

American University of Central Asia

European Studies

Culture of Corruption in German and Kyrgyz Universities

By

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Abstract

Corruption stresses the countries all over the world, though the level of corruption is varying from country to country. According to the Transparency International, corruption index of Kyrgyzstan constitutes 1.8, in comparison, Germany's index is 7.9.¹ In my bachelor thesis I would like to contrast Germany and Kyrgyzstan in terms of corruption in higher education sector. Due to the fact that these countries have absolutely different background, history, economy, politics, location, culture, traditions and moral perceptions, I applied different empirical research approaches which are appropriate to the environments of these countries. In case of corruption in Kyrgyzstan, the primary goal is evaluation and measurement of level, process, scale and system of corruption. In case of Germany I talk mostly about German attitude towards corruption, moral principles and gift-giving/gift receiving issue in higher education system. Accordingly, questionnaires were designed to be understandable for every society. By exploring all these aforementioned issues, I shed light on the reasons of such different situation on corruption issue in Germany and Kyrgyzstan. Thus, the second half of my bachelor thesis is devoted to possible explanation of high corruption level in Kyrgyzstan and comparatively low in Germany.

Kyrgyzstan has showed quit high corruption level in the most of Bishkek universities, whereas there are only some rare exceptional bribe concerning cases in Germany. Two countries have absolutely different scale, attitudes and perceptions of corruption. Why? I come with the following explanation: first of all, tribal past of Kyrgyz people, second of all, legacy of the Soviet Union, third off all, economic instability. These facts are contrast to Germany, which experienced significantly longer process of bureaucratization/modernization, environment and influence of democratic Europe and, of course, long-term economic stability.

¹Transperancy International. *Corruption Perception Index 2010 results*. Web. Oct 2010.
<http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results>

Zusammenfassung

Korruption betrifft alle Länder der Welt, wobei ihr Ausmaß aber von Land zu Land variiert. Transparency International zufolge, hat Kirgistan einen Korruptionsindex von 1,8, Deutschland hat im Vergleich dazu einen Index von 7,9.² In meiner Bachelor-Arbeit möchte ich Deutschland und Kirgistan im Bereich der Korruption im Hochschulbereich vergleichen. Da diese Länder einen völlig unterschiedlichen Hintergrund, im Sinne von Geschichte, Wirtschaft, Politik, geographischer Lage, Kultur, Tradition und moralischen Vorstellungen, haben, wandte ich unterschiedliche empirische Forschungsweisen an, die den jeweiligen Umständen dieser Länder entsprachen. Im Fall von Kirgistan ist das Hauptziel die Evaluation und das Messen des Ausmaßes, Verlaufs und des Systems der Korruption im Hochschulbereich. Im Fall von Deutschland geht es mir hauptsächlich um die deutschen Einstellungen zu Korruption, moralische Prinzipien und die Problematik des Schenkens im Hochschulsystem. Die Fragebögen wurden dementsprechend angepasst, so dass sie in jeder Gesellschaft verständlich wären. Durch die Analyse der genannten Aspekte, kamen die Gründe für so große Unterschiede in Bezug auf Korruption im Hochschulsystem Deutschlands und Kirgistans ans Tageslicht. Dementsprechend ist die zweite Hälfte meiner Bachelorarbeit möglichen Erklärungen gewidmet, die das hohe Korruptionslevel in Kirgistan und das vergleichsweise niedrige in Deutschland erklären.

In Kirgistan zeigte sich ein recht hohes Korruptionslevel in den meisten Bischkeker Universitäten, während in Deutschland nur einige seltene, besondere Fälle von Bestechung gefunden werden konnten. Beide Länder haben ein absolut unterschiedliches Ausmaß, Einstellungen und Wahrnehmungen der Korruption. Warum? Ich komme im Verlauf meiner Arbeit zu folgenden Erklärungen: Erstens ist es die tribale Vergangenheit des kirgisischen Volks, zweitens der Einfluss der Sowjetunion, drittens die ökonomische Instabilität. Diese

² Transparency International. *Corruption Perception Index 2010 results*. Web. Oct 2010.
<http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results>

Tatsachen stehen im scharfen Kontrast zu Deutschland, das einen signifikant längeren Prozess der Bürokratisierung und Modernisierung, den Einfluss des demokratischen Europas und – natürlich – eine lange ökonomische Stabilität erfahren hat.

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Introduction

Germany and Kyrgyzstan are two countries with absolutely different background, history, economy, politics, location, culture, traditions and moral perceptions. There are far more differences than similarities. However, in my bachelor thesis I would like to compare these countries in terms of corruption.

The issue of corruption stresses countries all over the world. “Corruption has no conscience. Once it has spread it destroys all branches of society, regardless to geography or sector. It produces distrust and injustice. Corruption is a very dangerous phenomenon which is to deprive any country for potential, economic and moral development. It even can turn to a real threat of national security of the country.”³ Corruption has increased over the last three years, say six out of 10 people around the world. One in four people report paying bribes in the last year. These are the findings of the 2010 Global Corruption Barometer.⁴

According to data taken from Transparency International on-line site Kyrgyzstan is on the 164th place in corruption rating list out of 178 countries. Its index constitutes 1.8. To compare indexes of different countries: Germany – 7.9, Denmark, New Zealand and Singapore are tied at the top of the list with a score of 9.3, followed closely by Finland and Sweden at 9.2. Bringing up the rear is Somalia with a score of 1.1, slightly trailing Myanmar and Afghanistan at 1.4 and Iraq at 1.5.⁵

Above given data on corruption index in Germany and Kyrgyzstan gives us clear image about proper government functioning within these countries. Capability of the government to operate its structures is directly – proportional to the corruption level. The European Union’s efforts to fight against corruption are more successful comparing to Central Asia and Kyrgyzstan in particular. Even though the EU has further room on undertaking

³ Informational Agency 24.kg. *Transparency International: Kirgizstan po-prejnemu ostaetsya odnoi iz samyh korrumpirovannyh stran v mire*. 26 Oct 2010. Web. Apr 2011.

<<http://www.open.kg/ru/publicpolicy/trasnkgcorruptill>>

⁴ Transparency International. *Global Corruption Barometer 2010*. Web. Apr 2011.

<http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/gcb/2010>

⁵ Transparency International. *Corruption Perception Index 2010 results*. Web. Oct 2010.

<http://www.transparency.org/policy_research/surveys_indices/cpi/2010/results>

measures against corruption, it acts successfully in many anti-corruption related areas such as public and private sector. Corruption in Kyrgyzstan has obtained enormous sizes. It has become one of the part of government functioning, an integral component of people's communication and making business. Progressing by leaps and bounds it causes huge disproportions not only in the administrative system and governmental institutions, but also leads to serious changes of people's perception of life principles, who lose their trust to Kyrgyz government and belief in justice. Our peoples are getting used to corruption way of solving any problem. We stopped perceiving it as an evil; rather we accept it as a normal daily behavior. Kyrgyz youth is anticipated to get high position within the government in order to have an access to public money – that's the easiest way for personal enrichment and well off existence. Immoral and illegal measures are being justified by young people since achievement of the goal to become quickly rich prevails.

Political sector is not the only highly corrupted organ in Kyrgyz system. Everything starts already from the bottom - educational institutions of the country. Habit of giving and receiving latent or open bribes is rooted in kindergartens, high schools and universities. Due to my strong concern about degradation by corruption means of Kyrgyzstan's future generation, widespread and open practice of business making by bribery methods and decrease of educational level in Kyrgyz universities, I will compare two, for the first view, incomparable educational systems of Kyrgyzstan and Germany. Using German attitude towards corruption issue and by revealing high level of corruption based on my empirical research in Kyrgyz universities, I would like to contribute to the elimination of this shameful phenomenon from our higher educational systems.

The first part of my work is devoted to the measurement of corruption in the three main universities of the capital city Bishkek. Methodology of doing research describes accompanying obstacles of getting completely true answers from the survey and instruments

and strategy of survey itself. Data is provided in the form of diagrams, so the reader could have graphic image on corruption level in every university.

The second part of the bachelor thesis determines the issue, if Germany faces the same problem. Even though there are some exceptional cases in German academic history, corruption in universities is not a daily and widespread activity. Thus, two empirical researches on German and Kyrgyz academic corruption are completely different, accordingly questionnaires were elaborated in the way to be appropriate and understandable for every representative of each researched society. In the case with Kyrgyz universities, the primary goal is evaluation and measurement of level, process, scale and system of corruption, whereas by conducting survey with Germans I would like to understand their attitudes towards corruption, moral principles and gift-giving, gift receiving issue in higher educational systems. Establishment of these facts, their deep analysis and further comparison will help me to find out reasons and backgrounds for such huge contrast between Kyrgyz and German educational systems and determine the role and scale of bribery within.

The third part of the bachelor thesis talks about possible reasons leading to unlike attitudes, opinions and scale of corruption in Germany and Kyrgyzstan such as various development and functioning of mass media, the role and importance of social relations and distinction between personal and private spheres of life in Kyrgyz and German societies. First of all, open and independent mass media hinders spread of corruption by exposing illegal ventures to public. Kyrgyz government lacks transparency of its operating which leaves bribe-give, bribe-take relations unknown and unpunished. In Germany, like in any democratic country, mass media is an independent and impartial system. Participation in corruption machinations is exposed immediately to public, criticized openly and punished severely. Second reason of huge corruption level in Kyrgyzstan is high importance of social relations. Kyrgyz people inherited tribal community features existing till nowadays from our ancestors. Family ties are stronger than personal qualifications. Unfortunately, job appointments in most

of the cases are awarded basing not on applicant's achievements and qualifications, but on the ground of personal interest of an employer. The third reason of different corruption level in Germany and Kyrgyzstan is attitudes of people towards gift-giving and gift receiving issue. Economical sustainability provides German people with no need of gifts, whereas Kyrgyz use gifts as a form of mutual financial support. Giving and receiving gifts is an integral part of our lives. The culture of gift-giving and receiving is an intrinsic aspect of human society. However, the societies of the world differ significantly in the aspect of gift culture. Kyrgyz people practice gift giving in both private and professional lives. If gift exchange is normal thing in private life, in professional life it might easily become a hidden bribe. Since Germans tend to separate private life from professional activity, possibility of bribery in the form of various gifts becomes rare.

