National Survey on Public Attitudes Towards Corruption

Summary Report

Center for Social Development

Phnom Penh
Kingdom of Cambodia
August 1998

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Towards Corruption

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This is a publication of the Center for Social Development (CSD), Phnom Penh, Cambodia. CSD is a non-governmental organization, advocating for good governance through the institutionalization of democratic values and principles. CSD supports social equity and justice and sustainable economic development, by building citizens participation in the democratic process. CSD conducts public meetings on national issues, acts as a non-partisan and neutral forum for open and candid debates and discussions on issues of concern to society.

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Foreword

Countering corruption is essential to the future development and success of Cambodia. Until now, little has been known about public opinion regarding corruption. This report presents the first informative body of data concerning knowledge of, and attitudes toward, corruption among Cambodians from all walks of life and income levels.

The Center for Social Development (CSD), a non-governmental organization headquartered in Phnom Penh, has been working against corruption since 1994. Focusing on theoretical and legal frameworks to combat corruption, CSD activities include drafting a counter corruption law in coordination with the National Assembly Commission, drafting codes of conduct for the political parties, and election observers, and providing extensive counter-corruption public education through a monthly bulletin and regular National Issues Forums.

Most recently, CSD conducted the first scientific survey on Cambodian attitudes towards corruption. Administered in Phnom Penh, Kandal, and Takeo provinces, the survey asked 1,513 adults from 22 occupations how they felt about corruption and what they thought should be done to counter it. Some of the findings are surprising; all provide baseline information on knowledge and attitudes for future counter corruption efforts.

It is our hope that the survey results will bring the new government and Members of Parliament together with representatives of civil society to launch a nationwide, coordinated campaign against corruption. Our vision is large enough to include extensive public education at the grassroots level, as well as aim for a national counter corruption law, new administrative and regulatory policies, creation of an independent monitoring system.

In working to achieve this vision, we trust that the process itself will strengthen the ethical, intellectual and moral standards of Cambodian society.

Chea Vannath
President

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We would also like to thank the government authorities at all levels, for enabling the Center to successfully carry out its survey activities.

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Summary of Significant Findings

Some of the most dramatic findings from The Center for Social Development's Corruption Survey include:

- A high number of Cambodians believe that corruption is normal way of doing things. This is demonstrated by the acceptance of corruption as part of official transactions and everyday social relations.

- Although corruption is widely accepted as customary Cambodians are, almost unanimously, in agreement that corruption should be ended, and a large majority believe that high level corruption is more important to stop.

- One surprising finding of the survey is that over half of the Cambodians surveyed do not believe corruption makes things run smoothly and that a large majority view corruption as hindering national development.

- The most popular way of ending corruption is to raise civil servant's salaries, followed by passing counter-corruption legislation. It is interesting that the National Assembly and Cabinet members are less likely to believe that raising the salaries of civil servants is likely to curb corruption while they are more likely to oppose civil servants accepting gifts.

Public Attitudes Towards Corruption

1513 total pool

Introduction

Between January and May 1998, the Center for Social Development (CSD) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, surveyed 1,513 urban and rural adults to determine public attitudes toward corruption. The intention was to sample a population large enough to be nationally representative and to collect baseline data for future counter-corruption legislation and education.

For this project, corruption is defined as the misuse of public power for private profit. Corrupt public officials, whether politicians or civil servants, improperly and unlawfully enrich themselves by misusing the power entrusted to them. By making personal gain instead of public good the basis for decisions, corruption hurts individuals, communities and countries. When bribery, not productivity or efficiency, is the basis for awarding projects, waste and inefficiency multiply. Illegal gains spent on conspicuous consumption or transferred to foreign banks contribute nothing to development of a national infrastructure. Corruption causes major misallocation of scarce resources. Instead of meeting basic needs such as food, health and education, resources are sometimes used to finance purely prestige projects with no economic value. Corruption is at the root of underdevelopment and poverty.

Uncontrolled corruption also undermines the credibility of democratic institutions and works against good governance. Its most visible consequences are poor public services, increased social polarization, disinvestment and exclusion. According to Transparency International (Pope, 1998), a Berlin-based non-governmental organization dedicated to countering corruption, the social, economic and political costs of corruption can include:

⇒ diminishment of the private sector,
⇒ higher prices for goods and services,
⇒ a rise in administrative costs,
⇒ substantial losses in productivity,
⇒ substantial reductions in the quality of goods and services,
⇒ a preference for capital-based rather than manpower-oriented projects,
⇒ increased national debt,
⇒ reduced funds available for public purposes,
⇒ more limited ability to attract foreign direct investment,
⇒ lower morale among public administrators,
⇒ lower respect for constituted authority and the legitimacy of government,
⇒ increases in litigation and accusations against even honest officials, and
⇒ loss of focus on human need.

Combating corruption is essential to fulfilling the broader goal of more effective, fair and efficient government. All the rights of citizenship, though guaranteed by law, can be violated by incompetent or corrupt leaders. Corruption's most effective opponents are citizens who are educated about their civic duties, who recognize the traits of responsible government and who believe in the right to open, accountable leadership. Fighting against corruption

means fighting for pluralism, tolerance, freedom of expression and individual security—all characteristics of a democratic society.

Globally, the timing for counter-corruption projects has never been better. Counter-corruption issues have recently received a substantial amount of academic scrutiny and support from the international community. Experiences have proved that increased transparency is not only possible, but cost efficient.

Successful counter-corruption policies have several common elements: the reform of substantive programs, changing government structures and methods to assure accountability; changing moral and ethical attitudes, and, most importantly, cultivating the involvement and support of government, private business, and civil society.

Corruption in Cambodia—A Historical Perspective

Cambodians have a saying, "Small people take small bribes. Big people take big bribes." Corruption in Khmer is "puk roluy", which means something is rotten and should be thrown away. In launching the fight against corruption in Cambodia, one of the first hurdles to overcome is the notion that corruption is cultural. Like many countries, Cambodia has a long tradition of government by patron-client relationships. Legitimized in folklore and literature, these relationships were so intense by the 19th century that many Cambodians had virtually enslaved themselves to their protectors. "The rich must protect the poor," a proverb reads, "just as clothing protects the body" (Chandler, 1993:105). But the bonds were not always comfortable. Patrons spoke of "consuming" the people they controlled; in folk stories, officials were compared to tigers and venomous snakes. Supporting these complicated relationships was the Buddhist belief that merit in past lives determines present social position. As a result, those in power were thought to deserve their status. Concepts such as power-sharing, a loyal opposition or representative elections were unthinkable (Chandler, 1993).

With the French, in the 19th century, came extensive, Western-style bureaucracy. In 1945, the idea of voting, if not voting itself, was introduced. Seeking to legitimize his regime, Son Ngoc Thanh organized a national referendum asking Cambodian men if they wanted the French to return or to remain "as free as they were under (King) Jayavarman (1178-1220)" (Chandler, 1991:13). The vote was 540,000 to 1 in favor of Thanh's government. According to Chandler, little to no balloting occurred. Instead provincial governors forwarded the expected results to the capitol on their constituent's behalf. It was a sign of things to come.

Over the next few years, scandals broke out over government officials illicitly selling rationed cotton thread, fishing licenses for Tonle Sap and other issues. Investigations were roadblocked and files destroyed. By the early 1960s, much of the rural population regarded the word government as synonymous with the word corruption. For any kind of government service, money changed hands. Cambodian slang named these transactions "bon jour". For example, in 1968 during the Sihanouk era, a Sangkum Reastr Niyum party membership card—required for any government employment—cost 1,000 riels, about a week's salary for a civil engineer (Chandler, 1991).

New opportunities for corruption arose when the United States began footing Cambodia's military bills. Officials padded their payrolls by adding fictitious soldiers and by failing to report deaths and desertions. In 1972, military spokesmen admitted that every month commanding officers pocketed the pay of some 100,000 nonexistent men and women. In 1973, several new provinces were created to collect payoffs from applicants seeking governorships so they could siphon off U.S. funds. Soldiers and politicians were selling guns, petroleum, equipment and other supplies to whomever handed over the largest sum, no matter which side they were on (Chandler, 1991). An investigative agency apparently was established, but was ineffective (CSD, 1995).

With the disappearance of currency during the Pol Pot era, corruption diminished. But gold, jewelry and other items continued to be bartered for lives or bowls of rice. The limited amount of money in circulation, a relatively ineffective entrepreneurial class and an almost totally shattered infrastructure kept a lid on corruption in subsequent years. But after the Paris Peace Accords were signed in the early 1990's, internal fighting diminished, and the Soviet Union collapsed. Cambodia began the transition to a free market economy and opportunities for corruption skyrocketed.

By 1986, the government had begun encouraging private economic activities. Three years later, it restored private ownership of land and allowed farmers to sell surplus produce on the free market. Government employees started receiving cash instead of in-kind benefits (IMF, 1994). Joint industrial ventures between the state and private (primarily foreign) owners were launched. In the early 1990s, the easing of real estate restrictions triggered a miniboom in speculation, restoration and rebuilding. Construction activity multiplied, so did the sale of raw materials. Unfortunately, much of the timber, gems, dried fish and other exports flowed to Thailand and Vietnam illegally. At a fast clip, environmental damage verged on the catastrophic (Chandler, 1993). Some have interpreted the frenzied activities coupled with the corruption boom as a psychological response to the deprivation under Pol Pot.

In a 1995 speech at the conference on Corruption and its impact on National Reconstruction and Reconciliation, Finance Minister Keat Chhon estimated that the state was losing up to $100 million a year to corruption, primarily because of illegal logging, rubber exportation and fishing (CSD, 1995). The previous year, Son Chhay, a National Assembly member, had drafted a counter-corruption law, but the proposal stalled in the assembly's Interior Committee, where, according to Chhay, the leadership was reluctant to act without government approval (Personal communication, 1998). The government subsequently drafted its own legislation, as did the Center for Social Development. The Center also sponsored two national counter-corruption conferences. But the legislative process never budged and to date, nothing has been done on any of the proposals.

In 1997, the International Monetary Fund canceled $60 million in loans to Cambodia because of corruption in the timber industry. Taking its lead from the IMF, The World Bank declined to renew its budgetary support. Over three years, that support had amounted to roughly $85 million (Reuters, 9/23/97). Global Witness, a British environmental group, has accused the military of participating in illegal logging (Reuters, 2/6/98).

About the same time, Second Prime Minister Hun Sen warned 1,000 to 2,000 customs officials that they risked losing their jobs if they continued cheating the country out of badly needed tax revenues. According to Hun Sen, these practices cost the country millions of dollars each year (Associated Press, 10/17/97). This is income Cambodia can ill afford to lose.

The 1997 United Nations Human Development Report ranked Cambodia as the sixth poorest among 78 developing nations in terms of life expectancy, literacy rate and access to basic health care (Johnson, 1997). Life expectancy is 52.4 years; literacy is just 35%, and health care is available to only 53% of the population. Cambodia's Gross Domestic Product is $1,084, the second lowest in southeast Asia.

Of the 1996 national budget, about 40% or $400 to $500 million, was financed by external aid (Reuters, 9/23/96). Much of the rest was covered by customs revenue, not tax receipts. With expenses heavily skewed towards defense and security, spending for health and education was minimal. In 1996, roughly eight percent of the national budget was devoted to education, compared to 23 percent before the Pol Pot era (Mydans, 1997).

Significant Findings

Corruption in Cambodia occurs at high and low levels. Large numbers of people bitterly resent both types and both are illegal. Prosecutions, however, are rare. In carrying out this survey, The Center for Social Development (CSD) staff found people from all walks of life expressed anger and despair over the widespread pattern of pay-offs. The most important survey findings were:

1) 84% of Cambodians believe that bribery is the normal way of doing things.
Examples of corruption in everyday life include:

Education: In July 1997, government soldiers set up checkpoints around five Phnom Penh high schools. Their purpose was to stop high school students from cheating on final exams with crib sheets. According to the New York Times (Mydans, 1997), schools had become "scenes of mayhem at exam time as friends of the students use bullhorns to shout answers and youths scale walls or throw rocks through school windows with crib sheets wrapped around them. Teachers are bribed to look the other way. Professors are hired to work out the answers to copies of the exam that are tossed from school windows. Their completed work is photocopied and thrown back in."

Bribery is not only practiced by students. With an average salary of just $20 a month, in the past, teachers would sell baked goods or provide extra tutoring to earn money. Now all pretense has been dropped and many teachers demand payments from students even those in kindergarten. Usually the daily amount (about eight U.S. cents) is small, but over a year, the amount becomes considerable.

Health Care: At a number of hospitals, health workers require bribes before handing over medicine or treatment. At one NGO-funded hospital, an Australian expatriate who speaks Khmer heard a nurse demand money before giving a dying baby an antibiotic prescribed by the doctor. The father had to leave the hospital and mortgage his house to secure the funds. In another case, a woman died because she was too poor to pay a bribe. Corruption is also behind the widespread but undocumented practice of selling expired and counterfeit medicines.

Traffic Police: In November 1997, the Cambodia Times exposed a highly lucrative racket among police officers, who make an average of $17 a month. By bribing supervisors, they were assigned to richer streets where they could make up to $20 a day shaking down business people, foreigners, taxi drivers, motocart drivers and other motorists. Truck drivers reported the usual bribe between $5 and $25; for a motorist, it was up to $10. But police

themselves are vulnerable to corruption. One top officer complained to a CSD surveyor that he had to pay $10,000 in bribes to open a small business.

Justice system: In a recent land dispute involving petroleum giant company, lawyers claimed, "The short supply of lawyers and judges and the fact that many are poorly paid has created a situation where the winner is often the one with the deepest pocket." One foreign lawyer described the need to pay for permits and to bribe judges as a "hidden corruption tax" (Boyce, 1998:10).

2) The country is united on ending corruption

Ninety-eight percent of Cambodians—an unheard of consensus---believe ending corruption is important. Capitalizing on this sentiment, almost every political party in the recent election campaign promised to end corruption. Historically, however, such promises have been empty rhetoric.

3) Cambodians demonstrate greater sensitivity to high level than low level corruption.

89% agree or strongly agree that it is more important to stop high than low level corruption. 83% describe a $20,000 bribe as more corrupt than a $20 one. Three-quarters perceive many of the rich as corrupt, while only 13% feel the same about the poor.

4) Widespread agreement exists that corruption hinders national development.

Of all corruption-related issues, Cambodians feel most strongly about its effects. They believe that corruption hurts the national economy (91%), reduces confidence in government (90%), and makes the rich richer and the poor poorer (89%).

Estimates are that corruption costs Cambodia more than $100 million a year and severely restricts the government's ability to invest in health and education.

5) Contrary to popular perceptions, 58% of Cambodians do not see corruption as making things run smoothly.

These findings were supported by a recent survey of 1,296 urban and rural respondents by a Phnom Penh-based research group, IFRASSORC. Corruption was cited as one of the top three reasons for dissatisfaction with current living standards. More often mentioned by urban than rural residents, it was a significant factor for 33% of the students, 33% of the civil servants and 25% of the factory workers.

6) The most popular ways of ending corruption are to increase civil servants' salaries (79%) and to pass a counter-corruption law (57%).

The average monthly wage of the government's 174,000 civil servants is a paltry $20; 140,000 military personnel collect an average of $25 a month (Kuhn et al., 1997). Neither sum

is sufficient to support a family; the apparent rationale is that higher salaries would reduce the need to supplement wages with bribes. As described earlier, efforts to pass counter-corruption legislation have stalled in the National Assembly.

7) The mean number of years in which Cambodians think the government can end corruption is five.

Only 22% think ending corruption is impossible, which means four out of five believe it can be done.

