

CORRUPTION AND CAMBODIAN HOUSEHOLDS

A Quantitative Household Survey on
Perceptions, Attitudes and Impact of
Everyday Forms of Corrupt Practices in
Cambodia - 2010

PACT Cambodia

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Executive Summary

The 2010 *Corruption and Cambodian Households* survey suggests positive signs in the fight against corruption in Cambodia. Perception of public services and integrity of service and political institutions in Cambodia has improved considerably since an earlier survey in 2005. In particular, there has been a remarkable shift in attitudes towards public services such as health, education, public registry and business licensing. Even perceptions regarding police officers and judges, who scored lowest on the survey, have improved considerably.

The amount paid in bribes also appears to have declined, although the use of different methods of calculation in 2005 and 2010 may be partly responsible for the result.

In contrast to these positive findings, corruption is now considered the second largest social problem in Cambodia. Only the high cost of living is considered more important. Fully 82% of Cambodians believe that corruption is a problem in Cambodia while only 7% disagree.

Poor people living in rural areas pay a relatively higher percentage of their income as corruption compared to middle-income and high-income populations. The 2005 household survey reached the opposite conclusion. Still, the chance of being asked to pay a bribe is greatest in urban areas.

Women in households pay bribes more often than men, but this is likely because they tend to manage the household accounts. Women are not asked to pay higher bribes than men.

Corruption in Cambodia occurs in a systematic way, since nearly 60% of the time the household offers the bribe or a gift of its own accord. This fits well with the finding that corruption helps secure better services in Cambodia. Almost 30% of the time a bribe is solicited, people know beforehand how to give and how much to give, indicating familiarity with an embedded system.

In education, payment is relatively widespread and 20% of respondents report providing money or other things for educational services within the last year. At the same time, public schools score high when it comes to honesty, indicating that people pay the money with some kind of sincerity. Corruption in the health care sector does occur, but it is not considered widespread.

Nearly one out of five persons who applied for a public sector job was asked to pay their superiors. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, and the Ministry of Interior are identified as the most problematic institutions. This is in line with the 2005 study where the same two ministries were singled out as the most corrupt.

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1 Introduction

The present study was initiated by PACT Cambodia with financial assistance from USAID to map the impact of and attitudes towards corruption in Cambodia. The study is part of PACT Cambodia's ongoing campaign against corruption under the Mainstreaming Anti-Corruption for Equity Program.

The study is an update of a study carried out by the Center for Social Development in Phnom Penh in 2005 entitled *Corruption and Cambodian Households – Household Survey on Perceptions, Attitudes and Impact of Everyday Forms of Corrupt Practices in Cambodia*. The 2005 study is used as a baseline study for this report.

Cambodia ranks 158th on Transparency International's 2009 Corruption Perceptions Index.

However, for people living in Cambodia and companies operating from the country, corruption is more than a score on an international index. It is a fact of life. It is therefore relevant to analyze the perceptions and impact of everyday forms of corruption. This report takes a household perspective on corruption. Consequently the study reports on petty corruption rather than large-scale corruption and does not attempt to explain corruption in Cambodia. Also, the report does not analyze the indirect consequences of corruption, for example on poverty reduction or democracy.

The link between corruption and poverty reduction and democracy can easily be identified.

Governments are severely weakened in societies with a high level of corruption – and one can argue that weak governments often are a prerequisite for a high level of corruption.

Government practices are disrupted by corruption. Furthermore, the rule of law and trust in public institutions are adversely affected by corrupt behavior. This connects to the debate on corruption and democracy, as corrupt practices undermine important institutions in a democratic society.

The political science dimension to the corruption debate overlaps with the economic dimension. Business and economic activities are based on trust - either trust in partners or at the very least trust that society at large can handle situations where a person or company fails to fulfill contracts or acts directly untrustworthy. Both types of trust will be present in a strong business environment. But in societies with widespread corruption, where people loose or have a low level of trust in government and state institutions, business relations are conducted in an environment of general insecurity.

Institutionalized corruption will lead to reduced economic activities and growth, which again makes it difficult to fight poverty. While economic growth does not necessarily lead to greater income equity, it is a precondition for poverty reduction in most developing countries. For this reason the World Bank has named corruption as the single most important obstacle to economic and social development.

A recent study in Cambodia shows that the expectation of corrupt behavior alone is as important a barrier to conducting business as the actual bribe (Malesky, et al., 2008). Several World Bank studies point to problems related to corruption and entrepreneurship and small-

scale business; new and small scale companies have to pay relatively higher percentages of their revenue in bribes (Chetwynd, et al., 2003).

This survey distinguishes itself from other corruption studies by including non-monetary income in the calculation of household income. Furthermore, remittances from family members living outside the household are included in the household income. This will give a more realistic picture of how much of the household income is used for corruption.

1.1 Road Map

The 2010 household survey on perceptions, attitudes and impact of everyday forms of corrupt practices in Cambodia follows the outline and method developed in the 2005 study, with the main difference that it does not contain the original qualitative component. While there are a few changes to some of the questions and the selection of respondents is based on an updated General Population Dataset, it will be possible to compare most of the findings in the two surveys and to identify changes and static situations between 2005 and 2010. This will be done throughout the report; the findings will be tested against a number of research questions developed from the baseline study of 2005 and ongoing academic discussions on corruption.

The survey data is presented in two separate parts. The first part gives an account of the background variables, according to sex, age, geography, socio-economic status, etc. The second part gives an account of the findings on the different questions, providing a more elaborate assessment for some of them. The research methodology, as well as terms and definitions, can be found in the appendices. The findings are summarized and put into perspective in the conclusion.

1.1.1 Survey Part I – Parameter Assessment

The procedures described under the random selection process in Appendix A should expectedly lead to a sample representative of the Cambodian adult population. In actuality, however, the sample could differ. In Chapter 3 the sample is described according to parameters such as geography, gender, age, income, education, etc. The different parameters are cross-tabulated, which should give the reader a more accurate picture of the response group.

The first questions in the questionnaire, so-called ice-breakers, deal with how the respondents reflect on social problems in Cambodia and the level of services provided by different public and private providers.

1.1.2 Survey Part II – Perceptions of Corrupt Practices

Responses related to perceptions of corrupt practices in Cambodia are presented in Part II, Chapter 3-7. In some cases the results are cross-tabulated with parameters such as gender, urban/rural, and income. When appropriate, they are discussed against findings from the 2005 study or academic literature on corruption. The findings are tested against a set of research questions divided into five sub-groups: Corruption and poverty, Corruption and gender, Perception of corruption in Cambodia, Corruption and public services in Cambodia, and finally Corruption and geography. These are presented in five separate chapters.

Pointing to different interactions with private and public service providers or state authorities, the respondents were asked to put a price on official and unofficial payments. This will not only reveal the cost associated with different services or interaction with government officials but also whether the unofficial price in some situations is below the official price, which could indicate that both parties in a corrupt interaction benefit from the criminal act. The respondents were also asked about the effect of the bribe and their views on different statements on corruption and everyday practices.

The respondents were asked to express their views on the most corrupt institutions (both public and private), and on the honesty of various institutions. On a more general level, they were asked how corrupt practices are conducted and which institutions they feel it is most pressing to improve.

Finally, respondents were asked to go into detail regarding possible corrupt practices in three key situations: public health care, education, and public sector recruitment. The answers are used to elaborate on how and where corrupt practices unfold in these situations.

1.1.3 Conclusions

The responses are discussed and presented in Chapter 8 in which the results from the different research questions (from 1.2 Research Questions) are presented. Concluding remarks are presented in Chapter 9.

1.1.4 Appendix A Research Methodology

Appendix A presents the research methodology and provides a thorough reading of the stratified random sampling process at household and respondent level. In order to ensure the highest degree of comparability with the 2005 survey the identical four-stage sampling methodology was adopted. However, as the General Population dataset has been updated, a new sampling for persons in rural and urban communes was necessary.

Although the 2005 questionnaire was used as a baseline, some modifications were made. Thus the general method behind the questionnaire is accounted for.

1.1.5 Appendix B Terms and Definitions

Corruption is defined and used in different ways both in the literature and by activists fighting corruption. This report uses as its point of departure household perceptions and corrupt practices and will therefore have an open definition of corruption as the abuse of trust in the interest of personal and private gain, including some types of gift giving.

In Appendix B the definition is elaborated and discussed with reference to corruption literature. Various terms are introduced with a view to provide a more elaborate understanding of corrupt practices, e.g., on public and private corruption, and respectively political and bureaucratic corruption.

1.1.6 Appendix C Vocabulary from Extortion to Gifts of Kindness

Appendix C provides an overview of the different terms used in Khmer for different types of money transfers.

1.1.7 Appendix D Questionnaire with results

The original questionnaire and the data are presented in Appendix D.

1.2 Research Questions

As explained in 1.1 Road Map, the data will be presented in two different chapters. While the first part is more descriptive, the second part is more analytical and takes as its point of departure a number of research questions set out from the literature and the findings of the 2005 household survey. There exists a vast literature on corruption, on its impact on development, poverty, governance, and the business environment and on what can explain corruption. The literature clearly demonstrates that corruption is a huge barrier for development work and poverty elimination and for this reason represents a major concern for development agencies, international organizations and governments. The research and development debate on corruption is also an integrated element in good governance literature.

The majority of the literature concludes that there are direct mutual links between corruption and the absence of economic growth; that corruption affects the poor more than the wealthy, as low-income households pay more in bribes as a proportion of their income and receive poorer public services; that governance and public services are negatively affected due to rent-seeking behavior from public servants and politicians, which in turn lowers citizen respect; and finally that corruption reduces trust, increases uncertainty and places a tax burden on business and hence deteriorates the business environment putting a break on economic growth. The literature also suggests that the negative effects of corruption are interlinked. Some of the findings in the literature do not coincide with perceptions of corruption in Cambodia and the general assumptions in the literature are therefore contested in some of research questions.

By framing the analysis as research questions, perceptions of corruption in Cambodia are linked to the general debate on corruption. The relatively simple questions put up as research questions will at the same time be a useful vehicle for communicating findings. The research questions presented below will be further elaborated in Chapter 3.

I. Corruption and poverty

A: Respondents living in poor households in rural areas pay a relatively higher part of their income as corruption compared to middle-income and high-income respondents.

II. Corruption and gender

B: It is more likely that a woman be exposed to corrupt behavior than a man.
C: Women have a more negative attitude towards corrupt practices.

III. Perception of corruption in Cambodia

D: Corruption is not accepted in Cambodia.

- E: Giving gifts without sincerity is widespread in Cambodia.¹
- F: Public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption.²
- G: Corruption in Cambodia is conducted in a systematic way and people get what they pay for.

IV. *Corruption and public services in Cambodia*

- H: Police officers and the judicial system are regarded as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia.
- I: Perceptions of institutional integrity have improved.
- J: Corruption in core social services, such as health care and education, is widespread in Cambodia.
- K: A person has to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia.

V. *Corruption and geography*

- L: People living in rural communes are more exposed to corruption than people living in urban communes.

¹ The term gift-giving is often used when money is paid to someone whom the payer knows beforehand and it is not associated with a direct exchange of services. However, unless given as an expression of kindness, for example to monks or pagodas, gifts to people with whom one has no personal relationship are considered 'without sincerity.' These include institutionalized payments to maintain good relations, reduce uncertainty, improve services, or ensure that the receiver exercise power in a way that will benefit the giver in unforeseen situations. For a complete discussion see Appendix B Terms and Definitions.

² In this study private corruption is defined as corrupt practices among service providers such as private schools and health care institutions, and private actors such as political parties and NGOs. Private companies are not included.

2 Survey 2010 Part I – Parameter Assessment

The following section puts forth the core data gathered by the enumerators in rural and urban Cambodia in July and August 2010.

Since the present survey is a follow-up to the study conducted by the Center for Social Development in 2005, it has been imperative to adhere to the same methodology to be able to compare the findings of 2010 with those of 2005.

The data presented in this section is strictly descriptive and should not be mistaken with inferential statistics (or inductive statistics), in that descriptive statistics aim to summarize the data set quantitatively without employing a probabilistic formulation. Part II ventures deeper into the analytical discussion, taking into consideration cross-comparisons with the baseline study (Center for Social Development, 2005) but also departing from general hypotheses rooted in current academic literature about corruption and corrupt practices.

2.1 Background Variables Assessment

The sample population's knowledge, perceptions and opinions can be expected to vary greatly, corresponding to the background characteristics of the respondents.

In the 2005 study, the distribution of men and women (both rural and urban) resulted in a 51-49% distribution in favor of men, i.e., a slight under-representation of women (1. percentage point). The present 2010 survey has a more skewed distribution of women (63%) and men (37%) among rural and urban respondents.³

2.2 Age

The sample size amounted to 2031 respondents, which surpasses the 2005 version by 31 respondents. During the fieldwork, enumerators were instructed to record the respondent's age in actual years but for analytical purposes age has been divided into three aggregate categories listed below along with their percentage distribution by urban and rural location. The distribution differs from the 2005 baseline study as older people are over-represented. Table 1 shows the age and sex distribution for rural and urban respondents respectively as a percentage of respondents interviewed in the two geographical areas.

Rural			
	Female	Male	Grand Total
Younger (18-25 years)	14%	8%	22%
Middle (26 – 44 years)	31%	19%	50%
Older (45 or older)	17%	11%	29%
Grand Total	62%	38%	100%

³ The enumerators reported that the skewed distribution was explained by the lack of male presence in the households during the interviews.

Urban			
	Female	Male	Grand Total
Younger (18-25 years)	15%	11%	25%
Middle (26 – 44 years)	32%	16%	49%
Older (45 or older)	16%	10%	26%
Grand Total	63%	37%	100%

Table 1 – Sex, area and age distribution of respondents

2.3 Highest Level of Education

The enumerators recorded the educational level of the respondents on a ten-option scale ranging from ‘never gone to school’ to ‘PhD.’ Again, for analytical purposes, the ten levels have been aggregated into four educational categories:

- Never attended school.
- Lower (primary school not completed, primary completed, lower secondary not completed, and higher secondary not completed).
- Middle (higher secondary not completed and higher secondary completed).
- Higher (professional diploma, bachelor degree, and PhD).

Table 2 below summarizes the respondent background by age group and educational level.

2.3.1 Respondent Background

Rural					
	No education	Lower	Middle	Higher	Grand Total
Female	10%	48%	4%	0%	62%
Younger	1%	10%	2%	0%	14%
Middle	4%	25%	1%	0%	31%
Older	5%	12%	0%	0%	17%
Male	4%	28%	5%	1%	38%
Younger	1%	5%	2%	0%	8%
Middle	2%	15%	2%	0%	19%
Older	1%	9%	1%	0%	11%
Grand Total	14%	76%	9%	1%	100%

Urban					
	No education	Lower	Middle	Higher	Grand Total
Female	5%	44%	11%	3%	63%
Younger	0%	7%	5%	2%	15%
Middle	2%	25%	4%	1%	32%
Older	3%	12%	1%	1%	16%
Male	1%	22%	9%	4%	37%
Younger	0%	4%	4%	2%	11%
Middle	0%	10%	3%	2%	16%
Older	0%	8%	1%	0%	10%
Grand Total	6%	67%	20%	8%	100%

Table 2 – Respondent background by area, sex, age, and educational level.

The 2010 study reveals a different distribution between the sexes (68%/32% in favor of females in rural areas and 63/37 in urban areas) compared to the baseline study (c.f. Table 3) which shows a nearly identical distribution between the sexes.

N=2031		Urban	Rural
Sex	Male	52 %	50 %
	Female	48 %	50 %
Age	Younger	24 %	21 %
	Middle	45 %	47 %
	Older	32 %	32 %
Education	Lower	57 %	80 %
	Middle	33 %	18 %
	Higher	10 %	2 %

Table 3 – Sex, education, and age distribution (2005 baseline study)

Table 2 complements the findings of the baseline study very well. Unfortunately, data concerning the percentage of respondents without an education was not accessible in 2005. Still, it appears that fewer respondents in 2010 report a lower educational level in both rural and urban areas. Nevertheless, there continues to be a substantial difference between the two areas: the difference in ‘no education’ is almost 3:1 between rural and urban areas (14%/6%).

2.4 Socio-economic Status

The present survey cannot be classified as an in-depth representation of socio-economic status. This would have required more investigation of all factors, i.e., the respondent’s work experience and the family’s economic and social position relative to others, based on income, education, and occupation. The socio-economic data is thus limited.

The assessment of respondent socio-economic status in the baseline study (Center for Social Development, 2005) was based on three interrelated factors.

Firstly, respondents were asked to estimate their average total monthly household income during the past twelve months including remittances received from family members living outside the household. Respondents were asked to estimate whether family members living outside the household contribute to some degree or to a high degree to the household income.

Secondly, they were asked to characterize the family’s socio-economic status; whether they perceived themselves as being (1) poor, (2) not poor, or (3) just on the line between poor and not poor. Thirdly, they were asked whether during the last 12 months the household had experienced hunger.

The above parameters constituted the computed socio-economic status in the baseline study. Nevertheless, the present survey was subject to a different methodology when measuring socio-economic status. The aim was to investigate any correlation between how respondents perceive themselves (poor, not poor, or just in between), household expenditures, income, gender, and corrupt practices.

N = 2031		Do family members living outside the household contribute to the household income (other than small gifts)?		
	No	To some degree	Yes to a high degree	Grand Total
<i>Rural</i>	47%	18%	2%	67%
Not poor	1%	0%	0%	1%
On the line between poor and not poor	29%	13%	1%	43%
Poor	18%	5%	1%	23%
<i>Urban</i>	24%	8%	1%	33%
Not poor	1%	0%	0%	1%
On the line between poor and not poor	18%	6%	1%	25%
Poor	5%	2%	0%	7%
Grand Total	71%	26%	3%	100%

Table 4 – Socio-economic Status distributed by area and remittance

Table 4 clearly shows that the vast majority of the respondents do not receive remittances from family members living outside the household. Households that do receive remittances are primarily situated in rural areas (18%) while few urban households receive contributions (8%). Furthermore, there is a clear over-representation of rural households that perceive themselves as being poor. Only 7% of urban respondents perceive their family as being poor compared to 23% in rural areas.

2.5 General Perceptions

As an ice-breaker, all respondents were initially asked questions that aimed at assessing their general opinions on overall subjects in Cambodia. Enumerators read a list of problems and respondents were asked to indicate how serious they considered each problem. Table 5 compares the results with the 2005 baseline study. Note: the responses are sorted from highest to lowest scores according to the 2010 survey and do not follow the order of the actual survey questionnaire.

