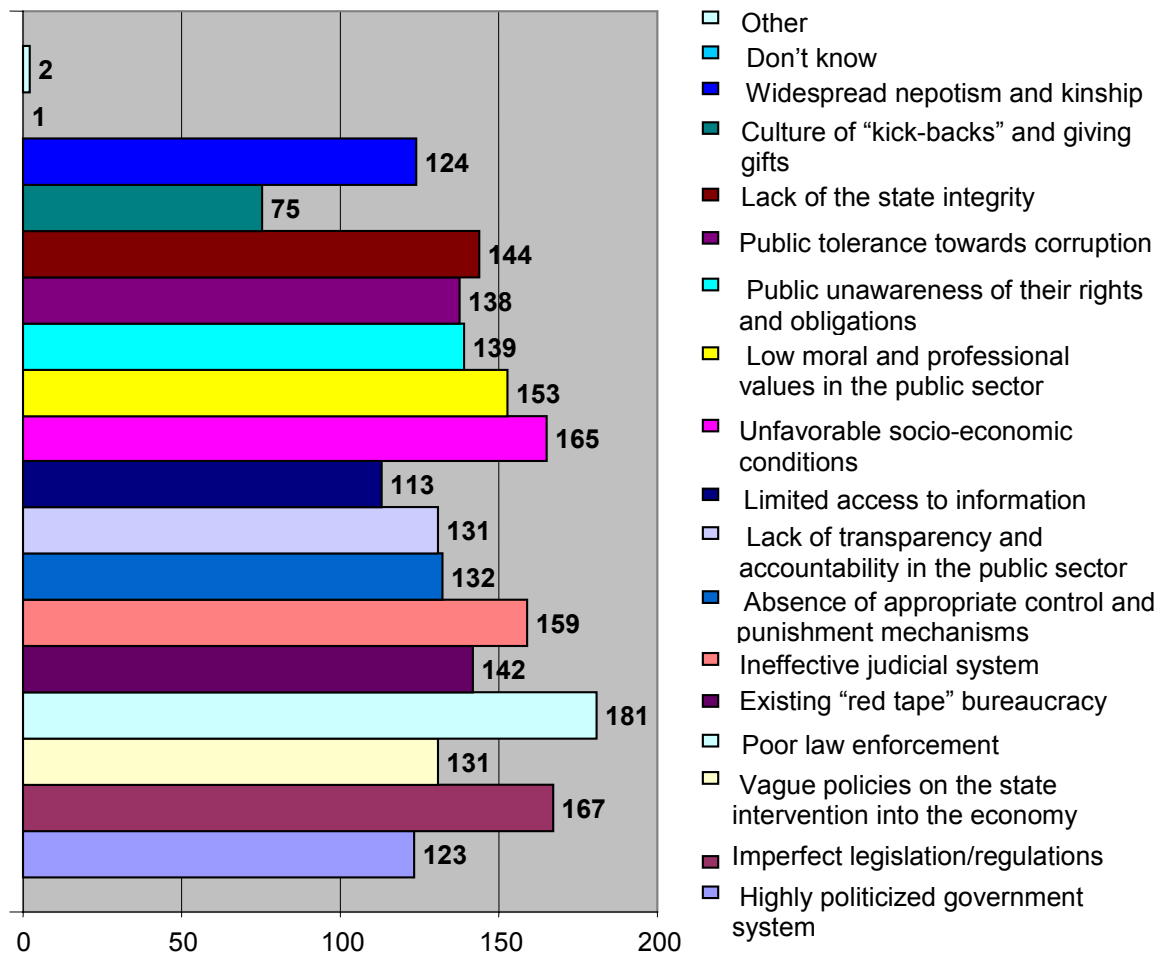
**Figure 4. Types of Corruption**



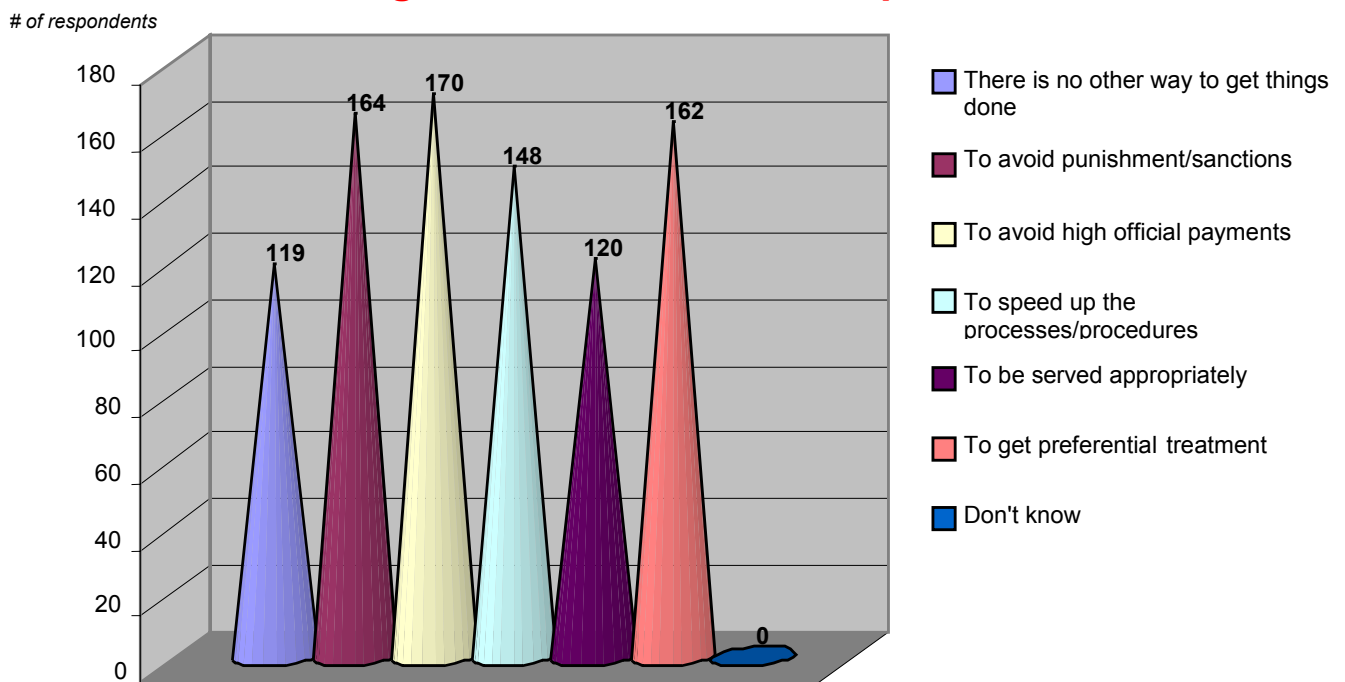
**Figure 5. Who Mainly Initiates Corruption in Armenia**



**Figure 6. Causes of Corruption**



**Figure 7. Motives of Corruption**



**Table 1. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the State Institutions**

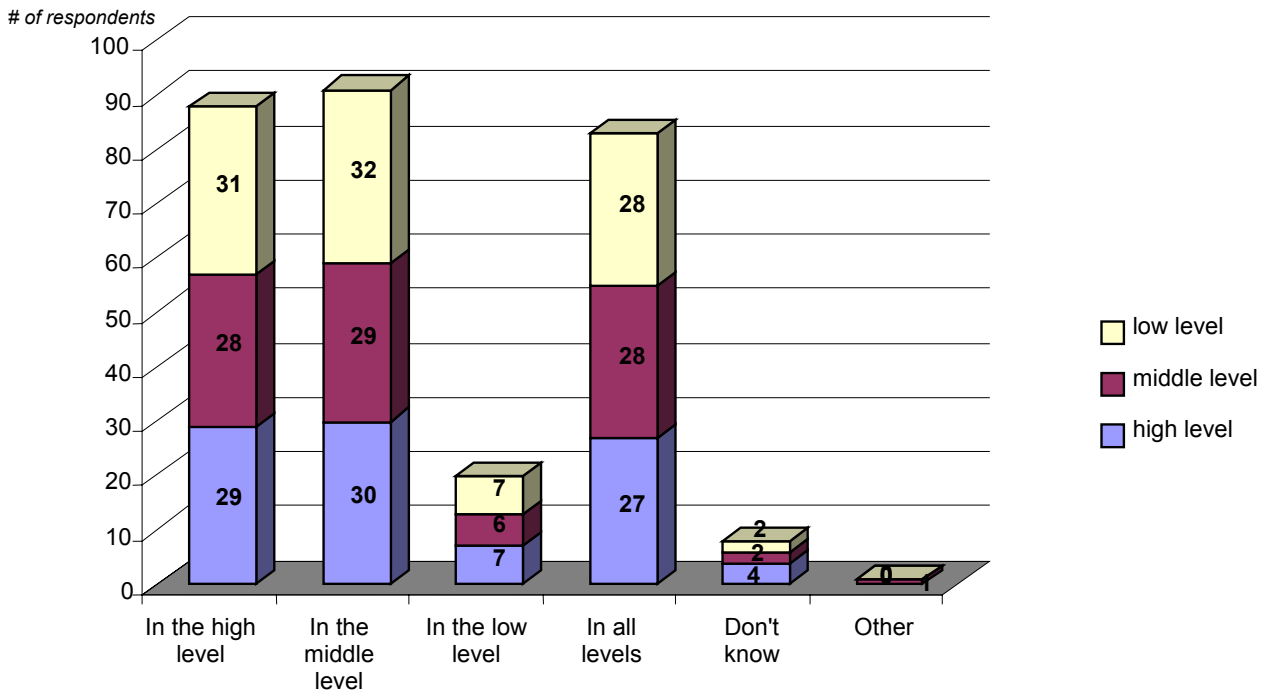
	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
The President's Office	54	36	51	32	11	15
The Prime Minister's Office	29	21	46	54	24	25
National Assembly	31	22	51	42	31	22
Constitutional Court	48	63	49	18	11	10
Prosecutor's Office	9	8	47	46	36	53
Courts	12	11	44	35	35	62
Central Bank	43	34	53	33	15	21
Ministries/Committees/Commissions	17	9	66	55	28	24
Regional Government Bodies	24	35	59	42	26	13
Yerevan City Hall	36	31	46	40	20	26
Local Self-Government Bodies	22	44	59	35	19	20