8) Compared to private sector employees, government workers are more likely to agree that:

- ⇒ most businesses must pay bribes,
- ⇒ it is right for a civil servant making a small salary to accept extra gifts,
- ⇒ it is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies,
- ⇒ it is right for an election candidate to give a small gift in exchange for a vote, and
- ⇒ corruption makes things run smoothly.

9) Compared to other occupations, National Assembly and Cabinet members are less likely to think bribery normal and more likely to oppose gift-giving to civil servants. They also have less faith that raising salaries will end corruption.

Only 57% of National Assembly members and 75% of Cabinet members believe that bribery is normal. Both figures are significantly below the survey average of 84%. Across occupations, the mean acceptance of civil servants receiving gifts was 3.2. For National Assembly members, it was 2.2 and for Cabinet members, 2.0. 59% of National Assembly members and 71% of Cabinet members favor raising civil servants' salaries as a means of fighting corruption; surveywide, the average was 79%.

Survey Background

Developed in December 1997 by six staff members together with an outside consultant, the 25-question survey asked how important is ending corruption? What are the best ways to end it? And how long will it take? Examples focused on low level corruption: civil servants accepting gifts, health workers demanding bribes, office workers taking home supplies, job promotions based on personal connections and election candidates trading small gifts for votes. High level corruption was explicitly mentioned only once; however, it was implied in four questions dealing with corruption's long-term costs. Five questions probed how widespread the respondent thinks corruption is. Links between corruption and issues such as organized crime, women/child trafficking and drug dealing were not drawn, although their existence is well-known (U.S. State Dept., 1997).

Assuming that attitudes towards corruption vary significantly by occupation (and its corollary, income), the primary sampling stratification for this survey was the occupational category. Twenty-two categories were listed. With the government being the largest employer, many teachers, engineers, health workers and others collect government paychecks. Because defining government employees by occupation alone was impossible, the survey asked, "Is your salary paid by the government?" In addition, 20 sub-categories covered civil servants at government ministries.

To ensure adequate representation, the sampling plan for some occupations listed offices, organizations, and agencies to visit, together with the number of desired respondents at each. Sites were selected on the basis of geographic and functional diversity. At many sites, CSD had to obtain advance permission to interview staff members. Most sites, however, were randomly visited within a chosen geographic district. Before administering the survey, CSD sent a copy to the Interior Ministry for approval.

Seeking to differentiate between rural and urban attitudes, the sampling plan called for half the respondents to be in Phnom Penh and the rest split between Kandal and Takeo provinces. Kandal is a mixed urban and rural province circling the capital city. Approximately 70 kilometers southeast of Phnom Penh and close to the Vietnamese border, Takeo is more rural province than Kandal. Oversampling of the urban population (national percentages are 86% rural, 14% urban) was deliberate and grew out of a belief that an urban population has greater exposure to more varied types of corruption.

Because Cambodia is highly ethnically and religiously homogeneous, diversity was not a priority. However, the survey did note ethnicity and religion. It also tracked age, gender, income, and number of years of schooling, including professional training. Once the first survey draft was complete, two focus groups with a total of 17 people from various walks of life reviewed it for comprehensibility and clarity. Based on their comments, a number of questions were simplified. In January, 211 men and women, all in Phnom Penh, participated in a pilot survey. This led to dropping one question and further wording modifications. Between March and June 1998, eight surveyors, four men and four women, visited seven districts in Phnom Penh, four in Kandal and four in Takeo. Six of the eight surveyors were university

professors; the rest have college degrees. Each received two days of training that included actual survey administration; several had also worked in the pilot phase. Surveyors visited each site in pairs. They were instructed only to survey Cambodian citizens 18 years and older. Literate citizens completed the survey themselves; surveyors read it to those who were illiterate. Because it proved reliable, pilot data was included in the final sample. A statistical consultant used Statistical Software for Social Science (SPSS), primarily analysis of variance and factor analysis, to study the data.

Sample Characteristics

1,513 respondents participated: 57% in Phnom Penh (N=860), 22% in Kandal (N=330) and 21% in Takeo (N=322). Sixty-one percent were male; 39% female. Ninety-nine percent of respondents were Khmer; 1%, Cham. Reflective of national averages, age ranges were:

18-20 years old	11%
21-29	21%
30-39	32%
40-49	23%
50-59	11%
60+	3%

Ninety-seven percent of the respondents were Buddhist, 2% Islamic and 1% other. The sample was well-educated, with 36% having 13 or more years of schooling; 23% 10 to 12 years, and 42% nine years or less. Seventy-six percent were categorized as low income (less than $50 a month); 14% as medium income ($51 to $150 a month); 7% as high income ($151 to $500 a month), and 4% as very high income (more than $500 a month). Forty-three percent collected government salaries.

Occupational categories included students (N=71), teachers (N=75), banking staff (N=44), engineers (N=41), NGO workers (N=60), health workers (N=67), blue collar workers (N=51), farmers/fishers (N=111), artisans (N=66), service workers (N=73), small business owners (N=100), big business owners (N=43), artists/writers/dancers (N=59), urban poor (N=126), other (retired, disabled, housewives) (N=79), police (N=69), military police (N=50), military (N=82), court staff (N=41), National Assembly members (N=22) and Cabinet members (N=7).

A total of 176 people (12%) were government ministry employees. They were divided as follows: Fishery/Agriculture (N=9), Finance (N=8), Commerce (N=9), Education (N=9), Environment (N=7), Rural Development (N=9), Women's Affairs (N=7), Tourism (N=9), Foreign Affairs (N=5), Social Affairs (N=7), Public Works (N=7), Planning (N=13), Defense (N=11), Health (N=18), Interior (N=8), Post and Telecommunication (N=5), Industry, Mines and Energy (N=8), Justice (N=4), Information (N=7), Culture (N=7), and Land Registry (N=9).

Number of Survey Respondents By Occupation and Province

Occupation	Phnom Penh	Kandal	Takeo	Total	Percentage
Students	41	15	15	71	4.7%
Teachers/Professors	45	15	15	75	5.0%
Financial Workers	34	5	5	44	2.9%
Engineers	40	0	1	41	2.7%
NGO Workers	33	12	15	60	4.0%
Health Workers	37	15	15	67	4.4%
Blue Collar Workers	36	15	0	51	3.4%
Farmer/Fisherman	35	31	45	111	7.3%
Artisans	38	13	15	66	4.4%
Service Workers	43	16	14	73	4.8%
Small Business owners	33	36	31	100	6.6%
Big Business owners	31	5	7	43	2.8%
Urban Poor	65	30	31	126	8.3%
Artists, Dancers, Writers, musicians	29	15	15	59	3.9%
Other	49	15	15	79	5.2%
National Assembly Member	22	0	0	22	1.5%
Cabinet Member	7	0	0	7	.5%
Civil Servant	111	34	31	176	11.6%
Civil Police	38	20	11	69	4.6%
Military Police	30	12	8	50	3.3%
Military	34	21	27	82	5.4%
Judiciary	30	5	6	41	2.7%
Totals	861	330	322	1512	100.00%

Summary of Results

Who practices corruption? By far the majority of respondents view corruption as characteristic of the rich (75%) living in cities (92%). Only 13% think many poor people practice corruption.

How often is corruption practiced? While 84% agree or strongly agree that "bribery is a normal way of doing things," a lower percentages think that most businesses pay bribes (69%); most people would rather pay a bribe than a traffic fine (66%); most people thank officials who help them with small gifts (66%), and most people would practice corruption, if given the opportunity (59%). However, all of these figures are above 50%.

What are some examples of corruption? Respondents split almost evenly on whether it's wrong for a civil servant making a small salary to accept extra gifts. Slightly more, 59%, think it wrong for an election candidate to trade a small gift for a vote. A higher number (63%) think it wrong for low-paid workers to take home office supplies. Seventy-four percent believe it wrong for health staff to withhold treatment without a bribe. Eighty percent oppose promoting someone solely because of a connection with a powerful official.

Are some acts more corrupt than others? Respondents are particularly sensitive to high level corruption, with 89% believing it more important to stop high level rather than low level corruption and 83% describing a $20,000 bribe as more corrupt than a $20 one. More than 75% agreed that giving a bribe is just as wrong as receiving one. Those most likely to believe this are older respondents, men, the highly educated and residents of Kandal.

What are the effects of corruption? Of all the items, respondents demonstrated the highest agreement on corruption's effects, with 90% or more believing that it hurts the national economy, reduces confidence in government, and widens the rich/poor gap. Only 25% think corruption makes things run smoothly. Those most likely to believe so are the better educated, Phnom Penh residents, and government workers.

How important is it to end corruption? To 98% of the respondents, ending corruption is important or very important. Not one deems it unimportant.

What are the best ways to stop corruption? Asked to choose two of seven options for stopping corruption, 79% favored increasing salaries, 57% passing an counter-corruption law, 27% establishing an counter-corruption commission, 16% requiring government officials to declare assets and liabilities, 11% granting more press freedom, 6% publishing government contracts and 5% auditing government departments.

How long will it take to end corruption? The mean response was 5 years, with 23% thinking the government could end corruption in two years; 14% in three years; 21% in five years and 19% in 10 years. 22% think it impossible ever to eradicate corruption.

Urban/rural differences

The following table describes significant differences among the provinces. Residents in Phnom Penh, the most urban area, were more likely than those in Kandal or Takeo to think that corruption helps things run smoothly and that it will be impossible to end.

Residents in Kandal, a mixed urban/rural area, had comparatively greater beliefs in the importance of ending high over low level corruption, perceptions that bribe giving and taking are equally wrong, and opposition both to health workers demanding payoffs and to patronage. However, they were more likely to think that gift-giving to officials is widespread and that most people can be corrupted.

Smaller percentages in Takeo describe bribery as normal or see corruption as widening the rich/poor gap. Takeo residents also have less conviction that corruption reduces people's confidence in government. While the majority in Takeo feel strongly about the importance of ending corruption, the percentage was below Phnom Penh's or Kandal's. Compared to other areas, Takeo residents had greater preferences for a counter-corruption commission as a solution to corruption, while Phnom Penh residents favored officials' declarations of assets and liabilities.

Differences Among The Provinces

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree In Kandal	Takeo	Phnom Penh	Significance
It is very important to end corruption in Cambodia	**94%**	88%	92%	F=5.5 p≤.006
Bribery is the normal way of doing things in Cambodia *(checked true)*	**88%**	80%	85%	F=4.5 p≤.01
Given the opportunity, most people would practice corruption	**67%**	52%	59%	F=8.1 p≤.0003
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe	**81%**	75%	78%	F=3.0 p≤.02
To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at lower levels	**93%**	87%	88%	F=7.2 p≤.0008
Gift-giving to officials is widespread	**75%**	64%	64%	F=10.6 p≤.0000
It is wrong for health staff to demand bribes	**78%**	72%	73%	F=3.4 p≤.03
Patronage is wrong	**86%**	77%	79%	F=10.0 p≤.0000
Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer	90%	83%	**91%**	F=6.0 p≤.003

Differences Among The Provinces (con't)

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree In Kandal	Takeo	Phnom Penh	Significance
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	**93%**	84%	91%	F=6.0 p≤.003
Corruption makes things run smoothly	18%	21%	**30%**	F=15.0 p≤.0000
The best ways to end corruption are: *(percent checked)*				
1) create counter corruption commission	29%	**34%**	23%	F=7.4 p≤.0007
2) require officials to declare assets & liabilities	13%	11%	**19%**	F=7.0 p≤.0009
How long will it take the government to end corruption?				F=15.4 p≤.0000
2 years	20%	**31%**	20%	
3 years	12%	**16%**	12%	
5 years	20%	**21%**	20%	
10 years	**22%**	13%	**22%**	
Never	16%	19%	**26%**	

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

No significant differences existed among provinces on whether corruption hurts the national economy and on levels of acceptance of gift-giving to civil servants, workers taking home office supplies or vote-buying.

Gender differences

Men feel more intensely than women that corruption reduces confidence in government and that it hurts the national economy. They also believe more strongly that corruption is widespread, many poor people are corrupt and most businesses must pay bribes. More men than women think patronage is wrong and that it's important to fight high level corruption first. Men are more likely to see giving or taking a bribe as equally wrong. Women, on the other hand, disapprove of vote-buying significantly more than men. As for solutions, comparatively more men prefer raising salaries to help end low level corruption and requiring government officials to declare assets and liabilities. More women endorse a counter-corruption commission.

Differences Between Men and Women

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Men	Women	Significance
Most businesses must pay bribes	**70%**	67%	F=3.0 p≤.03
Most people prefer to pay bribes rather than traffic fines	**68%**	63%	F=2.6 p≤.05
Many rich people practice corruption *(checked true)*	**78%**	75%	F=2.9 p≤.04
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe	**80%**	74%	F=3.9 p≤.01
To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at lower levels	**91%**	84%	F=5.5 p≤.001
Patronage is wrong	**81%**	78%	F=2.8 p≤.04
Vote-buying is acceptable	**24%**	17%	F=3.0 p≤.03
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	**91%**	88%	F=2.9 p≤.03
Corruption hurts the national economy	**93%**	89%	F=2.6 p≤.05
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	**85%**	83%	F=4.2 p≤.006
The best ways to end corruption are to: *(percent checked)*			
1) create counter corruption commission	25%	**29%**	F=7.4 p≤.007
2) require officials to declare assets & liabilities	**19%**	11%	F=7.0 p≤.0009

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

Men and women did not significantly differ on the importance of ending corruption, the amount of time it would take, perceptions that bribery is normal or acceptance of low-level corruption by civil servants, health workers and office workers.

Age differences

Attitudes towards corruption are highly influenced by age, as evidenced by the significance levels in the tables below. The most dramatic findings are that 18 to 20-year-olds rank below other age groups on every measure with these exceptions: they are more accepting of health workers demanding bribes and of vote-buying. They came close to tying with respondents in their 20's in acceptance of patronage and belief that gift-giving to officials is widespread. Teenagers give less priority to fighting high level corruption and have less

conviction that corruption hurts the national economy or reduces people's confidence in government.

Those 60 and over were far more likely to believe that bribery is normal, that many rich people practice corruption and that ending corruption at high levels is more important than at lower ones. The eldest tied with 50+-year-olds in their opposition to patronage.

Fifty to 59-year-olds had the strongest beliefs that gift-giving to officials is widespread and that corruption makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. Together with 40 to 49-year-olds, they were most likely to regard giving a bribe as wrong as accepting one. Those in their 40s were most likely to believe that most people are corruptible and that corruption reduces confidence in government. Their forceful condemnation of payoffs to health workers was 16 percentage points higher than any other group's. Thirty-something-year-olds followed closely after sixty-something-year-olds in believing that bribery is normal and that many of the rich are corrupt. They also were the most likely to think raising salaries would help end low-level corruption.