2.5.1 High Cost of living is the Most Serious Concern

N=2031	Number of Respondents 2010	2010 Survey Percent	2005 Survey Percent
High cost of living	897	44%	51%
Corruption	280	14%	2%
Drugs	275	14%	2%
Bad roads	243	12%	13%
Land conflicts	120	6%	(N.A.)
Personal safety concerns	83	4%	11%
Access to quality health care	43	2%	10%
Illegal immigration	39	2%	7%
Access to quality education	32	2%	4%
Political instability	19	1%	1%
Grand Total	2031	100%	100%

Table 5 – General perceptions of most serious concerns in Cambodia

The 2010 survey showed that the high cost of living was by far the most serious concern for Cambodians. This was similar to the 2005 baseline, showing a 7%-point difference (or 14% decline) for the better (51% to 44%).

It is interesting to note that corruption is perceived as a far more serious concern in the 2010 study compared to the baseline. In 2005 only 2% perceived corruption as being the most serious concern in Cambodia, whereas in 2010 study the number was 14%. In total this accounts for an increase of 12% over 5 years.

2.5.2 Weighting of Concerns

Below the three most serious concerns are scored according to their ranking by respondents. The problem most often cited as the most serious concern is multiplied by a factor of 3, the second by a factor of 2 and finally the third most serious by a factor of 1.

Weighted Concerns

N=2031	1 st concern	2 nd concern	3 rd concern	Grand Total
High cost of living	2691	540	242	4883
Corruption	840	828	366	3095
Drugs	825	584	330	2636
Bad roads	729	794	150	2463
Land conflicts	360	328	262	1496
Personal safety concerns	249	414	225	1403

Access to quality health care	129	208	170	824
Illegal immigration	117	148	132	642
Access to quality education	96	126	96	509
Political instability	57	92	58	330

Table 6 – Most serious concerns, by ranking

After the weighting of the responses, it is clear that the high cost of living far outweighs the 2nd and 3rd concerns and that the second response, corruption, outweighs drugs.

2.5.3 Location and Distribution of Concerns

A closer look at the demographics of the respondents indicates that the high cost of living is perceived as a more serious concern in rural areas than in urban areas. While 30% of rural citizens classified the high cost of living as their most serious concern (on a scale of 1 to 3), only 14% of respondents in urban areas ranked it as their major concern. In both rural and urban areas many more women than men consider the high cost of living as a serious problem. In rural areas 45% of women compared to 21% of men consider it a problem while in urban areas it is 21% of women and 11% of men. Furthermore;

- The high cost of living/poverty is seen as a greater concern by remote rural Cambodians, women, the less educated and the least well off;
- Bad roads are a particular concern for those in remote rural areas;
- Safety/crime and drug abuse are primarily rural problems;⁴
- Safety issues concern more educated people in urban areas more than other subgroups;
- Illegal immigration is only perceived as an issue in rural areas.

2.6 Quality of Services

Respondents were asked to evaluate the quality of various services provided by public and private institutions. The aim was to find out whether Cambodians perceive the overall quality of services received as being of ‘very poor,’ ‘poor,’ ‘neither poor nor good,’ ‘good,’ or ‘very good quality.’

A number of the questions answered by the respondents were opinion questions, some of them followed up by an open-ended probe into what makes respondents evaluate an issue, person or institution as they do. In most cases respondents were asked to express their opinion using a five-point scale, e.g., ‘strongly agree,’ ‘somewhat agree,’ ‘neither agree nor disagree,’ ‘somewhat disagree,’ ‘strongly disagree,’ or, ‘very little [trust],’ ‘little [trust],’ ‘neither much nor little [trust],’ ‘much [trust],’ ‘very much [trust],’ with several possibilities for the enumerator to score ‘do not know’ (cannot choose, refuses to answer, does not know this institution). This report uses a one-figure indicator to represent respondent opinions called a ‘Net Opinion.’ Respondents who express an opinion are referred to as *aware respondents*. This does not include anyone whose response was recorded as ‘do not know.’ They may have a favorable, neutral or unfavorable opinion. The Net Opinion is calculated by subtracting the unfavorable percentage (%) from the favorable percentage (%). The

⁴ Which is a marked difference from the 2005 study, where crime and drugs were considered urban problems.

Net Opinion is +100 if responses are unanimously favorable, -100 if they are unanimously unfavorable, and 0 if opinions are exactly divided. Either the total population interviewed or the aware segment can be used as the basis for calculating the Net Opinion. This study applies the more usual version of Net Opinions and includes the aware respondents. When results are presented both the size of the aware segment (as a percentage of the total sample) and the Net Opinion are reported.

The Net Opinion expresses by what percent positive opinions outweigh negative opinions.

Assume for example that out of a total sample of 2,000 respondents, 1,900 provide an opinion in response to a question. The remaining respondents indicate they do not know, cannot choose or refuse to answer the question. This means that the aware sample is 95% ($1,900 \div 2,000$). If the reported Net Opinion for this question is +40%, this means that amongst those 1,900, 40% MORE respondents agree than disagree with the statement. The use of an indicator like this does imply the loss of information. The +40% can be the result of very different actual answer patterns. If 40% of the 1,900 respondents who express an opinion agree and 60% said they neither agree nor disagree, this aggregates into a Net Opinion of +40%. Similarly, 70% agreeing with the statement and 30% disagreeing also aggregates into a Net Opinion of +40%, as does 50% agreeing, 10% disagreeing and 40% expressing a neutral opinion.

This loss of information is compensated by the fact that the one aggregated number makes it easier to grasp the overall picture. The more complicated the analysis, for example when one starts comparing the results of various sub-groups, women versus men, rural and urban, or even more detailed, female rural respondents versus male rural respondents, female urban respondents and male urban respondents, the Net Opinion allows for tabulations that are still easy to read. Readers are thereby given the opportunity to inspect the patterns of the answers for themselves.

2.7 Respondent Knowledge

The questionnaire did not directly probe respondent knowledge of particular institutions. That is, no questions of the kind “Have you ever heard of...” or “Do you know...” were asked. However, expressing an opinion indirectly signifies knowledge while giving a “Do not know” answer suggests lack of knowledge. Obviously, “Do not know” might mean more things, most importantly unwillingness to answer (e.g., it might reflect the socio-political sensitivity of an issue). However, on a question-by-question basis one can make quite defensible arguments about the aware score being an adequate or less adequate expression of knowledge. Where appropriate we will therefore refer to the aware % as an indicator of respondent knowledge.

The response perceptions of service quality in various institutions are presented below and compared to the 2005 baseline study using the same measurement, i.e., Net Opinion.

2.7.1 The Public Registry has the Best Quality of Services

N=2031	2010 Survey		Baseline 2005	
	Aware (%)	Net Opinion (%)	Aware (%)	Net Opinion (%)
Public registry (birth & marriage...etc.)	100%	46%	91%	-8%
Public educational institutions	100%	43%	98%	12%
Private educational institutions	89%	40%	38%	49%
Private health services providers	99%	37%	95%	35%
Public health services providers	100%	32%	96%	-25%
Construction permit	93%	27%	59%	14%
Water Services	69%	24%	28%	15%
Public electricity services	70%	22%	27%	N.A.
Business licensing	88%	20%	42%	-27%
Land administration	95%	18%	76%	2%
Police excluding traffic police	99%	12%	91%	-34%
Private electricity services	68%	4%	27%	8%
Tax authority	95%	2%	N.A.	N.A.
Traffic police	98%	-3%	81%	-34%
Customs authority	80%	-10%	49%	-67%
Judge/Courts	92%	-21%	79%	-62%
Average of Service Quality	90%	18%	65%	-9%

Table 7 – Quality of Services

The 2005 study only examined services with an aware rate above 75%, which was interpreted as those respondents with some direct or indirect experience of those particular service providers. In 2005, only three institutions fell below the 75% limit (Water Services, Public electricity services, and Private electricity services), which indicated that more or less all respondents had been directly or indirectly in contact with the remaining service institutions. In the present 2010 study, all aware rates are above 75%.

What is striking about the 2010 results is the relatively large increase in awareness percentage. The average aware percent in 2005 was 65% whereas in 2010 it reached 90%. The greatest variations are found among private educational institutions (89% in 2010 vs. 38% in 2005), business licensing (88% vs. 42%), customs authority (89% vs. 49%), water services (69% vs. 28%), public electricity services (70% vs. 27%), and private electricity services (68% vs. 27%), indicating an increase in either direct or indirect contact with the service providers. Table 7 furthermore reveals a general improvement in the Net Opinion compared to the baseline study. The average Net Opinion was positive for service institutions listed in the table (+18%) while the baseline study reveals a negative average Net Opinion (-9%), indicating a substantial improvement in perceived service quality since 2005. In particular, the Net Opinion for public health service providers has significantly improved, leaping from -25% (2005) to +32% (2010). The same is true for business licensing, public registry, police (excluding traffic police), and the customs authority.

Table 7 – Quality of Services only shows the aggregate Net Opinion but it is interesting to see how responses vary for particular service providers. These are presented in Table 8 below.

N = 2031	Very good	Good	Neither poor nor good	Poor	Very poor	Do not know
Public registry	11%	47%	29%	11%	2%	0%
Public educational institutions	9%	50%	25%	14%	2%	0%
Public health services providers	8%	42%	34%	14%	3%	0%
Land administration	6%	28%	44%	14%	2%	6%
Construction permit	6%	28%	52%	6%	1%	7%
Private health services providers	5%	45%	36%	11%	2%	1%
Business licensing	5%	23%	52%	7%	1%	12%
Private educational institutions	5%	42%	37%	5%	1%	11%
Water Services	4%	28%	29%	6%	2%	31%
Public electricity services	3%	28%	30%	8%	2%	30%
Traffic police	3%	28%	34%	28%	6%	2%
Police excluding traffic police	2%	34%	38%	21%	3%	1%
Judge/Courts	2%	17%	34%	29%	11%	8%
Tax authority	2%	23%	48%	19%	3%	5%
Customs authority	1%	14%	40%	20%	5%	20%
Private electricity services	1%	19%	33%	12%	3%	32%

Table 8 – Perception of Quality of Service – actual numbers

3 Analyzing Perceptions and Impact of Corruption

This chapter sets out household perceptions of corruption in Cambodia. The chapter draws upon a huge amount of data. By cross tabulating the information it is possible to analyze cross-cutting issues related to gender, geography and socioeconomic income. The analysis is built around five groups of research questions: Corruption and gender, Corruption and poverty, Perception of corruption, Corruption and public services, and Corruption and geography. By framing the analysis as research questions, perceptions of corruption in Cambodia are linked to the general debate on corruption.

3.1 Analyzing Corruption and Poverty

In the following chapter corruption is discussed in relation to poverty, gender, geography, general perception and public services. For each of the parameters, two or more research questions are addressed. The research questions are presented at the beginning of each part of the analysis.

Research question A: Respondents living in poor households in rural areas pay a relatively higher part of their income as corruption compared with middle-income and high-income respondents.

Corruption is often associated with poverty and lack of economic growth, and according to the literature the poor are most affected by corruption. According to a World Bank study, the impact of corruption on poor people's relative income is higher than for wealthier people.⁵ It is also argued that on a personal level corruption affects the poor relatively more than the wealthy.

The 2005 baseline survey questioned the argument that poor people pay a relatively higher proportion of their income as corruption. The findings, which included non-monetary income, suggested that poor rural households pay a relative lower part of their real income in bribes and other forms of corruption; hence the argument that corruption hits poor people relatively harder than those who are not poor was rejected. In the 2010 survey it has not been possible to establish a solid dataset that either rejects or confirms the findings of the baseline study. What the data does confirm is the assumption about poverty spirals, which argues that poor people allocate a smaller percentage of their monetary income to services and more to consumption (purchase of food) compared to average and above-average populations.

According to the World Bank, the poverty line is set a US\$1.25 per day. In the 2010 survey only the average for respondents from 'remote rural communes' falls below the poverty line. The lowest total income per day was recorded in remote rural areas (US\$1.08 per day), where the average value of own consumption is substantially higher than in urban communes. The average urban household member has almost three times the dollar amount per day than rural household members. Interestingly, the average number of household members is more or less identical in all communes (≈ 5 persons), although one would have expected rural areas to have larger households. It is easy to see that above-average populations are subject to more corruption in terms of income. The average

⁵<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTPOVERTY/EXTPOWERMENT/0,contentMDK:20312308~menuPK:543262~pagePK:148956~piPK:216618~theSitePK:486411,00.html> Accessed 06.07.2010. In The World Bank Development Report 2001, it is argued that the burden of petty corruption falls disproportionately on poor people.

share of total income is much higher in urban areas where the wealthier respondents are located. Urban and semi-urban households pay an average of \$11.75 and \$12.62 a year in bribes and gifts, compared to \$8.47 and \$7.24 in accessible rural and remote rural areas. The average is calculated on the basis of households who reported having paid, and not on all households interviewed.

N = 587	Urban	Semi-urban	Accessible rural	Remote rural
Average gifts and unofficial⁶ bribes/year – USD	\$11.75	\$12.62	\$8.47	\$7.24
Corruption as percentage of Total income	0.26%	0.35%	0.32%	0.35%
Average household members*	5.00	5.00	4.89	5.05
Daily average income per HH member (consumption and monetary**) USD	\$2.52	\$2.04	\$1.42	\$1.21
*measured as an average of total population (N=2031)				
** Measures total income divided by the average amount of household members in each commune.				

Table 9 – The Poverty Line

In addition, there appears to be consistency between the actual income distribution and respondent perception of their households as being poor (cf. Table 10).

Perception of Poverty	Urban	Semi-urban	Accessible rural	Remote rural
Not poor	3%	2%	2%	1%
Poor	19%	25%	31%	40%
On line between poor & not poor	79%	74%	67%	59%

Table 10 – Perception of Poverty

Based on the findings in Table 9 and Table 10, research question A can be answered positively: respondents living in poor households spend a relatively higher part of their income on corruption compared to middle-income and high-income respondents. While income in rural areas is considerably lower than in urban areas, actual amounts paid in bribes and gifts are much higher in urban areas than in rural areas.

The result differs from the findings in the 2005 baseline study which partially reached the opposite conclusion. One reason is the methodology applied. In the present study, data on reported bribes include figures that appear very high in a Cambodian context. For this reason the dataset was tested for so-called outliers (unusual responses) using the IRQ Rule for Outliers. The amounts which did not fall within the statistical acceptable range (\$0–\$115/year) were left out of the calculations. In some situations the reported amounts above \$115 might be correct, e.g. in cases where a family had to pay for surgery or a businessman had to pay for several shipments throughout the year. However, potential true outliers should be identified on the basis of objective criteria, and the IRQ rule is an approved method. If the dataset had not been cleaned for outliers, the result would have been the opposite; that people living in the urban areas with higher income would pay relatively (and absolutely) more in bribes and gifts than poor people living in rural areas. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the number of households who report having paid bribes or other forms

⁶ Population has been cleaned for outliers and hence only reflects those who have admitted to paying a bribe or gift.

of unofficial payments in 2010 is 587, or 28% of households interviewed. It is not possible to compare these figures with the baseline study.

Compared to the 2005 baseline study, the actual amount and percentages paid in bribes is considerably lower and not least is the differences in bribes as percentage of expenditure/income. This can first and foremost be explained with the removal of outliers in the 2010 study. If the outliers were included in the survey, the amount paid in bribes would have been larger than in 2005, and people living in urban areas would have paid a larger part of their income compared to people living in rural areas.

Other factors than outliers may influence the findings. Section 6.2 shows that the integrity of political and service institutions has improved significantly, which could indicate that corruption has decreased in Cambodia. The Methodology used in Table 11 is slightly different than in Table 9 and Table 10 above, as the percentages are calculated on the basis of household expenditures and moreover gifts are excluded. However, as the total amount paid in bribes differs considerably, it is difficult to compare the amounts and percentages between the baseline study and 2010.

	Urban		Semi-urban		Accessible rural		Remote rural	
	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010	2005	2010
Bribes as percentage of HH expenditures	2.1	NA.	1.5	NA.	0.9	NA.	1.0	NA.
Bribes in total amount USD	3554	954	2124	918	1396	1302	1265	460
Bribes as percentage of total income (USD)	NA.	0.17	NA.	0.21	NA.	0.22	NA.	0.22

Table 11 – Bribes in total amount

3.2 Corruption and Income

One reason for the very low average corruption percentage in rural areas can be found in the relatively low amount of governmental representative offices in those areas compared to urban areas, where the contact points and the density of officials are much higher. This will be elaborated further in the section on corruption and geography later in this chapter.

Departing from this assumption, it is interesting to examine the relationship between income distributions by region for respondents admitting to either bribing or giving gifts to ease bureaucratic processes. Naturally, this will yield a much lower survey population and the risk of depicting a biased and not fully representative image of the survey population is present.

Contemporary corruption literature argues that corruption creates and enforces income inequality (Chetwynd, et al., 2003). Based on the above discussion it is fair to state that this can be confirmed in Cambodia 2010. As mentioned above, the situation is the inverse of the general assumption, i.e.,

the impact⁷ of corruption on the poor is not greater than on the wealthier households in urban areas; quite the opposite. Interestingly, a previous study of corruption furthermore draws attention to results that show that societies with high income inequality also have high levels of corruption. According to the United Nations (2010), the Gini⁸ coefficient in Cambodia in 2007 was 0.43 implying a relatively large income inequality. When the Gini coefficient is compared to Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index⁹ (CPI), Cambodia ranks as number 158 out of a sample population of 180 nations (2.0 on the CPI).

Furthermore, it is argued that "the impact of corruption on income distribution is in part a function of government involvement in allocation and financing scarce goods and services." To determine whether the authors' claim can be confirmed or rejected, one would have to look at the relative distribution of services per commune. And that "the distributional consequences of corruption are more likely to be more severe the more persistent the corruption" (Chetwynd, et al., 2003). The last assumption cannot be elaborated further from the 2010 survey data.

⁷ The data is only presented as a percentage of total income and not as a fraction of expenditure.

⁸ The Gini Coefficient (which measures inequality – zero being perfect equality and 1 being absolute inequality) has moved upwards from 0.35 in 1994 to 0.40 in 2004 and 0.43 in 2007. As a recent trend, inequality has increased not only between rural and urban areas, but also within rural areas. Rural inequality rose from 0.27 in 1994 to 0.33 in 2004 and climbed again to 0.36 in 2007.

⁹ The Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) table shows a country's ranking and score, the number of surveys used to determine the score, and the confidence range of the scoring. The rank shows how one country compares to others included in the index. The CPI score indicates the perceived level of public-sector corruption in a country/territory. The CPI is based on 13 independent surveys. However, not all surveys include all countries. The surveys used column indicates how many surveys were relied on to determine the score for that country. The confidence range indicates the reliability of the CPI scores and tells us that allowing for a margin of error; we can be 90% confident that the true score for this country lies within this range.