Above mentioned reasons outflow from interviews. In addition there are other grounds for high corruption level in Kyrgyzstan and relatively low in Germany. The fourths chapter of the bachelor thesis talks about modernization/bureaucratization processes in both countries. History of modernization in Germany has started a long before than in Kyrgyzstan. While Germany was modernizing Kyrgyz tribes were still nomads, while Germany was modernizing, Kyrgyzstan was struggling to survive after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In the 21st century in the time of progress and development, Kyrgyzstan is stressed out with disastrous revolutions producing disorders within public and social structures of the country and needs further long term and productive recovery period. Within this short modernization period, there was one event that accelerated drastically development of Kyrgyzstan – entrance to the Soviet Union. Eventually during the 30s all the Kirgizians were settled. In the last 70 years the region has undergone a rapid process modernization. Factories, roads, railroads, airfields, modern dwellings and power stations were built. The educational system of the Soviet Union was also exported to the distant regions of Central Asia. Dramatic decline and

decrease of educational quality have been experienced after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

The process and modernization/bureaucratization in Germany has a rich and long history in contrast to Kyrgyzstan. Some of the state bureaucrats already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a real full-time employment and were salaried for their services.⁶ Part four of the bachelor thesis describes more precisely the period of 17th -21st century. I took exactly this period of time because I wanted to make a history comparison of Kyrgyzstan and Germany (before 17th century Kyrgyz tribes did not highlight significant events which would contribute to modernization process).

Thus, corruption is the one of the most dangerous phenomena for the state and it turns to real threat of national safety of the country. In addition, corruption is a basic obstacle for political and economic prosperity of the country. Corruption degrades the society, especially if this phenomenon exists within the younger generation of any country. Corruption in universities destroys young people's perceptions of good and evil. Youth is the future of any country, the main force which moves the country forward and the strongest engine of economical and political development. My bachelor thesis, especially its empirical part is the measure against corruption in Kyrgyz educational systems.

1. Corruption Definition and Origin

“Transparency International (TI) has chosen a clear and focused definition of the term: Corruption is operationally defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. TI further differentiates between "according to rule" corruption and "against the rule" corruption. Facilitation payments, where a bribe is paid to receive preferential treatment for something

⁶ *History of Bureaucratization and Bureaucracy*. Web. Apr 2011.
<<http://pagerankstudio.com/Blog/2010/10/history-of-bureaucratization-and-bureaucracy/>>

that the bribe receiver is required to do by law, constitute the former. The latter, on the other hand, is a bribe paid to obtain services the bribe receiver is prohibited from providing.”⁷

In addition to the general definition given by Transparency International, I elaborated a definition through qualitative and quantitative research which is appropriate to educational environment I’m going to work on: Corruption is use of position of trust to dishonest gain, offering favor, cash, gift or any other service with an explicit or implicit obligation to being reciprocated.

That corruption exists is a fact. That corruption is widespread and spreading is a common perception. Many believe that corruption is culturally induced. There is a big interest in corruption issue because of the fact it interferes in many social, economical and political aspects of our lives. However, the issue of corruption has been faced not only by modern societies and it’s not a new phenomenon. Former U,S, Trade Representative Michael (Mickey) Kantor observed that "corruption has existed as long as there have been people in power and money to influence them."⁸ Corruption is characterized by widespread bribery. In the Old Testament God tells Moses "Neither shalt thou take bribes which blind the wise and prevent the words of the just" (Isaiah 1:23). Other Old Testament admonitions remind us that the effect of bribery is to "make sinners" (Psalms 26:10), that it "corrupts conscience" (Exodus 23:8), "brings chaos" (Amos 5:12), and "merits punishment" (Amos 2:6).⁹

John T, Noonan, Jr., in his scholarly intellectual history of bribes, contends that this form of corruption "has a history, divisible into discernible epochs."¹⁰ He identifies four stages: (1) 3000 B.C. to 1000 A.D, where "the idea of non reciprocity struggles against the norms of reciprocation which cement societies whose rulers are both judges and recipients of

⁷ Transparency International. *Frequently Asked Questions about Corruption – How Do You Define Corruption*. Web. 1 Feb 2011. <http://www.transparency.org/news_room/faq/corruption_faq>

⁸ Kantor, Michael. *Remarks prepared for delivery to the Emergency Committee for American Trade*. Web. March 6. 1966. <webmaster@ustr.gov>

⁹ Noonan, John T., Jr. *Bribes*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. Print

¹⁰ Ibid.,

offerings"; (2) 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D. where "the anti-bribery ideal is dominant in religious, legal and literary expressions" and "its active enforcement is attempted in successive waves of reformation"; (3) the 16th century with "the domestication (of bribery) in English bibles, and English plays and English law and ends in the eighteenth century with its proclamation as a norm for the English empire"; and (4) the American era, where heirs of the English tradition began to apply and expand its influence until "it is asserted as an American norm around the earth," Noonan then concludes his reflection by observing that bribery as moral wrong has expanded to "The rest of the world—not merely as a result of American influence but because of the general expansion of Western moral tradition—makes at least verbal acknowledgment of the norm."¹¹

It's very hard to measure corruption like it's hard to measure culture. The most fundamental difficulty is the variability of governmental and business practices in different parts of the world. Transactions can be acceptable or not unacceptable, or corruption can be mixed up with the terms such as theft, fraud, extortion and malpractice.

Part I

2. Corruption in Kyrgyz Universities: Analysis from quantitative survey

Corruption and bribery in most Kyrgyz universities is a daily activity and is perceived as an integral part of being a student. Today, our education can be included into the most corrupted areas. Thus, existence of open corruption in universities of Kyrgyzstan is an obvious fact.

However, the level of corruption differs from one university to another. The research on this issue was conducted in the year 2009 by me and my group mates.

¹¹ Ibid.,

3.1 Methodology of doing research

Sampling

For doing research three universities of Bishkek were taken. They are KRSU, KNU and AUCA. (Table 1). The main criteria we've chosen exactly these universities is that they are the most famous, prestigious and popular. Another reason is that these public places for education teach the biggest amount of students comparing to other universities. Also all these universities are not homogenous, they all represent different areas of study.

We got information for our research paper using two types of research methods: quantitative and qualitative. Questionnaires represent quantitative research method. They were composed in the form of closed questions with 3-6 variants of answers or Yes/No questions. Interviewees were chosen randomly to make answers true and clear. Questionnaires are anonymous. Students didn't have to write down their names, only age, gender, place of study and department.

Interviews represent qualitative research method. Questions for interview are open question. They are designed very accurately without pressing or imposing in the latent sense our own subjective opinions on the attitude of interviewees toward corruption in universities. Mostly we have chosen those students for interviews who were either our friends or acquaintances, however sometimes we talked to unfamiliar people, who were in the groups of our friends.

Table 1 – Universities taken for interview

№	Name of the university	Abbreviation	Number of students	Departments from where students were interviewed
1	Kyrgyz National University	KNU	60	Economics Law ИИМОП (ИИМОП)
2	Kyrgyz – Russian Slavic University	KRSU	60	Humanitarian Law Economics
3	AUCA	American University in Central Asia	60	different (since AUCA doesn't have separate buildings for each department)

3.2 Obstacles of getting completely true answers

There were several obstacles for getting more authentic information:

- 1) False answers were unavoidable, since the issue of corruption is very delicate and sensitive for many people. Not all of the students could openly trust to an unknown person, moreover on the territory of their universities. Many of them asked oral questions such as where are you from, why are you doing it in our university, what for do you need it. We tried to make them sure that the questionnaires are anonymous, nobody would read

their answers and the only reason we do it is to accomplish our task – to conduct interviews for doing our research paper.

- 2) The place for distributing questionnaires has appeared to be an obstacle. For answering the questionnaires student need from 5 to 10 minutes and the place where they fill can it out. In AUCA and KNU student didn't face this problem. Since students of AUCA were distributed questionnaires when they were in the computer labs, Bravo Café or in the Dubovyi Park. Moreover only student who were sitting in front of the computers, on the benches or having lunches, but not walking were asked for assistance. We tried to ask walking students, but mostly got refusals, since they were in hurry or they just referred to inconvenience of reading and writing down. The same favorable situation was in KNU. There is an Alleya Molodeji (Youth Alley) where students could fill out questionnaires sitting on the benches and big halls in the buildings with sitting places. However, we faced the problem of students' non-wishing to help us in KRSU. All buildings do not have any contiguous territory such as park or alley. Moreover, we found very few sitting places inside the buildings in the halls. Thus, because of these inconveniences some of students' filled out the questionnaires very quickly and without proper attentions and accuracy.
- 3) In KRSU, Law Department another problem appeared. We distributed questionnaires to a group of young people in front of their buildings. There were 8 of them, but later some more boys joined and showed initiation to fill out the questionnaires. However, they didn't take it seriously. Probably they decided to stand up for prestige of KRSU and wrote down that they do not have any piece of corruption. However, other students asked at the same place indicated prices and the number of "payments" last semester. So we can assume that Law Department is partially corrupted or we got false answers.
- 4) The question 11 "Which university is the least "corrupted?" produced some interesting results. It appeared that almost all students are very patriotic and faithful to their universities. Even though they indicated the price for "развод", the number of "paid"

subjects and other questions which confirm existence of corruption, the answers on question 11 were surprising. Most of the Students indicated that their university has the lowest level of corruption. This fact is contrary to our supposition that AUCA is to be considered as the least “corrupted university”.