**Table 2. Evaluation of the Level of Corruption in the Following Services/Sectors**

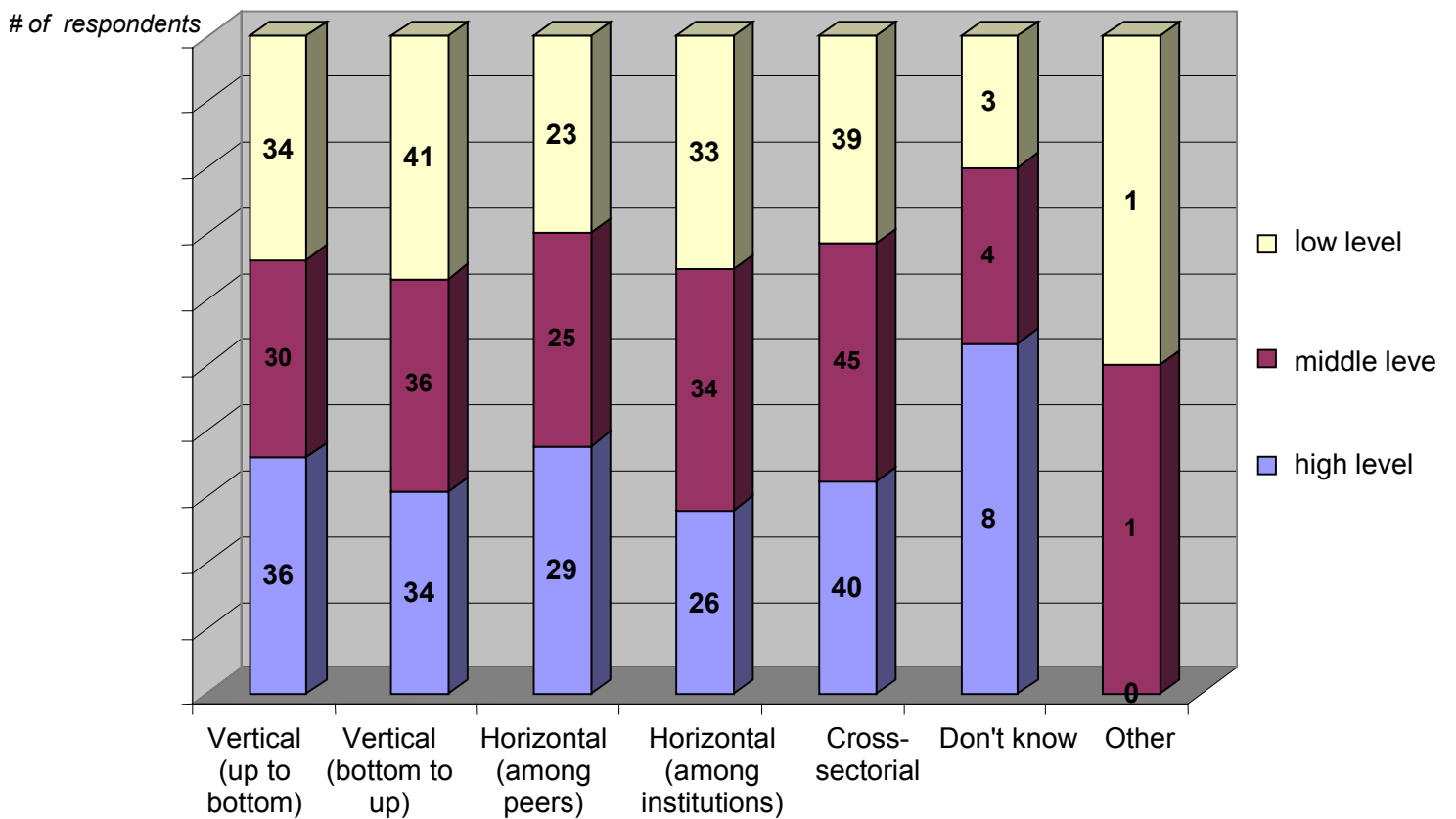
	<i>don't know</i>	<i>not corrupt</i>	<i>somewhat corrupt</i>	<i>corrupt</i>	<i>very corrupt</i>	<i>extremely corrupt</i>
Healthcare	4	20	51	65	32	29
Education	6	12	73	54	34	22
Reformatories	25	10	41	49	36	40
Justice system	10	13	50	50	33	45
Public procurement	46	14	48	45	22	26
Election process	18	19	37	44	28	55
Defense/National Security/Police	15	13	50	49	39	35
Customs/Tax system	16	4	30	47	41	63
Licensing/Certification/Permit issuing	23	12	57	57	26	26
Budgeting process	34	45	68	36	9	9
Traffic police	2	5	35	44	36	79
Agriculture	31	54	67	36	12	1
Inspection services	21	17	56	57	30	20
Cadastre	23	17	61	50	21	29
Privatization	22	11	45	51	35	37
Banking system	30	30	57	49	18	17
Social security	13	33	89	44	12	10
Communication/Transportation	22	27	61	54	19	18
Construction	24	31	62	39	28	17
Environment-related services	32	43	58	33	20	15
Energy sector	9	10	31	54	42	55
Business sector	32	65	68	22	10	4
Mass media	19	46	71	37	15	13
NGO/Charity funds/ Professional associations	39	81	51	24	4	2
International organizations	32	77	47	22	13	10
Church	29	108	37	18	4	5
Culture/Sport	17	60	77	29	11	7



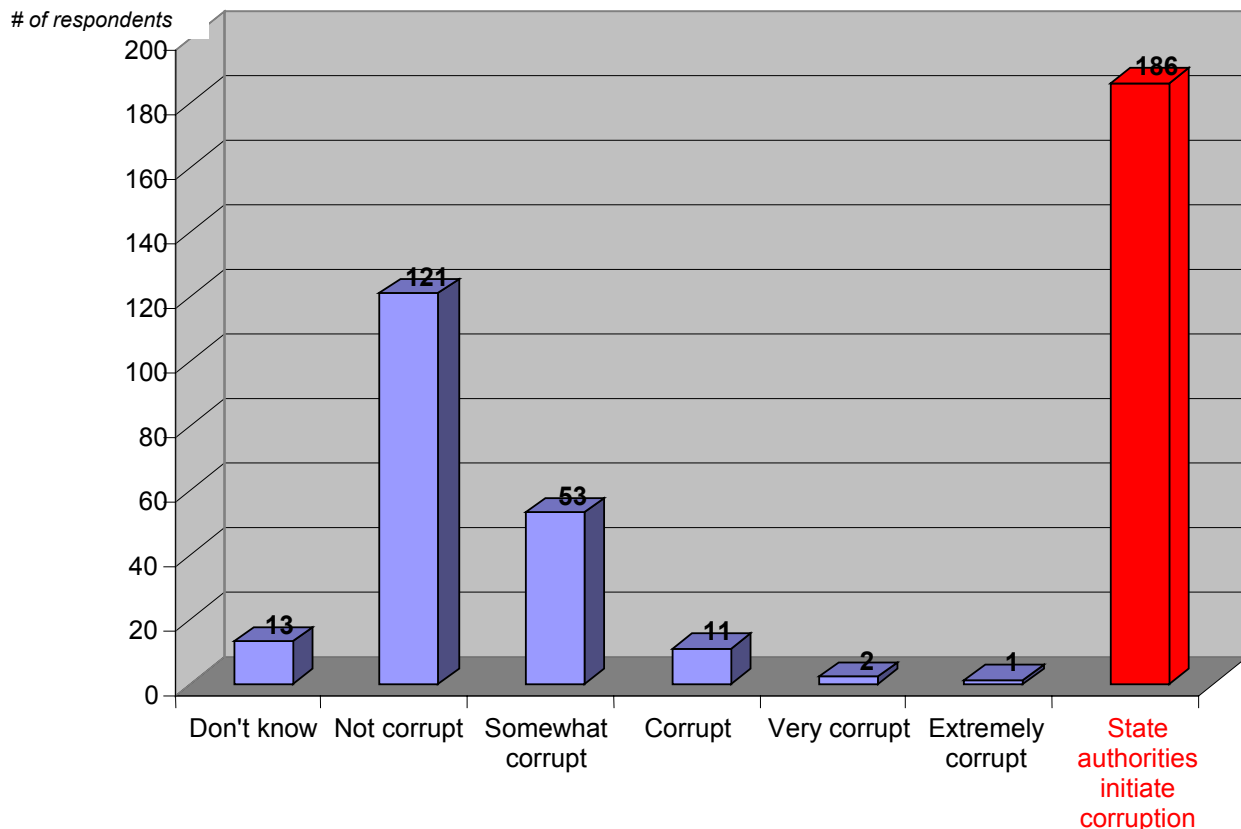
**Figure 8: Where Does Corruption Occur Most of All?**



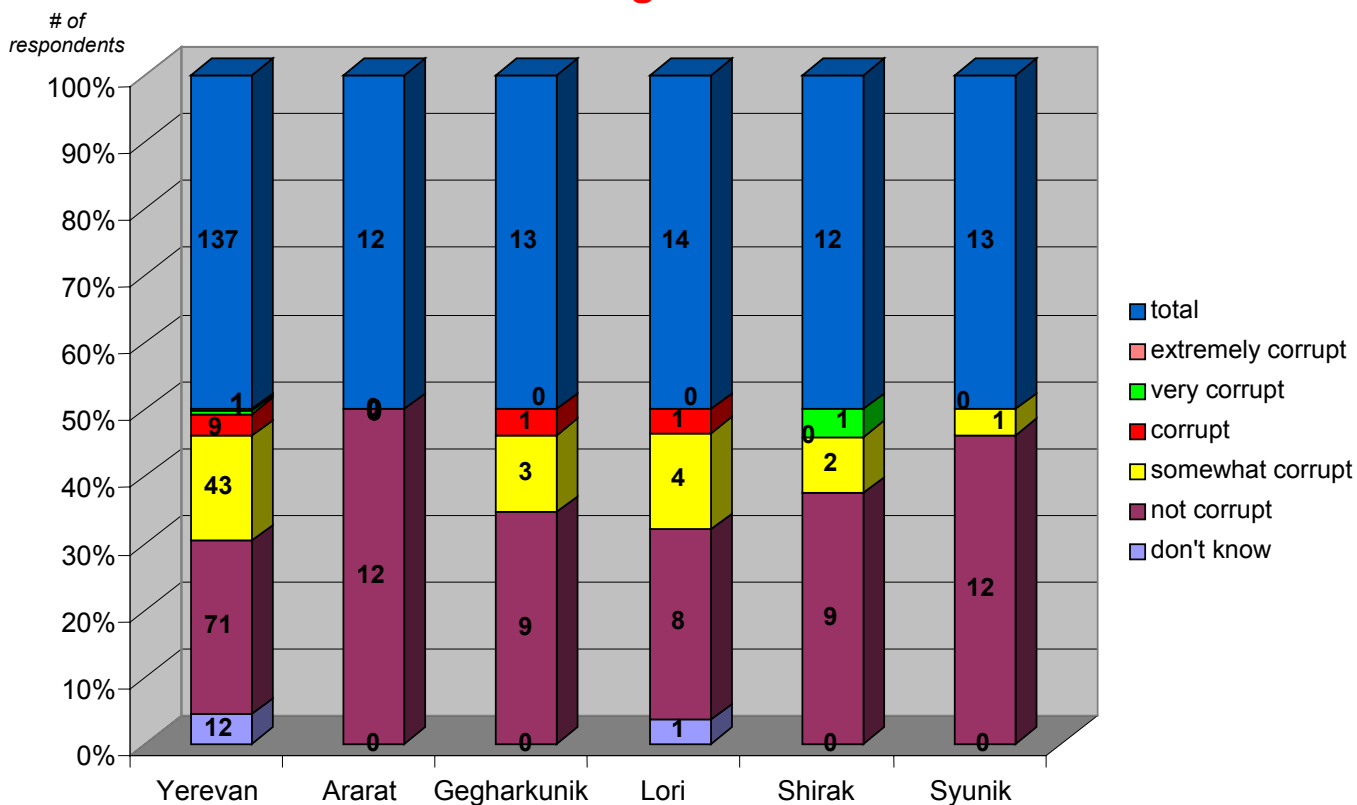
**Figure 9: What is the chain of corruption in the government system?**



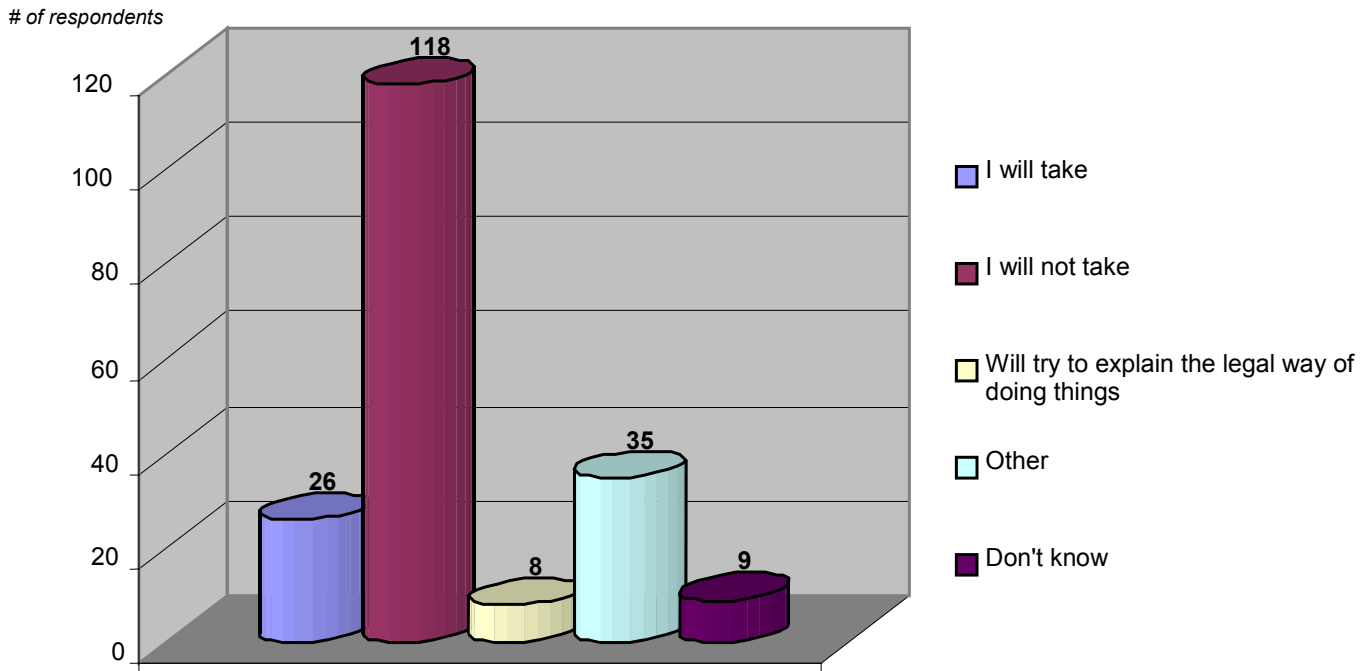
**Figure 10a. How Would You Evaluate the Level of Corruption in Your Organization?**