4 Corruption and gender

This chapter will test the following research questions:

Research question B: a woman is more likely to be exposed to corrupt behavior than a man.

Research question C: women have a more negative attitude towards corrupt practices than men.

When it comes to gender and corruption, several studies have examined how women behave in public offices and which gender is most exposed to corrupt practices. It can be discussed if there is an innate *sexual* difference towards moral values, but several studies argue that women are more trustworthy and public-spirited than men. Dollar et al. (2001) finds that women should be particularly effective in promoting honest government. In a multi-country study they found that the greater the representation of women in parliament, the lower the level of corruption. (Dollar, et al., 2001). Echazu (2010) reaches the same conclusion, arguing that empirical research shows that there is a negative relationship between female participation in a government and corruption. However, Echazu makes the case that the reasons why women behave more honestly than men is not that they are naturally prone to it but because they cannot afford to be corrupt if they are a minority (Echazu, 2010).

Using economic experiments in four countries, the assumption that women are less tolerant of corruption than men is questioned (Alatas et. al., 2009). Based on data collected in Australia (Melbourne), India (Delhi), Indonesia (Jakarta), and Singapore, they show that while women in Australia are less tolerant of corruption than men in Australia. No significant gender differences are seen in India, Indonesia, and Singapore. The cases reported suggest that the gender differences suggested in several other studies may not be universal but rather more culture specific. The findings also suggest that behavioral differences by gender across countries is correlated with larger variations in women's behavior toward corruption than in men's across the countries in the four country sample.(Alatas, et al., 2009). Mocan (2008) analyzed the gender angle on the risk of being asked for a bribe. He concludes from datasets from 49 countries that the chances of being asked for a bribe are 24% higher if you are a man than if you are a woman (Mocan, 2008). The 2005 household study on perception of corruption in Cambodia did however reach a different result, concluding that givers are more often women than men.

4.1 Women's exposure to corruption

Research question B: It is more likely for a woman to be exposed to corrupt behavior than a man.

The research question assumes that women handle household financial affairs more often than men, e.g., they pay for school, health care and other services, and hence could be more exposed to corrupt practices as they have more contact with persons who expect payment. The research question is therefore tested against two questions: 1) women are normally asked for higher bribes than men (Q240), and 2) when the household has to pay a bribe it is mostly a female member of the household who deals with it (Q244). For the research question to be fully accepted, the respondents should agree with both statements, while the respondents have to disagree with both statements if the research question should be fully rejected.

The respondents were asked to rank the two statements between “Strongly agree,” “Somewhat agree,” “Neither agree nor disagree,” “Somewhat disagree,” “Strongly disagree” and “Do not know.” These answers have been converted into scores, where “Strongly agree” is 2, “Somewhat agree” is 1, “Somewhat disagree” -1 and “Strongly disagree” -2, “Neither agree nor disagree” and “Do not know” is set as 0. A score of 2 would mean that all respondents strongly agree, while a score of -2 would mean that all respondents strongly disagreed with the statement. By summarizing the scores it is possible to calculate an average score of how respondents view women’s exposure to corruption.

According to Table 12, respondents disagree with or are indifferent to the statement that women are normally asked for higher bribes than men (Q240), and hence it can be concluded that in general women are not asked to pay more in bribes than men. Women, who presumably know better, disagree with the statement more than men. Compared to the 2005 baseline study, there are more respondents disagreeing stronger with the statement.

	Male	Female	Total 2010	Total 2005
Women are normally asked for higher bribes (Q240)	-0.38	-0.42	-0.41	-0.01
It is mostly a female member of the household who pays the bribe (Q244)	0.38	0.53	0.47	0.51

Table 12 - Women's exposure to corruption

The second statement, “when the household has to pay a bribe it is mostly a female member of the household who deals with it” (Q244), is generally accepted by the respondents. It is especially the female respondents who accept this statement. The answers are in line with the baseline study, where the scores were marginally higher: 0.51 compared to 0.47 in 2010.

The research question “it is more likely for a woman to be exposed to corrupt behavior than a man” cannot be answered completely positively. The respondents tend to accept that women take care of the actual payments in the household, but this could also be explained by women being more often responsible for domestic accounts. This supports the findings of the 2005 report, which concluded that givers are more often women than men. The respondents generally disagree with the argument that women pay more in bribes than men.

4.2 Gender attitude towards corrupt practices

Research question C: women have a more negative attitude towards corrupt practices.

Respondents were asked if women government officials ask for bribes less often than their male colleagues. This is confirmed in the survey and even with higher awareness and a raise in Net Opinion from 18% in 2005 to 31% in 2010. One explanation for the increase in Net Opinion could be that women are over represented in the survey (Table 13). The figures in brackets are the actual number of respondents.

Q234 Female officials ask for bribes less often than male officials or ask for lower amounts		
	2005	2010
Strongly agree	14%	8% (159)
Agree	32%	49% (1004)
Neither agree nor disagree	23%	16% (326)
Disagree	16%	20% (412)
Strongly disagree	12%	6% (120)
Do not know	3%	1% (10)
Aware	74%	83%
Net opinion	18%	31%

Table 13 – Female officials and bribery

As mentioned above, the literature on corruption and gender is debating the role of women in the fight against corruption. Here attitudes towards corruption are examined and checked against gender. Respondents were asked if they find 8 different situations “Very acceptable,” “Acceptable,” “Neither acceptable nor unacceptable,” “Unacceptable,” “Very unacceptable” and “Do not know.” The respondents were asked about the following situations:

	Male	Female	total
(Q. 28) To avoid having to visit the police station and pay a full fine. A traffic offender offer to pay 5.000 Riel directly to a traffic policeman. The policeman did not ask for the money, but accepted it. Is the behavior of the traffic offender ...	-0.71	-0.65	-0.67
(Q. 29) A person visits a government office, and receives good assistance from the officer in charge. When the matter is concluded, he offers 10.000 Riel which the government official accepts. Is the behavior of the government officer ...	-0.39	-0.29	-0.33
(Q. 30) A person needs some service from a government department. The officer in charge deliberately takes his time. The person gives the officer money (4.000 - 20.000 Riel) to speed up the work and to reward the officer for his efforts. Is the behavior of the person	-0.71	-0.65	-0.67
(Q. 31) A government official takes paper and pencils from the office to use at home. Is the behavior of the governmental official ...	-1.10	-1.09	-1.09
(Q. 32) A person is promoted because he is the relative or protégé of a senior government officer. Is the behavior of the senior government officer ...	-1.20	-1.07	-1.11
(Q. 33) An official pays money to get promotion. Is the behavior of the official ...	-1.39	-1.35	-1.37
(Q. 34) The court decides not to prosecute an offender because he comes from an influential family. Is the behavior of the court ...	-1.56	-1.58	-1.57
(Q. 35) A political party offers to pay money if you vote for them in the next election. Is the behavior of the party...	-1.21	-1.21	-1.21
Average	-1.03	-0.99	-1.00

Table 14 - Women's attitude towards corrupt practices

Again the answers has been converted into scores, where “Very acceptable” is 2. “Acceptable” is 1, “Unacceptable” -1 and “Very unacceptable” -2, “Neither agree nor disagree” and “Do not know” are set as 0. Based on the score an average perception of the actions has been calculated.

According to the findings in Table 14, there is nothing that suggests that women have a more negative attitude towards corrupt practices. Hence the research question must be answered negatively. On the contrary women have a marginally more relaxed perception towards the mentioned examples of corruption, as men score -1.03, while women score -0.99 on average.

Women are generally less condemnatory towards the example where a person gives a gift to a government official (Q29). This could be regarded as a gift with sincerity and it is an open question as to whether this represents corruption. This is in general seen as less unacceptable than the other questions. Women are also more relaxed when a person is promoted due to personal ties to the superior (Q32), which is a clear example of nepotism.

It is also worth mentioning that both women and men find it less unacceptable for a citizen to bribe a governmental official if the citizen benefits from the bribe (Q28 and Q30), compared to situations where a government official behaves corruptly. This indicates that respondents view corrupt practices with differently according to the situation. It appears more acceptable for people to conform to the current system than for governmental officials to take illegal advantage of their position for personal gain.

5 Perceptions of Corruption in Cambodia

Corruption is conceived and perceived differently among people.¹⁰ First and foremost it is an open question on how society reacts to corruption; is it accepted? When is something regarded as a gift and when is the transfer of money considered corruption? How systematized is the transfer of money, goods or services, and how has the perception of corruption changed in Cambodia?

When dealing with corruption, it has to be stressed that the term is highly subjective and as mentioned, the understanding of it varies greatly amongst citizens. That being said, the following questions have been put forward, using contemporary literature as the point of departure, arguing that:

Research question D: corruption is not accepted in Cambodia.

Research question E: giving gifts without sincerity is widespread in Cambodia.

Research question F: public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption.

Research question G: corruption in Cambodia is conducted in a systematic way and people get what they pay for.

5.1 Accepting Corruption

Research question D: corruption is not accepted in Cambodia.

From the survey it is possible to extract a general overview of corruption and corrupt practices in Cambodia. Respondents were confronted with various assertions (Q 230-245) involving corruption (both bribery and gifts) and asked to evaluate whether they strongly agreed, somewhat agreed, neither disagreed nor agreed, somewhat disagreed, or strongly disagreed. Table 15 below depicts the accumulated responses regarding 13 different assertions all involving bribery or gift-giving. In general, a large number of respondents indicate that corruption is not accepted in Cambodia. This is supported a large number of respondents who disagree with the statement that corruption is a fact of life.

From the tables presented below it can furthermore be deducted that no unequivocal approach towards corruption exists. The distribution of responses to the different scenarios differs for every question. Compared to 2005, fewer people see corruption as a fact of life in 2010 (Q230). At the same time more people in 2010 than in 2005 believe that paying bribes results in better services (Q232). More people in 2010 would accept a bribe themselves but fewer would accept for others making a low salary to take a bribe than in 2005 (Q233 and Q238).

¹⁰ For a more comprehensive definition of corruption please see Appendix B Terms and Definitions.

Q230 Corruption is a fact of life, it is the normal way of doing things.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	18%	4% (82)
Agree	25%	26% (533)
Neither agree nor disagree	12%	24% (489)
Disagree	15%	32% (639)
Strongly disagree	24%	14% (287)
Do not know	5%	0% (1)

Aware	83%	76%
Net opinion	4%	-16%

Q231 You cannot call something corruption if everyone is doing it.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	5%	3% (66)
Agree	14%	30% (60)
Neither agree nor disagree	12%	24% (484)
Disagree	27%	33% (663)
Strongly disagree	35%	10% (210)
Do not know	7%	0% (6)

Aware	81%	76%
Net opinion	-43%	-10%

Q232 Corruption gives better service.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	23%	13% (256)
Agree	24%	42% (858)
Neither agree nor disagree	9%	13% (269)
Disagree	14%	17% (360)
Strongly disagree	27%	14% (284)
Do not know	4%	0% (4)

Aware	87%	87%
Net opinion	6%	14%

Q233 When people get a small salary it is OK for them to ask for bribes.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	12%	4% (76)
Agree	21%	26% (519)
Neither agree nor disagree	17%	31% (637)
Disagree	21%	30% (611)
Strongly disagree	27%	9% (187)
Do not know	3%	0% (1)
Aware	80%	69%
Net opinion	3%	-9%

Q235 Taking a big amount of money is more corrupt than taking a small amount of money.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	21%	9% (175)
Agree	21%	29% (598)
Neither agree nor disagree	9%	17% (349)
Disagree	19%	26% (533)
Strongly disagree	27%	19% (376)
Do not know	3%	0% (0)
Aware	88%	83%
Net opinion	-4%	-7%

Q236 The amount paid depends on whether the person is poor or rich.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	13%	8% (156)
Agree	20%	33% (663)
Neither agree nor disagree	11%	31% (633)
Disagree	19%	23% (458)
Strongly disagree	31%	6% (117)
Do not know	6%	0% (4)
Aware	83%	69%
Net opinion	-17%	12%

Q237 Kinship and friendship reduces the amount of a bribe necessary to get something done.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	32%	14% (286)
Agree	35%	49% (993)
Neither agree nor disagree	12%	20% (399)
Disagree	8%	13% (270)
Strongly disagree	11%	4% (79)
Do not know	3%	0% (4)
Aware	85%	80%
Net opinion	38%	46%

Q238 If I had the opportunity to take bribes I would accept them to support my family.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	13%	10% (194)
Agree	22%	33% (669)
Neither agree nor disagree	13%	26% (524)
Disagree	18%	21% (418)
Strongly disagree	32%	11% (223)
Do not know	2%	0% (3)
Aware	85%	74%
Net opinion	-15%	11%

Q239 When people get a small salary it is OK for them to ask for some tea money.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	16%	4% (89)
Agree	31%	26% (537)
Neither agree nor disagree	15%	36% (736)
Disagree	15%	27% (539)
Strongly disagree	16%	6% (126)
Do not know	8%	0% (4)
Aware	77%	64%
Net opinion	16%	-3%

Q241 Paying official fees and following official procedures costs very much time.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	43%	10% (199)
Agree	35%	37% (760)
Neither agree nor disagree	7%	27% (547)
Disagree	4%	20% (402)
Strongly disagree	6%	6% (118)
Do not know	6%	0% (5)
Aware	87%	73%
Net opinion	68%	21%

Q242 The government has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	13%	26% (523)
Agree	15%	43% (868)
Neither agree nor disagree	19%	13% (268)
Disagree	18%	13% (268)
Strongly disagree	24%	5% (99)
Do not know	11%	0% (5)
Aware	70%	87%
Net opinion	-14%	41%

Q243 When I pay an official a bribe I am only bothered when I cannot negotiate the amount down to a reasonable level.

	2005	2010
Strongly agree	25%	10% (207)
Agree	38%	44% (889)
Neither agree nor disagree	13%	28% (569)
Disagree	7%	14% (282)
Strongly disagree	6%	4% (81)
Do not know	11%	0% (3)
Aware	76%	72%
Net opinion	50%	36%

Q245 Corruption is a problem in a Cambodia		
	2005	2010
Strongly agree	n.a.	48% (983)
Agree	n.a.	36% (732)
Neither agree nor disagree	n.a.	8% (176)
Disagree	n.a.	4% (80)
Strongly disagree	n.a.	3% (58)
Do not know	n.a.	0% (2)
Aware		92%
Net opinion		77%

Table 15 – Q230 to 245

Compared to 2005, corruption appears less acceptable. More respondents are prepared to call corrupt practices ‘corruption,’ even in situations where “everyone is doing it” (Q231). It is not acceptable to take bribes when people receive a small salary (Q233) and if people receive a small salary it is not acceptable for them to ask for tea money (Q239). However, respondents have a more accepting attitude towards corruption if it benefits them personally. Net Opinion has increased from -15% to +11% for the question “If I had the opportunity to take bribes I would accept them to support my family” (Q238); similar tendencies can be detected in the section of Corruption and gender.

A large number of respondents appear to perceive corruption as efficient it comes to “getting value for money.” In question 232, respondents were asked to evaluate whether “corruption gives better service” and 55% strongly or somewhat agreed. It also appears that Cambodians know how to circumvent corrupt practices as 63% of respondents agree that kindness and friendliness reduce the amount of a bribe necessary to get something done (Q237).

The research question initially put forward (corruption is not accepted in Cambodia), can therefore neither be fully rejected nor fully confirmed. It is possible to establish a general proof that respondents see corruption as a problem but they know how to avoid and mitigate its effects and would not reject a bribe or a gift, if it would help them and their family.

5.2 Gift-giving without Sincerity

Research question E: giving gifts without sincerity is widespread in Cambodia.

Despite a 2009 Transparency International report on significant corruption in Cambodia and a well developed vocabulary on corruption¹¹ there are no indications of Cambodians being more indulgent towards corrupt than other countries (Nissen, 2005). Gift-giving is institutionalized in Cambodia, not least towards monks and poor people. However, corruption in some situations takes

¹¹ There is a huge vocabulary in Khmer with nearly fifty different expressions for different types of money transfer which could be associated with corrupt practices (see Appendix C – Vocabulary).

the form of gift-giving (Nissen, 2005), often when the payer and receiver know each other. This type of gift-giving without sincerity would fall within the blurred boundary between corruption and gift-giving.¹²

Table 16 presents the distribution of gifts relative to the total amount of bribes and gifts among all respondents in the sample population. Gifts make up a relatively large part of what is considered corruption – more than one third. However, there are only small differences between urban and accessible/remote rural communes in terms of gifts as a percentage of total gifts and bribes.

	Urban	Semi-urban	Accessible rural	Remote rural	Grand Total
Total sum of gifts and bribes (USD)	1434	1515	2076	724	5749
Gifts as percent of total gifts and bribes	33%	39%	37%	36%	37%

Table 16 – Percentage distribution of gifts

There are no clear indications that gift-giving as a corrupt practice is utilized more outside urban boundaries. However gifts – presumable without sincerity – are widely used in Cambodia, which may indicate that corruption is regarded as socially unacceptable and explain why both payers and receivers would develop a more acceptable discourse for the practice of “gifts.” The relationship will be based on asymmetrical power relations and patrons. Politicians, employers, and civil servants who receive gifts for services that are normally included in their responsibilities, are basically abusing entrusted power. This form of “gift-giving” may not be understood fully as misuse of power and may not be considered an exercise of power by the recipient when the practice is standardized or habitual. Nissen (2005) argues that “the distinction between ‘gift-giving with sincerity’ and ‘gift-giving without sincerity’ illustrates that the vocabulary of gift-giving has moral overtones and that to a large extent the latter has taken over as vocabulary for a local corrupt practice.” The term gift-giving is used in situations where money, goods or services are paid to someone know to the payer beforehand; it is not associated with a direct exchange of services. For further elaboration see Table 30 – Gift-giving and extortion.

Gift-giving is widespread in Cambodia and accounts for more than one third of all payments recorded as corrupt practices. However, the research question cannot be answered completely positively, since it has not been possible to establish complete proof that all gift-giving amongst the respondents are without sincerity.

5.3 Public and Private Corruption¹³

Research question F: public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption.

Corruption can occur in both the public and private sphere. However, the literature normally describes public corruption as being a larger problem than private corruption (see the discussion on Public vs. Private corruption in Appendix B Terms and Definitions).

¹² In the analysis all gifts given to public officials and private service providers in health care and education are considered gift giving without sincerity.

¹³ ‘Private corruption’ refers to private service providers such as private schools and health care institutions, and private actors such as political parties and NGOs. Private companies are not included.