Differences Among Age Groups

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Age Group 18-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Signif
Bribery is the normal way of doing things in Cambodia *(checked true)*	78%	83%	89%	82%	84%	**100%**	F=3.4 p≤.005
Given the opportunity, most people would practice corruption	44%	56%	61%	**65%**	62%	50%	F=7.0 p≤.0000
Many rich people practice corruption *(checked true)*	65%	79%	81%	73%	79%	**100%**	F=3.8 p≤.002
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe	68%	74%	78%	**83%**	**83%**	80%	F=4.7 p≤.0003
To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at lower levels	79%	85%	92%	90%	90%	**93%**	F=5.5 p≤.0001
Gift-giving to officials is widespread	61%	60%	65%	70%	**76%**	75%	F=4.3 p≤.0006
It is wrong for health staff to demand bribes	60%	74%	77%	**92%**	76%	78%	F=6.6 p≤.0000
Patronage is wrong	80%	74%	83%	84%	**88%**	**88%**	F=7.3 p≤.0000
Vote-buying is acceptable	**29%**	21%	22%	19%	15%	15%	F=3.1 p≤.01

Differences Among Age Groups (con't)

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Age Group 18-20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Signif
Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer	76%	87%	91%	91%	**93%**	83%	F=8.9 p≤.0000
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	78%	89%	92%	**94%**	92%	80%	F=8.3 p≤.0000
Corruption hurts the national economy	82%	89%	93%	**95%**	93%	93%	F=5.6 p≤.0000
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	74%	80%	**91%**	86%	82%	85%	F=8.4 p≤.0000
The best ways to end corruption are to increase civil servants' salaries *(percent checked)*	71%	79%	**82%**	80%	73%	78%	F=2.8 p≤.02
How long will it take the government to end corruption?							F=2.6 p≤.02
2 years	28%	26%	25%	15%	25%	**40%**	
3 years	9%	13%	12%	17%	**19%**	10%	
5 years	18%	20%	20%	**25%**	23%	15%	
10 years	13%	20%	22%	21%	13%	**25%**	
Never	**33%**	21%	22%	22%	19%	10%	

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

There were no significant differences among age groups on the importance of ending corruption, belief that corruption makes things run smoothly or acceptance of gift-giving to civil servants, or of workers taking home office supplies.

Religious differences

Fewer Muslims than Buddhists or Christians think most businesses have to pay bribes. All of the Muslims believed a $20,000 bribe more corrupt than a $20 one. Muslims were more likely than Buddhists or Christians to think it wrong for a health worker to demand a bribe. However, ending corruption is less important to Muslims than to Buddhists or Christians.

To more Christians, higher salaries would help stop low level corruption. Christians were more likely to doubt that corruption makes things run smoothly

Differences By Religion

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Buddhist	Muslim	Christian	Other	Significance
It is very important to end corruption	92%	86%	92%	**100%**	F=2.8 p≤.04
Most businesses must pay bribes	70%	27%	69%	**100%**	F=3.5 p≤.01
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe *(checked true)*	84%	**100%**	77%	67%	F=2.7 p≤.04
It is wrong for health staff to demand bribes	74%	91%	85%	**100%**	F=3.3 p≤.02
Corruption makes things run smoothly	91%	**100%**	87%	**100%**	F=3.4 p≤.02
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	84%	73%	**92%**	67%	F=3.5 p≤.01

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

Income differences

With the exception of job patronage, the poor are much more tolerant of low level corruption---gift-giving to civil servants, the taking home of office supplies and vote-buying---than other income groups. They also tend to think a $20,000 bribe more corrupt than a $20 one. Comparatively more poor respondents thought raising salaries would reduce low level corruption. For solutions, they expressed greater preferences for a counter-corruption commission and for a counter-corruption law than other income groups. Those with the lowest incomes think it will take the shortest time to end corruption.

Respondents with medium incomes had the greatest belief that the government will never end corruption. Very high income respondents were more likely to believe that many poor people are corrupt and that requiring declarations of assets and liabilities will help end corruption. Those with high and very high incomes had the greatest belief that most people, whatever their income, can be corrupted.

Differences Among Income Groups

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree: Low less than $50	Medium $51-$150	High $151-$500	Very high Over $500	Significance
Given the opportunity, most people would practice corruption	57%	64%	**67%**	57%	F=3.9 p≤.004
Many poor people practice corruption *(checked true)*	11%	17%	14%	**27%**	F=5.5 p≤.0002
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe *(checked true)*	**86%**	79%	77%	74%	F=4.5 p≤.001
It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts	**52%**	49%	44%	35%	F=3.0 p≤.02
It is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies	**19%**	14%	12%	13%	F=3.9 p≤.004
Vote-buying is acceptable	**23%**	18%	11%	17%	F=2.3 p≤.05
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	**85%**	83%	83%	75%	F=4.2 p≤.002
The best ways to end corruption are to: *(percent checked)*					
1) create counter corruption commission	**28%**	24%	15%	23%	F=3.1 p≤.02
2) require officials to declare assets & liabilities	13%	21%	29%	**32%**	F=7.4 p≤.0000
3) pass counter corruption law	**59%**	50%	57%	42%	F=3.0 p≤.02
How long will it take the government to end corruption?					F=2.5 p≤.04
2 years	**26%**	18%	19%	11%	
3 years	14%	13%	**15%**	11%	
5 years	21%	24%	23%	**25%**	
10 years	17%	24%	30%	**32%**	
Never	23%	**24%**	14%	19%	

Income groups did not significantly differ on perceptions of corruption's consequences, attitudes about corruption "greasing" bureaucratic wheels, the priority of fighting high level corruption first, or thoughts about bribery's pervasiveness.

Educational differences

Understanding of corruption's implications increases proportionately to education. More of well-educated strongly agree that corruption widens the rich/poor gap, reduces popular confidence in government, and hurts the national economy. They also are more likely

to regard bribe givers and takers as equally at fault. However, the best educated see corruption as deeply entrenched, with higher percentages believing that corruption helps things run smoothly and that most people prefer paying bribes to traffic fines. Those of moderate education are more accepting of gift-giving to civil servants and vote-buying.

The poorly educated are more likely to believe that urban areas more corrupt than rural ones; that most people thank helpful officials with small gifts; that a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than a $20 one, and that the government can end corruption relatively soon.

Differences By Educational Level

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Low 0-9 years	Moderate 10-12 years	High 13+ years	Significance
Most people prefer to pay bribes rather than traffic fines	62%	**70%**	68%	F=4.7 p≤.009
There is more corruption in cities than in rural areas *(checked true)*	**95%**	90%	93%	F=4.0 p≤.02
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe	74%	78%	**83%**	F=3.8 p≤.02
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe *(checked true)*	**87%**	84%	81%	F=3.8 p≤.02
Gift-giving to officials is widespread	**71%**	70%	58%	F=17.5 p≤.0000
It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts	46%	**60%**	50%	F=7.9 p≤.0004
Vote-buying is acceptable	18%	**26%**	21%	F=3.6 p≤.03
Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer	82%	90%	**95%**	F=27.3 p≤.0000
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	84%	92%	**95%**	F=19.2 p≤.0000
Corruption makes things run smoothly	22%	**30%**	27%	F=4.8 p≤.009
Corruption hurts the national economy	87%	93%	**95%**	F=5.9 p≤.003
The best ways to end corruption are to: *(percent checked)*				
1) increase civil servants' salaries	74%	82%	**84%**	F=9.6 p≤.0001
2) create counter corruption commission	33%	**28%**	19%	F=14.6 p≤.0000
3) give more freedom of press	**15%**	12%	6%	F=10.0 p≤.0000
4) require officials to declare assets & liabilities	11%	12%	**24%**	F=17.1 p≤.0000
5) publish government contracts	**8%**	3%	6%	F=5.5 p≤.004

Differences By Educational Level (con't)

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Low 0-9 years	Moderate 10-12 years	High 13+ years	Significance
How long will it take the government to end corruption?				F=13.4 p≤.0000
2 years	**29%**	24%	18%	
3 years	**16%**	11%	13%	
5 years	**22%**	**22%**	20%	
10 years	14%	21%	**25%**	
Never	20%	23%	**25%**	

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

Education made no difference on opinions about bribery being normal, the importance of ending corruption, or attitudes towards job patronage, workers taking home office supplies, and health workers demanding bribes.

Differences between government and private sector workers

The most striking difference between government and private sector workers is government workers' dramatically greater tolerance of low level corruption. Government employees are much more likely to think that corruption "greases the wheel" and that most businesses pay bribes. They are more accepting of gift giving to civil servants, workers taking home office supplies and vote buying. A higher percentage of government compared to private workers think a $20,000 bribe more corrupt than a $20 one. Government employees prioritize ending high level corruption and are more likely to believe higher salaries will help end low level corruption. They better understand corruption's consequences: more believe it widens the rich/poor gap, reduces popular confidence in government and hurts the national economy. Government employees think ending corruption will take longer.

Compared to government workers, private employees are more likely to perceive bribery as normal and to believe that many of the poor are corrupt. They also have more confidence in a counter-corruption commission, freedom of the press, auditing of government departments and publishing of government contracts as mechanisms to fight corruption.

Differences Between Government & Private Sector Employees

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Private Employee	Govt. Employee	Significance
Bribery is the normal way of doing things in Cambodia *(checked true)*	**86%**	83%	F=3.7 p≤.006
Most businesses must pay bribes	67%	**70%**	F=3.0 p≤.05

Differences Between Government & Private Sector Employees (con't)

Items on which respondents significantly differ	Percent Who Agree/Strongly Agree Private Employee	Govt. Employee	Significance
Many poor people practice corruption *(checked true)*	**14%**	12%	F=4.1 p≤.02
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe *(checked true)*	80%	**86%**	F=5.1 p≤.006
To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at lower levels	86%	**91%**	F=5.3 p≤.005
It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts	47%	**55%**	F=3.5 p≤.03
It is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies	16%	**20%**	F=6.8 p≤.001
Vote-buying is acceptable	17%	**26%**	F=13.0 p≤..0000
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	86%	**96%**	F=8.6 p≤.0002
Corruption makes things run smoothly	22%	**29%**	F=7.9 p≤.0004
Corruption hurts the national economy	89%	**94%**	F=3.5 p≤.03
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	80%	**90%**	F=14.5 p≤.0000
The best ways to end corruption are to: *(percent checked)*			
1) increase civil servants' salaries	74%	**87%**	F=18.3 p≤.0000
2) create counter corruption commission	**29%**	23%	F=4.14 p≤.02
3) give more freedom of press	**13%**	8%	F=4.04 p≤.02
4) audit government departments	**7%**	3%	F=4.3 p≤.01
5) publish government contracts	**8%**	4%	F=4.5 p≤.01
How long will it take the government to end corruption?			F=5.7
2 years	**26%**	21%	p≤.003
3 years	**15%**	12%	
5 years	21%	**22%**	
10 years	17%	**23%**	
Never	21%	**23%**	

p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

Government and private sector workers did not significantly differ on the importance of ending corruption, pervasiveness of gift-gifting to civil servants or attitudes toward health workers demanding bribes.

Differences by occupational categories

More than any other occupational group, big business owners agreed that bribery is normal. However, they also thought it wrong for workers to take home office supplies and they strongly opposed vote-buying. Big business owners think ending corruption will take the longest amount of time.

Military and civilian police, together with the regular military, were the most accepting of vote-buying. Court employees joined with police and the military in strongly agreeing that corruption makes things run smoothly. The military had the greatest acceptance of gift-giving to civil servants and highly recommended increasing civil servants' salaries to end corruption. Health workers showed little condemnation of their colleagues demanding bribes. They also were very tolerant of workers taking home office supplies and civil servants receiving gifts. They strongly believe that higher salaries for civil servants will help end low level corruption.

Students were among those with the least belief that bribery is normal or that most people are corruptible. Students condemned workers for taking home office supplies and approved of auditing government departments. They thought ending corruption would take a long time. Farmers/fishers, blue collar workers and the police apparently see a lot of "small" gift exchanges. Farmers/fishers optimistically predict that the government can end corruption in less than three years.

The urban poor were the least likely to believe that corruption hurts the national economy, reduces people's confidence in government, or widens the rich/poor gap. Teachers were among those most likely to acknowledge the social damage caused by corruption.

Government ministry workers strongly believe that corruption hurts the national economy and reduces people's confidence in government. Compared to other groups, they prefer fighting corruption by requiring officials to declare their assets and liabilities. Publishing government contracts was not an attractive option.

National Assembly members stood out for their tendencies to think that bribery is not normal, most people are not corruptible, a $20,000 and a $20 bribe are equally wrong, gift-giving to officials is not widespread, civil servants are wrong to accept small gifts, and health staff should not demand bribes. They opposed raising salaries or granting more freedom of the press as means of stopping corruption, but they endorsed requiring declarations of assets and liabilities and publishing government contracts. Like National Assembly members, Cabinet members were less likely to believe that bribery is normal, most people are corruptible, many rich people are corrupt or gift-giving to officials is widespread. They were more likely to believe giving a bribe just as wrong as taking one. They condemned civil servants for accepting gifts, health workers for wanting bribes and office workers for stealing

supplies. They opposed granting more freedom of the press to fight corruption, but supported publishing government contracts and auditing government departments.

Differences By Occupation

Items on Which Respondents Significantly Differed	M	Occupations That Most Agreed	Occupations That Least Agreed	Signif
Bribery is the normal way of doing things in Cambodia *(checked true)*	.84	Big business .98 Artisan .92 NGO worker .92	Student .72 Natl Assembly .75 Govt Cabinet .75	F=2.2 p≤.001
Given the opportunity, most people would practice corruption	3.6	Engineer 4.1 Blue collar 4.0 NGO worker 4.0	Govt Cabinet 3.1 Natl Assembly 3.2 Student 3.2	F=2.0 p≤.004
Many rich people practice corruption *(checked true)*	.77	NGO worker .86 Engineer .85 Police .85	Govt Cabinet .57 Student .61 Big business .65	F=1.7 p≤..02
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe	4.2	Govt Cabinet 4.7 Court Empl 4.5 Teacher 4.4	Small business 3.8 Artist 3.8 Urban poor 3.9	F=2.0 p≤.004
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe *(checked true)*	.84	NGO worker .93 Military .93 Police-Military .90	Natl Assembly .70 Bank staff .74 Student .75	F=1.6 p≤.05
Gift-giving to officials is widespread	3.8	Farmer/fisher 4.2 Blue collar 4.2 Police 4.2	Natl Assembly 3.3 Govt Cabinet 3.4 Teacher 3.5	F=2.2 p≤.001
It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts	3.2	Police-Military 3.9 Health worker 3.7 Artist 3.7	Govt Cabinet 2.0 Natl Assembly 2.2 Big Business 3.0	F=2.1 p≤.003
It is wrong for health staff to demand bribes	4.0	Bank staff 4.4 Teacher 4.3 NGO worker 4.3	Health worker 3.1 Govt Cabinet 3.6 Natl Assembly 3.7	F=2.2 p≤.001
It is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies	1.9	Health worker 2.6 Military 2.2 Police 2.2	Student 1.5 Govt Cabinet 1.6 Big business 1.7	F=1.9 p≤..01
Vote-buying is acceptable	2.0	Police-Military 2.6 Police 2.5 Military 2.5	Farmer/fisher 1.7 Small business 1.7 Big business 1.7	F=2.6 p≤.0001
Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer	4.5	Health worker 4.9 Court empl 4.9 Engineer 4.8	Urban poor 4.1 Service worker 4.2 Artisan 4.2	F=4.1 p≤.0000

Differences By Occupation (con't)

Items on Which Respondents Significantly Differed	M	Occupations That Most Agreed	Occupations That Least Agreed	Signif
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government	4.6	Teacher 4.9 Court empl 4.8 Govt ministry 4.8	Urban poor 4.2 Artisan 4.2 Service worker 4.2	F=4.1 p≤.000 0
Corruption makes things run smoothly	2.2	Police 2.6 Military 2.5 Court empl 2.4	Artist 1.7 Small business 1.8 Teacher 1.8	F=1.6 p≤.03
Corruption hurts the national economy	4.6	Big business 4.8 Govt ministry 4.8 Teacher 4.8	Police-military 4.2 Urban poor 4.2 Other 4.4	F=2.4 p≤.000 3
Higher salaries would make ending low level corruption easier	4.4	Health workers 4.7 Police 4.6 Court empl 4.6	Service workers 4.1 Natl Assembly 4.1 NGO worker 4.2	F=1.8 p≤.01
The best ways to end corruption are to: *(percent checked)*				
1) increase civil servants' salaries	.79	Court empl .95 Bank staff .93 Military .91	Natl Assembly .59 Urban poor .67 Service worker .67	F=3.0 p≤.000 0
2) create counter corruption commission	.27	Urban poor .39 Military .38 Health worker .36	Bank staff .11 Artist .12 Engineer .15	F=2.5 p≤.000 2
3) give more freedom of press	.10	Service worker .24 Military .18 Farmer/fisher .17	Natl Assembly .00 Govt Cabinet .00 Engineer .00	F=1.9 p≤.009 F=1.8 p≤.01
4) require officials to declare assets & liabilities	.16	Natl Assembly .36	Police-military .06 Military .06 Blue collar .10	F=1.8 p≤.02

Differences By Occupation (con't)

Items on Which Respondents Significantly Differed	M	Occupations That Most Agreed	Occupations That Least Agreed	Signif
5) audit government departments	.05	Bank staff .27 Govt ministry .24	Military .01 Teacher .01 Police .01	F=1.7 p≤.02
6) publish government contracts	.02	Student .15 Govt Cabinet .14 Service worker .13 Service worker .18 Govt Cabinet .14 Natl Assembly .14	Court empl .00 Health worker .01 Govt ministry .03	
How long will it take the government to end corruption? (1= 2 years, 2=3 years, 3=5 years, 4=10 years, 5=never)	3.0	Big business 3.5 Student 3.4 Engineer 3.4	Farmer/fisher 2.4 Other 2.6 Bank staff 2.6	F=2.9 p≤.000 0

M= mean value; p≤.0000 is highest significance; p≤.05 is lowest

Occupations did not significantly differ on attitudes towards patronage, the importance of ending corruption, prioritizing high level corruption, whether most businesses pay bribes, and whether corruption is worse in urban than rural areas.