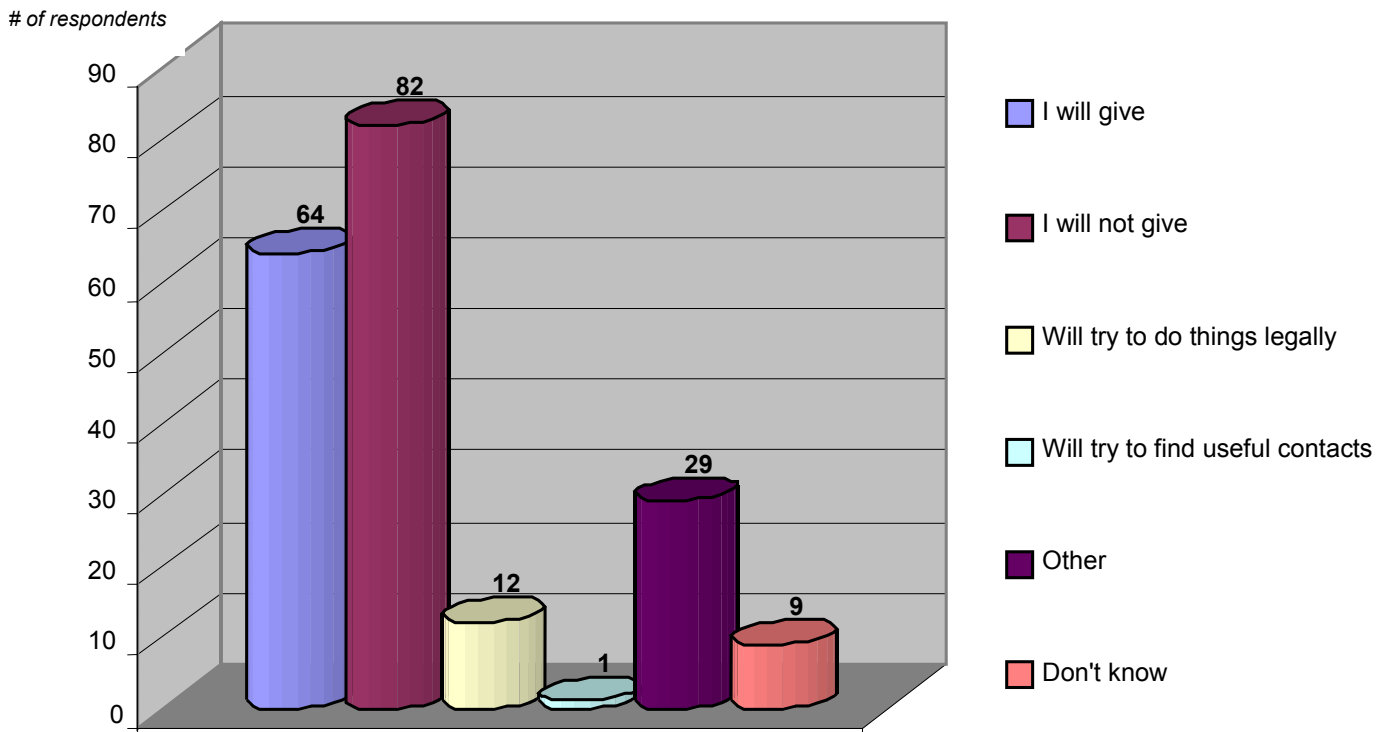
**Figure 10b. How Would You Evaluate the Level of Corruption in Your Organization?**



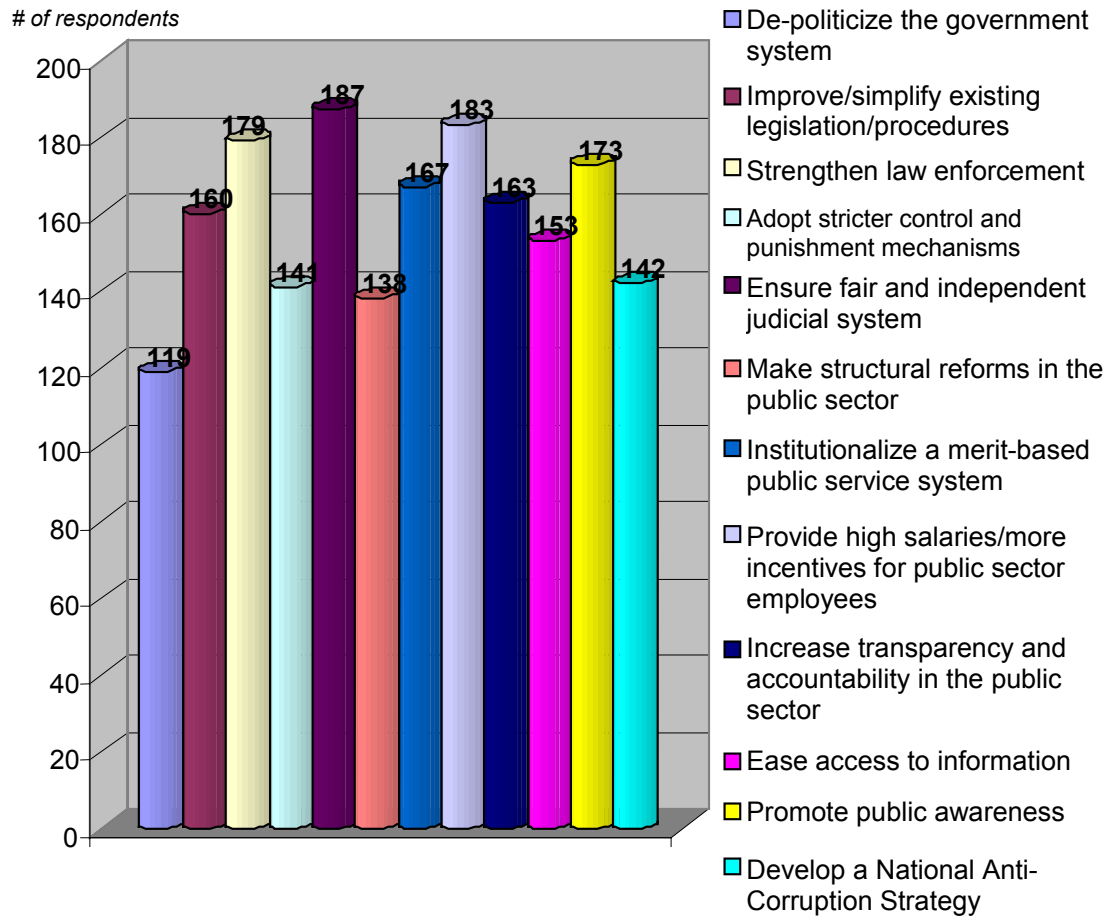
**Figure 11. How Would You React if Asked to Take Bribe?**



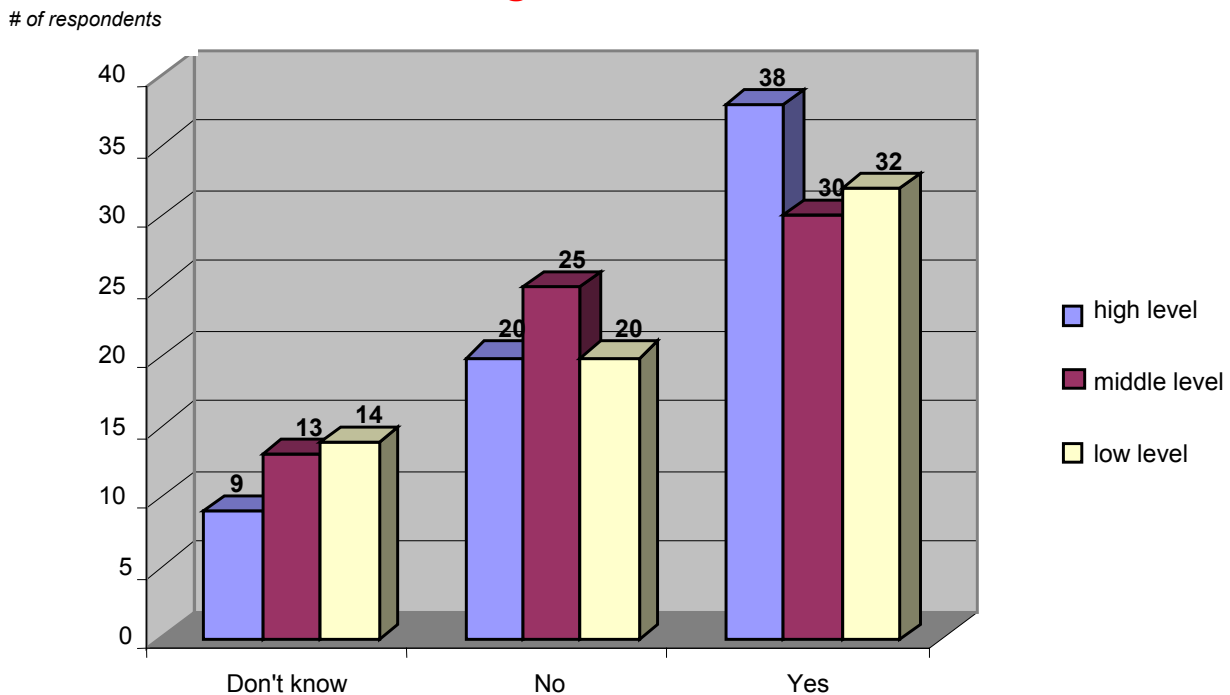
**Figure 12. How Would You React if Asked to Give Bribe?**



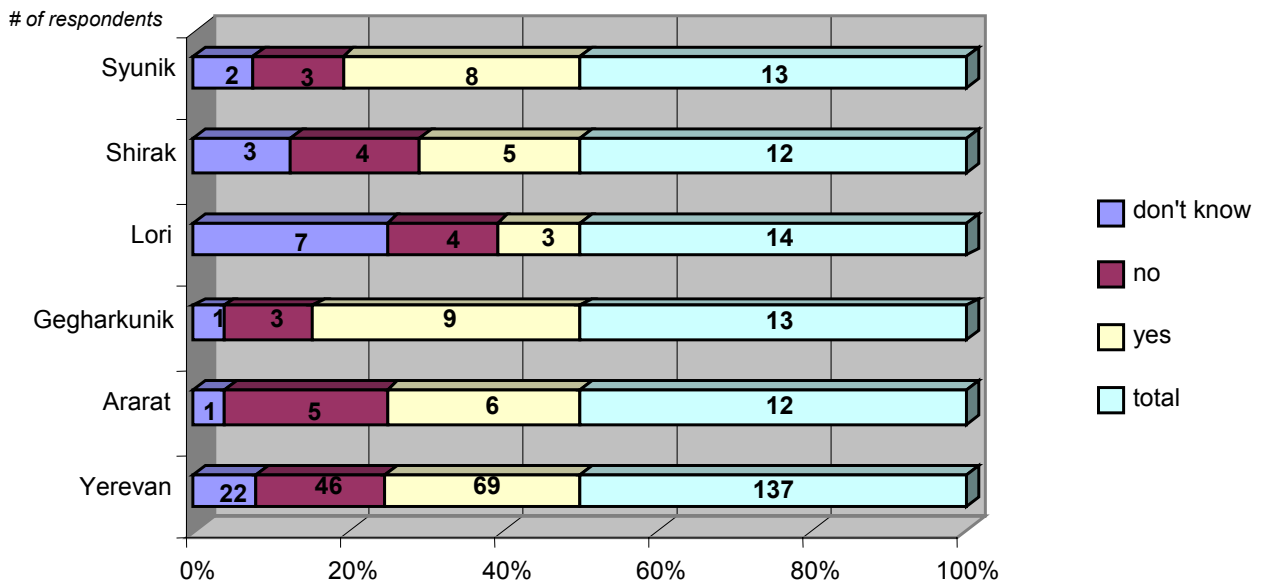
**Figure 13. How to Improve the Current Situation in Armenia?**