By understanding firstly what institutions result in bribes and gifts when contacted and secondly whether corruption is perceived as a larger problem in the public or private sector, it will be possible to suggest if there exists a correlation between perceptions of the institutions examined and actual *modus operandi*.

N = 2031	Number of visits	Visits resulting in bribe	% visits when bribe solicited 2010	% visits when bribe solicited 2005
Police excluding traffic police	109	83	76%	67%
Traffic police	995	555	56%	50%
Public registry (Birth & Marriage certificate, Civil reg., ID, Passport...)	392	170	43%	32%
Judge/Courts	38	16	42%	100%
Tax Authority	1544	596	39%	N.A.
Land administration	113	41	36%	20%
Education (Occasional expenses: admission, examination,...)	5523	1307	24%	33%
PUBLIC				
Construction permit	27	6	22%	1%
Education (Occasional expenses: admission, examination,...)	5470	1054	19%	N.A.
PRIVATE				
Public electricity service	5428	323	6%	8%
Health care/treatment/fee/ medicine	7432	307	4%	13%
PUBLIC				
Customs authority	313	9	3%	50%
Education (regular expenses: pay for extra courses, various fees, eating at school,...)	395874	5925	1%	N.A.
PUBLIC				
Health care/treatment/fee/ medicine	8542	65	1%	N.A.
PRIVATE				
Private electricity service	4436	31	1%	N.A.
Education (regular expenses: pay for extra courses, various fees, eating at school,...)	58349	182	0%	N.A.
PRIVATE				
Business licensing	432	1	0%	25%

Table 17 – Percentage of contacts resulting in bribes or gifts solicited.

Respondents were asked to estimate which of the institutions listed in Table 17 resulted in bribes or gifts when contacted. Please note that Table 17 does not depict the actual dollar amount or value of gift solicited. For example, although police (excluding traffic police) ranks the highest, this does not necessarily mean that the highest bribes were charged by that institution.

Table 17 reveals a rather large gap between public and private institutions. It shows that in 76% of cases, contact with police (excluding traffic police) resulted in a bribe or gift solicited. Business

licensing, private health care treatment and private electricity services account for the lowest percentages.

Respondents were asked to rate a number of public and private institutions according to their honesty (Q246-267), with possible responses ranging from “Very honest” to “Strongly dishonest.” The answers have been converted into scores, where “Very honest” is equals 2, “Somewhat honest” equals 1, “Somewhat dishonest” -1, and “Strongly dishonest” is -2. “Neither agree nor disagree” does not figure in the summation. The average score of each institution is depicted in Figure 1 below. Institutions with a negative score are generally considered dishonest by the respondents.

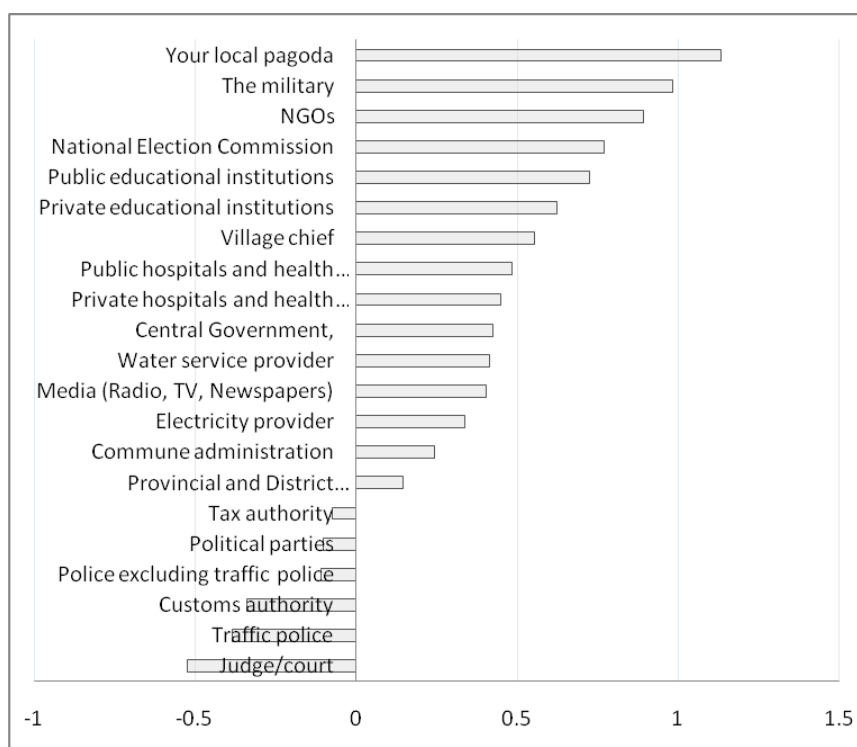


Figure 1 – Score among public and private institutions

Public institutions for which respondents report the highest percentage of bribe solicitation in Table 17 tend to be the same that receive the lowest scores in Figure 1. The judicial system and police officers are regarded as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia. The findings suggest that key authorities are still considered to be the most dishonest. Judges and the court system come in with a score lower than – 0.5, followed by traffic police, custom authorities and the regular police.

Departing from the research question initially put forward, i.e., public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption, the judicial system and police officers are by far regarded as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia. Political parties also receive a negative score. However, as the election committee in Cambodia received a high score and is regarded on average as nearly “Somewhat honest” this is not interpreted as lack of confidence in democracy, rather that the

political parties promise more than they fulfill. Tax authorities are also considered dishonest on average.

The research question ‘public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption’ can therefore be answered positively. However, it is worth mentioning that other sections of this report show that public institutions are improving compared to the 2005 baseline study.

5.4 Corruption as Embedded Practice

Research question G: corruption in Cambodia is conducted in a systematic way and people get what they pay for.

In countries with a high level of corruption, bribes and other forms of corrupt behavior are institutionalized and occur in a systematic way. Naturally, this kind of embedded corrupt practice makes it more difficult to combat corruption. It is argued that corruption in Cambodia occurs in a systematic way and people get what they pay for. To analyze this statement, respondents were asked to assess using a five-point scale what occurs when someone bribes an official (Q228). They were also asked to assess on a six-point scale the degree of certainty of receiving the service or resolving the problem after the bribe has been given. Responses are summarized in Table 18 and Table 19.

(Q 228) What occurs when someone bribes an official?		
	2010	2005
Official requests gift.	35% (982)	7%
Household offers gift of its own accord.	75% (1265)	48%
It is known on beforehand how to give and how much to give.	26% (574)	8%
There is a middleman.	19% (587)	17%
Do not know.	0% (9)	22%

Table 18 – Bribery and outcome of the act

At a first glance, corruption does appear to occur in a systematic way, since nearly 60% of the time the households offer a bribe or a gift of their own record. This fits well with Q232 in Table 15 which states that corruption results in a better service. In almost 30% of the times a bribe is solicited, respondents know beforehand how to give and how much to give, indicating familiarity with an embedded system.

(Q 229) Is corruption in Cambodia systematic?		
	2010	2005
Completely certain	13% (273)	21%
Somewhat certain	49% (995)	19%
Neither certain nor uncertain	15% (306)	24%
Somewhat uncertain	14% (300)	24%
Completely uncertain	7% (138)	10%
Do not know	1% (19)	2%

Table 19 – Bribery and certainty of result

When these data are compared with the findings from Table 19, where respondents claim that there is a 60% certainty that a bribe will have the desired effect, and taking into account the finding that a middleman is used every third time a bribe or gift is solicited, it is possible to confirm the research

question that corruption is in fact conducted in a systematic way and people receive the service they want by resorting to corruption and the use of gifts. One explanation for the widespread use of middlemen could be that kinship or friendship reduces the amount one has to pay for the bribe (see Q237).

6 Corruption and Public Services in Cambodia

This chapter examines the following research questions:

Research question H: the judicial system and police officers are regarded the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia.

Research question I: perceptions regarding institutional integrity have improved.

Research question J: corruption in core social services such as health care and education is widespread in Cambodia

Research question K: it is normal to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia.

The 2005 baseline study concluded that perceptions regarding several government institutions were negative, but that the judicial system and the police were regarded by far as the most dishonest. Seen from a rule of law perspective, this is worrying and the findings from the baseline study are tested on the new 2010 survey. Another important debate on corruption and public services is the matter of resource allocation. Although it perhaps is difficult to establish a clear link between resource allocation and bribery within state agencies, the World Bank points to this issue of how resourceful people have the ability to influence political decision makers to channel resources in their direction – and away from the poor. This is supported by a previous study (Gupta et al., 2000) verifying that a high level of corruption is correlated with a low level of public services, in particular within the health care and education sectors, two core public services for poor people. According to Gupta et al. (2000) one explanation for this is that countries with high levels of corruption give lower priority to public services, such as health care and education, compared to capital-intensive programs that offer better opportunities for high-level rent taking. While the arguments presented by Gupta et al. could not be tested in this survey, the problem of resource allocation was tested in other ways. The working assumption is that the presence of widespread corrupt practices, in the form of money transfer from users to providers within the health and education sectors, is regarded as a sign of low resource allocation that will eventually lead to poorer public services.

The Government of Cambodia, local civil society organizations and international aid agencies have initiated various campaigns and projects with a view to improve the integrity of different institutions and to reduce corruption.

The baseline study also identified money transfers in connection with recruitment where a person applying for a position in a public office paid money to secure the job. In some situations applicants made the initial offer to pay while in others they were asked for money. In addition to being a clear example of a corrupt practice, this type of money transfer could give rise to further corruption as it is a signal that corruption is accepted within the organization. Furthermore applicants would try to cover their losses by asking for money from citizens once they are in the position. This will again influence the level of service.

6.1 The Most Corrupt Institutions in Cambodia

Research question H: the judicial system and police officers are regarded the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia.

Drawing on Figure 1 and Table 20 below, the findings suggest that key authorities continue to be considered as the most dishonest in Cambodia. Judges and the court system scored lower than -0.5. Thus on average the population rates the judicial system as being between “Somewhat dishonest” and neutral. The judicial system is followed by the traffic police (-0.4), custom authorities (-0.35) and the regular police (-0.35). The research question as to whether the judicial system and police officers are regarded as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia can therefore be answered positively. Political parties also have a negative score. However as the election committee in Cambodia received a high score and is regarded as nearly “Somewhat honest” on average, this is not interpreted as a lack of confidence in democracy but rather that the political parties promise more than they fulfill. The tax authorities are also considered dishonest on average.

Respondents were asked to name the top three institutions they considered it most important to work on to reduce corruption in society. Afterwards the answers were ranked according to their score.¹⁴ There is a definite correlation between what is considered most dishonest and the kind of institution that should be worked on. One important exception is public hospitals, which scored higher in the question “what to work on” compared to how corrupt public hospitals are considered. This can be explained by the importance of access to health care services without the uncertainty of paying bribes.

¹⁴ The following weights were assigned: “Most dishonest institution” carried a weight of 3, “Second most dishonest institutions” a weight of 2, and “Third most dishonest institution” a weight of 1. It is not possible to compare the results from 2010 with the 2005 findings because the institutions are categorized differently.

If corruption should be reduced, what are the most important institutions to work on?	Most important	Second most important	Third most important	Score
Judge/court	14% (289)	11% (226)	13% (259)	1581
Political parties	12% (252)	8% (162)	7% (142)	1216
Traffic police	7% (147)	11% (218)	8% (161)	1038
Central government and administration	7% (147)	6% (124)	6% (114)	803
Commune administration	5% (100)	6% (130)	7% (137)	697
Office of Council of ministers	9% (178)	3% (51)	2% (40)	676
Customs authority	5% (94)	6% (123)	6% (124)	652
Public hospitals	6% (124)	5% (93)	5% (94)	650
Police excl. traffic police	3% (61)	7% (140)	7% (140)	603
Village Chief	6% (117)	4% (89)	4% (72)	601
National Assembly	4% (85)	6% (117)	4% (80)	563
Tax Authority	4% (75)	4% (83)	5% (101)	492
District administration	3% (64)	5% (96)	5% (95)	466
Public school	2% (47)	4% (72)	3% (66)	351
Provincial administration	2% (40)	3% (71)	4% (82)	344
Media (Radio TV Newspapers)	3% (52)	2% (43)	4% (74)	316
National Election Commission	1% (23)	0,9% (19)	3% (52)	159
Electricity provider	1% (20)	2% (31)	1% (27)	149
The military	1% (20)	1% (27)	1% (26)	140
Senate	0.5% (11)	1% (28)	2% (40)	129
NGOs	0.9% (18)	1% (24)	1% (26)	128
Your local pagoda	0.8% (16)	0.6% (12)	1% (22)	94
Private hospitals	1% (26)	2% (32)	1% (30)	78
Private schools	0.6% (13)	0.6% (12)	0.8% (17)	77
Water service provider	0.6% (12)	0.4% (8)	0.5% (10)	62

Table 20 – Institutions in need of most attention

6.2 Perceptions of Institutional Integrity

Research question I: perceptions of institutional integrity have improved.

Respondents were asked about their perceptions regarding the honesty of various institutions in order to calculate a Net Opinion of institutions that provide services or are a part of the political system. The responses can be compared with the 2005 baseline study. The data are the same used in Figure 1 – Score among public and private institutions where the different institutions are ranked according to their score.

The findings indicate that political and administrative institutions received a more positive Net Opinion than they did in 2005. The central government moves from -36 to +35. Even though the respondents were asked about “Central government and administration” in 2005, this still represents a remarkable shift in respondent perceptions.

	Aware 2010	Net opinion 2010	Aware 2005	Net opinion 2005
Q246 National Election Commission	84%	55%	58%	2%
Q247 Central Government.	72%	35%	59%	-36%
Q248 Political parties	63%	-9%	49%	-30%
Q249 Provincial and district administration	65%	12%	N.A.	N.A.
Q250 Commune administration	70%	19%	66%	-32%
Q251 Village chief	81%	41%	65%	-10%
Q252 Tax authority	58%	-4%	56%	-46%
Q253 Customs authority	54%	-24%	56%	-54%
Q254 Traffic police	71%	-31%	62%	-49%
Q255 Police excluding traffic police	67%	-6%	53%	-46%
Q256 The military	89%	64%	47%	14%
Q257 Judge/court	74%	-35%	72%	-66%
Q258 Electricity provider	48%	29%	38%	-3%
Q259 Water service provider	56%	29%	14%	2%
Q260 Public educational institutions	85%	57%	68%	11%
Q261 Private educational institutions	63%	52%	27%	16%
Q262 Public hospitals and health clinics	80%	39%	65%	-28%
Q263 Private hospitals and health clinics	68%	31%	62%	19%
Q265 Media (radio, TV, newspapers)	62%	32%	49%	-10%
Q266 NGOs	95%	66%	56%	43%
Q267 Your local pagoda	85%	72%	75%	28%
Average		25%		-13%

Table 21 – Question 246 to 267

When comparing the average Net Opinion of 2010 and 2005, it is very clear that perceptions of various institutions have improved tremendously. Nearly 40% of respondents shifted from a negative perception (Somewhat dishonest and Very dishonest) to a positive perception (Very honest or Honest), and the Net Opinion is now positive. The research question “The perceptions of institutional integrity have improved” can be answered positively. The second largest improvement in perception after the central government is occurs with public health institutions. There also appears to be a more awareness among the respondents towards the respective institutions.

6.3 Corruption in Health Care and Education

Research question J: corruption in core social services such as health care and education is widespread in Cambodia.

The health and education sectors have been singled out for further investigation. Respondents were asked if anyone in their households had been in contact with the health care system within the last year (from July 2009 to July 2010). More than half of all households answered in the affirmative and from the 1093 households 1595 people were in contact with the health care system. As indicated in Table 22, in 7% of the contacts someone in the health care system asked for money and in 8% of the contacts, people offered money themselves. In nearly all the cases it is the same persons who reported that they had been asked for money, who also offered money.

	HH who used health care services	Number of people who used health care services	% of times health care staff asked for money	% people using the health care system who offered money
Health care ¹⁵	54% (1093)	1595	7% (114)	8% (128)

Table 22 – Payment to the health care system

People in urban areas in particular report being asked to pay bribes to health care staff. The chances of being asked for a bribe are 50% higher in urban and semi-urban areas compared to the average.

Health care	Remote rural	Accessible rural	Semi-urban	Urban
Households who have been asked for a bribe	14%	37%	25%	24%
All respondents	24%	43%	16%	16%

Table 23 – Bribery and Health care

Asked about contact with and enrolment in the educational system, payments by households are reported in Table 23. Nearly three quarters of the respondents have household members enrolled in the educational system, and on average two persons per household are in school or enrolled in other ways in the educational system. A total of 12% of students or their relatives have been asked for money and 20% have offered money to people in the educational system. As with health care, the same people who are asked for money are also those who report having offered money.

¹⁵ The percentages presented in table 22 do not correspond with the answers reported in 17. One explanation for this could be that respondents are asked for money from or pay money to more than one person while they are in contact with the health care system.

	HH using the educational system	Number of people using the educational system	Situations where a person was asked for money	Situations where a person offered money
Educational system ¹⁶	71% (1445)	2898	12% (351)	20% (397)

Table 24 – Payment to the educational system

From Table 22 and Table 24 is clear that corruption occurs in core social services such as health care and education. While reported cases of corruption in health care - around 7% - are still high, the level does not afford grounds to conclude that corruption in the health sector is widespread. In education, where in 12% of cases someone in the educational system has asked for money and in 20% of cases students or relatives have offered money, it is safer to conclude that corruption is widespread. However, if the figures are related to the findings in Table 21, the picture becomes more complex. Educational institutions are in general considered among some of the most honest institutions in Cambodia, which does not correspond to a high level of corruption. One explanation could be that people accept paying money to teachers because of their low salaries and hence the money transfer is seen as a “gift with sincerity.”

On the basis of the findings in the tables, the research question “Corruption in core social services, such as health care and education are widespread in Cambodia” is partly rejected.

6.4 Bribery in Appointment Processes

Research question K: it is normal to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia.

Respondents were asked to report if someone in their household had applied for a position in the public sector in the last year (July 2009 – July 2010). In all 84 respondents reported 91 cases where someone had applied for a job. In 19% of the cases the applicants were asked for money in return for a job offer. In 17% of the cases the applicants offered money. Again there is a clear overlap between the respondents who report being asked for money and offering money.