- 5) The question 13 “What’s the level of corruption in your university” and given answers for it a) high b) average c) low and d) none can be also considered as an obstacle for completely true information. Even though students acknowledged that their place of study is corrupted, they could not give an objective evaluation of the level of corruption. Mostly they marked b) average and c) low. But sometimes these questions are controversy to the reality of the events. They gave such answers because in our opinion they had nothing to compare with. For example, KRSU students pay from 2 to 5 thousand soms for an exam, but still they are sure Slavic University is the least corrupted.
- 6) ИИМОП (ИИМОП - *Институт интеграции международных образовательных программ*) is kind of a part KNU. Students themselves described it as government in the government. They compared it with Vatican and Italy. According to our research ИИМОП is not corrupted at all. Any of interviewed student did not indicate neither existence of corruption nor their personal involvement in it. Thus, ИИМОП increased prestige of KNU and accordingly decreased the common corruption level, by means that not 100% of all KNU system is corrupted. However, we should not forget that ИИМОП is not integral part of KNU. It’s separate university within KNU.

3.3 Instruments and strategy of survey

The survey consisted of four parts:

- The aim of the first part was getting information about existence and level of corruption (Questions 1, 2,3). The question “Have you ever paid for any subject” is

the essential question for revelation of this phenomenon, and answers are based on personal experience of a student.

- The second part – researching of bribing processes the system of corruption. These are questions about how many times students paid, how did they paid (directly or indirectly), what's the price for exam and “зачет”. (Questions 3, 4, 5, 6)
- The third part is dedicated to explore the issue of culture of corruption. Do students consider presents/services or only money are to be considered as bribing. (Questions 8, 9)
- The fourth part is for evaluating prestige of universities of Bishkek. What does the public say and how does it think about some of the public places of study.

It should be mentioned that some of questionnaires contained controversies, some questions are mutually exclusive. For example, an exam cost some of money (from 1 to 5 thousands in KRSU, 300-700 in KNU), but students indicate that corruption level in their university is “low”. Another example, students write down that they have never paid for any subject, but they answered that they usually give money directly/indirectly to a teacher. Probably these students were not attentive enough, in hurry or they personally never paid, but they know how other student do it.

What also should be underlined is that the aim of our research paper is not revealing of existence of corruption, but evaluation and measurement of level, process, scale and system of corruption.

3.4 Checking of the questionnaire and process of survey

Before we started to distribute questionnaires and begin the survey, we asked for assistance of our classmates. That was done to make sure the questions are clear and understandable, they don't press others or impose our opinion on future interviewees.

Saying simply questions are neutral. Five classmates were supposed to read out proposed question and bring improvements.

Surveys were conducted on the territories of 3 universities. We come up to people in different places with gathering of students (cafeteria, lobby, corridors and parks). That helped to make accurate statistical measurement.

In general, survey was conducted in friendly environment. Any of administrative bodies of universities did not express their displeasure with our actions. We informed administrative bodies that we were conducting survey for the research paper, and this work is not going to be published. It's just for personal use. Surveys were conducted mostly in the first half of a day, especially during breaks between classes. This is the best time because students are not tired and more open to communication. Mostly students felt free filling out the questionnaires, since we didn't forget to aware them questionnaires are anonymous. Also we didn't stand up next to them; we gave them 10-15 minutes and then gathered questionnaires.

Interviews in average were about 10 minutes long. The fact that interviewees were our friends, the atmosphere was casual. They felt free to answer on these delicate questions, concerning personal opinion on the issue of corruption. It was not in the strict form of asking – answering interviews, it was informal talk. We met once and asked the enough number of people. However, I also got some answers on my question through my sisters and brothers.

3. Results: the level of corruption in different universities of Bishkek

According to our research 39% of all respondents have ever paid for subject being passed or just for better grade and 63% have never used this method. However, the percentage of young bribe-givers is “softened” by some exceptions. There are some universities in

Bishkek which, according my research, do not expose any level of corruption. They are American University in Central Asia, and branch of Kyrgyz National University –IIMOP.

Chart 1: Have you ever paid for a grade? (General picture)

Now let me provide a picture of each university separately.

Chart 1A

American University of Central Asia

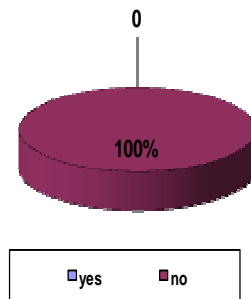


Chart 1B

Kyrgyz Russian Slavik University

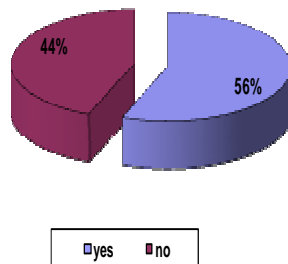
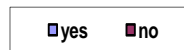
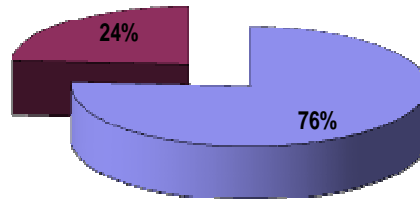


Chart 1C

National State University (without IIMOP)



National State University (with IIMOP)

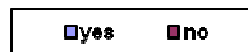
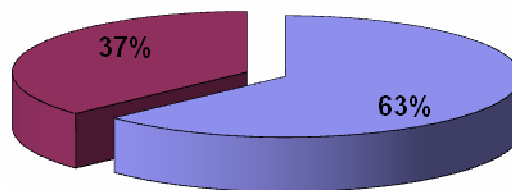
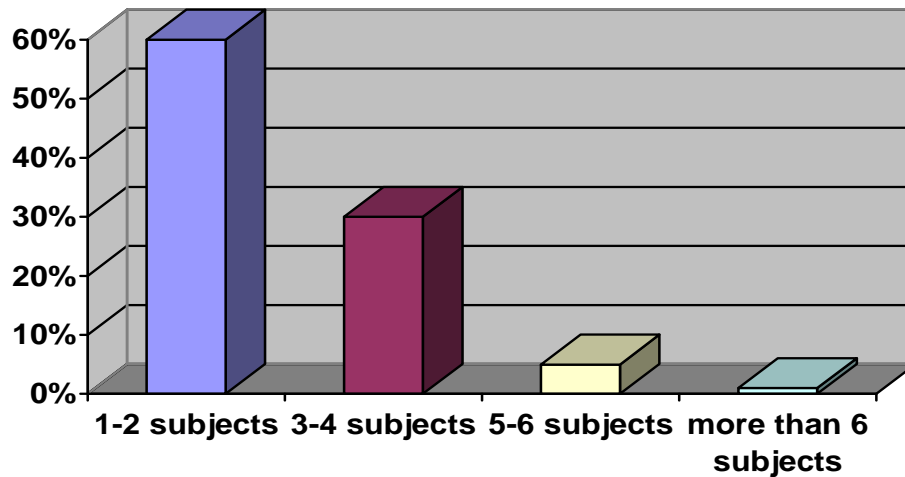


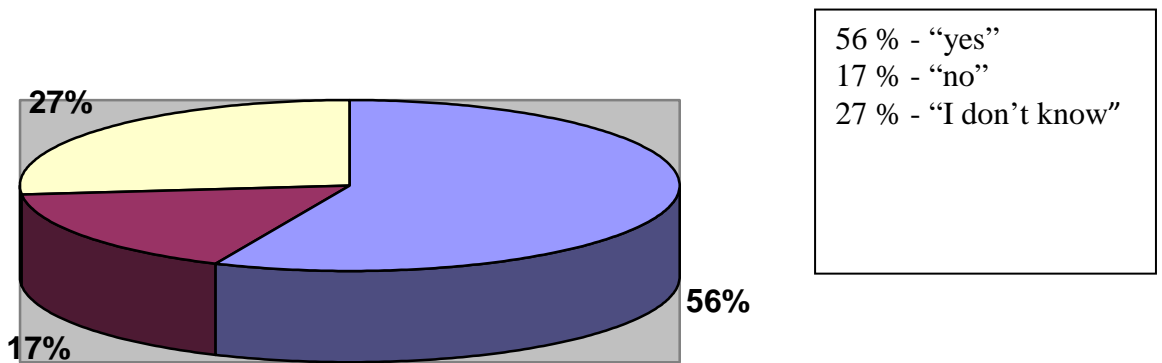
Chart 2. How many subjects did u “buy” last semester?



If a student does not want to study and earn his grades and educational hours by personal efforts, there is another possibility to solve this problem – “pay” for university subjects. Above given diagram determines the scope of “subject paying” popularity among students of Bishkek universities. Period of time is one semester. The most popular answer was that students usually pay for one or two subjects per semester, 60% of all students confirmed it. 30% of all students confirmed that they, so called “razveli” over three or four subjects last semester. And only three student out of all recognized that they paid for more than 6 subjects.

The previous question produces next diagram which determines existence of fixed prices for every subject. The table given below provides average price for “razvod”. These questions and diagrams concern two universities - KNU and KSU, since it has been determined that AUCA and IIMOP operates without corruption ventures

Chart 3. Do you have fixed prices at your university?



How many soms costs “развод”?

	<i>Mid-Term</i>	<i>EXAM</i>
<i>KNU</i>	300 s.	500-700 s.
<i>KRSU. Law Department</i>	1000-1500 s.	2000-3000 s.