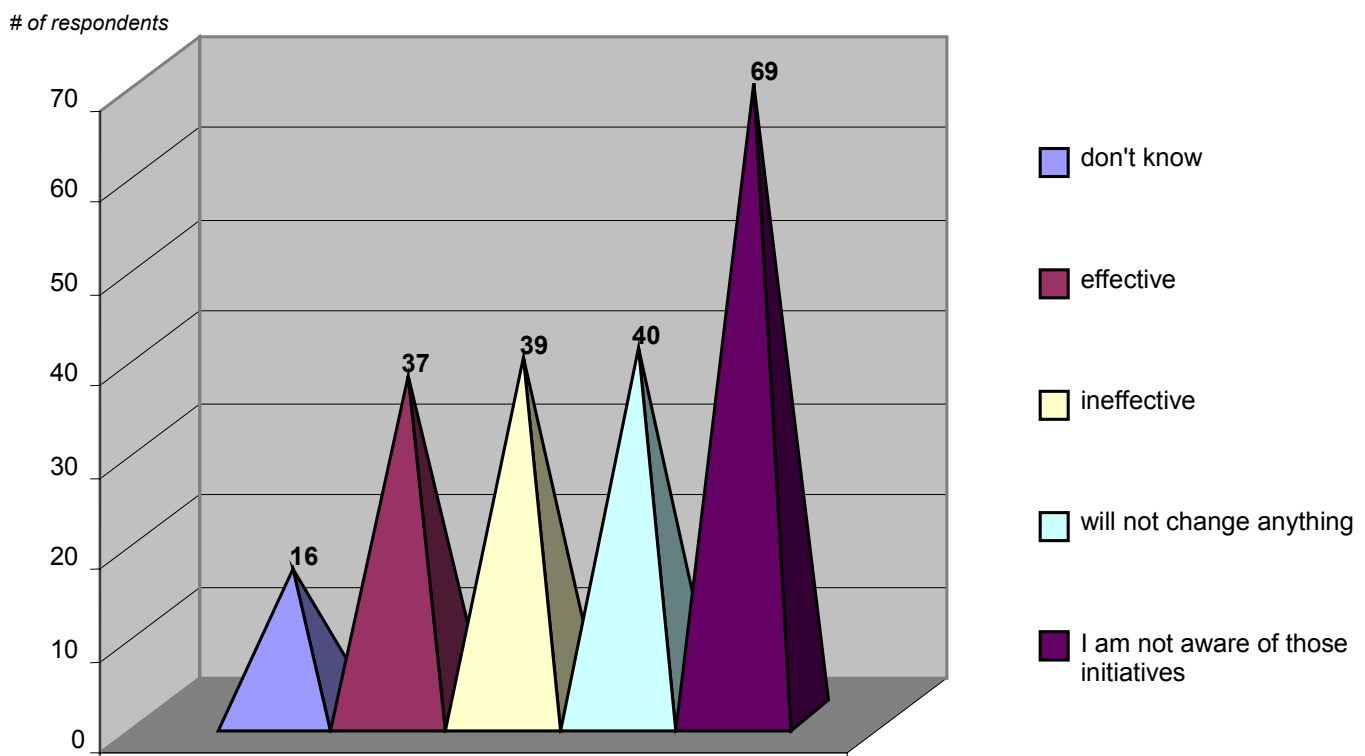
**Figure 14a. Do You Think There is a Political Will to Change the Existing Situation in Armenia?**



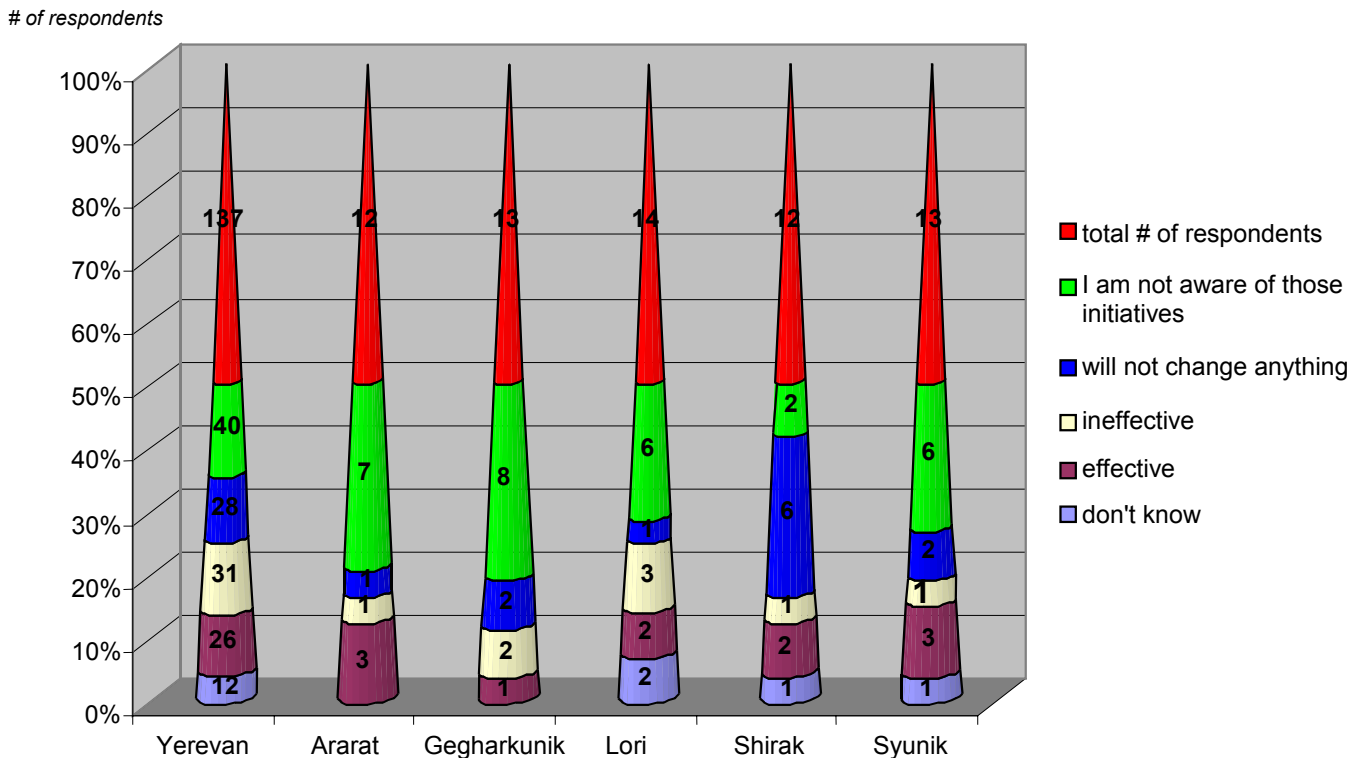
**Figure 14b. Do You Think There is a Political Will to Change the Existing Situation in Armenia?**



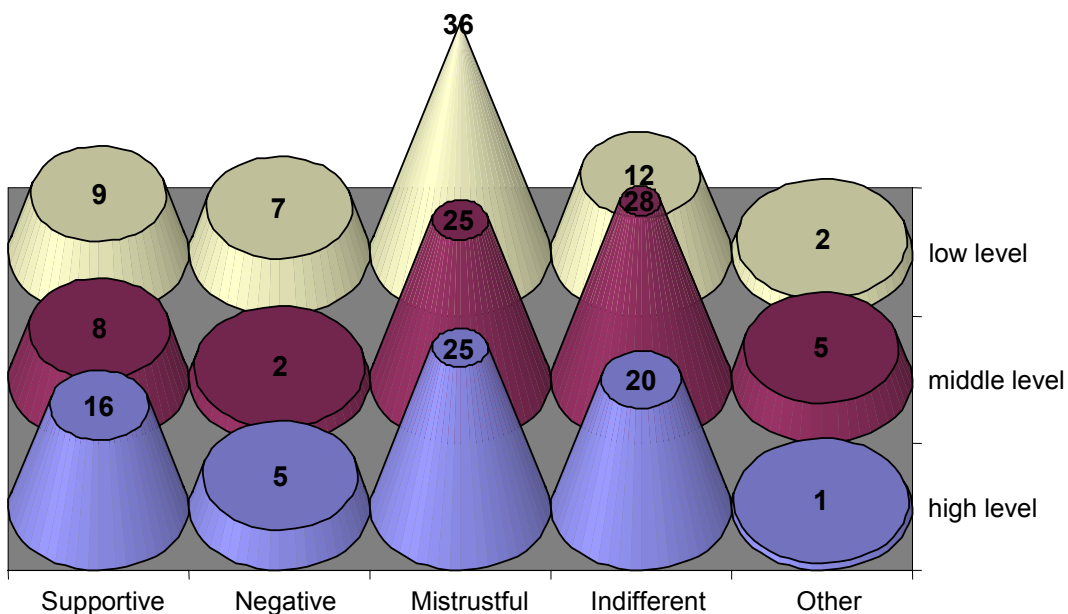
**Figure 15a. How Would You Evaluate the Current Anti-Corruption Initiatives?**



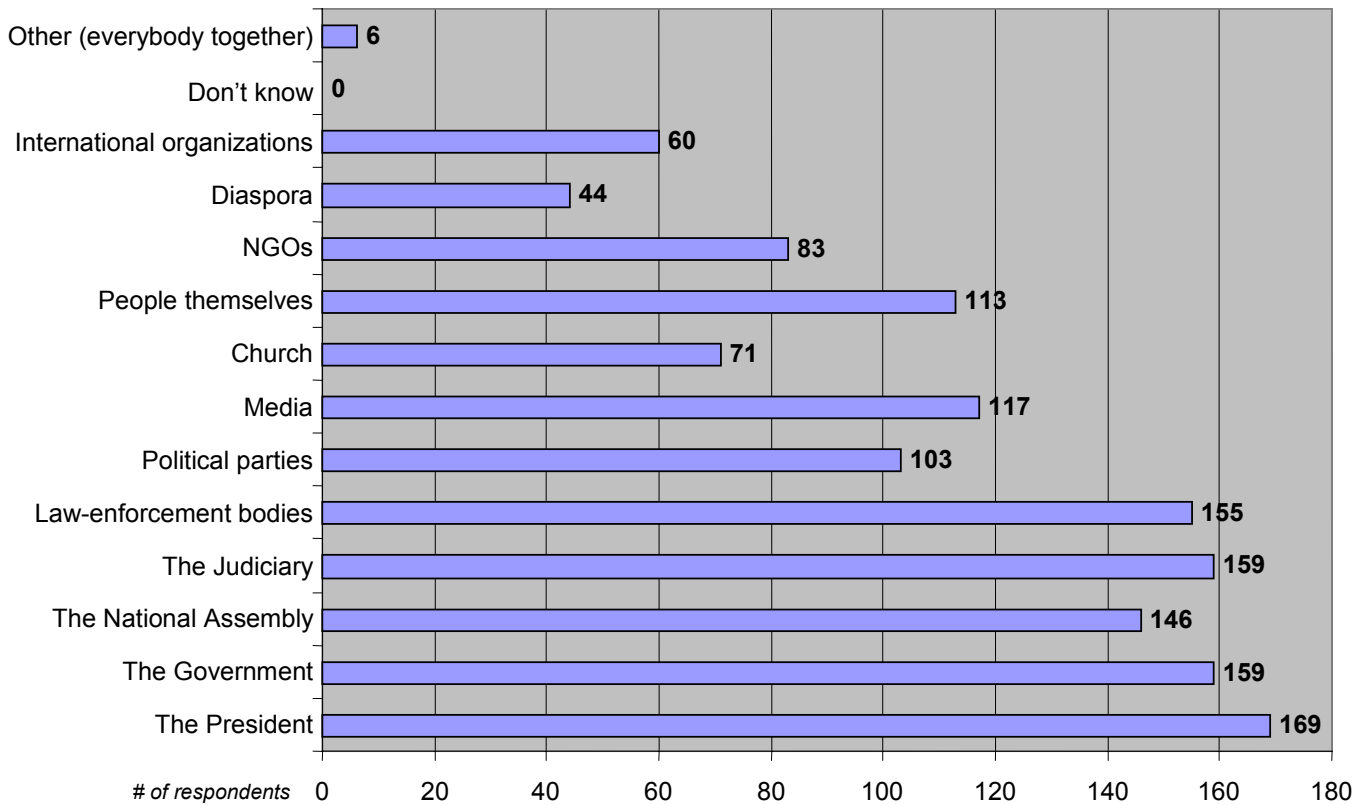
**Figure 15b. How Would You Evaluate the Current Anti-Corruption Initiatives?**