Discussion and Recommendations

Within Cambodia today, widespread consensus exists that corruption must be eradicated. Few see corruption as "greasing the wheel;" instead it is recognized as a drain on national resources and as a reason why so many people remain mired in desperate poverty.

However, taking counter-corruption steps requires more than consensus. Supporters must be united on a vision for and path towards the future. Specific recommendations include:

Urban/rural differences: Probably the most disturbing findings are the large differences between Phnom Penh and more rural areas in beliefs that corruption facilitates governance and in the impossibility of ending it. The fact that Takeo had a lower percentage of agreement on almost all items may indicate that corruption is not as much of a problem in rural areas. It also may reflect a lack of understanding of corruption and its consequences. Both urban and rural residents need to better understand the social and economic costs of low and high level corruption and the rights of citizens to good governance.

***Gender differences*:** Many significant differences exist between men's and women's attitudes towards corruption, but few clear patterns emerge. In general, it appears that men's feelings are more intense. The only exception is vote-buying.

Of special concern are high significance levels between the genders on solutions to corruption. These levels suggest that men have a much better conceptual understanding of corruption and how it becomes economically entrenched. The reason probably is related to men's higher education levels. Women urgently need instruction on what corruption is and how much it costs in social, human and economic development.

Age differences: Deeply troubling is the youngest generation's relative lack of concern for, and knowledge about, corruption, as well as its significantly greater acceptance of vote-buying. Responses of those in their 50s and 60s suggest sensitivity to high level corruption. It also appears that gift-giving to officials is most widespread among this generation. The results indicate an urgent need for developing counter-corruption curricula to use in primary and secondary school education.

Religious differences: With lesser importance placed on ending corruption and the belief that fewer businesses pay bribes, it's likely that corruption is less an issue for Muslims than for Buddhists and Christians.

Sample sizes for religions other than Buddhism are too small to generalize to the population at large. But results suggest a need for further exploration of attitudes towards corruption among various religious groups.

Income differences: Greater tolerance of low level corruption among the poor could have multiple explanations. It may reflect a lack of control over life's economic aspects. It may grow out of a lived understanding of the relationship between exploitation and coercion and poverty. It may simply be that the poor are more regularly exposed to low level corruption and consequently, less sensitive to it.

The perceptions of those with high and very high incomes that many poor people are corrupt and that most people can be corrupted, probably contain elements of self-justification.

The results demonstrate the need for massive campaigns to educate low-income groups about their right to live free from corruption and about the responsibilities of good government. The poor also need a better understanding of what corruption is and how much it costs.

Creating a counter-corruption commission or passing legislation would generate more support from the poor, while requiring government officials to declare assets and liabilities would be more popular with the rich.

Differences in education: Conceptual understandings of corruption increase proportionately to education. Yet attitudes of the highly educated are paradoxical—they demonstrate a good grasp of corruption's price, but it is tempered by greater acceptance of corruption. Education efforts targeting this group should emphasize solutions to corruption and provide concrete examples of how other countries have eliminated it.

Among those with lower education levels, it's likely that gift-giving to officials and bribes to traffic police are more widespread. This group urgently needs programs explaining corruption's consequences for the country and for themselves.

Government employees: Government employees' greater acceptance of low level corruption indicates a need for better training and more accountability. Their limited choice of ways to fight corruption and their failure to select from a variety of solutions, indicate a lack of understanding about government's symbiotic relationship with civil society. Even so, the foundation for change exists: this group has a good understanding of corruption's macroeconomic consequences.

Occupational categories: The disinclination of National Assembly and Cabinet members to perceive low level corruption as widespread, coupled with their strong condemnation of it, suggests that the highest political leaders may be out of touch with the realities of everyday life. It also appears that the leadership has little faith in the power of the press to safeguard the rights of citizenship.

The fact that teachers were among those with the greatest understanding of corruption's consequences is heartening and perhaps a good omen for the future. Health workers' tolerance of low level corruption within their own and other professions raises serious questions about their training, especially as it relates to ethics. With court employees,

the police and the military strongly agreeing that corruption makes things run smoothly, any hope of speedy reform is illusionary. Widespread support of vote-buying by the civilian and military police complicates the issue.

In general: While statistical analysis during the pilot indicated significant relationships among items describing corruption's effects, the relationships weakened to insignificance in the final sample. They re-emerged strongly in factor analysis (Eigenvalue=3.23), but they were not alone. Intertwined with beliefs about effects were moral judgments and perceptions of corruption's pervasiveness. These results demonstrate the cultural complexity of corruption, which involves ethical, practical, political and personal considerations—all at the same time.

Some respondents may have been confused over whether the questions asked about low or high level corruption. Although deliberately kept vague in this survey, future research should clarify and explore differences between attitudes to low and high level corruption.

Overall, respondents chose comparatively few selections among the alternatives for fighting corruption. This may have resulted not from disbelief in their effectiveness, but rather in the respondent's inability to understand the terms. Given Cambodia's low literacy level, for example, many respondents probably did not know the definitions of "audit" or "assets and liabilities". While they undoubtedly understood the word "press", Cambodians have had few opportunities to witness how freedom of the press can safeguard citizens' rights.

Based on the survey results, the following recommendations are made:

1) Launch massive campaigns educating rural residents, urban poor and women on what corruption is and how much it costs in reduced social, political and human development,
2) Sponsor public awareness campaigns emphasizing citizens' rights to good governance and providing examples of successful efforts to eradicate corruption,
3) Train opinion leaders throughout civil society on the costs of corruption and ways to combat it,
4) Write and implement counter-corruption school curriculums for primary and secondary and tertiary level students,
5) Re-design training of government employees and health workers to reduce tolerance of low level corruption,
6) Organize fora that bring National Assembly and Cabinet members together with average citizens to discuss how corruption affects everyday life,
7) Generate the political will needed for the National Assembly and the government to raise civil servants' salaries and to pass a national counter-corruption law that provides clear guidelines, independent and objective monitoring, and effective enforcement.
8) Establish a National Integrity Working group that will work to lobby the Cambodian government on ways to combat corruption.

Conclusion

No counter-corruption campaign can succeed without active public support. This survey conclusively demonstrates that widespread public support exists to fight corruption in Cambodia, but extensive education is needed on corruption's nature, its human, social and economic costs, and realistic solutions for ending it.

Counter-corruption campaigns have the best chance of success when government, private business and civil society unite in the effort. Transparency International has developed a model now being replicated around the world. It calls for establishing a National Integrity System with eight Pillars of Integrity: 1) the executive, 2) parliament, 3) judiciary, 4) watchdog agencies, 5) media, 6) private sector, 7) civil society, and 8) law enforcement agencies. The goal is to identify gaps and opportunities in each area and to bring government, civil society and business together to work at institutional strengthening.

The first step in the model is to establish a National Integrity Steering Committee involving government stakeholders (executive office, public service, investigation, prosecution, judiciary, education, information and key departments such as customs, procurement, revenue collection, local government) and non-governmental coalition partners (civil society, religious leaders, private sector, relevant professional groups and groups representing consumer interests). The committee's task would be to analyze the existing national framework, pinpoint areas for reform, develop short, medium and long-term goals and organize public education programs. Subgroups are formed to design and carry out follow-up activities.

Since completely eliminating corruption is not feasible; a more achievable goal is to move from a governance driven by systemic corruption to a well-performing governance with checks and balances. When functioning properly, these can minimize corruption's negative effects and increase the potential for social, human, political and economic development. The goal is a new political culture supportive of the participatory democratic process.

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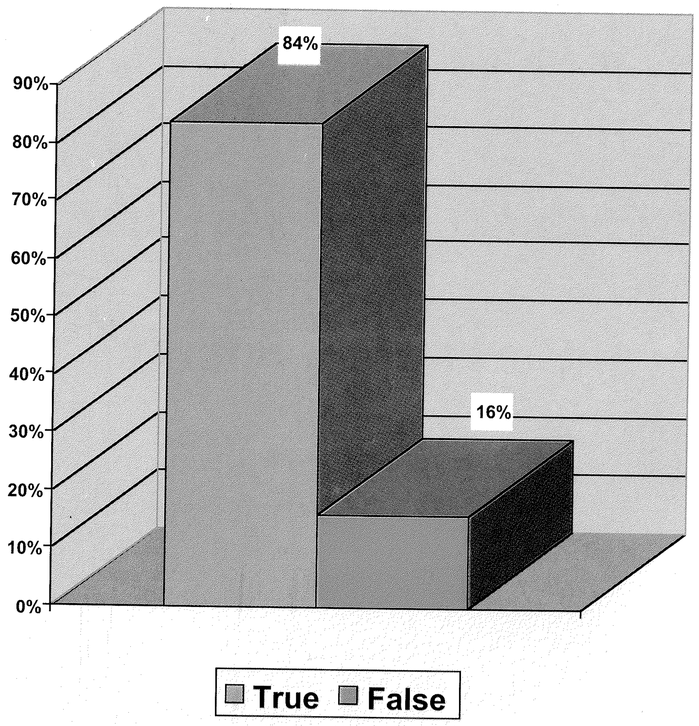
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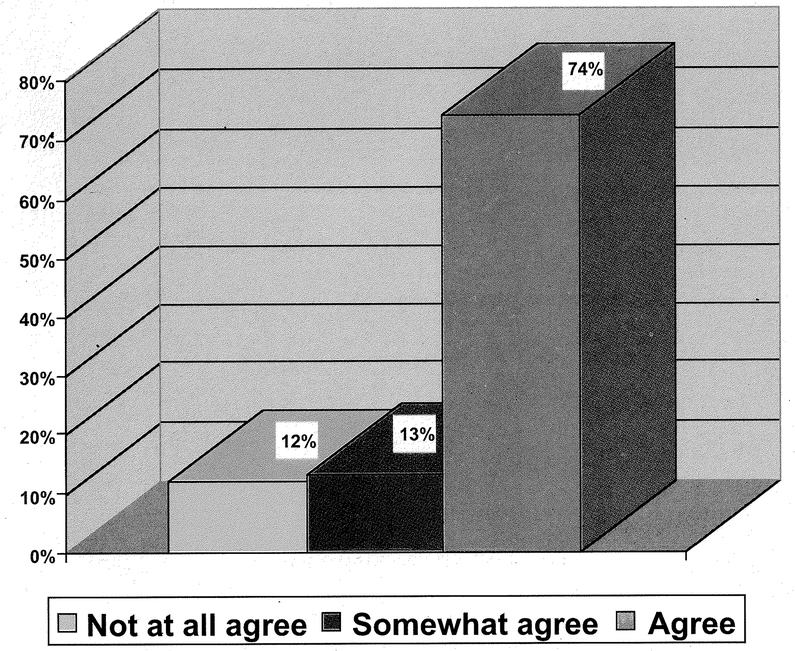
Graphical Representation of

Corruption Survey

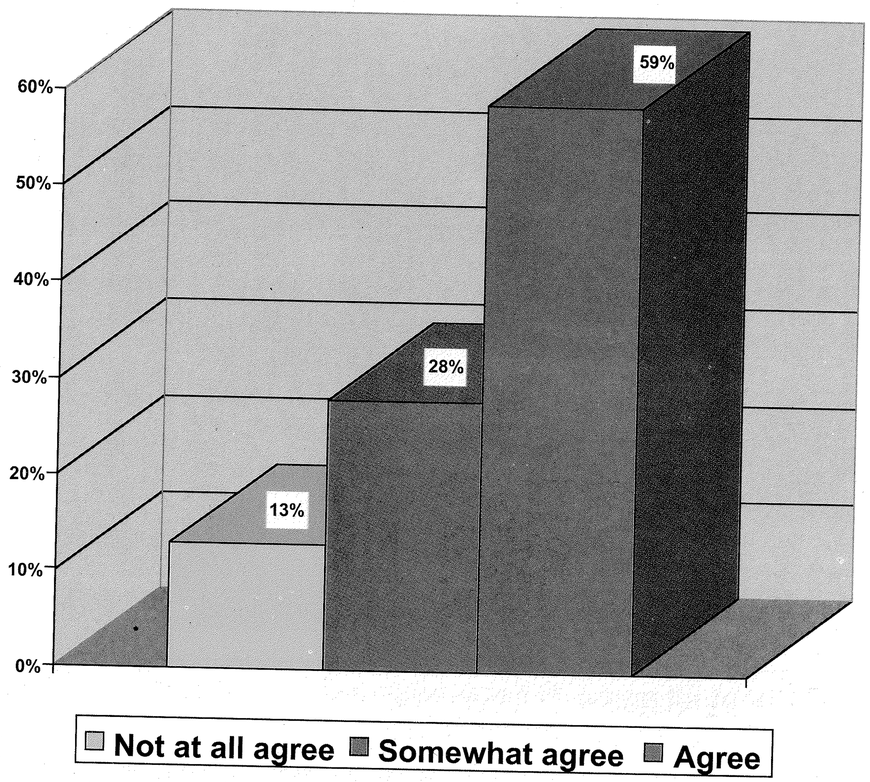
Bribery is the normal way of doing things in Cambodia (N=1513)