<i>KRSU.</i> <i>Department</i>	<i>Humanitarian</i>	1000 s.	2500 s.
<i>KRSU.</i> <i>Department</i>	<i>Economics</i>	1500-2000 s.	2000 s.- 100 \$

Here is a table with average prices for tests and exams. Costs were written by those students who have already faced bribing. Some respondents told us, that each subject and the teacher have their own fixed prices. For example, it is necessary to pay more to receive good grade for mathematics than for any easy subject.

Observing the table we can notice that the Kyrgyz Nation University has the lowest costs. Further goes KRSU (Humanitarian and Law Departments). And the highest costs at KRSU (Economics Department).

Part II

4. Academic Corruption in German Universities

5.1 Allegation of PhD Bribes in Germany

This article was written by Jochen Leffers and taken from German on-line newspaper Spiegel.de. Since I don't have an access to German universities and cannot search for corruption cases by myself, I decided to use reliable internet resources.

“Germany as any other country in the modern world with high educational standards and competition has traditionally being obsessed with titles – titles from academic sphere. To

be addressed “Herr Doktor” or “Frau Doktor” is prestigious without any doubts. But are all of those titles earned in a legitimate fashion? In 2009 the public prosecutor in Cologne went public with its countrywide investigation into mass fraud. According to the prosecutor, more than 100 professors from across Germany are suspected of bestowing doctoral titles in exchange for bribes.

The scam involved an academic consulting firm in the Cologne suburb of Bergisch Gladbach that allegedly paid bribes to professors in order to help its clients obtain Ph.D.s more quickly. Basically professors were being accused of having possibly awarded Ph.D.s to unqualified candidates.

"We went through tons of material after the raid," said Günther Feld, Cologne's senior public prosecutor "And that is what produced the concrete suspicion against the people who have now been indicted." The majority of the suspects under investigation, academics from a wide range of fields, are freelance university instructors and lecturers and not professors holding long-term appointments.

The institute at the center of the investigation has been around for over 20 years and buys space in newspapers and trade magazines across Germany advertising its services in helping people obtain doctorate degrees. The company pledges to clients that it will help them find both a good topic to write a dissertation on and a professor well-suited for overseeing the dissertation work. The company can charge as much as €20,000 (\$28,700) for these services, with a cut of €4,000 going to the professors.

Martin D., who holds a Ph.D. in philosophy, is the institute's managing director. This is not his first run-in with the law. In July 2008, a regional court in the western city of Hildesheim sentenced D. to three and a half years in prison and slapped him with a €75,000 fine for bribery.¹² The court found that he had introduced over 60 Ph.D. candidates to a law professor at the University of Hanover, whom he paid to accept the candidates. In many cases,

¹² Ibid.,

the candidates didn't fulfill any of the prerequisites for pursuing a Ph.D. Germany's Federal Court of Justice confirmed the lower court's decision in May, ending any appeals D. might have. A court also convicted the law professor for accepting bribes. In one case, he actually admitted he had given a better evaluation to one female candidate in return for sexual favors.

Frank Grätz, the founder and long-time head of the institute, fared better. He escaped prosecution after being judged unfit to stand trial for health reasons. For many years, Grätz had been a vocal advocate for the institute and had always claimed that it provided genuine professional services -- including information on legal issues related to earning a Ph.D., access to databanks and literature research and contacts with potential Ph.D. advisers. Before the institute went bust and its Web site was shut down, it used to advertise online that: "We will help you find a professionally competent Ph.D. adviser (whether it is a full or an associate professor), who has a track record for being a successful and fair adviser and expert." To add to his institute's appeal, Grätz also advertised that he kept a "dissertation museum" and a prize for the shortest dissertation.

Manuel Renü Theisen, a professor of business management at Munich's Ludwig Maximilian University comments on this issue: "Ph.D. consultancy has grown to become a genuine business sector," he says. "We're talking about millions of euros here".¹³

5.2 Reactions and Remedies

" From one side offering databank research for sale isn't necessarily illegal, nor is helping people make contact with potential Ph.D. advisers. The German Association of University Professors and Lecturers (DHV) has described this as "a practically impenetrable legal thicket." DHV spokesman Matthias Jarosch believes that the matter puts "the reputation of an entire profession into question."

¹³ Leffers, Jochen. *Academic Corruption, Germany Rocked By Allegations of Ph.D. Bribes*. Spiegel.de. 24 Aug. 2009, Web. 24 March. 2011. <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,644639,00.html>>

That is pretty much how Annette Schavan, Germany's minister of education, sees it, too. Schavan said that if the accusations turn out to be true, the credibility of Germany's academic community could sustain major damage. "The public should be able to expect from universities that they handle the process of awarding Ph.D.s with the utmost diligence," Schavan said, adding that she backs the DHV's calls for stricter regulations on granting Ph.D.s.

The clients of the Ph.D. consultants are usually working academics who wanted to have a doctorate -- and were willing to pay for it. But the idea has been proposed that institute's clients do not know about existence of corruption within this system. Feld's office investigations have shown that the majority of the institute's clients weren't aware of the element of bribery involved.

However unawareness cannot serve as an excuse. The clients might have their degrees annulled. "These people know that they obtained their titles through academic efforts that were not just their own and that they did so with the help of Ph.D. consultants," Hartmer told the German news agency DDP. "

Still, the fact is that not every client succeeded in obtaining a Ph.D. In the case of the law professor at the University of Hanover, for example, only a handful of the 60 candidates he oversaw ultimately received their doctoral degree. When news of the scandal broke in March 2008, the University of Hanover promptly launched an investigation and invalidated nine of the doctoral degrees it had awarded, including ones for a judge and several civil servants and lawyers."¹⁴

5.3 Widespread and Persistent

¹⁴ Ibid.,

“For the time being, Cologne's public prosecutor's office has chosen to refrain from announcing the particular places and people under investigation. According to a report by the German news magazine *Focus*, however, the investigation involves instructors at universities across Germany -- in Frankfurt, Tübingen, Leipzig, Rostock, Jena, Bayreuth, Ingolstadt, Hamburg, Hanover, Bielefeld, Hagen, Cologne and Berlin. Most of the universities have yet to make a public comment on the affair. However, officials at the University of Bayreuth have admitted to having promptly asked the prosecutor's office to provide information about which professors and Ph.D. students might be involved.

In the meantime, there are still plenty of shady companies to be found on the Internet that are eager to provide such services. Here a few choice examples:

- "Whether it's for term papers, B.A. or M.A. theses, or Ph.D. dissertations, our specialists are ready to help you with their expertise and specialized knowledge in all fields." (a company from Halle)
- "Our team of over 400 academically trained ghostwriters work in all specialized fields at a high academic level, at a good price and in an interdisciplinary way. They can meet your deadline and remain confidential. We have the capacity to process even large assignments in line with your requirements." (a company from Lühne)
- "When we say academic consultancy, we mean Ph.D. consultancy. We have much experience in this field and would like to offer this service to students wishing to receive a Ph.D. in Eastern Europe and the customary doctoral programs there." (a company with a contact address in Slovakia)
- "Are you hoping to complete a thesis or dissertation that requires a lot of work? We can provide you a concrete program for doing so in a manageable amount of time. Short on time? We can solve some clear problems and overcome some bureaucratic hurdles.

Looking for the perfect topic for your doctoral dissertation? We can provide you with advice and help you find a Ph.D. adviser." (a company from Leipzig)"¹⁵

5. Corruption in German Universities: Analysis from qualitative survey (interviews)

According to the previous empirical observation concerning measurement of corruption level in Kyrgyz Universities, I decided to take German higher education schools as a contrast.

6.1 Methodology of doing research

Sampling

I collected data for measuring level of corruption in German universities using two types of research methods – qualitative and quantitative. I created absolutely different questionnaires from those for measurement Kyrgyz level of corruption. We should understand that situation with bribing in higher education systems in these both countries has nothing in common. Questions appropriate to Kyrgyz society would not work out with German people. That's why I concentrated not in measuring the level of corruption in German universities as I did it in previous research with Kyrgyz universities, but rather on revealing the reasons of such a low level of corruption, finding out cultural backgrounds and attitudes of people and, of course, analyzing connection between regular bribe and a gift.

Questionnaires represent quantitative research method. Questionnaires are composed of 11 questions including Yes/No and open questions with possibility to comment and

¹⁵ Ibid.,

additional information from respondent is welcomed. Questionnaires were organized in the way to protect respondent's anonymity – no indication of name, gender, age and any other personal information. However, problem I faced with distributing questionnaires influenced negatively on providing complete anonymity to all respondents.

Interviews represent qualitative research method. Questions for interview are open questions. Each interview took about 15 minutes. Moreover, interviewees were welcomed to provide additional useful information, deviating from the main questions.

Getting answers on questions out flowing from the interview itself helped me to create new ideas, understand better and get firmer knowledge about the issue of corruption in German universities, about the phenomenon of corruption in general, its preconditions, consequences and some historical backgrounds.

Questionnaires are organized accurately with a close attention to avoid explicit or implicit imposition of my own subjective attitude or opinion toward the issue of corruption. Interviews were mostly conducted not with German students, but rather with German teachers, since there are few German students in Kyrgyzstan.

Due to the inability to conduct face-to-face interviews and distribute questionnaires directly to representatives of German students and teachers, I and my advisor decided to conduct interviews via German student social network – studivz.de. I sent messages randomly to students of different German universities, different age, gender and location, containing a greeting, brief introduction of myself, naming the topic of my bachelor thesis and kind ask for assistance in collecting data by answering my questionnaires.

In order to design questionnaires correctly and build objective questions one should take measures to avoid bias and intentional or unintentional subjectivity. It's important to avoid a deliberate attempt to either conceal or highlight something. To resolve this problem, I asked students from Germany, who were doing their internships teaching German language in

humanitarian department of Kyrgyz-Slavic University to look through and comment on my questionnaires.