	Number of HH where a person have applied for job	Number of jobs applied for	Cases applicant was asked for money	Cases applicant offered money
Applied for a job	84 (4%)	91	19% (17)	17% (15)

Table 25 – Payment for jobs

According to Table 25, one out of five job applicants had to pay in order to secure a job in a public office. This is considered high and the research question “It is normal to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia” is therefore accepted. The study examined whether some public institutions are more prone to asking or accepting payment for job applicants. Respondents reported payments according to the ministry in which the person asking or receiving the money was employed. As shown in Table 26 the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, and the Ministry of

¹⁶ The percentages presented in Table 23, do not correspond with the answers reported in Table 17. In Table 23 the percent of situations where a person was asked for money is based on the number of persons who used the educational system, while the percentage (24%) in Table 17 is based on the number of visits that resulted in a bribe.

Interior account for a high number of the reported cases of corruption. Returning to the debate about payment to teachers and others people in the education sector, it appears that senior persons within the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (this could be both central and local staff) take advantage of the expected payments to teachers and demand their share of “the cake.” The findings are in line with the trend reported in 2005, where the same two ministries came out as the most corrupt public institutions. It should be kept in mind though, that the finding is based on a small sample of respondents which increases the chance of defective figures.

Institution	Positions applied for	Examples of corruption
Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports	57	13
Ministry of Interior	11	3
Ministry of National Defense	7	1
Ministry of Water Resources and Meteorology	1	1
Other or do not know	15	0

Table 26 – Payment for jobs in Ministries

7 Corruption and Geography

Research question L: people living in rural areas are more exposed to corruption than in urban areas.

According to Goel & Nelson (2010) it is possible to show a relationship between geography and corruption, countries that are more spread out are likely to have more corrupt practices than smaller countries, partly because the distance makes it harder to monitor government officials. According to the findings in the article it is “only a greater degree of urbanization [which] results in a lower corruption” (Goel, et al., 2010). Goel & Nelsons findings could correlate with the argument that poor people are more exposed to corruption than the middle class living in urban areas. However, Mocan (2008) has reached a different conclusion, showing that there is positive correlation between the possibility of being asked for a bribe and living in a large city. A person living in a small city would in general have a 25% lower chance of being asked for a bribe than a person living in large city (Mocan, 2008). It is not possible to test these findings against the 2005 baseline study on corruption and Cambodian households.

As discussed in the section on Corruption and poverty, the number of respondents who reported having paid bribes or gifts (without sincerity) represents less than half of the total number of people interviewed, as only 30% of respondents reported having done so. It is an open question as to whether some of the respondents withhold information, as the figures do not correspond with the general perception of corruption in the other questions, but when analyzing the relationship between corrupt practices and geographical distribution, it is presumed that the answers given reflect the geographical distribution.

More people in rural areas pay bribes than in urban areas, but from Table 27 it is also evident that people living in cities are more exposed to corruption than people living in the countryside. In all, 40% of respondents in urban areas and 37% of those in semi-urban areas report having paid bribes or given gifts without sincerity, compared to 21% in remote rural areas and 28% in accessible rural areas.

	Urban	Semi-urban	Accessible rural	Remote rural	Total
No	200 (60%)	209 (63%)	629 (72%)	386 (79%)	1424 (70%)
Yes	133 (40%)	124 (37%)	248 (28%)	102 (21%)	607 (30%)
Total	333	333	877	488	2031 (100%)
Distribution of respondents who reported paying bribes	22%	20%	41%	17%	100%
Percentage of all respondents	16.5%	16.5%	43%	24%	100%

Table 27 – Geographical distribution of respondents who have paid bribes.

The differences between urban and rural areas become even larger when comparing the amounts paid per household in bribes and gifts. From Table 28 it appears that while households in remote and accessible rural areas respectively pay US\$7.24 and \$8.47 annually in bribes and gifts without sincerity, the amount paid in cities and semi-urban areas are \$11.75 and \$12.62 on average.

	Urban	Semi-urban	Accessible rural	Remote rural
Amount paid per HH in US\$¹⁷	11.75	12.62	8.47	7.24
Sum of gifts and bribes (US\$)	\$1,434	\$1,515	\$2,076	724
Percentage of total bribes	25%	26%	36%	13%
Percentage of all respondents	16.5%	16.5%	43%	24%

Table 28 – Distribution of payment of gifts and bribes according to geography.

Based on the findings presented in Table 27 and Table 28, the research question “People living in rural areas are more exposed to corruption than those in urban areas,” can be rejected. On the contrary, the report reaches the reverse conclusion, that in Cambodia people living in urban areas are more exposed to corruption than people living in rural areas. The explanation for this may be found in the number of interactions with government officials (including police officers) and in the fact that people in urban areas require permissions and licenses more often than people living in the countryside. And finally, as showed earlier in section 3.1, people living in urban areas have a larger income than people living in rural areas and hence are expected to be able to pay more.

¹⁷ Outliers have been removed from the figures.

8 Summarizing the Research Questions

The 12 research questions set out in the report are summarized in the following paragraphs.

8.1 Corruption and Poverty

Respondents living in poor households in rural areas pay a relatively higher part of their income as corruption compared with middle-income and high-income respondents. **This research question can be answered positively.** People living in rural areas, with a lower average income, pay a higher percentage of their income in bribes and gifts without sincerity. People living in urban areas pay more in absolute terms.

8.2 Corruption and Gender

It is more likely that women be exposed to corrupt behavior than men. **The research question can partly be answered negatively.** While women pay bribes more often than men, this can be ascribed to division of work between men and women when it comes to the domestic expenses. Women are not asked to pay more in bribes than men.

Women have a more negative attitude towards corrupt practice. **The research question can be answered negatively.** There is nothing in the study which indicates that women have a more spurn attitude to corruption than men.

8.3 Perceptions of Corruption in Cambodia

Corruption is not accepted in Cambodia. **The research question can partly be answered positively.** But the picture is blurred as some situations of corrupt behavior appear to be generally accepted by Cambodians.

Giving gifts without sincerity is widespread in Cambodia. **The research question can partly be answered positively.** Even though gift-giving is widespread in Cambodia it has not been possible to establish a complete proof that all gift-giving by respondents is without sincerity.

Public corruption is perceived as a larger problem than private corruption. **The research question can be answered positively.** But both public hospitals and schools receive a better rating than the private hospitals and schools.

Corruption in Cambodia is conducted in a systematic way and people get what they pay for: **The research question can be answered positively.** The widespread use of middlemen and the fact that people expect to get value for money when they pay bribe indicates that corruption is conducted in a systematic way.

8.4 Corruption and Public Services in Cambodia

Police officers and the judicial system are regarded as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia.

The research question can be answered positively. Customs authorities, political parties and tax authorities also receive a low score and are considered to be corrupt.

Corruption in core social services such as health care and education is widespread in Cambodia.

The research question can partly be answered negatively. However, there appears to be a widespread use of gifts within the educational system (20% of all households report offering gifts).

A person has to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia. **The research question**

can be answered positively. In one out of five cases an applicant for a public position has been asked to pay a bribe in order to secure the position. Corrupt practices appear to occur especially in the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports and the Ministry of Interior.

8.5 Corruption and Geography

People living in rural areas are more exposed to corruption than in urban areas. **The research question can be answered negatively.** The chance of being asked to pay a bribe is higher in urban areas, but people living in the countryside pay a relatively higher percentage of their income in bribes.

9 Conclusion

The present report relays perceptions, attitudes and impact of everyday corruption in Cambodia. The findings are based on structured in-depth interviews with members of 2031 households from 21 of Cambodia's 24 provinces. The findings are compared against the 2005 baseline study and analyzed through a set of research questions.

The respondents were selected randomly, according to a computer-based random selection program and a linear systematic sampling technique. The selection of communes and the distribution between urban and rural are based on the General Population Dataset 2008. The selection process resulted in nearly one third of respondents living in urban areas and the rest in rural areas. The random selection process resulted in an over-representation of women and an under-representation of young people. However, there is no indication in the material that this gender and age bias has appreciably influenced the findings.

9.1 Overall Findings

This study shows positive signs in the fight against corruption in Cambodia. Perceptions regarding public services and integrity among service and political institutions in Cambodia have improved considerably since 2005. There has been a remarkable shift in attitudes especially towards public services such as health and educational institutions, the public registry and business licensing agencies. Even perceptions about police and judges, who scored the lowest in the survey, have improved considerably.

The amounts paid in bribes appear to have declined since the 2005 survey. However, this conclusion can be biased as different calculation methods were used in the 2005 and 2010 surveys.

In contrast to these positive findings, corruption is now considered the second largest social problem in Cambodia. Only the high cost of living is considered a more important problem. The study also shows that corruption still constitutes a problem in many areas of Cambodian livelihood.

9.2 Corruption and Services

Respondents were asked about the most important concerns for Cambodia today. The results can be compared directly with the 2005 baseline study. According to respondents, the high cost of living remains the most important issue, although fewer people point to this compared to five years ago (down from 51% to 44%). Corruption and drugs have both moved from being considered minor problems in 2005 (2%) to the second and third biggest problems for respondents in 2010 (both scored 14%). Hence, corruption has, according to the respondents, moved from being a minor problem to becoming an important social problem. In all 82% of the population believes that corruption is a problem in Cambodia.

There has been a remarkable shift in attitudes especially towards public services such as health and educational as well as the public registry and business licensing. Even perceptions about police and judges, who scored the lowest score in survey, have improved considerably. The Net Opinion

regarding a number of political and service institutions in Cambodia have improved from -13% to +25%, constituting a remarkable shift in attitude.

The most corrupt institutions are judges/courts, traffic police, customs authorities, and police (excluding traffic police). This are also the institutions people would like something done about. Even though public health care has a much more positive rating, respondents also mention that something has to be done in that area.

9.3 How Corruption Impacts People's Everyday Life

Poor people living in rural areas pay a relatively higher percentage of their income as corruption compared with middle income and high income people. It is estimated that that people living in rural areas spend between 0.32-0.35% of their yearly household income (between US\$7.24-\$8.47) on corruption. While the estimated percentages could be considered low, the livelihoods of poor people are influenced by corruption because (1) they have a very low amount at their disposal, and therefore no surplus to pay in corruption, and (2) they suffer from the indirect consequences of corruption such as reduced public services or lower economic growth. In urban areas, where incomes are higher, people spend on average 0.26-0.35% of the household income (\$11.75-12.62) on corruption.

While people living in rural areas pay a relatively higher percentage of their income in bribes compared to people living in urban areas, those in urban areas are much more exposed to corruption. Explanations for this may include that the number of interactions with government officials (including police officers), that people in urban areas have need for more permissions and licenses, and finally that people living in cities have a higher income and hence are expected to be able to pay more.

Health care and education are core public services and have therefore been singled out for further investigation. Corruption in the health care sector does occur, but it is not widespread. In the educational system payment is relatively widespread (20%) but at the same time public schools score high when it comes to honesty, indicating that people are paying money with some kind of sincerity. For families with very low income, however, this could constitute a problem.

By asking about those who had applied for a job within the last 12 months, it was possible to test the research question "It is normal to pay in order to get a job in the public sector in Cambodia." Nearly one out of five persons applied for a job was asked to pay to a superior. On the basis of this the research question is accepted. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, and the Ministry of Interior are identified as the most problematic institutions.

The findings shows that women pay bribes more often than men in the household, but that they are not asked to pay more than men. The research question that it is more likely that a woman would be exposed to corrupt behavior than men is not totally confirmed, because it cannot be disproved that women more often pay bribes than men because they are in charge of the domestic expenses. Nothing in the findings supports the argument that women have a more negative attitude towards corruption. Even though there are only marginal differences towards the perception of corrupt practices, the differences are in favor of men who appear more negative towards corruption than women.

9.4 Perception of Corruption

Cambodians do not accept corruption as a fact of life nor do they agree with the scenario that when people make a small salary it is OK for them to ask for a bribe. Interestingly, at the same time a large number of respondents accept corruption when it favors them or their families. The research question initially put forward (that corruption is not accepted in Cambodia), can there therefore neither be fully rejected nor fully confirmed. Giving gifts to public (and some private) service providers is widespread in Cambodia, which suggests that corruption is regarded as socially unacceptable, which would explain why both payers and receivers may develop a more acceptable discourse for the practice, such as giving “gifts.”

The analysis shows that the judicial system and police officers are regarded by far as the most corrupt institutions in Cambodia, followed by customs authorities, political parties and tax authorities.

In nearly 60% of situations characterized by corruption, the households offer a bribe or a gift of their own accord, which leads to the conclusion that corruption is conducted in a systematized way. This fits well with the finding that corruption results a better service in Cambodia. In almost 30% of the times a bribe is solicited, it is known beforehand how to give and how much to give, indicating familiarity with an embedded system.

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Appendix A – Research Methodology

This section presents the applied methodology of the survey. The survey covered all 24 provinces of Cambodia by way of a nationally representative proportionate sampling scheme. However, the sampling in some of the small provinces was considered too small and it was not possible to get a representative sample. See Selection of Provinces. In those cases the provinces have been taken out of the survey. More than 2,000 citizens of voting age and their households were included in the survey. The fieldwork was carried out in July and August 2010. Since analyses of the survey are rooted in field data, it is necessary to evaluate the statistical methodology, sample size and error margins, as well as the function of the Kish Grid and its applicability.

Systematic Random Sample Design

$$\pm P = Z \sqrt{\frac{p(1-p)}{n}}$$

Standard error of proportion:

Where, $Z = 1.96$ (confidence level 95%), p = Sample proportion estimate, n = sample size.

The above implies that with a sample size of 2,000 citizens, a maximum error margin at the 95% confidence level, and assuming a systematic random sample design, the standard of error or proportion is $\pm 2.2\%$. In some situations, the interview teams interviewed (one) more households in a village than listed. It was decided to keep these responses within the sample proportion (hence $n = 2031$). The extra 31 respondents are not significant in the total sample; furthermore if removing households from the survey could constitute a new problem with bias when one respondent was removed and not another one.

Sampling Scheme

With an aim to secure the highest degree of comparability with the 2005 corruption survey, it was decided to maintain the identical four-stage sampling methodology as in the previous study. However, as the General Population dataset has been updated since the last survey (the previous sampling was based on 1998 data), a new sampling was necessary. This task was subcontracted to a private operator, Market Strategy and Development (MSD), which specializes in similar studies and market surveys in Cambodia. MSD selected the communes and villages using the methodology presented below, while the interview teams¹⁸ selected the actual households and respondents in the households applying the detailed selection technique described below. DIBD and MSD supervised the interview teams and MSD was in charge of the interview teams during fieldwork.

Due to the differences between urban and rural livelihoods in Cambodia, a stratified sampling between rural and urban households was applied. Communes were selected as the Primary Sampling Units (PSU) and the chance of being selected was proportionate to their population size

¹⁸ The selected households were interviewed by enumerators, who worked in teams, with four enumerators and one supervisor in each.

and to their placement in either urban or rural areas in the different provinces. The sampling frame is based on the General Population Census 2008 (Statistics, 2010) dataset.

The sampling process followed the four-stage sampling methodology plus stratified sampling (rural/urban) among the 24 provinces in Cambodia and four-stage simple random sampling without replacement design.

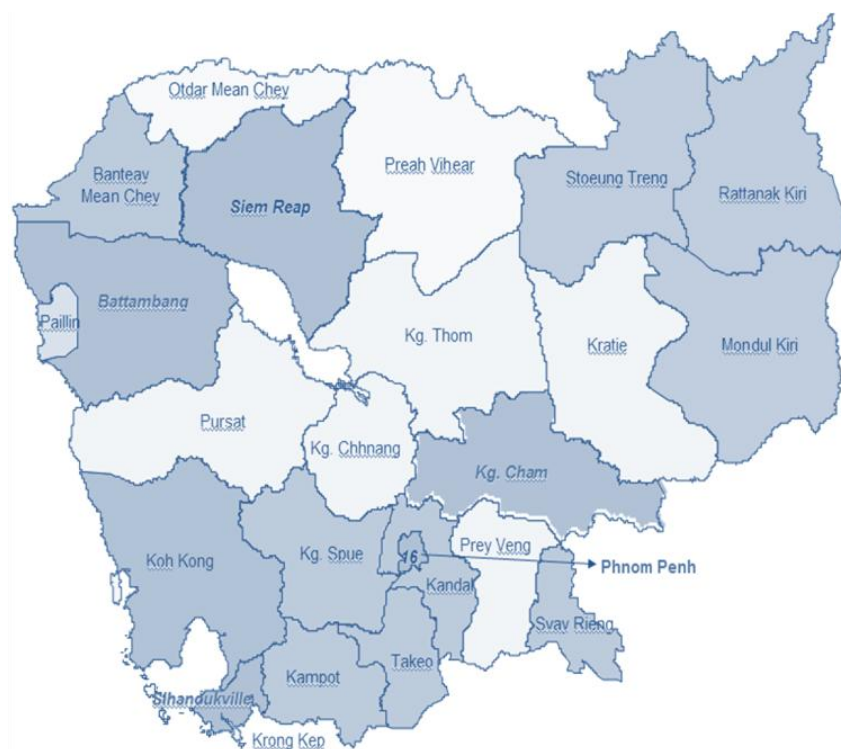


Figure 2 - Cambodia's Provinces

Selection of Provinces

Based on the 2008 population census dataset, it was decided how many persons in rural and urban communes should be selected for interviews in each province. It was decided that provinces with a population size that would result in a sample population of less than 15 persons would be taken out of the survey. The result was that Mondul Kiri, Kep and Pailin are left out. The proportionate sample of each province was adjusted so it could be divided by 10 (similar to the previous study which had a sample population of 10 per commune).

The communes or PSUs in the remaining 21 provinces were selected using a computer-based random selection program which generated the names of the selected communes in each of the 21 provinces according to the communes' rural or urban status.

The secondary sampling unit was the village. Villages were also selected using a computer-based random selection program which generated the names of selected villages in the communes selected on the previous step, generating one village per commune.

The individual household was the tertiary sampling unit. Households were selected using so-called Linear Systematic Sampling with equal probability of selection (LSS_EQP). A random start was chosen based on the last digit of a local banknote serial number. If the interview team had accurate knowledge of the number of households in the village, the intervals between the households was decided by dividing the total number of households by the number to be interviewed. This would be done from a list of village households or from a map showing the households in the village. If it proved impossible to use a list or draw a map, the interval would be either five for villages with less than 50 households and 10 for larger villages; in these situations the interview teams would use a “random walking rule.” A village generates a sample size of 10 households.

The last stage of sampling selection was the choice of respondent within the household. This was done by using the random methodology of Kish Grid¹⁹ maps, which allows for random selection of gender and age in each household, since there is no required quota on gender and age. All the members of the selected household over the age of 18 would be noted down in the Kish Grid and one person randomly selected.

Based on the population census dataset the stratified sampling between provinces and rural/urban population were distributed as showed in table 3.1 below.