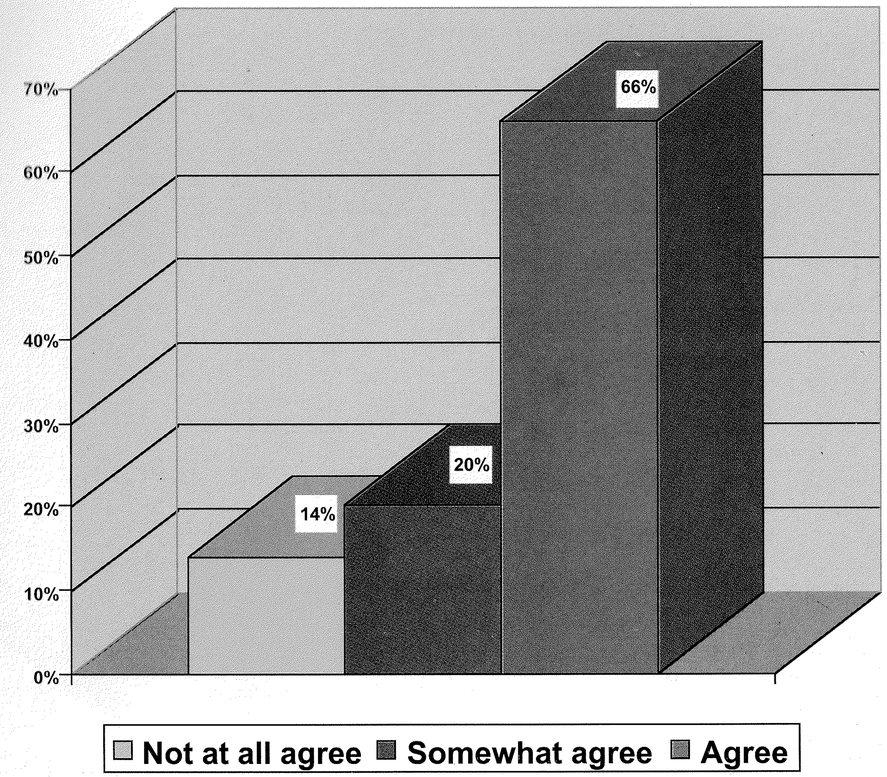
It is wrong for health staff to demand bribes (N=1513)



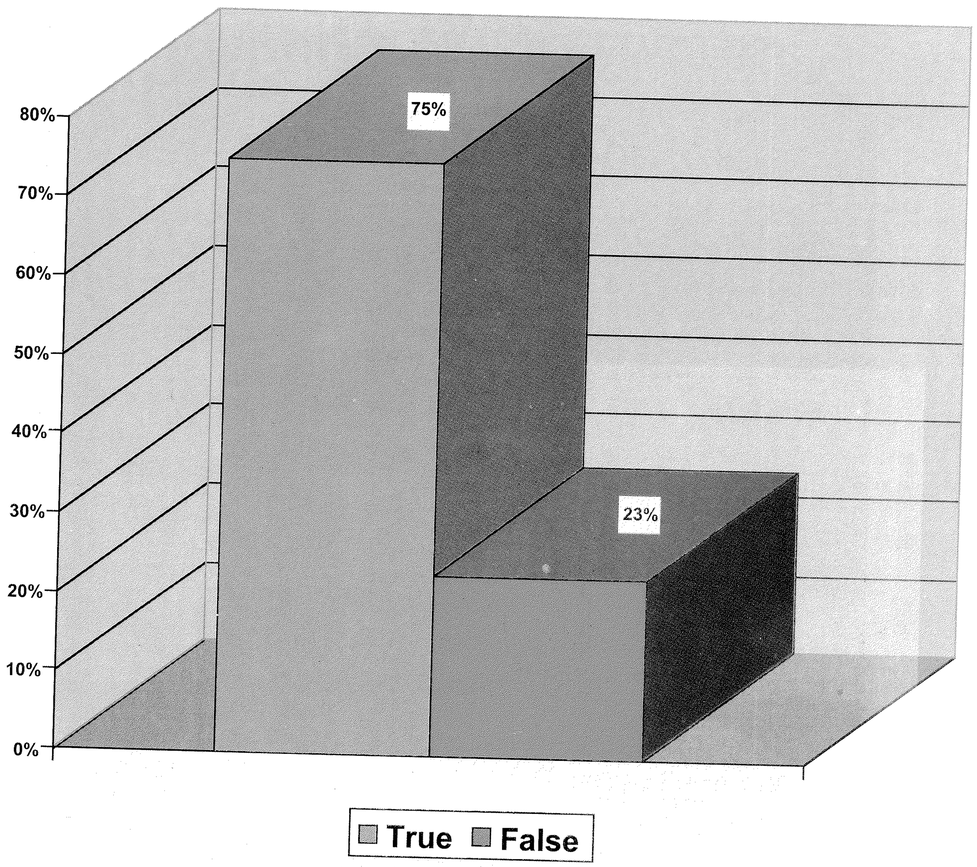
Given the opportunity most people would practice corruption (N=1513)



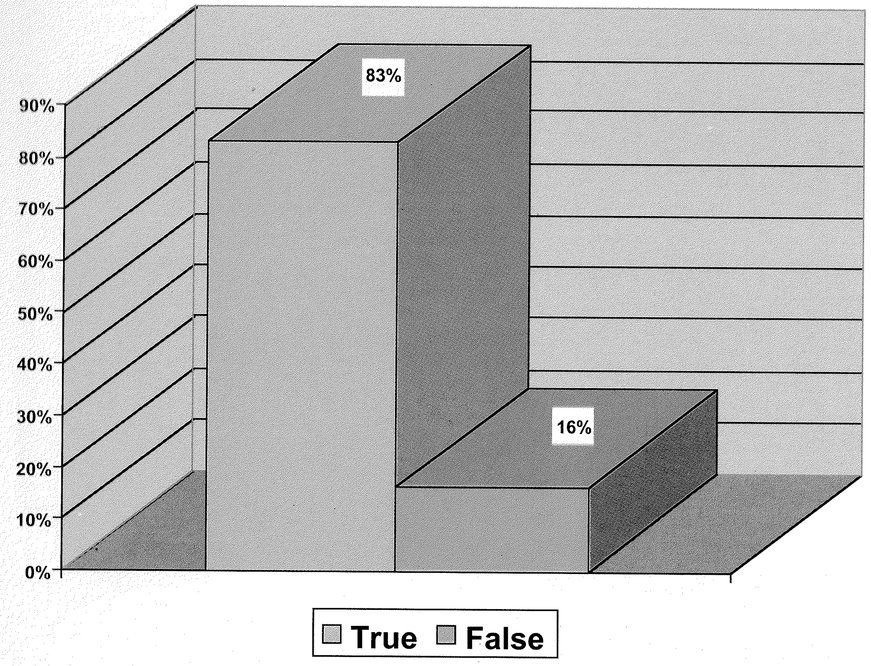
Most people prefer to pay bribes rather than traffic fines (N=1513)



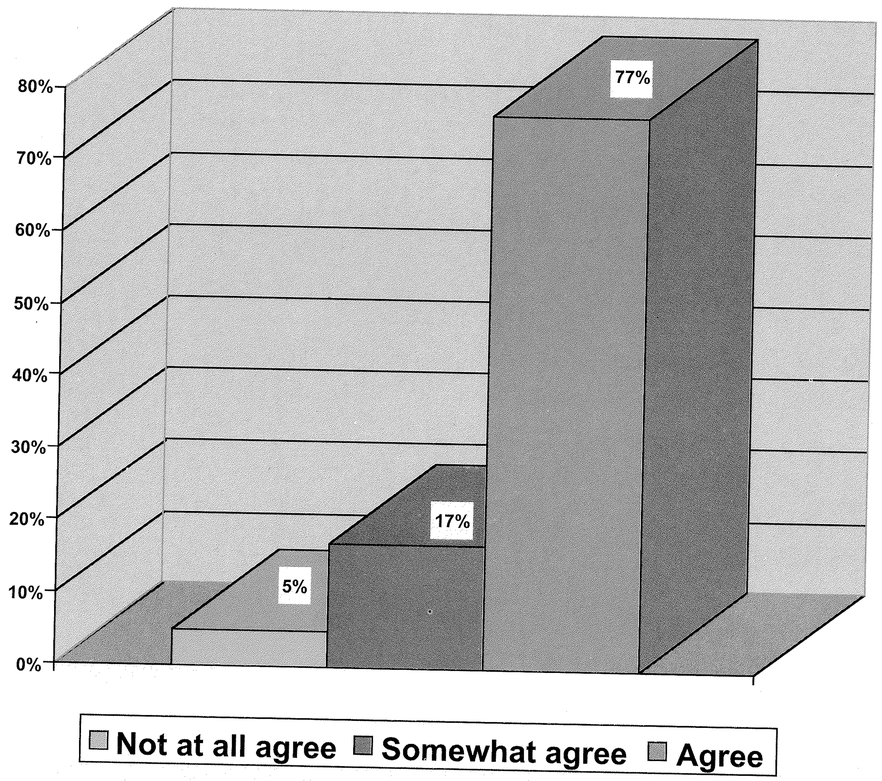
Many rich people practice corruption (N=1513)



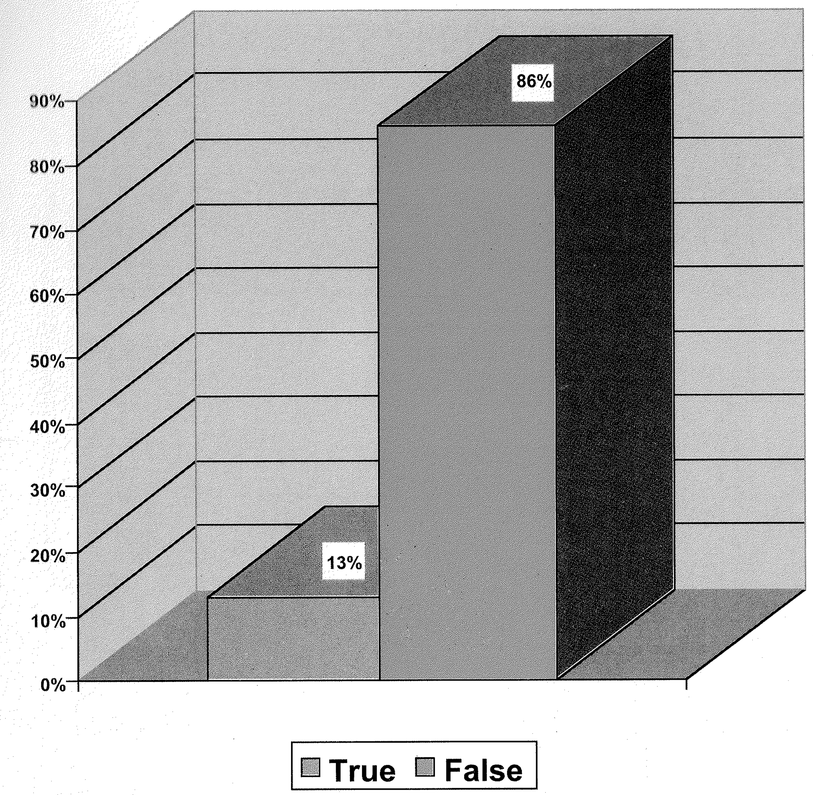
Accepting a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than accepting a $20 bribe (N=1513)



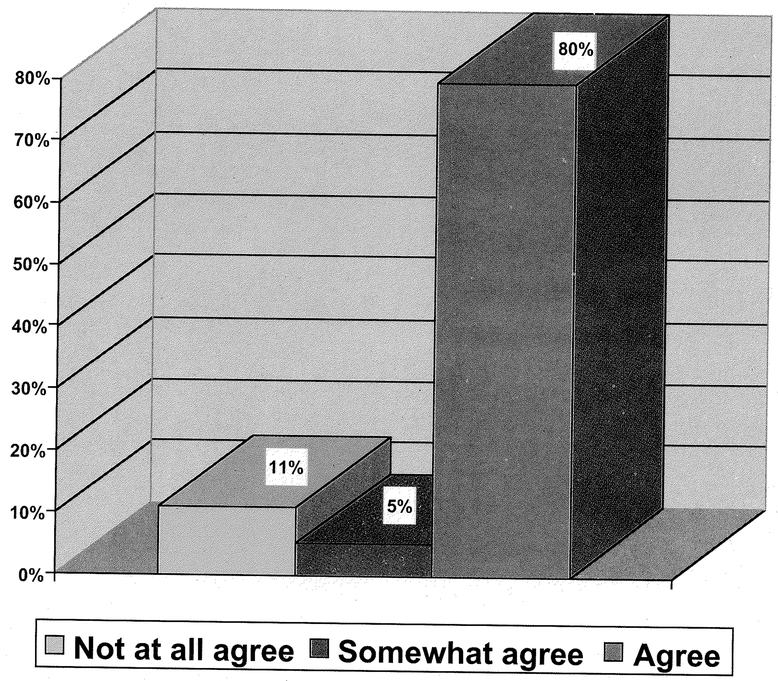
Giving a bribe is as wrong as accepting a bribe (N=1513)



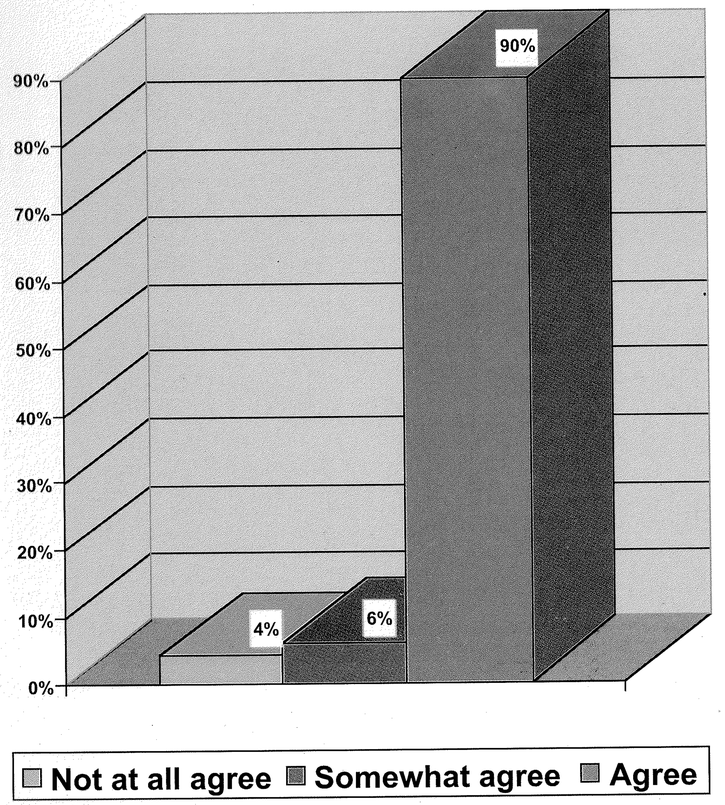
Many poor people practice corruption (N=1513)



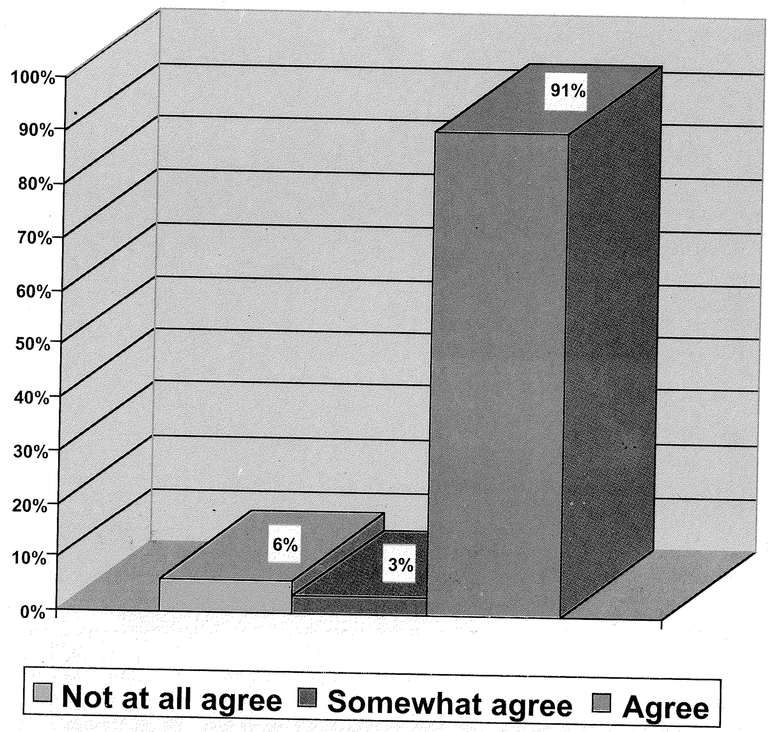
Patronage is wrong (N=1513)