That appeared to be very useful, since they suggested adding some more important questions and excluding questions which might be unclear or not understandable for a regular German student. For example, question № 3: “Have you ever heard about bribing in universities in Germany or other countries?” seemed to be obvious for me as a representative from the country where corruption in the university is a daily thing. However, they said that a lot of German students never confront such a problem and might have never heard about this issue neither in Germany nor in any country of the world.

In general, I distributed 8 questionnaires to German students, 6 questionnaires to German teachers and have two interviews.

6.2 Obstacles of getting completely true answers and collecting data

There were several obstacles for getting completely genuine answers:

- 1) False answers were unavoidable, since the issue of corruption is very delicate and sensitive for either German or Kyrgyz people.
- 2) I faced serious problem with studivz.de. The idea did not basically work out. I spent a lot of time sending randomly messages to different people, but unfortunately I did not get achieved any significant result. Students thought my message is a simple spam. Not only did the students consider my attempt to collect data as a spam, but also the studivz.de system itself. It blocked me after sending 10-15 messages a day, saying “you’re not sending a junk mail, are you?” Thus, I could spread a limited amount of messages every day. I sent 90-100 messages overall and got only 3 filled out questionnaires. I decided to shift from quantitative research with students to qualitative research with teachers.

- 3) Inability to provide anonymity was also quite serious obstacle to get completely true answers. Since the studivz.de method of collecting data failed, questionnaires were sent via e-mail to German acquaintances of my adviser. Thus, having known their names and e-mails that would be hard to expect positive answers on the questions like “Have you ever taken a bribe” or “Do you feel obliged to give a good grade/extend the deadline/allow not to turn in paper?” However, after long-term research and interviewing some Germans who are not interested in me getting the wrong answers, I believe corruption level in German higher educational institutions is not significant and answers are received are more or less authentic and it’s safe to rely on this data.

6.3 Instruments and strategy of survey

The survey consisted of three parts:

- 1) The aim of the first part was getting basic information about existence of corruption and people’s attitude towards corruption. (Questions 1, 2, 3)
- 2) The second part is directed towards clarifying the system of gift-giving and gift-receiving between students and professors in German universities. These questions are highly important because there’s a very delicate line in distinguishing between offensive bribe or simple gift. Since gift-giving and gift-receiving is essential part of functioning of Kyrgyz society, that was very interesting and useful to know how “the work is done” in Germany. Is it a usual phenomenon to congratulate a professor for Christmas, birthday or any other holiday? Do Germans exchange goods in professional life? Do professors accept any gifts from students? (Questions 4, 5, 6, 8)
- 3) The third part of questionnaire concerns cultural attitude of German professor towards gifts/bribes and moral principle in general. Have bribe-relations in Kyrgyzstan been really inherited and rooted deeply into Kyrgyz culture? Does belonging to a particular

culture determine rules which permit to accept a bribe/gift or close eyes on student cheating? (Questions 7,9,10)

4) The fourth part is dedicated towards the issue of mixing private and professional lives.

Do Germans prefer to keep back their professional lives from students? And Why?

What's worth to underline is that unlike the previous research in Kyrgyz universities, where the primary goal was evaluation and measurement of level, process, scale and system of corruption, in this empirical part of my paper I talked mostly about German attitude towards corruption, moral principles and gift-giving/gift receiving issue in higher education systems.

6.4 Checking of questionnaires and the process of survey

I tried to be neither biased not subjective in evaluating data. As it was mentioned above, double – check assistance on questions to be clear and understandable was provided by three German interns. All corrections and improvements were attentively taken into consideration.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted in friendly environment and casual atmosphere. It's necessary to mention that one of the interviewees was German teacher working permanently in Kyrgyzstan, another interviewee was in the country for a short period of time – 3 weeks. Their names have been changed for anonymity reasons. Each interview took about 15 minutes. Respondents felt free on answering delicate questions on corruption, because there was nothing to hide or be shame of. Tape recorder was used for convenience reasons.

7. Results from interviews

I had interviews with two German teachers. Questions for interviews are taken from regular questionnaires. However, interviewees were welcome to give additional useful

information on the issue of corruption. Thus, there are additional ideas out flowing from the main stream of questions and answers.

Interviews start from general question such as: “Which of the social problems do you believe is the most important in Germany?” The first respondent Mr. Brecht believes that economic decline has to be seen as financial crisis. Too much money has been borrowed by governments and private business, which causes a lot of problems in Europe today. Secondly, demographic crisis also causes some problems. European generation is aging. It’s not sustainable for state economy. Western European life style cannot go in the future. The US and Germany buy cheap goods in developing countries on the expense of selling them expensive products. This will change, because there are a lot of technical advancement in India and China. So this model of economic superiority requires reforms. But reforms are not taken at the moment. It’s hard to change things, because people got used to such a lifestyle. So, demographic crisis increases economic problems.

The second respondent Mrs. Petschke unlike Mr. Brecht does not consider economic decline as important issue which stresses Germany nowadays. Neither does she think that corruption nor can none of the following problems such as ethnic/religious diversity of population, corruption, economic decline or organized crime be considered as real problems that faces modern Germany. Despite the fact that corruption in her opinion is not dangerous, she does not refuse existence of corruption mechanisms in high business: “I would say that in business and international relations the level of corruption is not low. Doing ventures that involve corruption is perceived to be moral, because these people help their firm or organization. Actors on this arena think that helping a firm is according to moral principles. High business can even bribe foreign governments. However, now we have some law cases, when control over corruption is much better than it was before.” Mrs. Petschke brings a firm argument to support idea of anti bribery policy saying that it’s hard to do corruption ventures in any sphere of German business-making because in comparison to Kyrgyzstan mass media

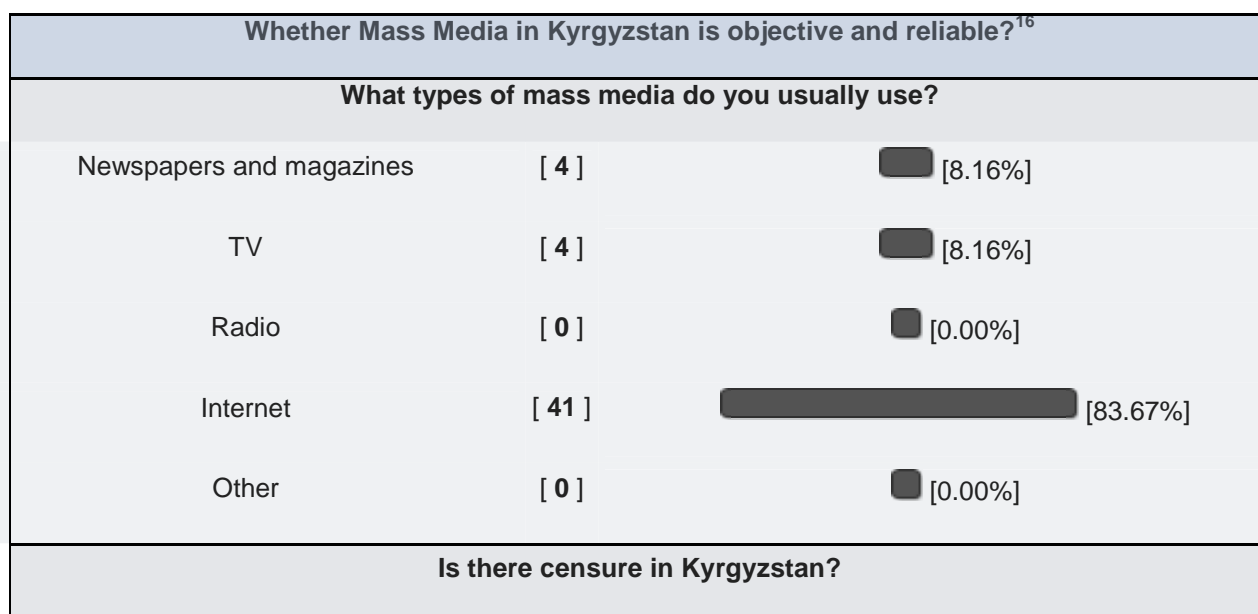
in Germany works properly: “In addition, it’s much more open in terms of publicity. The main reason of such a low level of corruption in general is that everything is publicized.” Mrs. Petschke confirms my expectation about non-existence of bribery in German higher education systems: “In universities there is definitely no corruption.”

7.1 Mass media in Kyrgyzstan and in Germany

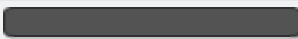





"No government ought to be without censors; and where the press is free, no one ever will."

Thomas Jefferson

To prove Mrs. Petschke’s assumption about restricted mass-media in Kyrgyzstan, I provide some data from local resources. For example, this chart is taken from popular Kyrgyz internet forum – diesel.elcat.kg. They conducted a social survey about reliability of objectivity of Kyrgyz mass-media.



¹⁶ Diesel Forum. *Ob'ektivna li SMI v Kirgizstane*. Web. 21 March. 2011. <<http://diesel.elcat.kg/index.php?showtopic=4709096>>

Yes	[34]	 [69.39%]
No	[9]	 [18.37%]
I don't know	[6]	 [12.24%]
Is Kyrgyz mass media objective?		
Yes	[3]	 [6.12%]
No	[39]	 [79.59%]
I don't know	[7]	 [14.29%]
Total number of opinions: 49		

Indeed, the press in Kyrgyzstan is quite restricted. It has been not a secret that behind almost every media agency there are particular sponsors, whose interests are taken into considerations at most by working groups of these agencies. That's the reason that the single information is interpreted differently in favor of interested influential persons.