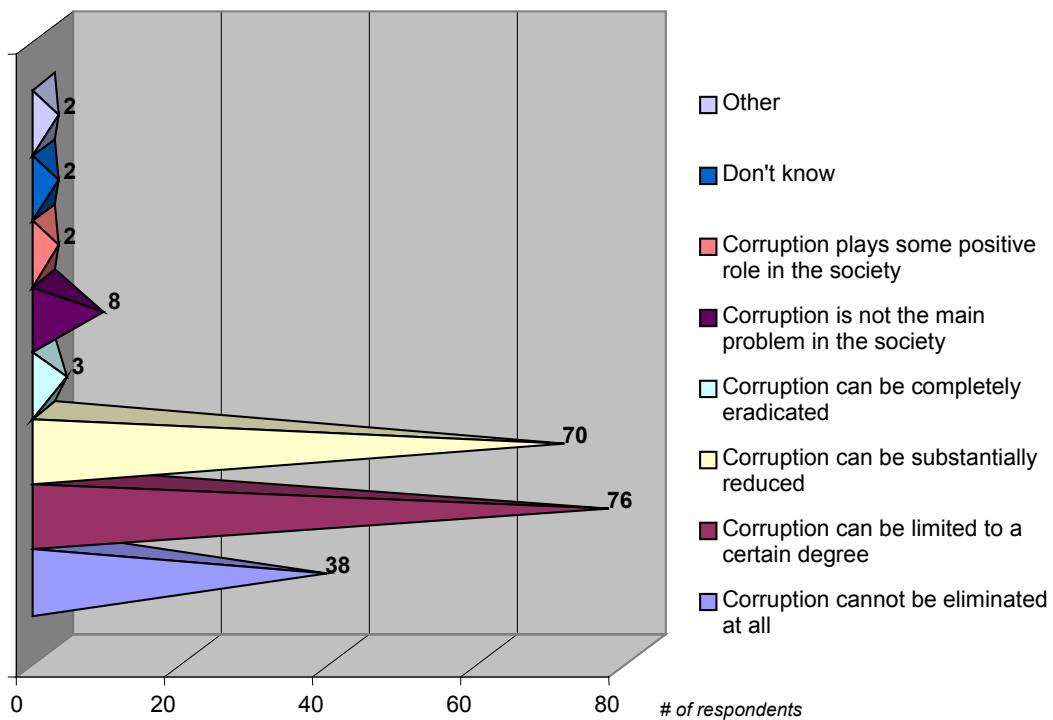
**Figure 16. In Your Opinion, What Is The Citizens' Attitude Towards the Current Anti-Corruption Government Initiatives?**



**Figure 17. Who Can Play a Determining Role in Reducing Corruption in Armenia?**



**Figure 18. Which of the Following Statements is the Closest of What You Think about Corruption in Armenia?**



## SUMMARY

1. According to the survey results, the overwhelming majority of the respondents believe that corruption is a problem in Armenia. Only 4% of a total number of the surveyed households, 3.50% of businesses and 2% of public officials stated that it is not a problematic issue. Correspondingly, in each target group those who mostly considered corruption to be problematic were people of age 31-45, with higher education, no matter male or female (households); representatives of service providers (businesses) and middle level government employees with work experience of more than 10 years (public officials). Regional distribution of the responses was as follows: households and businesses in Gegharkunik and Aragatsotn Marzes, along with public officials from Syunik Marz, more negatively evaluated the current situation in the country compared to respondents from other regions.

Is it to say that those mentioned above are facing corruption more often than others? Presumably, the answer can be positive due to a number of reasons. First, middle age individuals are typically the most active part of the population involved in starting or promoting new businesses/initiatives, or seeking for career development, and thus having more opportunities to face corruption. Secondly, taking into consideration the fact that most of the surveyed businessmen and public officials stated that corruption mainly occurs in the middle level of the government system, it may be assumed that middle level officials are more aware of corrupt practices and therefore able to evaluate the situation in a more critical way.

In addition to this, an extensive work experience in the state institutions could be associated with having more information on corruption-related issues to be based on in assessing the current state of affairs. Similarly, one may explain the worse perception of corruption among respondents from the regions by the fact that socio-economic conditions in Marzes are much worse than in Yerevan. This can be also caused by the lack of appropriate information and poor communication in remote areas. However, this and other similar questions can be answered only by using more advanced methodologies and techniques that can be probably done through other studies.

2. It appears that in general the respondents did not relate the occurrence of corruption in Armenia with the gaining of independence: most of them mentioned that it became an issue either before the formation of the USSR or after. In the meantime, about 67% of all the interviewed households, 41% of businesses and 54% of public officials noted that corruption level had been increased in recent five years. One may assume then that corruption is mostly seen as a legacy of the past regimes, something that is worsening through years due to various reasons, but not something that those “new” authorities brought to the stage when they came to power. The largest percentage of those who shared this opinion (43%) were retired persons, of the age category “60 and above”. Numbers of answers were equally distributed between males and females and among all the education categories. Gegharkunik Marz took a leading position with 58.90% of those indicating the recent raise of corruption level in the country.
3. A great number of households and business sector representatives identified corruption as bribery and abuse of power. Meanwhile, most public officials added to the list “rent seeking” and “misuse of public funds”, probably because of being more familiar with how the governance system works and what kind of corrupt opportunities exist in the state institutions. As to businesses, it is worth mentioning that fewer middle and large size companies pointed to bribery and abuse of power compared to the small size companies, which are probably more vulnerable and less protected against corruption. Only 24.90% of the households, 19% of the businesses and 31.30% of the public officials considered giving and taking gifts as one of the forms of corruption. Correspondingly, no more than 22.70%, 70% and 38.80% of interviewees found references from friends or relatives to be a corrupt practice.
4. Survey results demonstrated that 94.50% of households, 97% of businesses and 92.53% of public officials thought that corruption in Armenia is mainly initiated by the state authorities. Interestingly, both households and business sector representatives put themselves in the second place, while public officials selected political parties as a second choice. When asked about causes of corruption, all the groups of interviewees first referred to poor law enforcement and imperfect legislation/regulations/procedures. However, the third place was given to the absence of control and punishment mechanisms (by households), the lack of state integrity (by businesses) and unfavorable socio-economic conditions (by public officials). At the same time, if households and businesses primarily explained corrupt behavior by an attempt to speed up processes/procedures, then the surveyed public officials considered that as an attempt to avoid high official payments.

In this respect, there is a clear evidence of two opposite views on the same phenomenon: customers blamed on ineffective public service provision, while public officials indicated tax avoidance practices.



Obviously, average citizens and business people are inclined to consider only themselves as victims of corruption, while public officials tend to justify corruption in the state institutions by various reasons, such as unfavorable socio-economic conditions, imperfect legislation, etc. However, it is representatives of the state authorities who typically benefit from such practices by taking bribes at the rates, more affordable for customers than official payments.

5. In answering the question regarding the main consequences of widespread corruption in Armenia, the majority of households stated that it would first lead to the drastic increase of poverty level; most businesses were mainly concerned about its negative influence on the economic development of the country; and public officials more frequently pointed to the increased level of crime and law breaking. Not surprisingly, here again each group of respondents was more concerned about factors that can immediately affect them: living standards of the population, business opportunities of entrepreneurs or controlling functions of the state authorities.
6. When asked to evaluate the level of corruption in the state institutions, all the surveyed groups first mentioned the courts and the Prosecutor's Office. The Prime Minister's Office, President's Office, National Assembly as well as Yerevan City Hall were also pointed out in this regard, though only the latter was included in the list of institutions where the respondents made unofficial payments according to their reports. This can be explained by the fact that no matter whether people personally face corruption in the abovementioned institutions or not, those institutions are perceived by the respondents as the most corrupt ones. Partially, such perception can be explained by the fact that the given institutions are non-transparent and not accessible to the public.

A significant number of the respondents ranked traffic police to be the most corrupt sector/service in Armenia. However, in the case of households, the next corrupt spots were the military, healthcare, education; in the case of businesses – tax and customs; and in public officials' opinion – tax, customs and energy sector. The reported cases of personal experience of giving bribes were most frequently referred to the traffic police, though the range of unofficial payments here was much smaller than in other cases. The largest amount of unofficial payments equal to \$5,000 was mentioned by respondents with respect to customs, licensing and police.

Meanwhile, 61.69% of public officials did not see any corruption in their particular organization, though, as mentioned above, almost all the respondents of this surveyed group indicated state authorities as the main initiators of corruption in Armenia. In comparison with public officials, business representatives seemed to be more critical in their assessment of the current situation in the private sector – only 28% of them said that there is no corruption in their sector. It needs to be noted, that, as previously noted, businesses ranked themselves as the second in terms of initiating corruption in the country.

7. Only one third of households said they would not take bribe if offered since it is unacceptable for them. In this respect, when compared to female, male respondents seemed to be more willing to take bribe, while aged households were less tolerant to such offers than all others, most likely because of having a longer life experience in the Soviet era and therefore different mentality. Much less than one third (15.50%) of business sector representatives would not accept bribe, whereas number of those resisting bribery among public officials amounted to 60% of all the respondents of this group.

On the other hand, 19.10% of households would give bribe without any clarification if forced to do that; 29.70% would try to negotiate and 47.20% would try to find useful contacts. Again, males tend to be more tolerant to bribery, while aged persons were less tolerant to such practice. About the same percentage of businesses (20.50%) would immediately give bribe; one third would try to negotiate and one half would use personal contacts. However, since more than 20.50% of business representatives earlier reported about giving bribes to a number of state institutions, a number of potential bribe givers is much larger and most likely the mentioned negotiations would end up with payments at the more affordable rates. As to public officials, 41% of them (mostly more experienced ones) stated they would not give bribe, when 32% would give it if asked.

Does these data reflect the reality? It is hard to say, especially if compare the answers given by different groups' representatives. For example, as noted above, a great deal of both households and businesses as well as one third of public officials admitted that they would give bribes to the state authorities. On the other side, 60% of public officials pointed out they would refuse the bribe offer. Taking into consideration the fact that corruption, in interviewees' opinion, is mainly initiated by the state authorities, particularly in the form of bribery, a few assumptions can be drawn. First, there is, in fact, much smaller number of bribe takers in the state institutions than people tend to think. Second, not every bribe taker is directly involved in the process. Third, respondents were not sincere in their answers.

8. Given the situation, all groups of respondents believed that corruption could be first reduced in Armenia through strengthening law enforcement. The majority of the interviewed households and businessmen also suggested some other anti-corruption measures: adoption of stricter control and punishment mechanisms and simplification of existing legislation/procedures. In this case, a larger percentage of public officials provided with more diverse answers such as raising salaries in the public sector, promoting public awareness and institutionalizing a merit-based system of public service. These answers clearly illustrate that when households and businesses focus more on the improvement of the existing legislation, law enforcement and control mechanisms, the public officials also stressed the necessity of promoting public sector reform as well as raising public awareness.
9. In the meantime, 30.20% of households and 42% of businesses stated that there is political will to reduce corruption in Armenia. It should be mentioned that public officials were more optimistic in this respect: about half of them gave a positive answer to this question. However, only 12.60% and 8.50% of all the surveyed households and business sector representatives were aware of any current government initiatives in the field, correspondingly 70.60% and 70.50% of which found them ineffective. As reported, the main sources of corruption-related information for both households and businesses are mass media, rumors and personal cases.

The surveyed officials indicated citizens' complains, conversations with their peers and mass media to be the main sources of information regarding corruption. Only 34.32% of a total number of the interviewed officials were informed about the government anti-corruption initiatives - among those informed no more than 18.40% considered them effective. Gegharkunik Marz, along with Ararat Marz, were the least informed regions, though they are located not far from the Capital City. In answering the question on what is the citizens' attitude to the current government initiatives, 29.85% of public officials called it indifferent, 42.78% - mistrustful, 6.96% - negative and only 16.41% found it supportive. Here low-level officials were more pessimistic in their evaluation than middle and high-level officials, probably because they typically have more day-to-day contacts with citizens and therefore are more aware of their opinion.