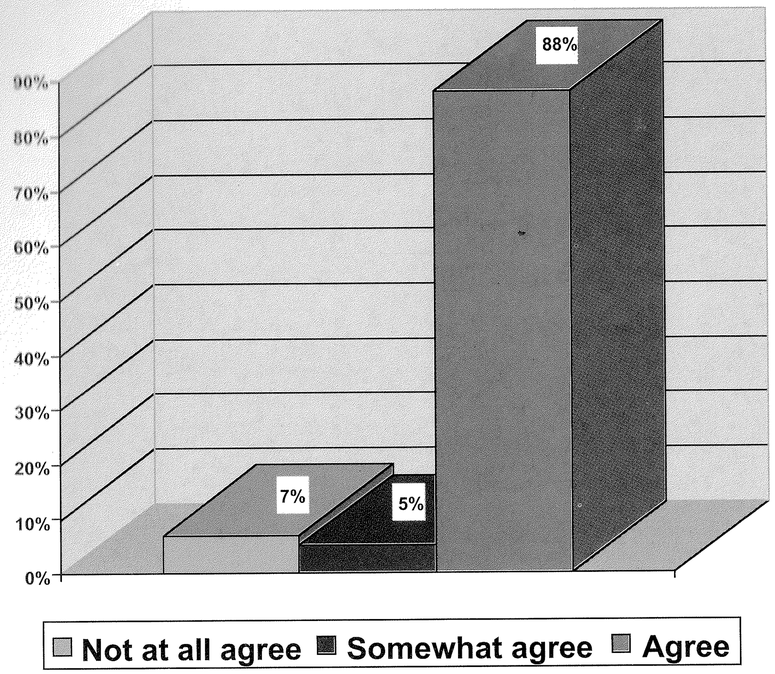
Corruption reduces people's confidence in government (N=1513)



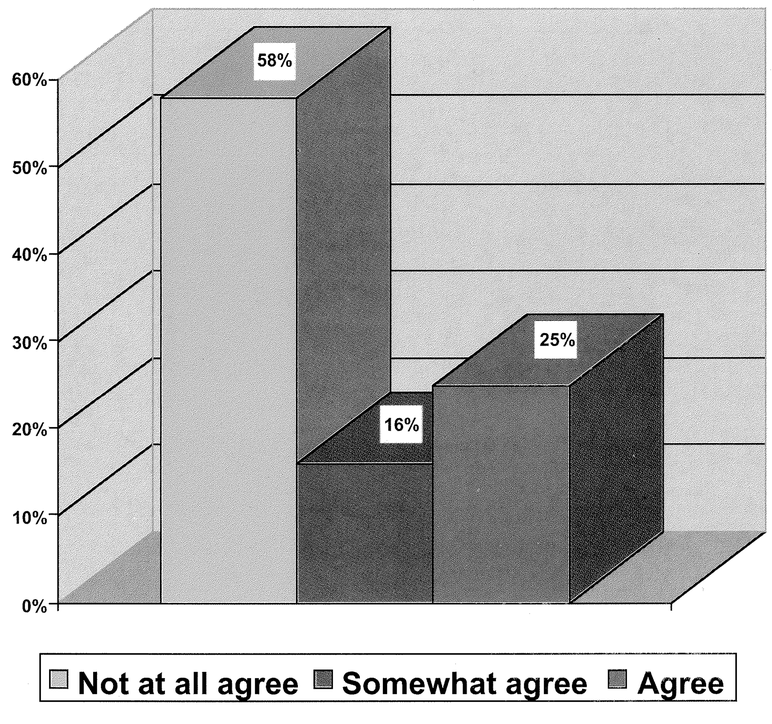
Corruption hurts the national economy (N=1513)



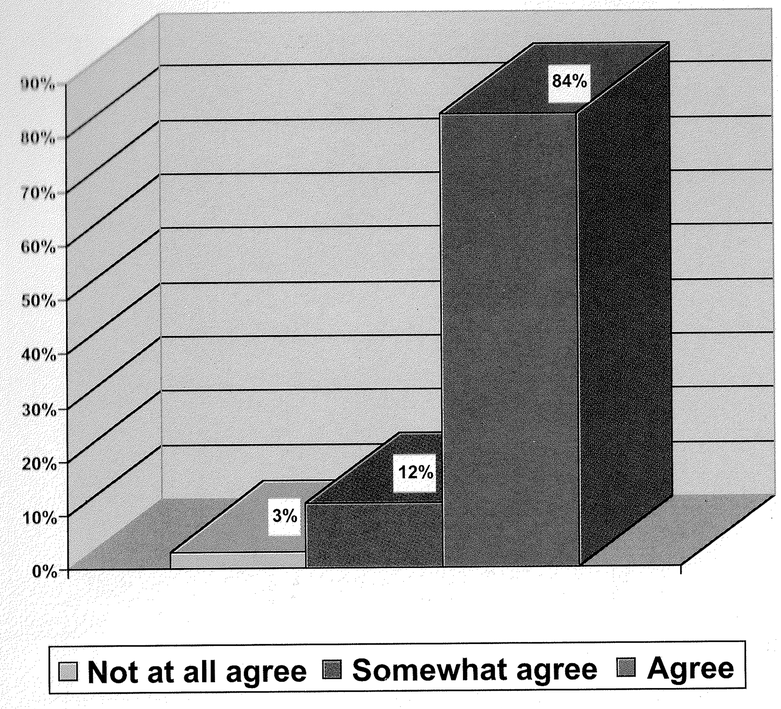
Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer (N=1513)



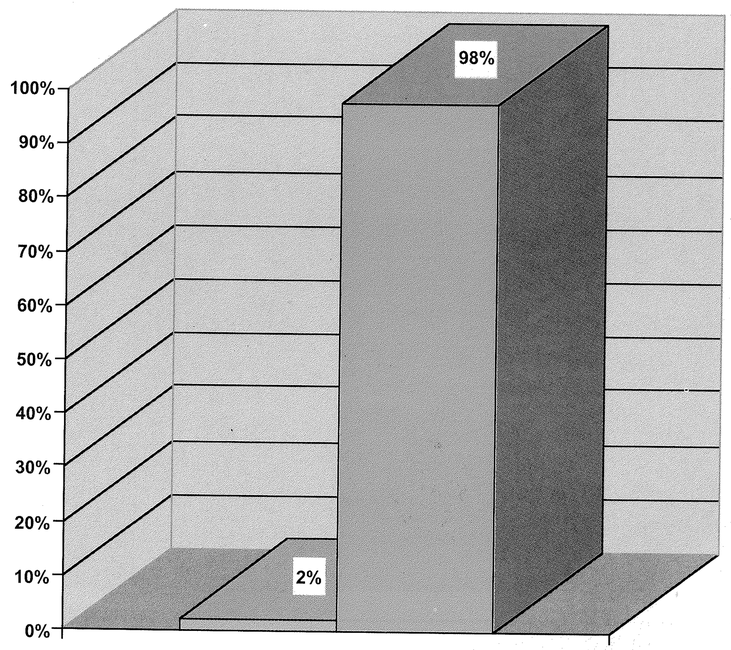
Corruption makes things run smoothly (N=1513)



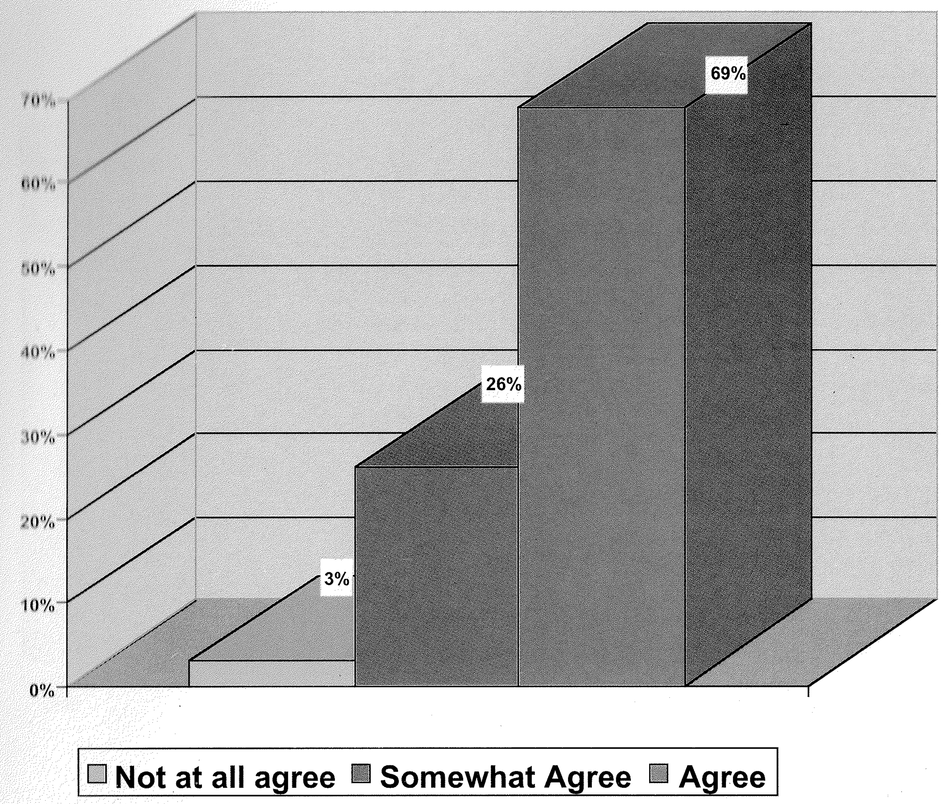
Higher salaries woud make ending low level corruption easier (N=1513)



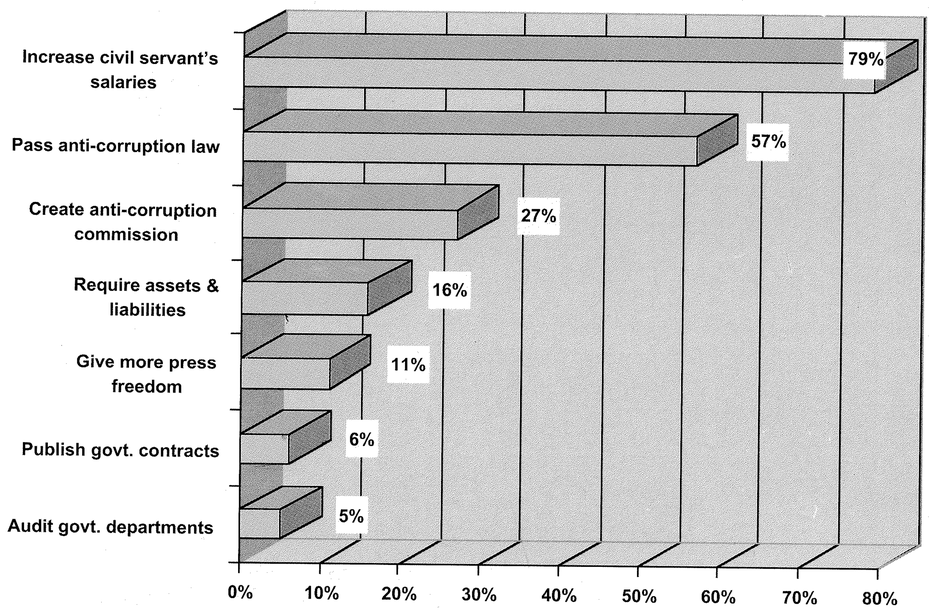
It is very important to end corruption in Cambodia? (N=1513)



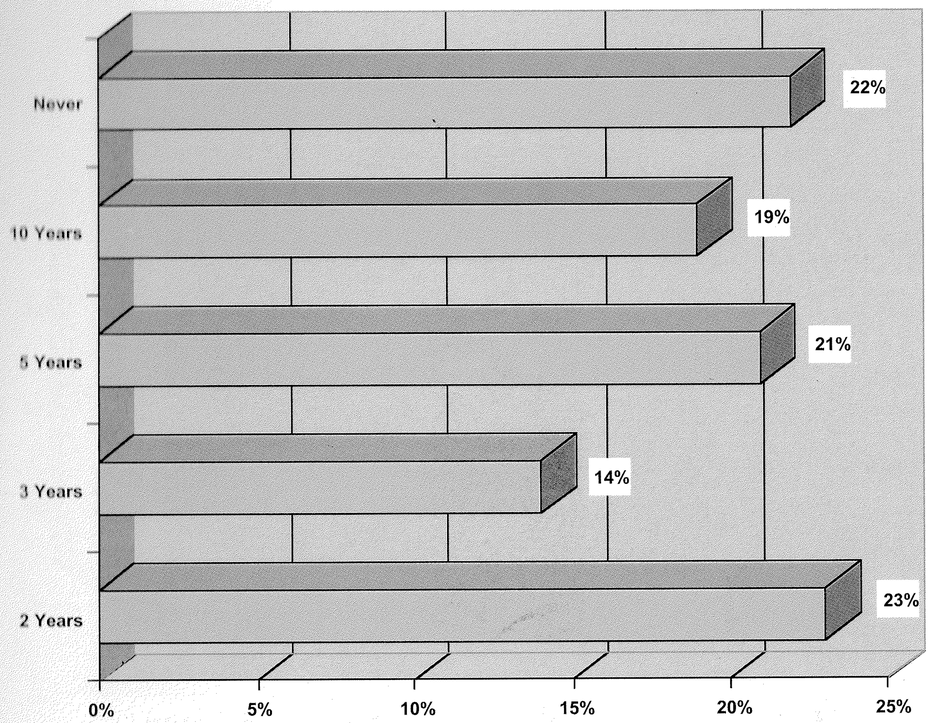
To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at lower levels (N=1513)



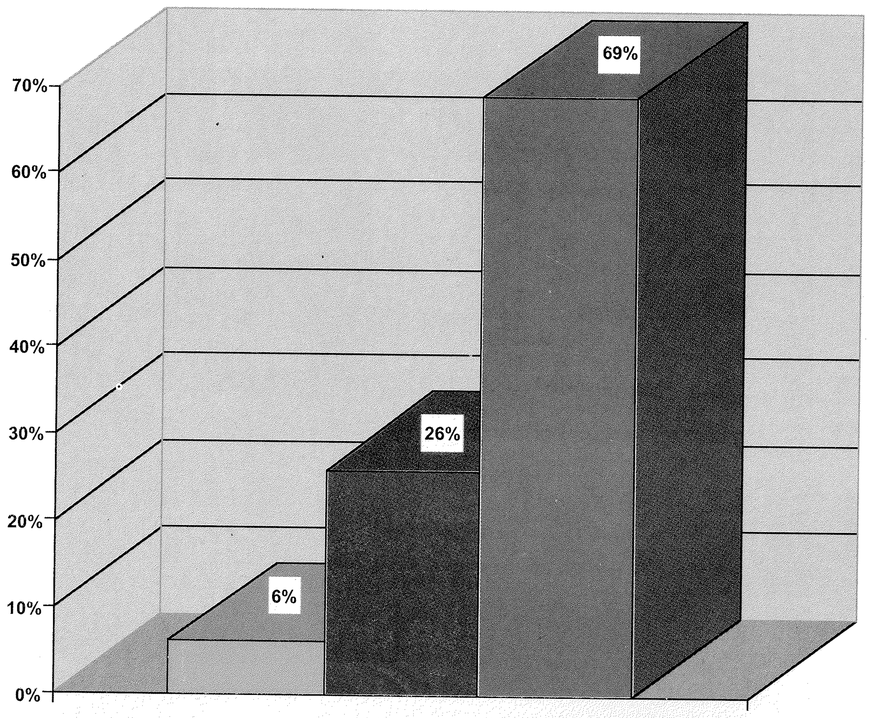
The best way to end corruption are to: (N=1513)