Mass media is very important tool for informing people about events happening in the country. Higher importance attains mass media during tense periods such as parliamentary and presidential elections, as it was in October 2010 in Kyrgyzstan.

Bettina Ruigies – independent German observer, who works in Kyrgyzstan for several years, gives an interview to Deutsche Welle about mass media during elections in Kyrgyzstan 2010.¹⁷ Below I provide some important extracts from Mrs Ruigies interview taken from on-line newspaper ru.trend.az with my translation from Russian to English.

Answering on Deutsche Welle's question "What's the difference of mass media activity in Kyrgyzstan and Germany during election period", she appears to be quite skeptical. "She says that local mass media are extremely active during election time. She's surprised

¹⁷ Bushuev, Mihail. Sluhi v Kirgizstane stali vajnee massmedia – Nemeckyj Journalist – Bettina Ruigies. Web. 28 March. 2011. <<http://ru.trend.az/regions/casia/kyrgyzstan/1759246.html>>

hearing on TV, radio, listening magazines and newspapers constant political advertisement: “It’s everywhere and I think it’s too much!” That’s the main difference between Kyrgyz and German political races. In Kyrgyzstan the main illumination of activity of political party is done through showing constant advertisement and talk shows.

In Kyrgyzstan politicians have many possibilities to say whatever they want, journalists on their turn just deliver their messages. There’s no independent analysis or comparison among political programs of the parties. In talk-shows they talk only to each other. Mass media do not help citizens to get oriented in the inside politics and local affairs and current situation of the country. German politicians, by contrast, pay a attention not only on broadcasting of influential advertisement and public political discussions, but also to personal analysis of political situation.

Neither are there social surveys in Kyrgyzstan. There are few statistics and little information about people’s attitudes and intentions. In Germany, weekly surveys of voters are very important.

In general, mass media could have taken more responsibility. However, they are not completely honest. They avoid talking about conflicts and calling things by their proper names; they should call a spade a spade. In comparison to Germany, it’s well accepted to conduct public discussions, particularly through mass media. If one does not talk about the issue, it does not mean that the issue does not exist. This problem causes gossips to replace official statements of mass media. Gossips become more influential and reliable. Indeed, there are a lot of unjustified gossips and false information in Kyrgyzstan. People do not trust mass media. A taxi driver, who went to Osh, becomes more important source of information than private of governmental mass media agencies.”¹⁸

Having known this fact from my personal experience, I can give an example basing on events of 7th April 2010. We heard about turmoil was coming primary from rumors within the

¹⁸ Ibid.,

Kyrgyz society. The news, news papers, magazines whatever private or governmental were absolutely quiet till the very beginning of revolution, where tens of people were killed. Instead of warning people to stay home, be careful and take care of their children, they broadcasted useless programs and repeated news from archives. American University of Central Asia is located right on the main square of Bishkek, where usually all manifests and demonstration take place. When national disorders started, hundreds of students were having their classes. It was neither possible to drive away from the university because there were huge traffic jams, nor call for a taxi because telephone lines were overloaded.

Restricted Kyrgyz mass media fearing of governmental oppression did not see proper to inform population about upcoming disastrous events. Private newspapers, magazines and TV channels were bribed for silence. Governmental mass media had no other choice.

It's believed that after revolution of 7th April mass media have become significantly open though. They tried to gain independence from governmental authority. Nowadays, TV broadcast, newspapers, internet resources provide possibility to get acknowledged about all parliamentarian and presidential activities. Taboos and prohibition of open critique have been tried to be eliminated. In comparison to other Central Asian countries, Kyrgyzstan is considered to a "bulwark of democracy"¹⁹. We have unprecedented level of mass media freedom comparing to Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. But unfortunately, it's still hard to compare freedom of speech with the West.

In my personal opinion, even though mass media in Kyrgyzstan is relatively open and honest, it's still controlled by the government or any other influential persons. Mass media is corrupted. If one wants to hide unpleasant information and keep it unrevealed, money would be the best way to solve this problem. Moreover, restricted mass media was inherited by Kyrgyzstan from the Soviet Union. It was controlled by the central government, so unnecessary information could ever soak into public.

¹⁹ Anderson, John. *Kyrgyzstan: Central Asia's Island of Democracy?* New York: Routledge. Taylor&Francis Group, 2007. Print.

Results from interview (continuation)

On the question “Have you heard about bribing in universities in Germany or other countries?” both respondents gave the same answers. Yes, there were some rare cases of bribing in higher educational systems, but they produced great scandals, since mass media did not hesitate to publish them as soon as possible. Mr. Brecht and Mrs Petschke heard about corruption in German universities from news. There was one case when German professor offered good grades or whatever for sexual services or “assistance” in writing PhD work. If one doesn’t have time, but has money one can get assistance from some universities or private companies in writing PhD. Of course, it’s not clear whether one work on the paper or not. But, in general, all cases in Germany are reported in the news: newspapers or on-line journals - Spiegel, Zeit.

Bribery in post – Soviet universities is quite common. In principle, this is a thing to which all people are used to. That concerns not only education sphere. Mr. Brecht admits that he himself had to bribe when he visited Uzbekistan. He invited his Uzbek friend to come to Germany. The friend did not have a foreign passport. They paid 100 USD to get the passport faster. Mr. Brecht himself bribed to get registration in Uzbekistan. He did want to wait, paid 20 USD and got registered.

Coming back to Germany, “bribing in German universities is not usual”, says Mr. Brecht. Even in social sciences he cannot call to memory any particular cases. In Law it might be more cases, because exams are tougher and it’s more prestigious. In entering universities there are also no bribes. In general, he has never face this problem personally, accordingly has no personal experience.

The next question which flew out of my interview is “What are the reasons for such huge corruption level in Kyrgyzstan?” First off all, it’s culturally accepted, says Mr. Brecht. Also, this is a legacy from late Post Soviet time. In Germany, people know they rights and

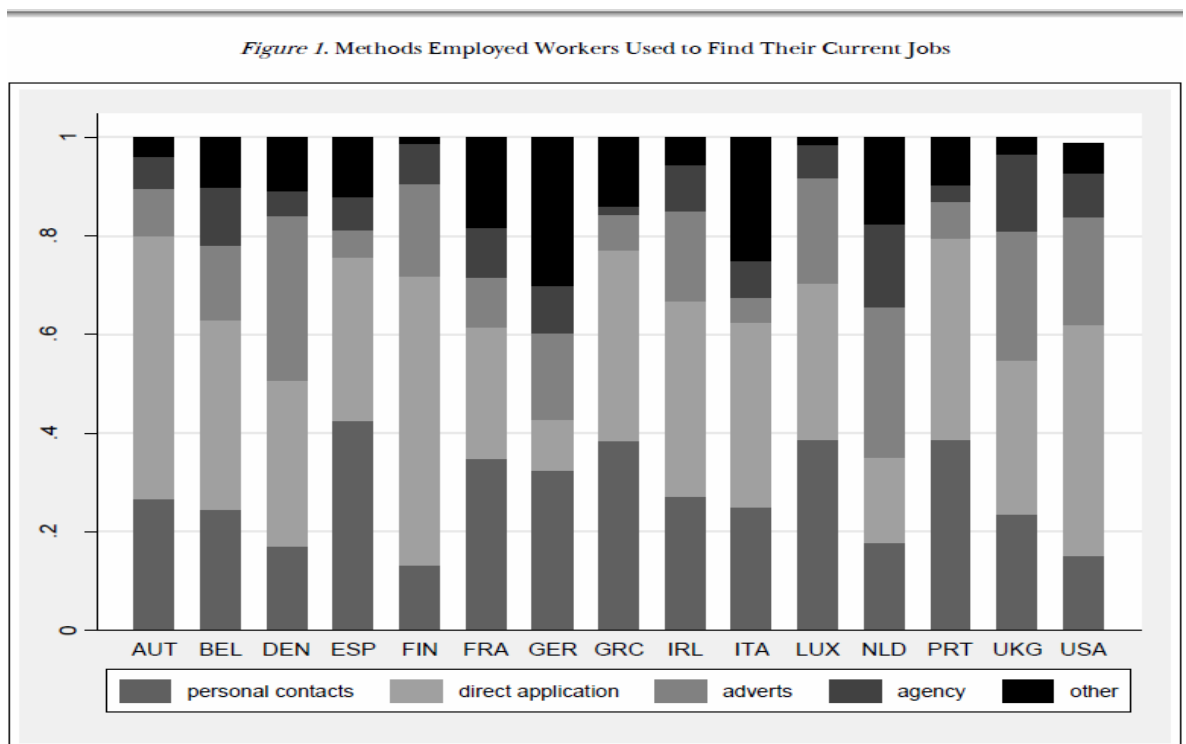
they know they can get what they need without any payment. Besides these facts, Kyrgyzstan should work on its economic sustainability. Basically corruption ventures prosper in Kyrgyzstan, because of lack of official funds and lack of control. Under official funds I understand salaries, pensions, aids which are miserable. The average salary rate in Kyrgyzstan is 200\$-300\$, although prices for basic needs such as food and utility are high comparing to world standards. Insufficient public funds make bribe giving and bribe receiving integral part of Kyrgyz business functioning. Mr. Brecht thinks that daily practice of corruption ventures roots into Kyrgyz mentality, making people perceived it not as something evil and amoral, but rather it becomes an essential tool to “make the work done” – business promotion, getting higher job position, getting into school/university, getting visa/passport/insurance etc.