10. The analysis of the survey results showed that the majority of households, businesses and public officials believed that first of all it is the President who could have a determining role in reducing the level of corruption in the country. The Government, the National Assembly, the Judiciary and law enforcement bodies came second and the third. Remarkably, regardless of seemingly wide spread pessimism, citizens of Armenia are in general quite optimistic about possibilities of confronting corruption in the country: 66.80% of all the surveyed households, 73.50% of business representatives and 70.90% of public officials stated that corruption could be eliminated, reduced or limited to a certain degree.

## CONCLUSION

The findings of the country corruption assessment study show that, regardless of age, education, gender, or position, most respondents of all the surveyed groups consider corruption to be a critical issue in Armenia. The interviewees are consistent in their answers saying that corruption has largely penetrated into the Armenian society since the formation of the USSR and that in the recent five years they have observed an increase in the level of corruption in the country.

Respondents share similar opinion regarding the types of corruption: almost all of them interpret corruption as abuse of power as well as bribe giving and taking. Interesting enough, only few of the interviewees consider gifts, references from friends or relatives, and exchange of favors as a corrupt behavior. In their comments, a large number of the respondents mention that they would not take money if offered, but would not mind a gift.

The vast majority of respondents of all the surveyed groups think that the state authorities are predominantly initiating corruption in Armenia. In the meantime, the respondents strongly believe that the President can play a determining role in changing the situation in the country. The main causes of corruption are indicated to be poor law enforcement and imperfect legislation that, in the interviewees' view, could explain the phenomenon of making unofficial payments as attempts to speed up the processes and procedures. Therefore, the most efficient measures to reduce corruption, suggested by the respondents, are the improvement of the legislation, the strengthening of the law enforcement and the adoption of strict control and punishment mechanisms.

A larger number of households and businessmen than public officials would take bribe if offered, though the representatives of the state institutions are more inclined to give bribe if needed compared to other two groups of interviewees. As most of interviewees commented, they would take bribe because of the unfavorable socio-economic conditions and absence of stable source of income. On the other hand, many respondents mentioned that they would give bribe if they had money. In this respect, some people argue that unofficial payments make life easier through "squeezing the wheels" of the huge bureaucratic machine, when others find making unofficial payments to be the only possible way "to get things done" in Armenia.

Though the households and the business sector representatives mostly disagree that there is a political will to change the situation in the country, very few of them are aware of any government anti-corruption initiatives. Public officials are more optimistic on this matter, however, a large number of them consider the anti-corruption initiatives, being undertaken in Armenia, to be ineffective. Based on the survey results and the comments provided by the respondents, one could conclude that people see most of the problems to be caused by the poorly functioning system of governance, increasing economic instability and social inequality, and the absence of real political will to make appropriate changes. Such perception has been formed due to the reasons mentioned below.

First, it is a close, non-transparent and non-accountable system of governance that makes people skeptical about the state authorities. Not only imperfect regulations and procedures, but also the lack of a "client-oriented" approach in the state institutions increase the "gap" between the civil society representatives and public officials. Despite the adoption of the recent legislative changes aimed at promoting a merit-based public sector, favoritism and clanship still dominate in the system of governance in Armenia thus undermining the main idea of having professional and committed public "servants".

Second, because of poor law enforcement, unfair judiciary system and ineffective control and punishment mechanisms, a very small number of respondents would report to the corresponding authorities when faced corruption. Average citizens do not believe that their complaints will be taken into account and those who are guilty will be eventually punished. Some even stress that they are afraid that their complaints will turn against them. Business community representatives point out that since nothing will happen if they complain, they would rather "negotiate" or pay the bribe rather than loose the business. Most respondents mentioned in their comments that in order to increase risk of corrupt behavior the bribe giver or taker must be afraid of being punished or losing his/her position.

Third, there is no public participation in the decision-making process - people's voice is normally not taken into consideration by the state authorities. Very often, it is happening because of the lack of the dialogue between "the state" and "the general public", the underdeveloped culture of "state-civil society" partnership relations and the absence of the accorded, well organized and transparent actions of those who are supposed to represent and protect public interests.

Ensuring equal access to the public services, along with furthering more accountability and openness of the state institutions, will reduce corrupt opportunities and therefore change citizens' attitude towards "the state". Concrete mechanisms of civil society participation in all the ongoing and future national development programs (such as the Poverty Reduction Strategy Program, the Anti-Corruption Strategy Program, etc.) should be developed to ensure a more participatory reform process. It is also important to continue building local capacity to have a larger number of independent, honest and professional people involved in the design, implementation and monitoring of those programs. All mentioned above, coupled with having the more informed and mobilized public due to numerous nationwide public awareness campaigns, can give the citizens "a real voice".

Finally, it is critically important to change people's way of thinking. One should not blame on others or point to the circumstances but rather feel responsible him/herself for what is going on in the country. To inspire individuals, businessmen and public officials to change their attitude and consider themselves to be not "victims" or "perpetrators" of corruption, but active participants or supporters of the process of reforms, there must be a manifestation of a true political will to fight corruption in Armenia.

# APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY

## General Overview

The anti-corruption public opinion survey was conducted throughout the country through carrying out personal interviews. The samples represent the adult population of Armenia aged 18 years and above, business sector representatives from the fields of manufacturing, service and commerce, and public officials from all the levels of government system. The methodology applied includes an analytical study of the responses identified in standardized questionnaires. Prior to starting the actual implementation of the survey, questionnaires' format and content were discussed with a number of experts in the relevant fields.

Project implementation incorporates the following stages:

- collection of statistical data;
- development of the questionnaires;
- training of the interviewers and pre-testing of the questionnaires;
- conducting interviews;
- technical processing of survey results; and
- analysis of survey results.

## Unexpected Problems

Several unexpected problems were encountered in the process of conducting this survey. To some degree these problems were caused by the sensitivity of the survey topic or some of its questions. For instance, in the case of households', respondents were sometimes suspicious when asked questions about their family's living standards or income. Another two reasons for respondent's potential failure to participate in the survey were their mistrustful attitude towards such public opinion surveys, and their simple reluctance to go through the trouble of answering the questions. Totally, 32 respondents refused to participate in the survey for the following main reasons: anything could help change the situation and their opinion would not taken into consideration. Only a few said that they were busy at the moment. Entrepreneurs were cautious in their answers because of their apprehension of possible problems with the state institutions.

Another problem was the openness of the respondents while answering the questions. Certain results of the survey may not be fully objective since they are based on evasive answers reflecting conventional rather than respondent's personal opinions. As reported by the interviewers, 21% of the surveyed households, 25% of business sector representatives and 24% of public officials seemed to be sincere in their answers; 21% of households, 21% of businessmen and 22% of officials appeared to be interested in the study; and, correspondingly, 16%, 17% and 17% - supportive and cooperative. Though this data is very encouraging, there is, however, it is almost impossible to define the degree of openness.

## Sample

*Households:* Based on the statistics regarding the population per region received from the *National Statistical Service of the Republic of Armenia (RoA)*, the sample of 1,000 households was first proportionally distributed over Yerevan and 10 Marzes, after which the number of the household of each Marz was distributed over the selected cities and villages<sup>1</sup>. For the household survey 31 cities<sup>2</sup> and 40 villages were chosen: the cities were selected based on the population size<sup>3</sup> (the largest, middle and the smallest), and every 7<sup>th</sup> village was randomly chosen from the list presented alphabetically<sup>4</sup>.

In every city/village every 7<sup>th</sup> house on the left side of the main street was selected for the interview. If it was a building, then the 1<sup>st</sup> entrance, the left door on the first floor was chosen. If nobody answered, the interviewer proceeded to the left door on the second floor. In the cases where there were not enough houses/buildings on the main street, the parallel street was chosen. The target person within the households was selected by the "closest birthday". If the target person was absent at the moment<sup>5</sup>, then the next person,

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<sup>1</sup> The proportional allocation method was used for the cities and the equal allocation method for the villages since the number of population for the villages was not available.

<sup>2</sup> Three cities were chosen from each of 10 regions plus Yerevan; the number of households in Yerevan to be surveyed was proportionally distributed among the 12 neighboring communities.

<sup>3</sup> The population size of each city and the neighboring community in Yerevan were taken from the 2002 Statistical Information Bulletin of the RoA.

<sup>4</sup> The list of cities and villages for each region was taken from the Law on Territorial Administrative Division, NO-18, 07/11/95.

<sup>5</sup> This happened most of the time when the interviews were conducted during the working hours in cities or in the villages.

whose birthday was the closest, was interviewed. If, however, the target person refused to participate, the interviewer left and moved to the next designated house/apartment. Below the households' sample is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Sampling Points for the Households**

	Location	Total Sample	Urban	Rural
<b>N</b>	<b>Republic of Armenia</b>	<b>1,000.0</b>	<b>665.0</b>	<b>335.0</b>
<b>1</b>	<i>Yerevan</i>	<b>328.0</b>	<b>328.0</b>	<b>-</b>
1.1	Ajapnyak	33.0	33.0	-
1.2	Avan	13.0	13.0	-
1.3	Arabkir	40.0	40.0	-
1.4	Davidashen	13.0	13.0	-
1.5	Erebuni	33.0	33.0	-
1.6	Center	48.0	48.0	-
1.7	Malatia/Sebastia	42.0	42.0	-
1.8	Nor Norq	35.0	35.0	-
1.9	Norq Marash	4.0	4.0	-
1.10	Nubarashen	2.0	2.0	-
1.11	Shengavit	38.0	38.0	-
1.12	Kanaker/Zeytun	27.0	27.0	-
<b>2</b>	<b>Aragatsotn Marz</b>	<b>44.0</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>32.0</b>
2.1	Ashtarak	7.0	7.0	
2.2	Aparan	3.0	3.0	
2.3	Talin	2.0	2.0	
2.4	Antarut village	8.0		8.0
2.5	Geghadir village	8.0		8.0
2.6	Lernarot village	8.0		8.0
2.7	Meligguyugh village	8.0		8.0
<b>3.</b>	<b>Ararat Marz</b>	<b>182.0</b>	<b>26.0</b>	<b>56.0</b>
3.1	Artashat	12.0	12.0	
3.2	Masis	9.0	9.0	
3.3	Vedi	5.0	5.0	
3.4	Aygestan village	14.0		14.0
3.5	Goravan village	14.0		14.0
3.6	Kanachut village	14.0		14.0
3.7	Nor kyanq village	14.0		14.0
<b>4.</b>	<b>Armavir Marz</b>	<b>85.0</b>	<b>32.0</b>	<b>53.0</b>
4.1	Armavir	12.0	12.0	
4.2	Vagharshapat	17.0	17.0	
4.3	Metsamor	3.0	3.0	
4.4	Aygeshat village (Armavir district)	13.0		13.0
4.5	Baghramyan village (Echmiadzin district)	13.0		13.0
4.6	Khoronq village	13.0		13.0
4.7	Nalbandian village	14.0		14.0
<b>5.</b>	<b>Gegarkunik Marz</b>	<b>73.0</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>46.0</b>
5.1	Gavar	15.0	15.0	
5.2	Vardenis	9.0	9.0	
5.3	Tscambarak	3.0	3.0	
5.4	Astghadzor village	11.0		11.0
5.5	Eranos village	12.0		12.0
5.6	Kalavan village	11.0		11.0
5.7	Shatvan village	12.0		12.0
<b>6.</b>	<b>Lori Marz</b>	<b>103.0</b>	<b>69.0</b>	<b>34.0</b>
6.1	Vanadzor	59.0	59.0	
6.2	Spitak	8.0	8.0	
6.3	Akhtala	2.0	2.0	
6.4	Antaramut village	8.0		8.0
6.5	Dsegh village	9.0		9.0
6.6	Karmir Aghek village	8.0		8.0
6.7	Metc Parni village	9.0		9.0
<b>7.</b>	<b>Kotayk Marz</b>	<b>87.0</b>	<b>53.0</b>	<b>34.0</b>
7.1	Hrazdan	30.0	30.0	
7.2	Charentcavan	18.0	18.0	
7.3	Nor Hajin	5.0	5.0	
7.4	Argel village	8.0		8.0
7.5	Arzaqan village	9.0		9.0
7.6	Katnaghbyur village	8.0		8.0
7.7	Ptghni village	9.0		9.0
<b>8.</b>	<b>Shirak Marz</b>	<b>95.0</b>	<b>64.0</b>	<b>31.0</b>
8.1	Gyumri	56.0	56.0	
8.2	Artik	6.0	6.0	