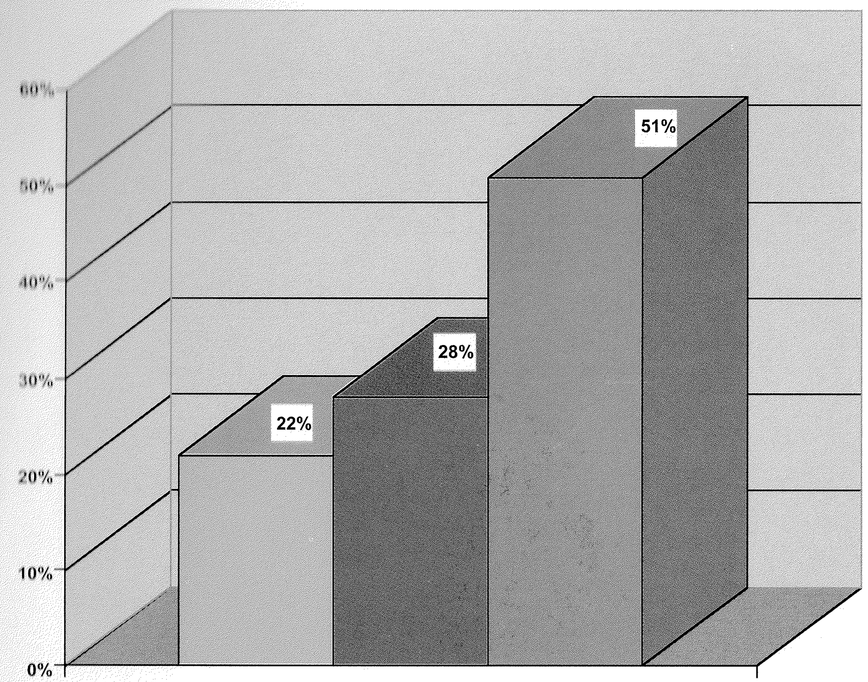
How long will it take the government to end corruption? (N=1513)



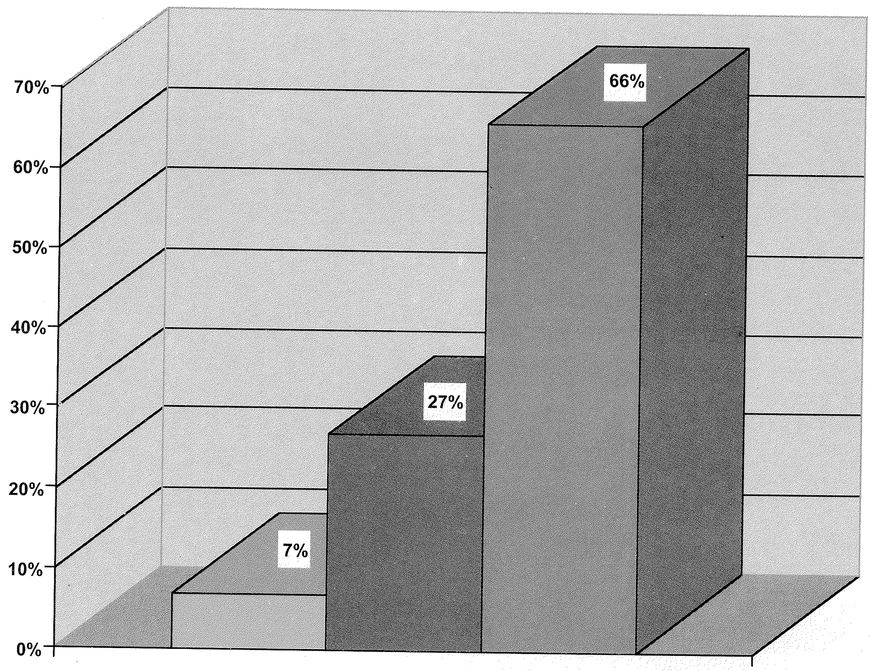
Most businesses must pay bribes (N=1513)



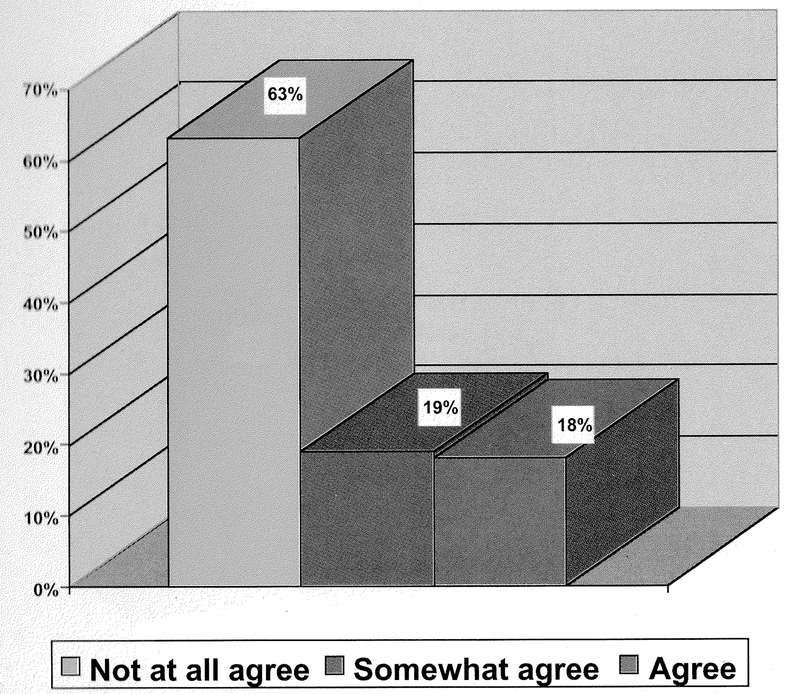
It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts (N=1513)



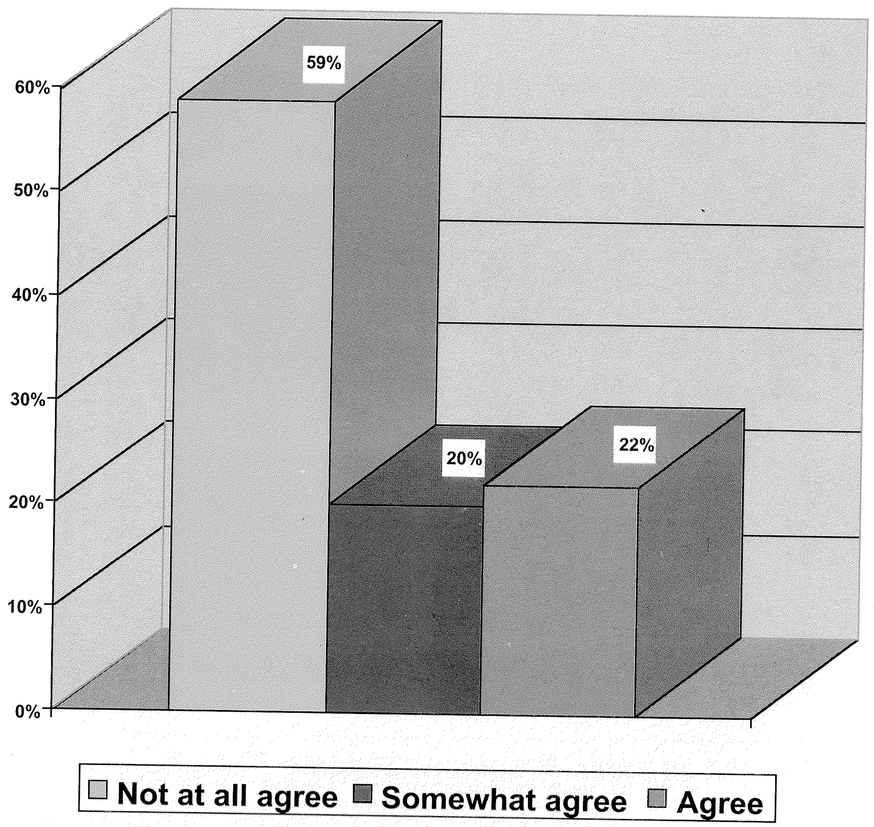
Gift-giving to officials is widespread (N=1513)



It is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies (N=1513)



Vote buying is acceptable (N=1513)



Appendix A

Copy of Corruption Survey

English Version

SURVEY I.D. ___ ___ ___ ___

Survey Date: _____
Day Month Year

Coder I.D. ___ ___

Location: Please check one:
Phnom Penh ( ) Kandal ( ) Takeo ( )

_____
Khan/District

CENTER FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
NATIONAL SURVEY ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS CORRUPTION

We invite you to participate in this survey, which asks general questions about corruption in Cambodia. The purpose is to help us understand how people feel about corruption, so we can design better programs to fight it. No one will know your name, so you can be certain you will stay anonymous. More than 1,000 Cambodians are participating in this survey. We would like to thank you very much in advance for your help!

Please check like X on the line at the appropriate answer.

1. Gender: Male _____ Female _____

2. Ethnicity (check only one): Cambodian ____ Chinese _____
Vietnamese _____ Cham _____ Thai_____ Other _____

3. Age (check only one): 18-20 yrs ____ 30-39 yrs____ 50-59 yrs _____
21-29 yrs ____ 40-49 yrs____ 60+ yrs_____

4. Religion (check only one): Buddhism _____ Islam ____ Christian ____ Other_____

5. Number of years of schooling, including professional training: _____

6. Individual income
Low ($0-$50 per month) ___
Medium ($51-$150 per month) ___
High ($151-$500 per month) ___
Very High (more than $500/mo) ___

7. Occupation (check only one):

Student ___
Teacher/Professor ___
Bank manager/staff/financial worker ___
Engineer ___
NGO worker ___
Health worker (drs., nurses, pharmacist) ___
Blue Collar worker ___
(regular job in factory, industry or repair shop)
Farmer/fisherman ___
Artisan ___
Service worker ___
(hotel, restaurant, hair salon)
Small business owner ___
Big business owner ($10,000+ capital) ___
Artist, writer, dancer ___
Urban poor ___
Other (explain) ___
_____
Police ___
Police—Military ___
Military ___

Member of National Assembly_____
Government Cabinet Member _____
Civil Servant _____
Fishery/Agriculture _____
Finance _____
Commerce _____
Education _____
Environment _____
Rural development _____
Women's Affairs _____
Tourism _____
Foreign Affairs _____
Social Affairs _____
Public works _____
Planning _____
Defense _____
Health _____
Interior _____
Post & Telecommunication _____
Industry, Mine & Energy _____
Justice _____
Information _____

Courts	___	Culture	_____
		Land Registry	_____

---

8. Is your salary paid by the government? Yes _____ No ____

PLEASE ANSWER TRUE OR FALSE TO THE FOLLOWING:

	TRUE	FALSE
9. Bribery is a normal habit in doing things in Cambodia.	____	____
10. Many rich people practice corruption.	____	____
11. Many poor people practice corruption.	____	____
12. A person who accepts a $20,000 bribe is more corrupt than a person who accepts a $20 bribe.	____	____
13. There is more corruption in the city than in rural areas.	____	____

PLEASE TELL ME HOW MUCH YOU AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING:
Please circle like this o around the number of the answer that conforms with your idea:

	Not At All	*Slightly Agree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
14. Most businesses must pay bribes to get things done.	1	2	3	4	5
15. To end corruption at higher levels is more important than at low levels.	1	2	3	4	5
16. Giving a bribe to anyone is as wrong as accepting a bribe.	1	2	3	4	5
17. Given the opportunity to gain from corruption, most people, rich or poor, will practice this act.	1	2	3	4	5
18. It is right for a civil servant who makes a small salary to accept extra gifts.	1	2	3	4	5
19. It is wrong for health staff to care for anyone only if he pays extra money.	1	2	3	4	5
20. If workers had higher salaries, ending low level corruption would be easier.	1	2	3	4	5

	Not At All	*Slightly Agree*	*Somewhat Agree*	*Agree*	*Strongly Agree*
21. Most people like to give bribes rather than pay full traffic fines.	1	2	3	4	5
22. It is right for workers with small salaries to take home office supplies.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Promoting anyone in a job because that person has a connection with a powerful official is wrong.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Most people thank officials who help them with small gifts.	1	2	3	4	5
25. It is right for an election candidate to give a small gift in exchange for a vote.	1	2	3	4	5
26. Corruption makes rich people richer and poor people poorer.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Corruption reduces people's confidence in government.	1	2	3	4	5
28. Corruption makes things run smoothly.	1	2	3	4	5
29. Corruption hurts the national economy.	1	2	3	4	5

30. How important do you think it is to end corruption in Cambodia?

Not at all important	Slightly important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
1	2	3	4	5

31. What do you think is the best way to end corruption? (choose two answers)

Increase civil servants' salaries ____
Create Anti-Corruption Commission ____
Give more freedom of press ____
Requiring government officials to declare assets and liabilities ____
Pass Anti-corruption Law ____
Auditing govt. departments ____
Publishing government contracts ____

32. If the government really wanted to stop corruption, how long do you think it would take?
2 years ___ 3 years ___ 5 years ___ 10 years ___ Never ___

Thank You Very Much

Appendix B

Copy of Corruption Survey

Khmer Version

លេខស្ទង់មតិ : — — — —

លេខភូជ : — —

ថ្ងៃ-ខែ-ឆ្នាំ (ស្ទង់មតិ) : _____
ថ្ងៃ ខែ ឆ្នាំ

ទីកន្លែងស្ទង់មតិ : _____
ភ្នំពេញ ( ) កណ្តាល ( ) តាកែវ ( )

_____
ខ័ណ្ឌ / ស្រុក

មជ្ឈមណ្ឌលអភិវឌ្ឍន៍សង្គម

ការស្ទង់មតិជាតិអំពីអាកប្បកិរិយាចំពោះអំពើពុករលួយ

យើងខ្ញុំសូមអញ្ជើញលោក/អ្នកចូលរួមក្នុងការស្ទង់មតិនេះ ដែលមានបញ្ហាចោទជាទូទៅអំពីអំពើពុករលួយ ។ គោលបំណងនៃការស្ទង់មតិនេះ គឺដើម្បីអោយយើងយល់ថា តើប្រជាពលរដ្ឋមានអារម្មណ៍ដូចម្តេចខ្លះ អំពីអំពើពុករលួយ ដែលជាកត្តាជួយអោយយើងអាចរៀបចំកម្មវិធីប្រយុទ្ធនឹងអំពើនេះបានកាន់តែប្រសើរ ។ គ្មាននរណាស្គាល់ឈ្មោះលោក/អ្នកទេ ដូច្នេះលោក/អ្នកអាចទុកចិត្តបានថា លោក/អ្នកនឹងស្ថិតនៅជាអនាមិក ។ មានប្រជាពលរដ្ឋកម្ពុជាជាង ១,០០០ នាក់ ចូលរួមក្នុងការស្ទង់មតិនេះ ។ យើងខ្ញុំសូមថ្លែងអំណរគុណជាអតិបរមាទុកជាមុនចំពោះការជួយផ្តល់មតិរបស់លោក/អ្នក ។

(សូមគូសសញ្ញាដូច ✕ នេះលើបន្ទាត់ត្រង់ចម្លើយណាដែលសមស្រប)