I would like to give the following example. Mr. Brecht in his interview mentioned the facts that in Vena people pay for a car to be register quicker. He is sure this is a bribe. I should admit that the first thing came to mind was that I did not consider paying for a car being registered is a bribe for me. Once one wishes to accelerate the process of business-making, one has to pay for the fast service. This is an obvious fact. This is a Kyrgyz way of thinking. My moral attitude differs a lot from Mr. Brecht’s opinion: “Everybody should be treated equally. The problem of increased inequality exists.” That’s exactly what I mean about rooting of particular values under the pressure of environment we live. German, Kyrgyz and any other nation in the world have different perception of life principles, moral values and cultural peculiarities. I came to the following conclusion, what’s considered to be immoral in Germany, might be daily activity in Kyrgyzstan, what’s forbidden in Germany, might be allowed in Kyrgyzstan, what’s obviously perceived as a piece of corruption in Germany, is not necessarily corruption in Kyrgyzstan.

7.2 Importance of Social Relations in Kyrgyz and German societies

Our talk smoothly shifts to differences in social structure of both cultures. Social relations are highly important for functioning of every society. Personal contacts are the most popular method of getting a job position. Below is the table confirming this hypothesis taken from Michele Pellizzari research project “Do Friends and Relatives Really Help in Getting a Good Job?”²⁰

Table: “Do Friends and Relatives Really Help in Getting a Good Job?”²¹



This diagram illustrates the distribution of job finding methods for employed workers across countries. It documents that, together with direct application and answering/placing advertisement, personal contacts are among the most important channels that lead people into jobs.²² We can see that personal contacts occupy significant place among different job finding methods in every country in the world. Of course, numbers differ from country to country.

²⁰Pellizzari, Michele. *Do Friends and Relatives Really Help in Getting a Good Job?* *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, article 7. Web. April 2010. <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/ilrreview/vol63/iss3/7>

²¹ *Ibid.*,

²² *Ibid.*,

For example, Finland, Denmark and USA have the least percentage of personal contacts use in getting a job, whereas in Germany this method is comparatively popular. Unfortunately, Kyrgyzstan is not on the chart, but I'm going to touch the issue of social relations importance in Kyrgyzstan in the following paragraph.

Kyrgyz society is a tribal society. Throughout history the nomadic Kirgizians have organized their politics according to tribal rules and traditions. The most important organizational units have been the tribe, clan and the family. Indeed, Soviet Union had influenced on social structure of Kyrgyz people, however after the collapse of the USSR Kyrgyz people gradually return to old foundations. Traditions and cultural traits which were forbidden under Communist rule are again becoming important. Tribalism as a word is not always positively perceived by Kyrgyz, they/we use instead the word "urutchuluk". Translated into English urutchuluk means: "The tight and unfree relationship between relatives".²³ Family, knowledge of roots and belonging to a particular clan is important for every Kyrgyz individual. I found the confirmation of strong tribal ties existing in Kyrgyzstan till nowadays from article of Erlend H. Hvoslef. It states that: "From relatives you borrow money if needed. From their relatives in the countryside, the city-dwellers receive: potatoes, vegetables, fruit and meat if needed. Access to prestigious positions and possibilities to enter higher educational institutions are also dependent on family relations or contacts. The family is considered to be an important resource in times of difficulties. If an individual, with means, refuses to give help to relatives, he knows that they will refuse to help him in the future."²⁴

Knowing from my personal experience, Kyrgyz people definitely tend to assist relatives and friends to get better job positions. The political power might be transferred from father to son/daughter. For example, during the time Askar Akaev was the president of

²³ Hvoslef, Erlend H. *Tribalism and modernity in Kirgizia*. The third Nordic conference on Middle Eastern Studies: Ethnic encounter and culture change, Finland, 14 Sept 14. 2007. Web. 26 March. 2011. <<http://thekyrgyz.com/site/2007/09/14/tribalism-and-modernity-in-kirgizia/>>

²⁴ Ibid.,

Kyrgyz Republic all his family had an access to power. Aidar Akaev – the son of ex president was advisor of Finance Minister, after deputy of Kyrgyz Parliament – Jogorku Kenesh and moreover, he owned the biggest GSM company in the country – BITEL. Bernmet Akaeva – the daughter of Aksar Akaev was also a deputy of Jogorku Kenesh and performed other political activities. Mairam Akaeva – the wife of Askar Akaev had also influence in political arena of Kyrgyzstan. Another example is second ex-president Kurmanbek Bakiev who appointed members of his family many governing positions. The well-known political actors are his son Maksim Bakiev who officially was appointed on a position of the president of Central Agency for development, investments and innovations of Kyrgyz Republic (Центральное агентство Кыргызской Республики по развитию, инвестициям и инновациям), however was known for over exercising his authority by selling national property. And the brother of K. Bakiev – Janysh Bakiev who was appointed as head of the State Security Service, which is responsible for the personal security of government officials. Janysh Bakiev, being the president's brother and a former NSS (National Security Service) officer, remains bedeviled in the public view as a highly influential figure on cadre matters and activities of law enforcement agencies.

Unfortunately, bunch of examples might be provided, but to my mind aforementioned tribal relations of Kyrgyz ex-presidents illuminated the current situation with job appointment in the country. Friends-relatives “assistance” is met on all levels of Kyrgyz society whether high political hierarchy or usual mass structure.

Extracting information from, the interview with Mr. Brecht, I could say that in Germany people help each other in getting jobs too. For example, he traveled quite often a lot with his Rektor from P. University, because they were running projects. He noticed that Rektor from this university had recent telephone calls from the professor of the university where Rektor's daughter studied. So he took care of his daughter talking to his colleagues.

Helping kinds or relatives in getting better jobs or getting into better universities is normal things in Germany.

Social relations are very important. Access to privileged information is also very important. Mr. Brecht is a member of several alumni networks as Herbert foundation, DAAD. And of course, members of these social networks get job information first. They exchange job offers between each other. If he sends information about a position opened to someone of the members, of course, he expects one would send him information about job offer too when he/she receives it. It's reciprocity, but not in the form of gift or something else.

I would say Mr. Brecht gave "innocuous" examples comparing to those were provided in regard to above mentioned strong political ties in Kyrgyzstan. In Kyrgyzstan the process of friend/relative assistance goes under the control. These ties have become huge machine, the engine of which is bribery. There's no ground to deny that social help from relatives and friends are integral and usual part of any society. It's a nature of human being to help a family. I would like to underline that searching for data about cases where high ranking officials have appointed their protégé on positions based only on friend/family ties in Germany was unsuccessful, whereas Kyrgyz resources are abundant with examples.

The conclusion of this chapter is the following: Kyrgyz tribal structure is one of the reasons which produce such high level of corruption. Unfortunately, appointments in most of the cases are awarded basing not on personal achievements and qualifications, but on the ground which brother/sister/uncle etc is able to pay more for the job position and the cost of advantages of granted position for appointer.

7.3 Distinction between Personal and Professional spheres in Germany and Kyrgyzstan

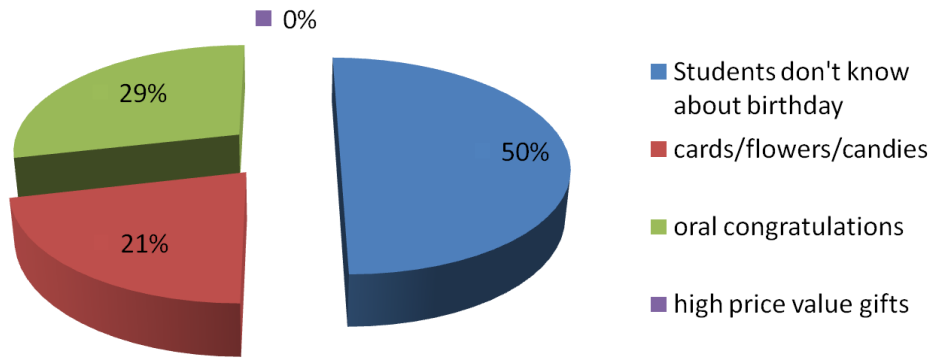
Modern societies either Kyrgyz or German spend most of the time at work. Indeed, it's difficult to keep professional and private lives separate. Social commitments serve as a significant pressure. In the discussion of existence of ancient tribal features within the modern

Kyrgyz society in the previous chapter, it's assumed that personal and professional spheres in Kyrgyzstan are closely interconnected, whereas German are more inclined to keep their personal lives from professional activity.

Another important confirmation of the fact concerning mixing up personal and professional lives is extracted from interviews with Mr. Brecht and Mrs. Petschke and quantitative method of research in the form of questionnaires. On the question "If you have a birthday or if there is any other holiday how do students usually congratulate you? (For example, students give card/flowers/candies or more valuable gift, oral congratulations) both interviewees said that most of the students simply do not know the date of their birthday and do not make any gifts on any other holiday. The first reason of students being uninformed about professor birthday is of course the fact that professors prefer to keep back their personal lives from students. The second reason is huge amount of students in one group/class. Mrs. Petschke adds: " If students know, they would probably congratulate, but our classes are too big, about 100 or 200 hundred students." Thus, it's just impossible to maintain any personal commitments due to the inability of professors and students to discuss any issues, besides issues which concern directly educational material. However, Mrs Petschke existence of professor-student communication completely: "There was one case in my life when students donated to the foundation I was working in. That was foundation of homeless people. They gave me money first, and I transferred it to the centre. Even on New Year or Christmas that is just an oral congratulation."