8.3	Maralik	2.0	2.0	
8.4	Amasia village	8.0		8.0
8.5	Geghanist village	8.0		8.0
8.6	Tcaghkut village	8.0		8.0
8.7	Hovtun village	7.0		7.0
<b>9.</b>	<b>Syunik Marz</b>	<b>43.0</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>13.0</b>
9.1	Kapan	19.0	19.0	
9.2	Sisian	8.0		8.0
9.3	Meghri	3.0	3.0	
9.4	Antarashat village	3.0		3.0
9.5	Eghvard village	3.0		3.0
9.6	Halidzor village	3.0		3.0
9.7	Shvanidzor village	4.0		4.0
<b>10.</b>	<b>Vayots Dzor Marz</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>7.0</b>	<b>11.0</b>
10.1	Eghegnadzor	3.0	3.0	
10.2	Vayq	2.0	2.0	
10.3	Jermuk	2.0	2.0	
10.4	Arin village	3.0		3.0
10.5	Artabuynq village	3.0		3.0
10.6	Hermon village	3.0		3.0
10.7	Horbategh village	2.0		2.0
<b>11.</b>	<b>Tavush Marz</b>	<b>42.0</b>	<b>17.0</b>	<b>25.0</b>
11.1	Ijevan	7.0	7.0	
11.2	Dilijan	7.0	7.0	
11.3	Noyemberyan	3.0	3.0	
11.4	Aygepar village	6.0		6.0
11.5	Achajur village	6.0		6.0
11.6	Itcaqar village	6.0		6.0
11.7	Chinari village	7.0		7.0

**Businesses:** Based on the data on the legal entities registered at the State Registrar of the RoA by regions and type of activities<sup>6</sup>, the sample of 200 business representatives was first proportionally distributed over the field of their activities, and then over the Yerevan and 10 Marzes. Different sources were used for finalizing the list of the companies in the regions – list of the companies prepared for other projects, data available at the Spyur Information Agency and various Business Associations, etc. If the respondent's refused to answer, the interviewer went to the next company name in the list. Below is the sampling of the businesses used for the survey implementation.

**Table 2. Sampling Points for the Businesses**

Location	Industry	Service	Commerce	Total Sample
Yerevan	49	38	19	106
Aragatsotn	2	2	1	5
Ararat	4	3	2	9
Armavir	4	3	2	9
Gegarkunik	5	4	2	11
Lori	7	5	3	15
Kotayk	7	6	3	16
Shirak	5	4	2	11
Syuniq	4	3	2	9
Vayots Dzor	1	1	1	3
Tavush	3	2	1	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>200</b>

<sup>6</sup> The data was requested from the State Registrar of the RA.

**Public Officials:** The main source of the statistical data for the public officials was the Armenian legislation:

- Decree of the President of the RoA on the Structure of the Government of the RoA;
- Political Structure of the RoA (official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the RoA);
- Decision of the Prime Minister of the RoA on the Making Amendments to the Decree of the Prime Minister of the RoA, November 6, 1998, N 620<sup>7</sup>;
- The Decision of the Government of the RoA on the Number of Employees of the Head of Staff of the Local Government Bodies (NO 372, 06.12.1996);
- The Decision of the Government of the RoA on the Number of Employees of the Prosecutor's Office of the RoA (NO 481, 22.06.1999);
- Law on the Prosecutor's Office of the RoA (NO 245, 01.07.98).

The sample of 200 public officials was proportionally distributed first over the different government levels (central, regional and local). The second step was to distribute the number of respondents of each group over the position level (high - *head and deputy head of the institution, head of staff, etc.*, middle - *head and deputy head of the department/division, etc.*, low - *specialist, consultant, etc.*)<sup>8</sup>. Finally, the number of the respondents of each position level was distributed over the state institutions in Yerevan and 5 Marzes. Marzes were selected taking into consideration their location: Lori – bordering with Georgia, Shirak – bordering with Turkey, Gegharkunik – bordering with Azerbaijan, Syunik – bordering with Iran, and Ararat – close to Yerevan. The main purpose of such a selection was to observe if there is a correlation between the socio-economic development of the regions and corruption perception of the public officials. All the surveyed state institutions were informed about the project prior to starting the survey. The sample of public officials is demonstrated in Table 3 (for confidentiality reasons the names of institutions are not presented).

**Table 3. Sampling Points for the Public Officials**

Location	High level official	Middle level official	Low level official	Total Sample
Yerevan	46	46	45	137
Ararat	4	4	4	12
Gegharkunik	4	5	4	13
Lori	4	4	4	12
Shirak	4	4	4	13
Syunik	4	5	5	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>63</b>
Yerevan – total	46	46	45	137
Regional – total	20	22	21	63

### Fieldwork

21 interviewers were hired for the survey implementation – 7 for each surveyed group. All the interviewers went through a detailed training before starting the fieldwork. One field coordinator was assigned to each group of the interviewers to be responsible for overseeing and coordinating the field activities.

Before the fieldwork overall 19 interviews were conducted to pretest the questionnaires – 3 for public officials (1 for each level), 6 for businesses (2 for each field), and 6 for households (3 in Yerevan, 3 in Aragatsotn Marz, 1 in Ashtarak City, and 2 in the villages). Slight technical adjustments were made to the questionnaires based on the results of pre-testing.

On average, interviews for the households and representatives of business sector took 35 minutes, ranging between 25 – 50 minutes in length. In the case of public officials, interviews took 40 minutes, ranging between 20-75 minutes in length. Totally, the field work took 2 and a half months

<sup>7</sup> The maximum Number of Employees and the Deputy Heads of the State Governing Bodies – Ministries, Agencies, Marzpetarans (Governors' Office) of the RoA (N 620, November 6, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> The equal allocation method was used.



## APPENDIX 2: ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

### Households

- ❑ *Who are the main initiators of corruption in Armenia?*
  - ✓ Leading countries
  - ✓ Government system
  
- ❑ *What are the main causes of corruption?*
  - ✓ Unemployment
  - ✓ No communication with the public
  - ✓ No rule of law
  - ✓ Money – all kind of things are done when money is given
  - ✓ People must respect the and be slightly afraid of being punished
  - ✓ Because of hard time people have to take certain measures to take care of their families
  
- ❑ *What are the main motives of corruption in Armenia?*
  - ✓ One gives bribes to be rewarded in the future
  - ✓ Money is given if available
  - ✓ It is accepted
  - ✓ Greediness
  - ✓ Poor government system and lack of the status of a citizen
  - ✓ The poor vi-avis the wealthy
  - ✓ Armenians are envious
  - ✓ Willingness to occupy the throne
  - ✓ Everybody wants to become a member of parliament.
  - ✓ People's mentality
  - ✓ People would do anything to survive
  
- ❑ *What are the consequences of corruption?*
  - ✓ Violations of law
  - ✓ Suicides
  
- ❑ *What would you do when offered to take bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*
  - ✓ I would take if my salary were low
  - ✓ If it were a gift, I would take it, as gifts cannot be returned
  - ✓ I am afraid
  - ✓ I would take; otherwise, somebody else would take
  - ✓ I would take since my social conditions are poor
  - ✓ I have not taken bribes throughout my life, because there was fear in the past
  - ✓ I did not take in the past; however, I would not mind, because my living conditions are extremely poor; I do not have my own shelter
  - ✓ If you fail to take when you occupy a high position, you would be fired
  - ✓ If the county were a normal one, I would not take
  - ✓ I would not take in any case, because I do not have a "protector"
  
- ❑ *How would you behave when "forced" to give bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*
  - ✓ I will give if I have
  - ✓ In the long run, you have to give if you are forced to
  - ✓ I avoid informing the corresponding authorities, as I am afraid that the situation would worsen
  - ✓ I would give if I benefit from that
  - ✓ If I were sure that the bribe would help my children to achieve their goals, I would give it, because there is no way out
  - ✓ I have never given because I respect myself; I would not allow anyone to eat my child's bread
  - ✓ Without bribe you cannot enter a university, or get normal treatment at a hospital; you might be left to die, as you are poor
  - ✓ We have to give bribes to the doctors so that they save our lives; and we have to give the teachers so that they will not treat our children badly
  - ✓ I would use personal pressure
  - ✓ I would give if required
  - ✓ I would give as a proof of "gratitude" while finding a job

- ✓ I would quit my job, if it is done at my work place, and I would not take
  - ✓ I would give to get a profitable job
  - ✓ I would not give, as I had not taken; I do not have money to give
  - ✓ I would consider the effectiveness of the bribe
  - ✓ I would sell everything to give
  - ✓ I would not give, that is why I am not holding a high position
  - ✓ I would rely on myself and reject such offer.
  - ✓ I would only give bribes to the doctors
- *What measures should be taken to improve the current situation in Armenia?*
- ✓ Stalin's policy
  - ✓ Increase in salaries/new job opportunities
  - ✓ Nothing would help
  - ✓ The "all-permissiveness" should be eliminated for certain people
  - ✓ I think whatever the measures, corruption cannot be prevented because it is widespread
  - ✓ The truly independent country should be established
  - ✓ Punishment of all the corrupt persons and corruption facilitators
  - ✓ The mentality should be changed, but I will not be the first because I am an average citizen
  - ✓ Improvement of the living conditions
  - ✓ Solidarity and joint strength
  - ✓ "Business" trips of our national leaders should be limited
  - ✓ All the efforts are insignificant unless the law works for the benefit of the unprotected people
  - ✓ Nothing will help unless the people are unified.
  - ✓ Thinking about people
- *Are you aware about the government anti-corruption initiatives?*
- ✓ Public officials always initiate anti-corruption efforts, however, they are ineffective because the officials themselves are corrupt
- *What do you think; who or what can play a determining role in reducing the corruption in Armenia?*
- ✓ The President, and no one else
  - ✓ Joint efforts
  - ✓ Be under the reign of a strong country, nothing can be done being a small nation.
  - ✓ The President is the most important, the rest would agree.
  - ✓ Citizens, if they have strong civic "consciousness"
  - ✓ A wealthy patriot
  - ✓ National Security Committee
  - ✓ Other foreign countries
  - ✓ God
  - ✓ Creation of new job opportunities
  - ✓ Everyone has his/her own role and should adhere to it; however, we have to rely only on ourselves
  - ✓ Morality
  - ✓ Radical measures are needed
  - ✓ Corruption was born with the mankind and will vanish with the latter
- *Additional Comments*
- ✓ If you do not have money, you are not a human being and you do not exist. Instead of getting richer, there are so much waste and so many abuses, the resources should be used for the good of people
  - ✓ Hope is being exhausted
  - ✓ Provide people with job and 80% of problems will be solved
  - ✓ Everything is allowed, everyone acts as he/she wants
  - ✓ Every person should be in his/her own place
  - ✓ Focus on the people
  - ✓ Think about people, increase the pensions, and restrain the migration
  - ✓ Corruption may get hurt, but it will never die
  - ✓ This country will never become a country
  - ✓ All depends on the President and the Government, if they wish they can ensure the rule of law and order
  - ✓ I suffered throughout my life and built Armenia, along with my friends, however, other people who are going to buy my Motherland enjoy life here
  - ✓ Neither the school, nor the society or the church, are engaged in the upbringing of the young generation, neither public opinion, nor propaganda exist in the country.