¹⁹The problem of drawing a person from a household often occurs at the final stage of a survey design. The Kish Grid, developed in the 1950's (Nemeth, 2010) gives an algorithm for this random selection. The expression “Kish Grid” comes from Leslie Kish, a Hungarian born American statistician. Kish was one of the world's leading experts on survey sampling. The purpose of the Kish Grid is to select persons within the households with equal probability.

#	Province	Census Pop 2008		Based on Census			ABITRATION		
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
01	Banteay Meanchey	181.396	496.476	27	74	101	30	70	100
02	Battambang	180.853	844.321	27	126	153	30	120	150
03	Kampong Cham	118.242	1.561.750	18	233	251	20	230	250
04	Kampong Chhnang	43.130	429.211	6	64	71	10	60	70
05	Kampong Speu	54.505	662.439	8	99	107	10	90	100
06	Kampong Thom	31.871	599.538	5	90	94	10	90	100
07	Kampot	48.274	537.576	7	80	87	10	80	90
08	Kandal	195.898	1.069.382	29	160	189	30	160	190
09	Koh Kong	36.053	81.428	5	12	18	n. a.	20	20
10	Kratie	35.964	283.253	5	42	48	n. a.	50	50
11	Mondul Kiri	4.859	56.248	1	8	9	n. a.	n. a.	0
12	Phnom Penh	1.242.992	84.623	186	13	198	190	10	200
13	Preah Vihear	10.679	160.460	2	24	26	n. a.	30	30
14	Prey Veng	33.079	914.293	5	137	141	10	130	140
15	Pursat	25.650	371.511	4	55	59	n. a.	60	60
16	Ratanak Kiri	19.317	131.149	3	20	22	n. a.	30	30
17	Siemreap	174.265	722.178	26	108	134	30	100	130
18	Sihanoukville	89.447	131.949	13	20	33	10	30	40
19	Stung Treng	17.022	94.649	3	14	17	n. a.	20	20
20	Svay Rieng	17.029	465.759	3	70	72	n. a.	70	70
21	Takeo	14.456	830.450	2	124	126	n. a.	130	130
22	Oddar Meanchey	18.694	167.125	3	25	28	n. a.	30	30
23	Kep	4.678	31.075	1	5	5	n. a.	n. a.	0
24	Pailin	15.674	54.812	2	8	11	n. a.	n. a.	0
SAMPLE POPULATION		2.614.027	10.781.655	390	1.610	2.000	390	1.610	2.000

Table 29 – Primary Sampling Unit (PSU) Grid

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire design has a major influence on both the response rate and the quality of the information received. The use of a questionnaire in this survey distinguishes itself from the common requirements normally adhered to when dealing with fundamental issues in questionnaire design (Murray, 1999). The first requirement of the questionnaire is that it be suitable to collect data that can be used to test the research question. The present survey has nevertheless not been subjected to this requirement but departs instead from a general aim to map the perceptions, attitudes, and impact of everyday forms of corrupt practices in Cambodia.

The phrasing of the questions was kept simple to avoid ambiguity and misunderstandings. Furthermore, open-ended questions were kept to a minimum both to lower misperceptions and facilitate and accelerate the accumulation of data processing. In the 2010 questionnaire a few changes were made with a view to further simplifying the questions and speed up the interview process, which could take more than 1½ hour per household.

A questionnaire is characterized by a high use of semantic differentials which are especially valuable when it comes to eliciting attitudes or feelings to an issue (Murray, 1999). The cumulative total has then been interpreted afterwards.

The objectives of this questionnaire²⁰ were similar to those of the previous survey conducted in 2005:

- To generate nationally representative public opinion data on corruption, including experiences, attitudes, and practices.
- To generate nationally representative data on the impact at household level of retail corruption.

This latter objective is especially challenging to document in least developed countries (LDC) such as Cambodia, where income and expenditure are dimensions difficult to measure correctly.

Questionnaire Structure

In general, the overall questionnaire structure has remained the same as the 2005-version with just a few modifications and additions. A few questions were modified to assure precision and accuracy related to data on expenditures and income for each household in the survey. Questions regarding remittances²¹ were added to include income as well as a general evaluation of whether family members living outside the household contribute to the household budget (other than small gifts) to a small or large degree.

The 2005 study indicates that Cambodia is distinguishing itself on central issues related to corruption, compared to results from a 2000 World Bank study on corruption diagnostic in Cambodia. Specifically, in the 2005 study there appears to be coherence between expenditures and the impact of corruption, implying that poor and less wealthy households²² are subjected to corruption in a smaller degree compared to wealthy households.

Data Collection and Training of Enumerators

Market Strategy and Development (MSD), which conducted the interviews, used a group of trained enumerators. Before the interviews, the team followed a five-day course that covered common definitions of corrupt behavior and different techniques for selecting the household and the respondent within the household. With a view to secure uniform datasets, enumerators were trained on all the questions. Enumerators discussed the questions in a group and finally they conducted two days of field testing under the supervision of the survey team from MSD and DIBD. The in-house training was carried out by MSD and DIBD.

²⁰ Please see Appendix D – Questionnaire for a full version of the questionnaire

²¹ Please see Appendix D – Questionnaire– Question Q. 37 & 38)

²² Wealthy households,

The comprehensive training program allowed the enumerators to develop a common frame of reference; this ensured that each enumerator would interpret and ask the questions in the same way, and that any inquiries from respondents would also be answered uniformly.

Data Collection and Data Entry

The enumerators worked in teams of five. An experienced team leader supervised each team and ensured quality control in the field. The interviews were carried out inside the respondent's household with only the respondent and the numerator present. In around 20% of the interviews the team leader was also present.

The enumerators would move systematically through the questionnaire and note answers to all the questions according to a set of codes, when there were more than yes/no options. The respondent was told that the interview would take around 1-1½ hour, and in this period it was important that they were not interrupted. At the same time it was important that the interview take place within the household because the respondent should feel secure and at ease to talk freely.

Each interview was recorded as a unique set of data responding to each question in the questionnaire. The different responses under each question had a numbered code.

Reporting of Results

Responses from the more than 2,000 interviews were entered into one huge matrix with one respondent in each row and one question in each column. MSD entered the data while DIBD analyzed it as presented in this report. The data is cross tabulated according to different parameters as described above.

Shortcomings and Methodological Restrictions

The major limitation of the survey method is that it relies on a self-report method of data collection. Intentional deception, poor memory, or misunderstanding of the question can all contribute to inaccuracies in the data. Circumventing these potential pitfalls requires a detailed interview guide and well-trained enumerators.

Appendix B – Terms and Definitions

This section defines the most utilized terms in the survey. Inevitably, the debate on corruption will be linked to what is actually defined as corrupt practices among actors and institutions in a local context. Other analytical parameters such as socio-economic status and quality of services will also be elaborated further in this chapter.

Corruption

While most people have a fair understanding of corruption as a criminal act or morally wrong, the analytical angle may differ considerably according to the actual definition and object of the analysis. OECD, which applies a government approach to most of its work, has adopted a rather precise definition of corruption as the action *“To offer, promise, or give any undue pecuniary or other advantage, whether directly or through intermediaries, to a foreign public official, for that official or for a third party, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in relation to the performance of official duties, in order to obtain or retain business or other improper advantage.”*

This may however be too narrow a definition for understanding perceptions, attitudes, and impact of every day forms of corruption in a country like Cambodia. Instead this report will adopt Transparency International’s definition of corruption as *“the abuse of entrusted power for private gain,”* which opens up opportunity for a very broad interpretation of corruption that needs further precision if it is to be a meaningful tool for policy recommendations and campaigns against corruption. Therefore, more words need to be put on the kind of situations associated with corrupt behavior:

- Bribery
- Extortion
- Conflict of interest
- Embezzlement (including nepotism)
- Fraud
- Money laundering

In all the above situations, the corrupt behavior is associated with abuse of entrusted power for private gain, either for the person(s) engaged in the action or a third person who unlawfully benefits from the action. In some situations the corrupt act is, so to speak, absorbed by worse criminal offences, e.g., cases of extortion, fraud, or money laundering, and will be regarded as violating the penal code rather than a political problem associated with corruption.

In other cases similar situations can be characterized differently according to the actual circumstance. If, for instance, a traffic police officer pulls over a motorbike and unlawfully asks for money, it could be both asking for bribe or extortion. An important difference here would be whether the person on the motorbike did actually violate the traffic act. If the traffic act is violated, and the police officer asks for a lower amount than the official fine, or in other ways offers the offender a softer enforcement of the law, this could be interpreted as a bribe, whereas it would be extortion if the police officer were waving down a random person and demanding money to allow

the person to continue without further prosecution. The fictional example with the traffic police officer could unfold in many different directions, including fraud. The important thing is that the interaction with the fictional traffic police officer most likely would be regarded as corruption by the surrounding society.

The two examples with the traffic police officer, which could be regarded either as **bribery or extortion**, open up opportunity for a more general discussion. In clear cut cases, where someone pays for something to happen/not to happen, it is bribery; and if someone has to pay in order to avoid something it is extortion. But in a situation where a person pays a government official to have his or her application considered, it could be both. If a person pays to get something done it would normally be bribery. But if the person is paying because the government official otherwise withholds papers - or in other ways delays or discriminates negatively - is it extortion.

Transparency International further differentiates between "according to rule" corruption and "against the rule" corruption. Facilitation payments, where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter, on the other hand, is a bribe paid to obtain services that the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing.

Embezzlement and nepotism clearly fall within the definition of corruption, and the example where a head of division employs his or her nephew instead of finding the best qualified person for the position is a case in point. However, decisions are also taken without perfect information, and in some situations hiring a person or company could be done because the decision-maker takes a decision based on existing knowledge and utilizes persons who are in his or her network. The latter example is not necessarily corruption, but the borderline is subtle.

The Grey Zones of Corruption

As showed above, corruption exists in a grey zone in different situations. If government officials (bureaucrats, teachers, health care personal, etc.) ask or expect to be paid for services that they should otherwise perform as part of their job description, this is regarded as corruption, as they use entrusted power for personal gain. But the payment could in other situations be regarded as a gift, tea money, or a user's fee rather than corruption. An explanation for giving gifts to public servants could be that their salaries are low in many developing or transition economies. While this may make the motives for accepting or asking for informal payments more understandable, it will still be corruption if it includes misuse of power for private gain. One should bear in mind that people, including poor people, have to pay a price for something which is meant to be free; it makes the processes less transparent and often socially imbalanced.

There is a huge vocabulary in Khmer with nearly fifty expressions for different types of money transfers which could be associated with corrupt practices, including extortion, bribery, financial contributions, tips or gifts, and unsolicited gifts expressing kindness (See Appendix A). The latter expressions in the appendix would however often be regarded as gifts with sincerity, often to monks or pagodas. Despite a well-developed vocabulary on corruption and a high placement on Transparency International's list of corruption there are no indications of Cambodians being more indulgent towards corruption (Nissen, 2005). The quantitative and qualitative household surveys from 2005 found that corruption is as unacceptable in Cambodia as elsewhere. The general Khmer phrase for corruption "*luk puk roaly*" is also used when talking about the inequality between rich and poor, linking corrupt practice to inequality. It is therefore important to stress that despite a

high level of corruption in Cambodia there is nothing culturally acceptable about corruption in the country.

However, institutionalized payments to patrons to maintain good relations are common in Cambodia, but would be regarded as gifts. An employee could, for instance, be expected to pay the bill at a café for his or her superior. This could be characterized as “gift-giving without sincerity.” In contrast to this there would be “gift-giving with sincerity,” which would be given for example to the poor or to monks, a practice which is also institutionalized in Cambodia.

One distinction between corruption and gifts (with or without sincerity) is reciprocity - if the giver can expect to receive something in return. While this distinction is easy to apply in an analysis, it overlooks nuances that in many cases could be important. Gift-giving to people with whom one has no personal relationship should be seen as a more complex process where the gifts on the one hand can be given without expectations of a concrete *quid pro quo*, but on the other hand without *sincerity*. Gifts can be given with a view to reduce uncertainty, where the receiving part is expected to exercise his or her power in a way that will benefit the giver in unforeseen situations. Or it could be given because it is institutionalized (as the employee who pays the bill for a superior) and it would be regarded as offensive or unacceptable not to pay, which could lead to some kind of retaliation.

As corruption presumably is regarded as socially unacceptable, both payers and receivers may develop a more acceptable discourse for the practice such as “gifts.” The relationship will be based on asymmetrical power relations and patrons, politicians, employers, or civil servants who receive gifts for services that are normally included in their responsibilities are basically abusing entrusted power. This form of “gift-giving” might not be understood fully as misuse of power, or by the receiving part as exercising power, when the practice is standardized or habitual. Nissen (2005) argues that “the distinction between ‘gift-giving with sincerity’ and ‘gift-giving without sincerity’ illustrates that the vocabulary of gift-giving has moral overtones and that to a large extent the latter has taken over as vocabulary for a local corrupt practice.” The term gift-giving is often used when money is paid to someone whom the paying part knows beforehand and it is not associated with a direct exchange of services.

	Gift-giving with sincerity	Gift-giving without sincerity	Corruption	Extortion
Secret	No	Yes/no	Yes	Yes
Arrangement	Social reciprocity	Calculated reciprocity	Clear deal Exchange	Pressure
Exchanged	Money, favor, food, etc. (low value)	Money, favor, food, etc. (low value)	Money, sex, equipment (high value)	Money, sex, equipment (high value)
Socially approved	Yes	To some extent	None	None
Middlemen	No	Very occasionally	Sometimes	Sometimes
Moral evolution	Individual	Individual	Morally wrong	Morally wrong
Relation to taker	Mostly known beforehand	Mostly known beforehand (occasionally not)	Sometimes know beforehand	Do not know beforehand
Taker	Pagoda, Wat, poor, old	Civil servant, local patrons	Civil servant. political party	Civil servant. political party

Table 30 – Gift-giving and extortion²³

Nissen (2005) suggests that it is the social dynamic between the payer and receiver that is the determining factor when distinguishing between corruption and gifts. Hence corruption begins in the area where the payment is secret, lacks social approval, and where middlemen are involved. However, we do not have a clear-cut definition that cuts across the blurred boundary between corruption and gift-giving, but gift-giving without sincerity can be regarded as corruption.

Public vs. Private Corruption

By adopting Transparency International's broad definition instead of OECD's, which basically talks about use of public office for private gain, corrupt practices in the private sector are included in the research. As corruption is often associated with the public sector, the differences will shortly be elaborated.

Even though there are no comparable statistics on private and public corruption, it is assumed that public corruption is a relatively larger problem compared to private corruption. This assumption is based on the legal dimension of the mission of some public duties, where civil servants or politicians enter into gatekeeper positions, which may very well be breeding corrupt behavior. Also, it is often impossible to find substitutes for public services, permissions, or political decisions, and civil servants or politicians operate in a monopolistic "market" and could take illegal advantages from this. Goel and Nelson (2010) work with a rational choice model for corruption where costs

²³ The outline is based on interviews with more than 60 respondents in Cambodia. Source: Nissen, 2005

and benefits, together with the role of government and the socio-cultural environment, affect the level of corruption in a country. Gate-keeping in a monopolistic situation would normally bring about higher benefits and hence explains possible higher corrupt practice among civil servants and politicians.

When corruption in the public sector is often singled out, this could be explained by the intense political focus on the public sector, whereas corrupt practices in the private sector are considered a problem first and foremost between the parties directly involved. Only if it affects the public arena, or has to be solved by the legal system, does it attract general attention. In the US and Europe, huge cooperate scandals where top management have cooked the books are examples of private corruption, but they have been considered criminal offences. If two persons from different companies agree to a secret commission when the first person buys something in the other person's company, this is also corruption, but even if it is discovered, it will not necessarily be known by the public or even by the legal system.

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e not?

It would serve an analytical purpose to distinguish further between different forms of public corruption. Bardhan (2005) mentions two general kinds of public corruption: bureaucratic corruption and political corruption. Naturally, the two levels are often interlocked as policy is dependent on bureaucratic execution and vice versa. Besides the fact that it will normally imply that the receiver is a politician or politically-appointed civil servant, political corruption would be trying to influence the rules/legislation or one-off decisions such large public procurement contracts or licenses. This is a situation between "according to rule" and "against the rule" corruption. Transparency International's definition, which was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, could therefore be expanded to include political corruption as "influencing the rule" corruption.

Gains from this type of corruption can be very big, e.g. a license to drill for oil or a contract for billions of dollars, which normally would make the "price" rise. Therefore it is only the most resourceful companies or persons who can engage in this type of corruption. Political corruption becomes more difficult in societies with a high level of transparency and political competition. This is also to say that well-functioning democracies are expected to have less political corruption than societies with lack of transparency and an undeveloped democracy. This might, however, be different according to the political culture in the country - if the political elite are centered on a specific ideological or national project, this may reduce corruption.

Bureaucratic corruption can take different forms, from being close to what was described as political corruption, to "petty corruption," where a civil servant asks or expects to be paid a small amount for various reasons. Bureaucratic corruption is often "against the rule corruption," and is concentrated around either inadequate implementation of the law or extortion, or it can be "according to the rule corruption," where people have to pay speed money or pay for receiving special treatment in cases of conflict. Bureaucratic corruption can be prevalent in most levels of society and can affect the poor as well as the wealthy. In most situations bureaucratic corruption influences the livelihood of ordinary people much more than political corruption.

Corrupt practices can also differ according to geography, as argued in the previous chapter. Political corruption is often associated with "central corruption" as decision makers and the political elite are physically located in the national capital or regional centre. Bureaucratic corruption can be both central or de-centralized, as it takes place on very different levels within the political system.

Indirect and Direct Effects of Corruption on Households

Direct effects from corrupt behavior include all sorts of transfers of money, goods and services (including sexual favors) from a person or household to a public or private agent. By inquiring about and analyzing perceptions, attitudes and impact of every day forms of corruption, direct effects of corruption are in focus.

In the literature described earlier there is (among other things) a focus on economic growth and political institutions. An important indirect effect of corruption may be reduced economic growth and weakened state capacity. While this of course is of huge importance for countries and citizens, the current report will only pay attention to indirect effects of corruption to a small extent.