១- ភេទ : ប្រុស _____ ស្រី _____

២- ជនជាតិ (គូសតែមួយ) : ខ្មែរ _____ ចិន _____ វៀតណាម _____
ចាម _____ ថៃ _____ ផ្សេងពីនេះ _____

៣- អាយុ (គូសតែមួយ) : ១៨ → ២០ឆ្នាំ ___ ៣០ → ៣៩ឆ្នាំ ___ ៥០ → ៥៩ឆ្នាំ___
២១ → ២៩ឆ្នាំ ___ ៤០ → ៤៩ឆ្នាំ ___ ៦០ ឆ្នាំឡើង ___

៤- សាសនា (គូសតែមួយ) : ព្រះពុទ្ធ ___ ឥស្លាម ___ គ្រិស្ត ___ ផ្សេងពីនេះ ___

៥- រយៈពេលសិក្សា រួមទាំងការសិក្សាមុខជំនាញ (គិតជាឆ្នាំ) : — —

៦- កម្រិតប្រាក់ចំណូលផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន : ទាប (ពី ០ ដុល្លារ → ៥០ ដុល្លារមួយខែ) _____
ធម្យម (ពី ៥១ ដុល្លារ → ១៥០ ដុល្លារមួយខែ) _____
ខ្ពស់ (១៥១ ដុល្លារ → ៥០០ ដុល្លារមួយខែ) _____
ខ្ពស់ណាស់ (លើសពី → ៥០០ ដុល្លារមួយខែ) _____

៧- ចុះឈរ (គូសតែមួយ) :

- និស្សិត _____
- គ្រូបង្រៀន/សាស្ត្រាចារ្យ _____
- ធនាគារ/បុគ្គលិកធនាគារ/ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ _____
- វិស្វករ _____
- បុគ្គលិកអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល _____
- បុគ្គលិកសុខាភិបាល (វេជ្ជ.គិលានុ. ឱសថការី) _____
- អ្នកធ្វើការហោងចក្រ និង ឧស្សាហកម្ម, គ្រឿងចក្រ, មានការងារទៀងទាត់ _____
- កសិករ-អ្នកនេសាទ _____
- សិប្បករ _____
- អ្នកបម្រើភ្ញៀវ (សណ្ឋាគារ, ភោជនីយដ្ឋាន, កាត់សក់,) _____
- អ្នកជំនួញតូចតាច _____
- អ្នកជំនួញធំៗ ($90,000 ដើមទុន) _____
- សិល្បករ, អ្នកនិពន្ធ, អ្នករាំ _____
- អ្នកក្រីក្រតាមក្រុង _____
- សមាជិករដ្ឋសភា _____
- សមាជិកគណៈរដ្ឋមន្ត្រី _____
- មន្ត្រីរាជការស៊ីវិល ជលផល/កសិកម្ម/រុក្ខា _____
  ហិរញ្ញវត្ថុ _____
  ពាណិជ្ជកម្ម _____
  អប់រំ _____
  បរិស្ថាន _____
  អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជនបទ _____
  កិច្ចការនារី _____
  ទេសចរណ៍ _____
  ការបរទេស _____
  សង្គមកិច្ចការងារ _____
  សាធារណការ _____
  ផែនការ _____
  ការពារប្រទេស _____
  សុខាភិបាល _____
  មហាផ្ទៃ _____
  ប្រៃសណីយ៍ និង

- មុខរបរផ្សេងៗទៀត (សូមសរសេរ) _____

_____

- ប៉ូលីស _____
- អាវុធហត្ថ _____
- ទាហាន _____
- តុលាការ _____

ទូរគមនាគមន៍ _____

ឧស្សាហកម្ម ប៉ែ និង

ថាមពល _____

យុត្តិធម៌ _____

ឃោសនាការ _____

វប្បធម៌ _____

សុរិយោដី _____

៤- តើលោក/អ្នកបានទទួលឆ្នាក់បៀវត្សរ៍ឥឡូវនេះប៉ុន្មានខែហើយ ? ខែ _____ ទេ

សូមឆ្លើយឆ្លាស់ថា ពិត ឬ មិនពិត ចំពោះសេចក្តីដូចតទៅនេះ ÷

		ពិត	មិនពិត
៩-	ការស្វកប៉ាន់គឺជាទម្លាប់ធម្មតាក្នុងការធ្វើកិច្ចការអ្វីមួយនៅស្រុកខ្មែរក្នុងពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ន	_____	_____
១០-	អ្នកមាន (ទ្រព្យ) ជាច្រើន ប្រព្រឹត្តអំពើពុករលួយ	_____	_____
១១-	អ្នកក្រជាច្រើនប្រព្រឹត្តអំពើពុករលួយ	_____	_____
១២-	អ្នកទទួលសំណូក ២ ម៉ឺនដុល្លារ ពុករលួយខ្លាំងជាងអ្នកទទួលសំណូកតែ ២០ ដុល្លារ	_____	_____
១៣-	មានអំពើពុករលួយនៅតាមទីក្រុង ច្រើនជាងនៅតាមជនបទ	_____	_____

សូមឆ្លើយឆ្លាស់ថា តើលោក-អ្នកយល់ស្របប៉ុន្មាណា ចំពោះសេចក្តីដូចតទៅនេះ ÷

(សូមគូសសញ្ញាវង់មូលដូច O នេះ ជុំវិញលេខចម្លើយដែលស្របនឹងគំនិតលោក/អ្នក)

		មិនយល់ស្របសោះ	*យល់ស្របតែបន្តិច*	*យល់ស្របជាមធ្យម*	*យល់ស្រប*	*យល់ស្របទាំងស្រុង*
១៤-	ការធ្វើជំនួញភាគច្រើនត្រូវតែស្វកប៉ាន់ដើម្បីឱ្យកិច្ចការបានសំរេច	១	២	៣	៤	៥
១៥-	ការបំបាត់អំពើពុករលួយនៅថ្នាក់លើសំខាន់ជាងនៅថ្នាក់ក្រោម	១	២	៣	៤	៥
១៦-	ការឱ្យសំណូកទៅនរណាម្នាក់ក៏ជាការខុសឆ្គងដូចគ្នានឹងការទទួលសំណូកដែរ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
១៧-	បើមានឱកាសបានកម្រៃពីអំពើពុករលួយ, មនុស្សភាគច្រើនទាំងមាន ទាំងក្រនឹងប្រព្រឹត្តនូវអំពើនេះ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
១៨-	អ្នករាជការដែលមានប្រាក់ខែតិចទទួលជំនូនក្រៅគឺជាការត្រឹមត្រូវ	១	២	៣	៤	៥

	មិនយល់ស្របសោះ	*យល់ស្របតែបន្តិច*	*យល់ស្របជាបង្គរ*	*យល់ស្រប*	*យល់ស្របទាំងស្រុង*
១៩- គឺជាការខុសឆ្គងមួយ ដែលបុគ្គលិកពេទ្យព្រមព្យាបាលជម្ងឺអោយជនណាម្នាក់លុះត្រាតែជននោះបង់ប្រាក់ក្រៅអោយខ្លួន	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២០- បើអ្នកធ្វើការមានប្រាក់ខែខ្ពស់ឡើង, ការបំបាត់អំពើពុករលួយនៅថ្នាក់ក្រោមប្រហែលជាកាន់តែងាយស្រួលជាង	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២១- មនុស្សភាគច្រើនចូលចិត្តឱ្យសំណូកជាជាងទៅបង់ប្រាក់ពិន័យពេញចំពោះបទល្មើសចរាចរ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២២- អ្នកធ្វើការ ដែលមានប្រាក់ខែតិចយកសម្ភារៈពីការិយាល័យទៅផ្ទះ គឺជាការត្រឹមត្រូវ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៣- ការតម្លើងបុណ្យសក្តិឱ្យនរណាម្នាក់ក្នុងការងារដោយសារតែមនុស្សនោះមានទំនាក់ទំនងនឹងអ្នកមានអំណាចគឺជាការខុសឆ្គង	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៤- មនុស្សភាគច្រើនតែងអរគុណអ្នករាជការដែលបានជួយខ្លួន ដោយជំនួនបន្តិចបន្តួច	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៥- បេក្ខជនឈរឈ្មោះឱ្យគេបោះឆ្នោត ដែលផ្តល់អំណោយបន្តិចបន្តួចជាថ្នូរនឹងសន្លឹកឆ្នោត គឺជាការត្រឹមត្រូវ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៦- អំពើពុករលួយធ្វើឱ្យអ្នកមានកាន់តែមានឡើង, អ្នកក្រកាន់តែក្រទៅ	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៧- អំពើពុករលួយបានបន្ថយទំនុកចិត្តរបស់ប្រជាជនចំពោះរដ្ឋាភិបាល	១	២	៣	៤	៥
២៨- អំពើពុករលួយធ្វើឱ្យការងារប្រព្រឹត្តទៅបានស្រួល	១	២	៣	៤	៥

២៩- អំពើពុករលួយធ្វើឱ្យសេដ្ឋកិច្ចជាតិខូចខាត ១ ២ ៣ ៤ ៥

៣០- តើលោក/អ្នកយល់ថា ការបំបាត់អំពើពុករលួយនៅស្រុកខ្មែរមានសារៈសំខាន់ប៉ុនណា ?

មិនសំខាន់សោះ	*សំខាន់តែបន្តិចបន្តួច*	*ប្រហែលជាសំខាន់*	*សំខាន់*	*សំខាន់ណាស់*
១	២	៣	៤	៥

៣១- តើលោក/អ្នកយល់ឃើញថា ត្រូវធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះទើបបំបាត់អំពើពុករលួយបានប្រសើរបំផុត ?
(សូមគូសយកចម្លើយពីរ)

- តម្លើងប្រាក់ខែអ្នករាជការ _____
- បង្កើតគណៈកម្មការប្រឆាំងអំពើពុករលួយ _____
- បើកសេរីភាពសារពត៌មានឱ្យកាន់តែទូលាយ _____
- តម្រូវឱ្យអ្នករាជការប្រកាសទ្រព្យសម្បត្តិ និង បំណុលរបស់ខ្លួន _____
- បង្កើតច្បាប់ប្រឆាំងនឹងអំពើពុករលួយ _____
- ត្រួតពិនិត្យបញ្ជីក្រសួងមន្ទីររបស់រដ្ឋាភិបាល _____
- ផ្សាយជាសាធារណៈនូវកិច្ចសន្យា (កុងត្រា) របស់រដ្ឋាភិបាល _____

៣២- បើរដ្ឋាភិបាលចង់បំបាត់អំពើពុករលួយប្រាកដមែន, តើលោក/អ្នកយល់ថា ត្រូវប្រើពេលប៉ុនណា ?
(សូមគូសចម្លើយតែមួយ)

២ ឆ្នាំទៀត___ ៣ ឆ្នាំទៀត___ ៥ ឆ្នាំទៀត ____ ១០ ឆ្នាំទៀត ____ បំបាត់មិនបានឡើយ ___

សូមអរគុណជាអតិបរមា

Appendix C

Counter Corruption Programs in Cambodia

To conduct counter-corruption projects appropriate within the Cambodia context, it is important to understand the methodologies, views and programs of organizations that are actively working against corruption. Moreover, it is crucial not only to understand how these agencies combat corruption. Corruption not only harms the cultural, social political, economic and legal aspects of Cambodian society, but development funds are increasingly attached to programs that are corruption-free. The following report does not contain an exhaustive list and description of every counter-corruption project currently functioning in Cambodia. Instead, it summarizes prevailing attitudes about what corruption is, how it should be combated and a variety of different approaches toward fighting corruption.

Corruption is widespread in Cambodia and it is imperative that it be countered. Yet, its protean nature makes it difficult to target for eradication. How does one develop a program to alter an apparent social norm? Where should such a program begin? Although several programs contain counter-corruption measures, only the Center for Social Development targets corruption directly. The views below are collected from a range of organizations ranging from the World Bank to small local NGOs. They have been chosen eclectically and are meant to foster discussion.

The Khmer Institute for Democracy (KID)

Committed to the eradication of social injustice and to the promotion of democracy, KID considers counter-corruption work an essential part of this struggle. Even so, counter-corruption is not directly on the agenda of KID. Its philosophy is that Cambodian civil society must work toward reestablishing a moral society instead of trying to regulate a corrupt one. Instead of training people, KID wants to instill and strengthen spiritual Buddhist values that are similar to democratic and secular values. Rather than devoting time and resources to counter-corruption measures at high levels, KID believes that corruption should be combated at the grassroots level. This translates into educational seminars on morals and ethical behavior (at the District and Commune levels). KID conducts training seminars in provincial capitals and would like to do so at the village level, but finds the costs restrictive.

KID prefers to work with local leaders, and often educates monks about links between Buddhism and democracy. In addition, KID produces a television series on topics such as the value of public service and leadership. Featuring "debates" between business and student leaders, the target audience is violators and potential violators of human rights.

Corruption is not the central thrust of KID but falls under the general umbrella of KID's mandate to improve the dignity of Cambodians through moral and ethical education. In the future, KID wants to promote the publication and distribution of primary texts that teach morals and believes that translated foreign texts concerning ethics and education can be used successfully in Cambodia.

The Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR)

Counter-corruption education is part of CIHR's good governance training seminars, but is not an independent module. The five day training seminars are offered throughout Cambodia with the goal of training government officials in the concepts and principles of good governance in a democratic society. The seminars cover subjects such as: principles of good governance, the consequences of fraud and waste, codes of conduct, management techniques and rule of law. Issues like accountability and transparency are often discussed in these seminars. Most of the individuals who participate are district level chief and police officials, but CIHR would like to begin training commune and village level officials. In addition, CIHR may begin to treat more specific issues in their seminars , such as corruption, based on the needs of seminar participants, but these issues are not yet fully identified.

Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO)

Devoted to improving the human rights situation in Cambodia, LICADHO has several programs that directly or indirectly are related to counter-corruption work. The primary function of LICADHO is to receive and investigate complaints about human rights abuse and, if necessary, arrange legal counsel for complainants. In doing so LICADHO offers a restraint to corrupt practices in the judiciary. By insisting on practices free of corruption, LICADHO believes it is setting a good example in the court system. Consequently, Judges and other court officials are cautious to avoid corrupt practices when dealing with LICADHO.

Like several other NGOs, LICADHO conducts training seminars and workshops throughout Cambodia on human rights. These seminars are done in coordination with 16 provincial offices in 14 different provinces and Phnom Penh. LICADHO also has a women's program and a children's program. Through both of these latter programs LICADHO tries to lessen human rights abuse, most notably in the areas of trafficing of women and children. In addition, LICADHO watches the finances of the Cambodian Center for Rehabilitation of Youth and the prison system in Phnom Penh, to determine if corruption is causing funds to be siphoned away from their intended use.

World Bank

The World Bank combats corruption in many ways. First of all it insists that any funds it allocates to programs in Cambodia are not misued and it frequently conducts audits of these programs to determine if any funds are being used for corrupt practices. The philosophy of the World Bank is that by making governments smaller and more efficient, and by increasing the availability of scarce resources the opportunities for corruption are decreased. The World Bank believes that the legal mechanisms to deal punitively with those found guilty of corruption is important, but believes eliminating the causes and climate of corruption is even more so.

To achieve these ends the World Bank has established the Economic and Financing Institute in coordination with the Ministry of Finance. At this institute government employees are trained how to reduce the bureaucratic layers that slow down government business and create a favorable climate for corruption. The World Bank also advises the Cambodian government on particular pieces of legislation that will make official corruption less likely. Examples of such legislation are Public Investment law, Contract law, Arbitration law and logging legislation.

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