- ✓ The citizen should become the owner of his/her native land, so that he/she is interested in the elimination of corruption
- ✓ I would like to hope that this survey would help to reduce the corruption level
- ✓ The word "President" should be cancelled, councils should exist and the people should make the decisions, not few "bosses"
- ✓ The best solution is the strict laws
- ✓ I do not believe that the situation would be improved
- ✓ State authorities – the law defenders must not violate the law
- ✓ Let the leaders take less bribes and the living conditions of the population will be improved
- ✓ Let the leaders first refuse bribe giving to get their positions and afterwards refuse taking bribes from us
- ✓ Armenia should become a rule-of-law country, rather than a feudal state, and people should see that several doors are open for them to complain against unjust and unfair behavior
- ✓ The leaders should publicly report on TV about their business trips to foreign countries
- ✓ We need a Stalin-type, but more kind leader
- ✓ Lack of the nation-oriented mentality among the public officials
- ✓ Prevent the migration
- ✓ There is no National Assembly in the country
- ✓ If we had a place and possibility to go, we would leave. The present authorities lost the confidence of the people
- ✓ Corruption is in the blood of many people
- ✓ People should get together and fight
- ✓ Everyone should work in his/her place, it is not acceptable when a "flower seller" becomes a member of the Parliament
- ✓ The Government benefits from such situation
- ✓ My heart hurts when I see well-educated and clever people are involved in trade for living instead of doing research work
- ✓ Corruption shall not be eliminated in Armenia unless the relevant laws are adopted and strict punishment is applied to the violators
- ✓ Everything should be paid for, one can state that bribe has gained a legal status
- ✓ Corruption can be partially eliminated, if our leaders demonstrate more concerns regarding their responsibilities and the people - the fish rots from the head
- ✓ Only the people and the President can reduce corruption - a common goal should be set out, and only in that case something could be done to improve the situation
- ✓ Only changing the mankind can eliminate corruption. It is widespread throughout the world and its perception is stronger in our country because of our poor economic situation

## Enterprises

- *What are the main causes of corruption?*
  - ✓ The law is not enforced so that people be afraid of it
- *What are the consequences of corruption?*
  - ✓ Greed of the public officials
- *What would you do, when offered to take bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*
  - ✓ That is why the business is under the danger of being closed down.
  - ✓ I would not take from the poor
  - ✓ I would not mind a gift
  - ✓ Depends on reasons/circumstances
  - ✓ I would say, "It is not enough, give me more"
  - ✓ I would take as a form of gratitude
- *How would you behave when "forced" to give bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*
  - ✓ We try to refrain from paying
  - ✓ I would not give, however once or twice I have treated the public officials, the top ones
  - ✓ I would not give to the public officials, but I would give to the doctors
- *What measures should be taken to improve the current situation in Armenia?*
  - ✓ Nothing will help
- *What do you think; who or what can play a determining role in reducing the corruption in Armenia?*
  - ✓ Nobody can

- ✓ It depends on the President

□ *Additional Comments*

- ✓ We want high taxes be levied from the owners of huge buildings that are being constructed, so that the law is enforced and control is provided
- ✓ People should get convinced that the law is enforced, the bribe takers are punished, the top officials are honest; only then it would be possible to fight against corruption
- ✓ The court system is terrific
- ✓ New jobs should be created
- ✓ The tax authorities, the Prosecutor's office make us work free of charge, and if one does not agree they threaten to arrest and to prosecute
- ✓ If everyone works respecting the law and pays all the taxes, then the corruption will disappear
- ✓ Corruption will never be eliminated in Armenia
- ✓ If we have perfect laws, corruption will gradually reduce. And the laws should serve for the benefit of and not against the people
- ✓ Imperfect laws, lack of taxation policy
- ✓ The laws should be enforced not only in Yerevan and the neighbouring regions, but in the bordering zones as well
- ✓ Absence of faith
- ✓ Softening the taxation laws

**Public Officials**

□ *What would you do, when offered to take bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*

- ✓ If somebody offered bribe for something I had done, I would refuse, and if the person was eager to reward me I would accept only a gift
- ✓ I would see him/her off my office
- ✓ I would try to persuade him/her that it is not the way things are to be done
- ✓ I do not take and will try help as much as possible
- ✓ I would refuse by all means either harshly or gently, depending on the situation and the person's state of mind
- ✓ I would take, as I have not received salary for several months
- ✓ I would try to stay a human being
- ✓ It is impossible, it is a matter of self-esteem and morality
- ✓ If offered, I would not refuse to take a gift, and naturally I would refuse to take money and the like, as it is unacceptable
- ✓ If in need, I would take
- ✓ I refuse, as I adhere to different moral standards
- ✓ I would not take, as it is humiliating
- ✓ I am not ready for that psychologically
- ✓ I would not take, as I do not want to lose my job
- ✓ I would execute my responsibilities in due order and I would advise the bribe giver be more optimistic
- ✓ I would not take money, but I would take a gift
- ✓ I would require the bribe giver leave my office with the bribe
- ✓ I would take and speed up the process
- ✓ I would require him/her leave my office for not respecting my position
- ✓ I would stop the conversation and insist on leaving my office, however, prior to that I would explain that not all the things are done by means of bribe
- ✓ Because of widespread bribery, I would take as everyone does
- ✓ Nobody offers bribe to me
- ✓ The life forces to take
- ✓ I would take only flowers
- ✓ I would be afraid to take
- ✓ Depends on how much is offered
- ✓ As of today, there is no official who would refuse
- ✓ If an equivalent or excessive service has been provided – yes
- ✓ I would request a gift instead of money
- ✓ Depends on who, for what and how much
- ✓ I would be ashamed, but ... would take
- ✓ I do not want, they force me to take, so I have to take
- ✓ Unfortunately, I am not offered bribe
- ✓ I am afraid to be arrested
- ✓ I do not need bribe. I am a well-being person

- ✓ If I could I would even prosecute
- ✓ Sometimes I have to take, not to harm
- *How would you behave when “forced” to give bribe (money, gift, etc.)?*
  - ✓ If the deal were very important, I would be forced to give the required bribe, as we live not in the rule-of-law country
  - ✓ I can not help giving
  - ✓ I am never required to give
  - ✓ I give bribe as a gift
  - ✓ Depending on how urgent is the issue
  - ✓ I refuse to give categorically
  - ✓ I never give bribe to anyone
  - ✓ Since we are not given, we would not give either
  - ✓ I would be forced to give to gain benefit
  - ✓ If you want to eat you should give
  - ✓ As soon as they learn where I work, they want to give bribe to me
  - ✓ I would resist for long time, but I would give if there was no other way out
  - ✓ Disappointingly, I would give as much as it is possible
  - ✓ If it was for a good reason, I would give
  - ✓ If it was in my interest, I would give
  - ✓ If there were no other means or choices, I would have to give, regrettably
  - ✓ The atmosphere of impunity is extensive
  - ✓ I would not give in person, perhaps through somebody else
  - ✓ I could give both – money and gifts
  - ✓ I have never thought of it, it depends on the case - I would give an inexpensive gift and only to express my gratitude if the person (e.g. the doctor) has provided a good service
  - ✓ I would give, however, prior to that I would try to negotiate
  - ✓ I would give money
  - ✓ For the solution of an urgent problem I would be forced to fetch money
  - ✓ I try to give as much as I can
  - ✓ I would offer a small gift (with extreme reluctance) to finish what I have started, as I would not have any room for complaint
  - ✓ It is impossible, it is a matter of self-esteem and morality
  - ✓ I am trying to avoid, however, I am not succeeding
  - ✓ I would not give, I would say, “Go and find somebody else of your mind”
  - ✓ The demanding person would regret
  - ✓ It is necessary to give
  - ✓
- *Additional Comments*
  - ✓ The society is not ready to understand the situation
  - ✓ I am optimistic
  - ✓ Unless the salaries are increased at least to reach the minimal consumer basket, nothing would change
  - ✓ Hopefully, this project would improve something
  - ✓ It is not realistic, because of the official position it is impossible to provide a fully honest answer
  - ✓ It would be better and appropriate that everyone works on his/her profession and be recognized by the management
  - ✓ Everything depends on the “willingness” and productivity of the civil servants
  - ✓ Draft normal laws and ensure their enforcement
  - ✓ Corruption might reduce if economic reforms are in place
  - ✓ If the higher level – the executive, legislative and court authorities – cooperate, corruption might significantly reduce
  - ✓ The top officials should be afraid of losing their “chairs” and all the elected authorities should have elementary perception of statehood and patriotism
  - ✓ The internal situation of the country should be improved by the people through the improvement of the civic consciousness
  - ✓ Starting from the pre-historic period till now and going on in the future, considering the Caucasian mentality, there are no ways to entirely eliminate corruption, however, the state terror can to some extent constraint this process, but that is impossible
  - ✓ Corruption is immortal
  - ✓ One should work rather than spread rumors
  - ✓ Each citizen who is anxious about the future of his/her nation should fight against corruption, and such initiatives should be encouraged

- ✓ The laws and by-laws should be developed in a way that their implementation is possible
- ✓ I believe that the survey would not change anything, this is just another work
- ✓ It is necessary to establish an elite group of 500 that will occupy the above stated 3 levels of government
- ✓ The public awareness campaign should be expanded so that the citizens refrain from and fight against taking such actions - the mentality should be changed
- ✓ If the Church were successful in taking the high moral values and making the people adopt them, such phenomenon would not occur
- ✓ Develop project for improving the minimal social welfare and the living conditions
- ✓ The preconditions for change are entirely missing
- ✓ Everybody is corrupt, everyone has his/her share, and no one is better or worse
- ✓ If those who require bribe are revealed and brought to the law enforcement authorities, corruption will essentially reduce
- ✓ Corruption should be eradicated by the state government system through the application of strict sanctions
- ✓ The environment of impunity should be eliminated. Everyone should bear responsibility for his/her deeds
- ✓ The reduction of corruption is the reform of the public service system and the recovery of that system
- ✓ Public officials should be paid more in order to improve their living standards and make a better recruitment
- ✓ Improvement of social-economic conditions of the population, the targeted law enforcement is needed
- ✓ I evaluate this initiative (survey) positively in terms of disclosing general problems in the area
- ✓ The reduction of corruption is possible only if the financial and economic situation is improved
- ✓ If all the authorities work for one common goal, Armenia will flourish
- ✓ Survey, as information, is important for decision-making process
- ✓ I consider corruption as a social evil for the society, a harmful phenomenon and an obstacle for the progress of our country. The fight against it will be effective if the strictest measures are taken
- ✓ I believe that the proper policy of the Government and tax authorities could help us
- ✓ I am sure that if the Government wishes, the situation will change
- ✓ Eh, if we had a leader like Stalin, he could recover everything
- ✓ I do not think your work will have good results, though I wish it be useful. Our country should be governed by young people
- ✓ Until the state system is politically polarized, corruption cannot be eradicated
- ✓ Everything begins from the election processes
- ✓ The bribe taker should be publicly humiliated and punished
- ✓ If there are no givers there will be no takers
- ✓ There is an old saying, " Until you bribe the soil it will not give crop"
- ✓ I think that "dictatorship" of the law should be temporarily introduced in Armenia
- ✓ It is necessary to ensure economic growth and improvement of the social welfare
- ✓ It is necessary to establish the rule of law in the country to the best extent possible
- ✓ New jobs should be created, and most importantly, attention should be focused on the upbringing of the new generation
- ✓ Rather than punish, influence psychologically
- ✓ Social vulnerability is the major cause of corruption
- ✓ The public should know that the laws are enforced
- ✓ The leaders and the people should get united around one idea and try to achieve the goal without wasting time on remembering corruption
- ✓ Eliminate the irrelevant references and protectionism
- ✓ "They speak about people, but flow to their own lake" – Paur Sevak
- ✓ Unless the economy is recovered, corruption will dominate
- ✓ Corruption is not a problem at present, it has turned into a way of life, I consider it a positive phenomenon, and it is not widespread in our country
- ✓ Such surveys will have a positive impact, this is an excellent initiative
- ✓ The problem will have a positive progress if appropriate mechanisms are developed which would provide the legal and economic framework so that those mechanisms prevail over power of few individuals
- ✓ If corruption expands, everyone will live better
- ✓ There is no corruption in Armenia
- ✓ If everyone does his/her job, corruption will more or less reduce
- ✓ Bribe is like love
- ✓ The strict control over the state institutions should be provided

- ✓ Necessity to develop a “Rule of Law, Appreciation of National Values and Intellect Property” strategic program
- ✓ I believe that there is no willingness to change the situation
- ✓ I think corruption should be firstly eliminated at higher levels
- ✓ I think if everyone minds his/her own business, everything will be all right
- ✓ I would consider the survey positive if the survey results are processed and efficiently used by the authorities implementing the government policies
- ✓ Corruption is ruinous for small countries similar to ours
- ✓ Corruption will reduce in the event of efficient operation of the sectors of economy
- ✓ Corruption is historically a societal phenomenon: it existed, it exists and, regrettably, will exist
- ✓ A child is born with the fists closed - it must have taken bribe before it was born
- ✓ It is the reality, even doing the smallest business is associated with corruption which leads us to mental breakdown and financial crash, the fight against it is our moral obligation
- ✓ Until there is a bribe giver, there would be a bribe taker
- ✓ I think the population and the NGOs should fight against corruption, as the higher levels would be hardly willing to do that