Appendix C – Vocabulary

Types	Khmer terms	English meaning	Notes
Extortion	Luy keng pravanh	Exploitation money	
	Luy keapsangkat	Money paid under pressure / forced payment	
	Luy hot cheam reastr	Money from sucking peoples blood	
	Luy lob lun	Money from ambition/greed	
	Luy Bokpras	Money cheated out of someone	
Corruption	Luy puk roaluy	Corrupt/spoiled money	
	Luk rok krao	Money outside one's salary	
	Luy ngonget	Dark money	
	Luy kraom tok	Money under the table	
	Luy luocleak	Money paid secretly	
	Luy min sucaret / tuccaret	Dishonest money	
	Luy kraocbab / min srabcbab	Money outside the law	
	Luy khubkhitnea	Money agreed upon for an illegal action	
	Luy kec pun	Money to evade taxation	
	Kuy pak puok	Money shared among a clique	
Bribery	Luy (sisamnok) sok pan	Money to persuade an official to do something	Payment explicitly initiated by the giver
	Kuy tinh toeckcet	Money to buy someone	
	Luy socket	Money to buy a favor	
Payments to arrange service provision	Luy roatkaa	Money to process the paper	General payment of service involving different officials. either by self. or through an intermediary official
	Luy tinh kaangea	Money to process the paper	General idem
	Luy camnayphlovkat	Short-cut money / money to speed up procedures	Specifically referring to quickening the procedure
	Luy thvieu ouy sevakarngae	Money to speed up procedures	Specifically referring to quickening the

			procedure
	Luy camnay knong kaa tumneak tum noang	Money to establish a relationship	
Payment to encourage service provision	Luy loek toek cet / Luong (lom) cet	Money to encourage an official to do his job	
	Luy yok cet ke	Money to please someone	
	Luy cun cea rungvoan	Prize money	
Tips after service	Luy toek tae	Tea money	
	Luy toek beer	Beer money	
	Luy tlay tuk bic	Ink money	Specific for clerks in office
Gifts after service	Luy sakun	Payment out of gratefulness for service received	
	Luy kunbarnnac	Payment out of gratefulness for service received	
	Luy deng kun	Payment out of gratefulness for service received	
	Luy arkun	Payment out of gratefulness for service received	
	Luy tobkun	Payment out of gratefulness for service received	
Financial contributions	Luy vipeak'tean	Contribution. e.g. local project	Part of total
	Luy banthaem	Additional payment to please the poorly salaried	
	Luy bamphenh karkhvakhaat	Financial support. e.g. to school for underpaid staff	Part of total costs
	Luy bampan	Money to feed someone / assistance	
	Luy cumnuoy	Money to feed someone / assistance	
	Luy chamnay upaktham	Financial support	May be in part or full
	Luy amnoy	Donation	
	Luy cuy sangkruoh	Donation	Specific for times of emergency
Unsolicited gifts expressing kindness	Luy sandan'cet	Unsolicited payment from the heart	Not only financial but also psychological support
	Luy sobboros	Charity Money	
	Luy metathoa	Compassion money	
	Luy monusthoa	Humanity money	
	Luy monosanhetanaa	Unsolicited payment from the heart	Not only financial but also psychological support

Source: (Nissen, 2005)

Appendix D – Questionnaire

Q1a Classification of the commune (score by enumerator):

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Urban	333	16.4
2	Semi-urban	333	16.4
3	Accessible rural	877	43.2
4	Rural	488	24.0
Total		2031	100

Q1b Classification of village:

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Urban	667	32.8
2	Rural	1364	67.2
Total		2031	100.0

II. Ice Breakers

Q2-Q11: Which is the three most serious problems currently facing Cambodia?

First, the count of the most serious problem is given:

Problem	Most serious
Q2 High cost of living	897 (44.2%)
Q3 Bad roads	243 (12.0%)
Q4 Personal safety concerns	83 (4.1%)
Q5 Political instability	19 (0.9%)
Q6 Corruption	280 (13.8%)
Q7 Access to quality education	32 (1.6%)
Q8 Access to quality health care	43 (2.1%)
Q9 Drugs	275 (13.5%)
Q10 Illegal immigration	39 (1.9%)
Q11 Land conflicts	120 (5.9%)

These are now ranked by a system where a score of 1 has a weight of 3, score 2 weighs 2, and score 3 weighs 1.

Rank	Problem	Score
1	Q2 High cost of living	3473
2	Q6 Corruption	2034
3	Q9 Drugs	1739

4	Q3 Bad roads	1673
5	Q11 Land conflicts	950
6	Q4 Personal safety concerns	888
7	Q10 Illegal immigration	833
8	Q8 Access to quality health care	507
9	Q7 Access to quality education	318
10	Q5 Political instability	207

III. Quality of services

Q12-Q27 We would like to ask you about the quality of various service providers. Do you think the overall quality of the services is VERY GOOD, GOOD, NEITHER GOOD NOR POOR, POOR OR VERY POOR?

	<i>Very good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Neither good nor poor</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Very poor</i>	<i>Do not know</i>
<i>Q12 Public health providers</i>	152 (8%)	850 (42%)	681 (34%)	285 (14%)	58 (3%)	5 (0.2%)
<i>Q13 Private health providers</i>	107 (5%)	911 (45%)	729 (36%)	228 (11%)	43 (2%)	13 (0.6%)
<i>Q14 Public educational institutions</i>	181 (9%)	1010 (50%)	515 (25%)	282 (14%)	42 (2%)	1 (0.0%)
<i>Q15 Private educational institutions</i>	95 (5%)	844 (42%)	753 (37%)	105 (5%)	17 (1%)	217 (11%)
<i>Q16 Public registry</i>	221 (11%)	963 (47%)	581 (29%)	217 (11%)	42 (2%)	7 (0.3%)
<i>Q17 Business licensing</i>	106 (5%)	463 (23%)	1059 (52%)	145 (7%)	19 (1%)	239 (12%)
<i>Q18 Land administration</i>	125 (6%)	573 (28%)	887 (44%)	288 (14%)	47 (2%)	111 (6%)
<i>Q19 Construction permit</i>	122 (6%)	566 (28%)	1065 (52%)	121 (6%)	17 (1%)	140 (7%)
<i>Q20 Traffic police</i>	56 (3%)	562 (28%)	686 (34%)	561 (28%)	125 (6%)	41 (2%)
<i>Q21 Police excl. traffic police</i>	44 (2%)	692 (34%)	775 (38%)	428 (21%)	69 (3%)	23 (1%)
<i>Q22 Customs authority</i>	24 (1%)	289 (14%)	808 (40%)	410 (20%)	99 (5%)	401 (20%)
<i>Q23 Tax authority</i>	32 (2%)	460 (23%)	983 (48%)	378 (19%)	70 (3%)	108 (5%)
<i>Q24 Judge/ courts</i>	41 (2%)	340 (17%)	693 (34%)	578 (29%)	225 (11%)	154 (8%)
<i>Q25 Water services</i>	77 (4%)	570 (28%)	598 (29%)	119 (6%)	33 (2%)	634 (31%)
<i>Q26 Public electricity services</i>	57 (3%)	576 (28%)	603 (30%)	153 (8%)	39 (2%)	603 (30%)
<i>Q27 Private electricity services</i>	15 (0.7%)	382 (19%)	675 (33%)	245 (12%)	66 (3%)	648 (32%)

IV. Nature of the problem: Vocabulary and evaluation

Q28-Q35 Can you tell me how acceptable you think the described behaviour is? VERY ACCEPTABLE, ACCEPTABLE, NEITHER ACCEPTABLE NOR UNACCEPTABLE, UNACCEPTABLE OR VERY UNACCEPTABLE.

	Very acceptable	Acceptable	Neither acceptable nor unacceptable	Unacceptable	Very unacceptable	Do not know
Q. 28 To avoid having to visit the police station and pay a full fine, a traffic offender offer to pay 5.000 Riel directly to a traffic policeman. The policeman did not ask for the money, but accepted it. Is the behavior of the traffic offender ...	23 (1%)	297 (15%)	316 (16%)	1075 (53%)	318 (16%)	2 (0.1%)
Q. 29 A person visits a government office, and receives good assistance from the officer in charge. When the matter is concluded, he offers 10.000 Riel which the government official accepts. Is the behavior of the government officer ...	38 (2%)	473 (23%)	511 (25%)	804 (40%)	205 (10%)	0 (0%)
Q. 30 A person needs some service from a government department. The officer in charge deliberately takes his time. The person gives the officer money (4.000 - 20.000 Riel) to speed up the work and to reward the officer for his efforts. Is the behavior of the person	16 (0.8%)	254 (13%)	455 (22%)	955 (47%)	350 (17%)	1 (0%)
Q. 31 A government official takes paper and pencils from the office to use at home. Is the behavior of the governmental official ...	5 (0.2%)	60 (3%)	273 (13%)	1091 (54%)	600 (30%)	2 (0.1%)
Q. 32 A person is promoted because he is the relative or protégé of a senior government officer. Is the behavior of the senior government officer ...	13 (0.6%)	117 (6%)	242 (12%)	906 (45%)	751 (37%)	2 (0.1%)
Q. 33 An official pays money to get promotion. Is the behavior of the official ...	6 (0.3%)	37 (2%)	155 (8%)	841 (41%)	991 (49%)	1 (0%)
Q. 34 The court decides not to prosecute an offender because he comes from an influential family. Is the behavior of the court ...	3 (0.1%)	24 (1%)	70 (3%)	649 (32%)	1284 (63%)	1 (0%)
Q. 35 A political party offers to pay money if you vote for them in the next election. Is the behavior of the party...	6 (0.3%)	50 (3%)	276 (14%)	877 (43%)	819 (40%)	3 (0.1%)

V. Income and expenditure

Q 36 Please estimate your average total monthly monetary HOUSEHOLD INCOME during the past twelve months, including remittances from family members living outside the household economy (Open ended)

Q 37 Do family members living outside the household contribute to the household economy (other than small gifts)?

	Frequency	Percentage
No	1437	71
Yes to some degree	534	26
Yes to high degree	60	3
Do not know	0	0

Q38 Does your household contributes to the livelihood of family members living outside the household (other than small gifts)?

	Frequency	Percentage
No	1389	68
Yes to some degree	618	30
Yes to high degree	24	1
Do not know	0	0

Q39-Q82 Common property resources gathering and home produce for family consumption. WE ARE NOW GOING TO ASK YOU ABOUT THE CROPS YOUR HOUSEHOLD PRODUCED, ANIMALS YOU RAISED. NFTP THAT YOU COLLECTED AND NON-COMMERCIAL FISHING for household consumption only

How much did you collect during the last twelve months?

Out of this how much did the household consume during the last twelve months?

What expenditure did you have incur to produce this

(Open ended)

Item Description	From Where	Yearly Production (1)	Yearly own Consumption (2)	Value of Consumption (3)	Input Costs (4)
Q. 39-42 Vegetable/fruits	Forest				
Q. 43-46 Wild life	Forest				
Q. 47-50 House construction materials	Forest				
Q. 51-54 Resin	Forest				
Q. 55-58 Rice	Home				
Q. 59-62 Maize, beans, or other crops	Home				
Q. 63-66 Vegetable/fruits	Home				
Q. 67-70 Chicken/duck	Home				
Q. 71-74 Pig/Cow	Home				
Q. 75-78 Fish	Sea/River/lake				
Q. 79-82 Rattan/Bamboo/Fire wood	Forrest				

Q83-Q90 How much did your Household spend on the following food items in the PAST 7 DAYS? (Open ended)

Q.	Expenditure Items	Value in Riel
83	Rice and other staples like maize, noodles, snacks, etc	
84	Meat	
85	Fish	
86	Vegetables and fruits	
87	Cooking ingredients. spices. oils. sauces	
88	Tobacco products	
89	Beverages. incl. tea. coffee	
90	Other food products	

Q91-Q226 How much did your household spend on non-food items in the past 12 months? (Open ended)

Q.	Expenditure Items	Official fees (1)	Unofficial costs replacing official fees. but not more expensive (2)	Gifts (3)	Unofficial fees. bribes beyond what something should cost (4)	Total Cost 1+2+3+4 (5)	Number of contacts per year (6)	Number of contacts where bribes or gifts are solicited (7)
91-97	Public electricity service							
98-105	Private electricity service							
106-113	Education (regular expenses: pay for extra courses. various fees. eating at school....) PUBLIC							
114-121	Education (regular expenses: pay for extra courses. various fees. eating at school....) PRIVATE							
122-129	Education (Occasional expenses: admission. examination.....) PUBLIC							
130-137	Education (Occasional expenses: admission. examination.....) PRIVATE							
138-145	Health care/treatment/fee/medicine PUBLIC							
146-153	Health care/treatment/fee/medicine PRIVATE							
154-161	Public registry (Birth & Marriage certificate. Civil reg.. ID. Passport...)							
162-169	Business licensing							
170-177	Land administration							
178-185	Construction permit							
186-193	Traffic police							
194-201	Police excluding traffic police							
202-209	Customs authority							
210-	Judge/Courts							

VI. Mechanics of corruption

Q227 What cases occurs when someone makes a gift to an official?

	Frequency	Percentage
The official asks for the gift	713	35.1%
The household offers the gift of its own accord	1525	75.1%
It is known beforehand how to give and how much to give	521	25.7%
There is a middle man	395	19.4%
Do not know	8	0.4%
Total	3162	155.7%

Q228 What cases occurs when someone bribes an official?

	Frequency	Percentage
The official asks for the gift	982	48.4%
The household offers the gift of its own accord	1265	62.3%
It is known beforehand how to give and how much to give	574	28.3%
There is a middle man	587	28.9%
Do not know	9	0.4%
Total	3417	168.2%

Q229 If someone offers a bribe to obtain a service or to solve a problem. how certain is the delivery of the service or the resolution of the problem after the bribe has been given?

	Frequency	Percentage
Completely certain	273	13.4%
Somewhat certain	995	49.0%
Neither certain nor uncertain	306	15.1%
Somewhat uncertain	300	14.8%
Completely uncertain	138	6.8%
Do not know	19	0.9%
Total	2031	100.0%

VII. General attitudes and opinions regarding corruption

Q230-Q245 How do you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following? (random order)

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Do not know
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Q230 Corruption is a fact of life. it is the normal way of doing things	82 (4%)	533 (26%)	489 (24%)	639 (32%)	287 (14%)	1 (0%)
Q231 You can't call something corruption if everyone is doing it	66 (3%)	602 (30%)	484 (24%)	663 (33%)	210 (10%)	6 (0.3%)
Q232 Corruption gives better service	256 (13%)	858 (42%)	269 (13%)	360 (17%)	284 (14%)	4 (0.2%)
Q233 When people get a small salary it is OK for them to ask for bribes	76 (4%)	519 (26%)	637 (31%)	611 (30%)	187 (9%)	1 0.0%
Q234 Female officials ask for bribes less often than male officials or ask for lower amounts	159 (8%)	1004 (49%)	326 (16%)	412 (20%)	120 (6%)	10 (0.5%)
Q235 Taking a big amount of money is more corrupt than taking a small amount of money	175 (9%)	598 (29%)	349 (17%)	533 (26%)	376 (19%)	0 (0.0%)
Q236 The amount paid depends on whether the person is poor or rich	156 (8%)	663 (33%)	633 (31%)	458 (23%)	117 (6%)	4 (0.2%)
Q237 Kinship and friend reduces the amount of a bribe necessary to get something done	286 (14%)	993 (49%)	399 (20%)	270 (13%)	79 (4%)	4 (0.2%)
Q238 If I had the opportunity to take bribes I would accept them to support my family	194 (10%)	669 (33%)	524 (26%)	418 (21%)	223 (11%)	3 (0.1%)
Q239 When people get a small salary it is OK for them to ask for some tea money	89 (4%)	537 (26%)	736 (36%)	539 (27%)	126 (6%)	4 (0%)
Q240 Women are normally asked for higher bribes than men	99 (5%)	421 (21%)	308 (15%)	941 (46%)	252 (12%)	10 (0.5%)
Q241 Paying official fees and following official procedures costs very much time	199 (10%)	760 (37%)	547 (27%)	402 (20%)	118 (6%)	5 (0.2%)
Q242 The government has a sincere desire and will to combat corruption	523 (26%)	868 (43%)	268 (13%)	268 (13%)	99 (5%)	5 (0.2%)
Q243 When I pay an official a bribe I am only bothered when I cannot negotiate the amount down to a reasonable level	207 (10%)	889 (44%)	569 (28%)	282 (14%)	81 (4%)	3 (0.1%)
Q244 When the household has to pay a bribe it is mostly a female member of the HH who deals with it	319 (16%)	851 (42%)	410 (20%)	364 (18%)	84 (4%)	3 (0.1%)
Q245 Corruption is a problem in a Cambodia	983 (48%)	732 (36%)	176 (8%)	80 (4%)	58 (3%)	2 (0.1%)

VIII. Perceptions of institutional integrity

Q246-Q267 I would like to ask you about the integrity of various institutions. Please if you think each of the following is VERY HONEST. HONEST. NEITHER HONEST NOR DISHONEST, SOMEWHAT DISHONEST OR VERY DISHONEST (Random order)

	<i>Very honest</i>	<i>Somewhat honest</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Somewhat dishonest</i>	<i>Strongly dishonest</i>	<i>Do not know</i>
Q246 National Election Commission	493 (24%)	922 (45%)	307 (15%)	231 (11%)	55 (3%)	23 (1%)
Q247 Central Government.	203 (10%)	887 (44%)	530 (26%)	315 (16%)	53 (3%)	43 (2%)
Q248 Political parties	80 (4%)	474 (23%)	708 (35%)	632 (31%)	105 (5%)	32 (2%)
Q249 Provincial and District administration	111 (5%)	676 (33%)	695 (34%)	462 (23%)	69 (3%)	18 (0.9%)
Q250 Commune administration	174 (9%)	745 (37%)	602 (30%)	413 (20%)	92 (5%)	5 (0.2%)
Q251 Village chief	387 (19%)	846 (42%)	403 (20%)	294 (14%)	98 (5%)	3 (0.1%)
Q252 Tax authority	52 (3%)	501 (25%)	722 (36%)	525 (26%)	114 (6%)	117 (6%)
Q253 Customs authority	22 (1%)	288 (14%)	612 (30%)	550 (27%)	237 (12%)	322 (16%)
Q254 Traffic police	49 (2%)	385 (19%)	567 (28%)	743 (37%)	261 (13%)	26 (1%)
Q255 Police excluding traffic police	68 (3%)	551 (27%)	655 (32%)	578 (28%)	165 (8%)	14 (0.7%)
Q256 The military	707 (35%)	761 (37%)	378 (19%)	118 (6%)	31 (2%)	36 (2%)
Q257 Judge/court	87 (4%)	303 (15%)	442 (22%)	676 (33%)	433 (21%)	90 (4%)
Q258 Electricity provider	134 (7%)	657 (32%)	565 (28%)	155 (8%)	41 (2%)	479 (24%)
Q259 Water service provider	162 (8%)	630 (31%)	591 (29%)	76 (4%)	17 (0.8%)	555 (27%)
Q260 Public educational institutions	380 (19%)	1049 (52%)	304 (15%)	248 (12%)	46 (2%)	4 (0.2%)
Q261 Private educational institutions	231 (11%)	946 (47%)	562 (28%)	98 (5%)	19 (0.9%)	175 (9%)
Q262 Public hospitals and health clinics	292 (14%)	909 (45%)	413 (20%)	315 (16%)	96 (5%)	6 (0.3%)
Q263 Private hospitals and health clinics	178 (9%)	910 (45%)	639 (31%)	230 (11%)	61 (3%)	13 (0.6%)
Q265 Media (Radio, TV, Newspapers)	219 (11%)	730 (36%)	745 (37%)	274 (13%)	37 (2%)	26 (1%)

Q266 NGOs	492 (24%)	954 (47%)	417 (21%)	83 (4%)	18 (0.9%)	67 (3%)
Q267 Your local pagoda	844 (42%)	754 (37%)	292 (14%)	115 (6%)	13 (0.6%)	13 (0.6%)

Q268-Q288 Can you tell me which institutions you consider to be the MOST DISHONEST. SECOND MOST DISHONEST. AND THE THIRD MOST DISHONEST' (If the respondent do not experience corruption skip to Q289).

			Most dishonest institution	Second most dishonest institution	Third most dishonest institution
Q268	National Election Commission		75 (4%)	37 (2%)	41 (2%)
Q269	Central Government		78 (4%)	56 (3%)	64 (3%)
Q270	Political parties		229 (11%)	191 (9%)	182 (9%)
Q271	Provincial and District administration		70 (3%)	94 (5%)	128 (6%)
Q272	Commune administration		76 (4%)	101 (5%)	123 (6%)
Q273	Village chief		66 (3%)	87 (4%)	81 (4%)
Q274	Tax authority		108 (5%)	141 (7%)	136 (7%)
Q275	Customs authority		206 (10%)	224 (11%)	169 (8%)
Q276	Traffic police		252 (12%)	314 (16%)	249 (12%)
Q277	Police excluding traffic police		104 (5%)	172 (9%)	178 (9%)
Q278	The military		19 (0.9%)	20 (1%)	30 (1%)
Q279	Judge/court		457 (23%)	271 (13%)	230 (11%)
Q280	Electricity provider		32 (2%)	43 (2%)	30 (1%)
Q281	Water service provider		10 (0.5%)	10 (0.5%)	6 (0.3%)
Q282	Public educational institutions		43 (2%)	48 (2%)	53 (3%)
Q283	Private educational institutions		11 (0.5%)	19 (0.9%)	25 (1%)
Q284	Public hospitals and health clinics		74 (4%)	79 (4%)	102 (5%)
Q285	Private hospitals and health clinics		46 (2%)	45 (2%)	62 (3%)
Q286	Media (Radio. TV. Newspapers)		40 (2%)	51 (3%)	89 (4%)
Q287	NGOs		10 (0.5%)	6 (0.3%)	21 (1%)
Q288	Your local pagoda		12 (0.6%)	9 (0.4%)	19 (0.9%)

In order to see which is the most corrupt the following scores/weights where assigned. "Most dishonest institution" weighs 3. "Second most dishonest institutions" weighs 2. and "Third most dishonest institution" weighs 1. With these weights the following table shows the combined most dishonest institutions.

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Question	Institution	Score (by weights)
Q279	Judge/court	2143
Q276	Traffic police	1633
Q270	Political parties	1251
Q275	Customs authority	1235
Q277	Police excluding traffic police	834
Q274	Tax authority	742
Q272	Commune administration	553
Q271	Provincial and District administration	526
Q284	Public hospitals and health clinics	482
Q273	Village chief	453
Q269	Central Government	410
Q268	National Election Commission	340
Q286	Media (Radio, TV, Newspapers)	311
Q285	Private hospitals and health clinics	290
Q282	Public educational institutions	278
Q280	Electricity provider	212
Q278	The military	127
Q283	Private educational institutions	96
Q288	Your local pagoda	73
Q287	NGOs	63
Q281	Water service provider	56

Q289 Do you know if there is an anti-corruption law in Cambodia?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1562	76.9
2	No	339	16.7
3	Do not know	130	6.4
Total		2031	100.0

Q290 Are you aware about the official Anti-corruption Unit in Cambodia?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1453	71.5
2	No	496	24.4
3	Do not know	82	4.0
Total		2031	100.0

Q291 If there were an official system where you could report corruption anonymously, would you have confidence in using such a system?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1132	55.7
2	No	835	41.1
3	Do not know	64	3.2
Total		2031	100.0

Q292 What do you think is the most important institutions for the Anti-corruption Unit to work on for the next two years? Which one is the most important, second and third most important?

	Most important	Second most important	Third most important
Office of Council of ministers	178 (9%)	51 (3%)	40 (2%)
Political parties	252 (12%)	162 (8%)	142 (7%)
National Assembly	85 (4%)	117 (6%)	80 (4%)
Central government and administration	147 (7%)	124 (6%)	114 (6%)
Provincial administration	40 (2%)	71 (3%)	82 (4%)
District administration	64 (3%)	96 (5%)	95 (5%)
Commune administration	100 (5%)	130 (6%)	137 (7%)
Village Chief	117 (6%)	89 (4%)	72 (4%)
Tax Authority	75 (4%)	83 (4%)	101 (5%)
Customs authority	94 (5%)	123 (6%)	124 (6%)
Traffic police	147 (7%)	218 (11%)	161 (8%)
Police excl. traffic police	61 (3%)	140 (7%)	140 (7%)
The military	20 (1%)	27 (1%)	26 (1%)
Judge/court	289 (14%)	226 (11%)	259 (13%)
Electricity provider	20 (1%)	31 (2%)	27 (1%)
Water service provider	12 (0.6%)	8 (0.4%)	10 (0.5%)
Public school	47 (2%)	72 (4%)	66 (3%)
Private schools	13 (0.6%)	12 (0.6%)	17 (0.8%)
Public hospitals	124 (6%)	93 (5%)	94 (5%)
Private hospitals	26 (1%)	32 (2%)	30 (1%)
Media (Radio TV Newspapers)	52 (3%)	43 (2%)	74 (4%)
NGOs	18 (0.9%)	24 (1%)	26 (1%)
Your local pagoda	16 (0.8%)	12 (0.6%)	22 (1%)
Senate	11 (0.5%)	28 (1%)	40 (2%)
National Election Commission	23 (1%)	19 (0.9%)	52 (3%)
Total	2031 (100)	2031 (100)	2031 (100)

Again the answers were weighed such that “Most important” weighs 3. “Second most important” weighs 2, and “third most important” weighs 1.

Rank	Institution	Score (by weights)
1	Judge/court	1581
2	Political parties	1216
3	Traffic police	1038

4	Central govn. and adm.	803
5	Commune adm	697
6	Office council of ministers	676
7	Customs authority	652
8	Public hospitals	650
9	Police excl traffic police	603
10	Village chief	601
11	National Assembly	563
12	Tax authority	492
13	District adm	466
14	Public school	351
15	Provincial adm.	344
16	Media	316
17	National Election Commision	159
18	Electricity provider	149
19	Military	140
20	Senate	129
21	NGOs	128
22	Local pagoda	94
23	Private hospitals	78
24	Private school	77
25	Water service provider	62

IX. Opinions regarding priorities in the fight against corruption

Q293 If you were in a position of authority and you could do something about corruption in Cambodia, which corruption/ corruption in which sector would you target FIRST, and which NEXT (etc...)?

	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6
Political parties	503 (25%)	341 (17%)	316 (16%)	361 (18%)	270 (13%)	239 (12%)
Public officials / civil servants	417 (21%)	415 (20%)	376 (19%)	396 (20%)	266 (13%)	160 (8%)
Parliament / legislature	163 (8%)	369 (18%)	382 (19%)	367 (18%)	387 (19%)	362 (18%)
Business / private sector	171 (8%)	279 (14%)	293 (14%)	302 (15%)	477 (23%)	508 (25%)
Judiciary	554 (27%)	388 (19%)	360 (18%)	274 (13%)	245 (12%)	209 (10%)
Media	222 (11%)	238 (12%)	303 (15%)	330 (16%)	385 (19%)	552 (27%)
Total	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)

Q294 If you were in a position of authority and you could do something about corruption in Cambodia, what action would you take FIRST, and what would you do NEXT (etc...)?

	Rank 1	Rank 2	Rank 3	Rank 4	Rank 5	Rank 6	Rank 7	Rank 8
Dismissal of corrupt officials from position	545 (27%)	420 (21%)	268 (13%)	228 (11%)	187 (9%)	148 (7%)	126 (6%)	108 (5%)
Law enforcement	844 (42%)	366 (18%)	204 (10%)	146 (7%)	157 (8%)	124 (6%)	105 (5%)	84 (4%)
Changing of corrupt people's positions	152 (7%)	357 (18%)	370 (18%)	303 (15%)	252 (12%)	262 (13%)	186 (9%)	148 (7%)
Provision of high salary for civil servants	75 (4%)	195 (10%)	322 (16%)	315 (16%)	282 (14%)	301 (15%)	302 (15%)	238 (12%)
Changing of leadership in the government	70 (3%)	184 (9%)	270 (13%)	335 (17%)	314 (15%)	279 (14%)	333 (16%)	245 (12%)
Declaration of assets by senior government officials and politicians	44 (2%)	52 (3%)	110 (5%)	173 (9%)	200 (10%)	293 (14%)	417 (21%)	741 (37%)
Reform of the judiciary system	113 (6%)	269 (13%)	249 (12%)	300 (15%)	345 (17%)	292 (14%)	292 (14%)	170 (8%)
Sentencing corrupt people to imprisonment	187 (9%)	187 (9%)	237 (12%)	230 (11%)	293 (14%)	331 (16%)	269 (13%)	296 (15%)
Total	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)	2030 (100%)

Q295 How would you assess your current Government's actions in the fight against corruption

	Frequency	Percentage
1 Very effective	132	6.5
2 Somewhat effective	1085	53.4
3 Neither effective nor ineffective	239	11.8
4 Somewhat ineffective	316	15.6
5 Very ineffective	187	9.2
6 Do not know	72	3.5
Total	2031	100

X. Household information

Q296-Q435 Now I want to ask you some questions about your household (Open ended)

Relation ship to household head (01)	Sex M=1 F=2 (02)	Age in completed years (Less than 1 year code 0)	Marital Status (04)	Is line number currently in school? Public School = 1 Private school = 2 No = 3 (05)	Highest level of general education (06)	Economically Active (7)	Primary Occupation (8)	Secondary Occupation (9)	Eligibility status Circle line of interviewed person (aged 18 to 60) (10)
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296-305
306-315
316-325
326-335
336-345
346-355
356-365
366-375
376-385
386-395
396-405
406-415
416-425
426-435

Codes for 1	Codes for 2	Codes for 3	Codes for 4	Codes for 5-9	Codes for 10-14
Head=1	Currently married=1	Primary not completed=1	Disabled=1	Managers government (higher civil servant)=1	Own farm work (cultivating crops, raising animals, fish culture) =14
Wife or husband=2	Separated=2	Primary completed=2	Too old/young/infirm/retired=2	Managers private sector=2	Farm work for others=15
Son or daughter=3	Widowed=3	Lower secondary not complete=3	Only Study=3	Professional/technical government=3	Fisherman=16
Son-in-law or daughter-in-law=4	Divorced=4	Lower secondary completed=4	Study and work=4	Professional/technical private sector=4	Common property resource gathering=17
Grandchildren=5	Never married=5	Higher secondary not completed=5	Only housekeeping=5	Clerical/Administrative (office workers government)=5	Charcoal making, resin gathering, palm juice/sugar making=18
Parents=6		Higher secondary completed=6	Wanting to work but unemployed=6	Clerical/Administrative (office workers private sector)=6	Entrepreneurs with less than 10 employees=19
Parents-in-law=7		Professional diploma=7	Working but underemployed=7	Non-agricultural skilled (sewing, electrician, carpenter, construction, welding, tool-making, crafts)=7	Entrepreneurs with 10 or more employees=20
Brother/sister=8		Bachelor Degree=8	Working fulltime=8	Worker in hotel/restaurant/casino/shop)=8	Small business (grocery, repair shop, barber shop)=21
Brother-in-law/sister-in-law=9		Master Degree=9		Worker in entertainment (singer, dancer, etc)=9	Self-employed seller in market or village (prepared food, vegetables, etc)=22
Nephew/niece=10		PhD=10		Transportation (moto-dup, roeumak, taxi)=10	Begging=23
Other relatives=11		Never gone to school=0		Non-agricultural unskilled day-labor private sector=11	Living of rentals, remittances etc =24
Adopted child/foster child=12					Other=25
Do not know=13					

XI. Health

Q436 did you or anyone else in your household use the public health care facilities during the last year?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1093	53.8
2	No	938	46.2
Total		2031	100

Q437-Q496 If yes, please tell me which member(s) of the Household did so, which health care institution, and whether they asked for gifts/bribes or your household offered gifts/money? (Open ended)

	Relationship to household head (01)	Health Care Institution (2)	They Asked Money (3)	Offered Money (3)
437-440				
441-444				
445-448				
449-452				
453-456				
457-460				
461-464				
465-468				
469-472				
473-476				
477-480				
481-484				
485-488				
489-492				
493-496				

Code for 1	Code for 2	Code for 3 & 4
Head=1	Health center	Yes=1
Wife or husband=2	District Hospitals	No=2
Son or daughter=3	University Hospitals	No Answer=3
Son-in-law or daughter-in-law=4		
Grandchildren=5		
Parents=6		
Parents- in -law=7		

Brother/sister=8
Brother-m-law/sister-m-law=9
Nephew/niece=10
Other relatives=11
Adopted child/foster child=12
Do not know=13

XII. Education

Q497 Did you or anyone else in your household enroll or study in the educational system during the last five year?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1445	71.1
2	No	586	28.9
Total		2031	100

Q498-Q557 If yes, please tell me which member(s) of the Household did so and where they studied?

	Relationship to household head (01)	Educational Institution (2)	They Asked Money (3)	Offered Money (3)
498-501				
502-505				
506-509				
510-513				
514-517				
518-521				
522-525				
526-529				
530-533				
534-537				
538-541				
542-545				
546-549				
550-553				
554-557				

Code for 1	Code for 2	Code for 3 & 4
Head=1	Pre-school=1	Yes=1

Wife or husband=2	Primary school=2	No=2
Son or daughter=3	Lower school=3	Secondary No Answer=3
Son-in-law or daughter-in-law=4	Upper School=4	Secondary
Grandchildren=5	Vocational training=5	
Parents=6	Public Education=6	Higher
Parents- in -law=7	Private Education=7	Higher
Brother/sister=8		
Brother-m-law/sister-m-law=9		
Nephew/niece=10		
Other relatives=11		
Adopted child/foster child=12		
Do not know=13		

XIII. Experience with job applications

Q558 Did you or anyone else in your household apply for a job in a government office in the last five years

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	84	4.1
2	No	1947	95.9
Total		2031	100

Q559-Q618 If yes, please tell me which member(s) of the Household did so, for what job, in which government office and whether they were asked for or offered money to gain the position?

	Relationship to household head (01)	Government Office (2)	They Asked Money (3)	Offered Money (3)
559-562				
563-566				
567-570				
571-574				
575-578				
579-582				
583-586				
587-590				
591-594				
595-598				
599-602				
603-606				
607-610				
611-614				

Code for 1	Code for 2	Code for 3 & 4
Head=1	Office of the Council of Ministers = 1	Yes=1
Wife or husband=2	Ministry of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries = 2	No=2
Son or daughter=3	Ministry of Commerce = 3	No Answer=3
Son-in-law or daughter-in-law=4	Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts = 4	
Grandchildren=5	Ministry of Economy and Finance = 5	
Parents=6	Ministry of Education Youth and Sports = 6	
Parents- in -law=7	Ministry of Environment = 7	
Brother/sister=8	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation = 8	
Brother-m-law/sister-m-law=9	Ministry of Health = 9	
Nephew/niece=10	Ministry of Industry Mines and Energy = 10	
Other relatives=11	Ministry of Information = 11	
Adopted child/foster child=12	Ministry of Interior = 12	
Do not know=13	Ministry of Justice = 13	
	Ministry of Labor and Vocational Training = 14	
	Ministry of Land Management. Urban Planning & Construction = 15	
	Ministry of National Defense = 16	
	Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and Inspection = 17	
	Ministry of Planning = 18	
	Ministry of Post and Telecommunication = 19	
	Ministry of Public Works and Transport = 20	
	Ministry of Religions and Cults = 21	
	Ministry of Rural Development = 22	
	Ministry of Social Affairs Veteran and Youth Rehabilitation = 23	
	Ministry of Tourism = 24	

Ministry of Water and Resources Meteorology = 25
Ministry of Women Affairs = 26
Municipality of Phnom Penh = 27
Secretariat of Public Service = 28
Secretariat of Civil Aviation = 29
National Information Communications Technology Development Authority (NiDA) = 30
Senate=31
Do not know = 32

Q619 Housing type

NA

Q620 Types of main fuel used for cooking

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Fired wood	1602	78.9
2	Charcoal	301	14.8
3	Kerosene	0	0.0
4	Gas	254	12.5
5	Electricity	18	0.9
6	Others	6	0.3
Total		2031	100

Q621 How would you characterize your family's socio-economic status?

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Poor	614	30.2
2	Not poor	31	1.5
3	Just on the line between poor and not poor	1386	68.2
Total		2031	100

Q622 How much would you family need for home expenses each month in order not to feel poor anymore? (Open ended)

Q623 How much would a family. of the same size as yours. which felt it was poor. need for home expenses each month in order not to feel poor anymore? (Open ended)

Q624 During the past year, did it ever happen that your family experienced hunger, without having anything to eat (i.e., involuntarily)? IF YES: Did it happen

		Frequency	Percentage
1	It never happened	1739	85.6
2	Only once	103	5.1
3	A few times	137	6.7
4	Often	47	2.3
5	Always	5	0.2
Total		2031	100

XIV. Home assets

Q625 Motorized transport

		Frequency	Percentage
1	None	661	32.5
2	2 or 3 wheels	1345	66.2
3	4 or more wheels	88	4.3
Total		2094	103.1

Q626 Television

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Yes	1395	68.7
2	No	635	31.3
Total		2030	99.95

Appendix E – List of Acronyms

CSD Centre for Social Development

DIBD Confederation of Danish Industry Business Development

HH Household

MSD Market strategy and development

NGO Non Governmental Organization

OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

USD United States dollar