Chart 4: "How do students congratulate a professor on birthday/any other holiday?" (Data extracted from questionnaires designed for teachers and for students)

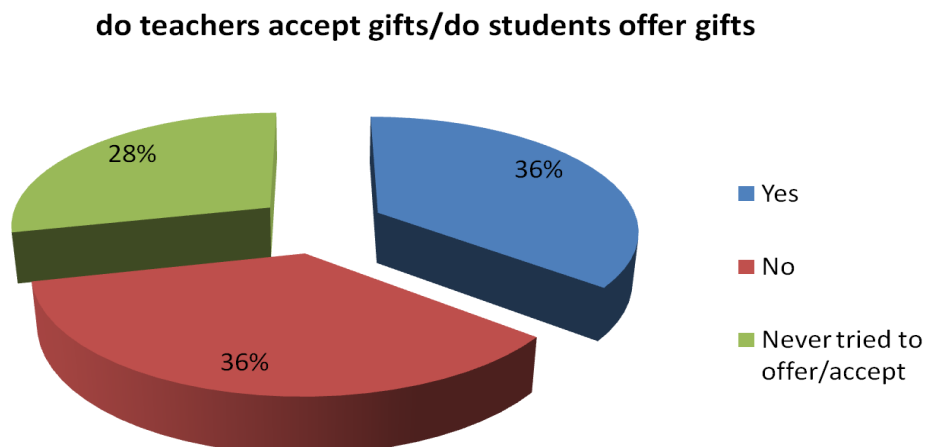
How do students congratulate a professor on birthday/any other holiday



This diagram completely proves the fact that private and professional spheres do not go along with each other. Teachers try to keep back personal life from students, whereas students do not seek to interfere to the personal affairs of teachers. According to the survey, 50% of all respondents (both teachers and students) said that students simply do not know the date of professors' birthday. However, those students who knew about the birthday or coming up of any other holiday/event, which comprises 29% of all interviewees, responded that oral congratulations is the only possible way to express an attention to a professor. Cards, flowers and candies, so to say cheap but pleasant signs of attention are also quit popular between students-teachers communication. The percentage of respondents who prefer to give or receive cards/flowers/candies is 21%. Accordingly, no one has never given/received high value price gifts.

The next diagram shows if students offer gifts and if teachers accept them

Chart 5: Do Teachers Accept gifts/do students offer gifts



It's important to mention comments added to "Yes" question of this diagram. Indeed, students offer gifts, accordingly teachers receive them in case if only gifts do not represent high value advantage from it. The comments of respondents state the following: "I did accept the gift. Once. It was a box of chocolate 2010 when a student left for USA and said thanks for everything – but he did not get anything – just the teaching and interesting discussions", "Sometimes with a little value" or "I just take presents if they have nothing to do with corruption". Some students admit that bottle of wine, chocolate, flowers may serve as an appropriate, "inoffensive" gift. "Yes" answer gave 36% of all respondents.

The same percentage of interviewees never offered/accepted gifts – 36%. And 28% never tried to offer gift, accordingly the same percentage of teaching staff never faced the dilemma of whether to receive or not receive a gift.

Making conclusion from this chapter, I would like to say that situation with professional-private lives in Germany and Kyrgyzstan are different. Kyrgyz people due to its tribal roots, which produce strong commitment to family, are more inclined to maintain personal relations within the professional sphere, whereas Germans prefer to abstain from private lives being interfered into professional activity, as for example not informing publicly the date of teacher's birthday. Moreover, this fact is observed on gift-giving and gift-receiving standards in both countries. The next chapters discuss importance of gift tradition within the Kyrgyz society and gifts tradition in ancient societies in general. Even though Germans have not preserved complete version of gift traditions from ancestors till nowadays, ancient Germanic laws on gift-giving and gift-receiving are also included.

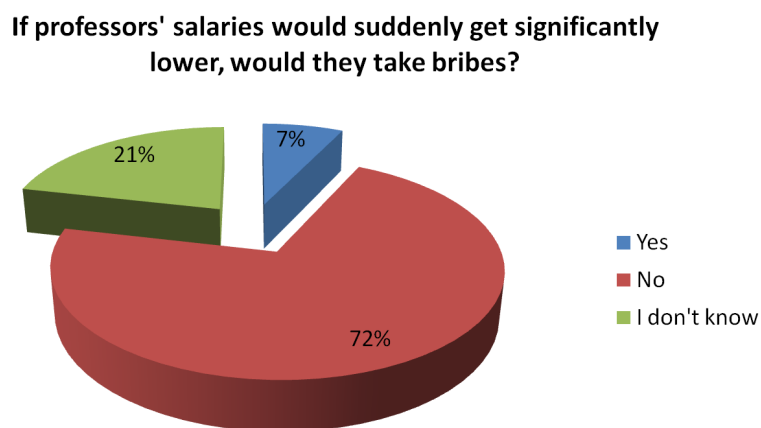
7.4 Issue of Morality

In the previous chapter it has been determined that Kyrgyz and German mentalities have different views on social relations and different attitudes in personal and professional

spheres of life. This chapter is going to raise a question of morality. Are German people morally higher than Kyrgyz or any other nation? Do their moral habits allow stepping over certain principles, as for example using an unfair chance to get a better grade and postpone upcoming deadline or cheating on exams? Would German teacher ever take a bribe? Of course, morality and moral values is very complicated issue which should be researched as a separate topic. Nevertheless, I would like to try making some valuable conclusion, basing on my personal exploration and observation.

The following diagram exposes data on the question “If professors’ salaries would suddenly get significantly lower, would they/you take bribes?” 72% of all respondents said “No”, 21% - “I don’t know” and only 7% gave positive “Yes” answer.

Chart 6: If professors’ salaries would suddenly get significantly lower, would they take bribes?



The fact that 71% of all respondents said “No”- is very surprising answer, since one of my explanation of such huge corruption in educational and other spheres in Kyrgyzstan is low salaries, accordingly shortage of financial means for basic needs. Kyrgyz have to take bribes, because salaries cannot cover all personal expenses. Most of Germans in their turn refuse to

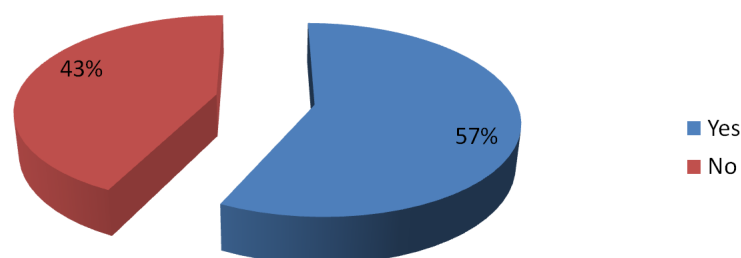
take bribes at all. However, most of respondents added in questionnaires that they would change a job, if they are not satisfied with salaries. But it's very important to mention that in Kyrgyzstan changing a job position will not improve a situation, because low salary is not only educational sphere problem. Low salary is a country "disease". It's a widespread Kyrgyz national phenomenon. Probably, German respondents never faced such great shortage of material needs as Kyrgyz people do.

Long term stability periods, anti corruption policies and sufficient income inoculate Germans certain moral values, in this case refusal to accept any additional income in a form of bribery. But it does not necessarily mean that Germany is morally more developed nation than any other nation in the world. In my opinion, ability of German government to provide sufficient satisfactory life conditions, make people look on the bribery issue skeptically, since they do not experience daily shortage of basic needs.

The next two diagrams give additional arguments proving the fact that German people are not highly superior to Kyrgyz people in terms of moral values. The question "Imagine there's possibility to offer money/gift/service to improve your grades/extend deadline/escape turning in of assignment. Would you use this chance" was given to German students. 57% of all respondents would use this chance and 43% would not.

Chart 7:

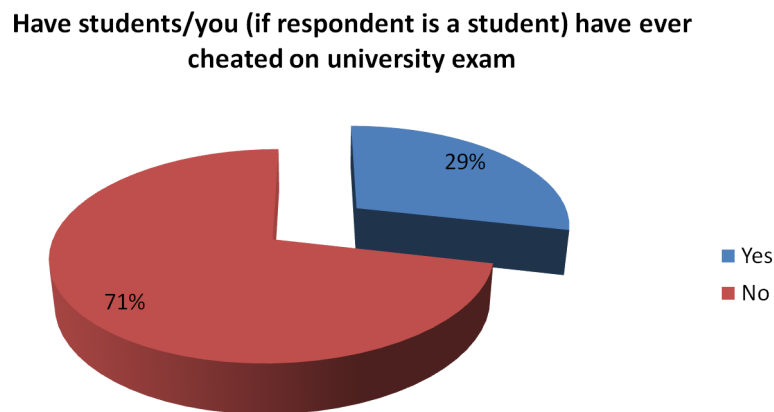
Imagine there's a possibility to offer money/gift/service to improve your grades/extend deadline/escape turning in of assignment. Would you use this chance?



Most of respondents gave negative answer on the question “Have students/you have ever cheated on university exam?” – 71%. The rest 29% of interviewees have used unfair methods of exam passing.

Exams in German universities are usually conducted in an oral form, which makes cheating more difficult. Also punishment is severe – from failing an exam to withdrawal from a course. Anyways, 29% of all respondent cheat on exams in spite of such strict measures.

Chart 8:



In conclusion of this chapter, I would like to say that people are the same all over the world. One of the interviewees Mrs. Petschke said: “Students are the same everywhere”. But as we see from this chapter certain external factors as economic and political stability, correct governmental policies and strategies which provide people basic material needs influence on their attitude and moral perceptions in a positive way. And vice versa, general economical and political instability, corrupt systems and low salaries make usual people give up some moral principle in order to survive.

Part III (Explanation of such huge difference of level of corruption in both countries)

8. Historical Legacies of the Soviet Higher Education and the Transformation of Higher Education Systems in Post-Soviet Russia and Eurasia

In the previous chapter it was proved that condition of educational system in Kyrgyzstan leaves it to be desired. However, Kyrgyzstan and other Post-Soviet countries have been not always is such a deplorable situation. Dramatic decline have been experienced after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Not only did the quality of education significantly decrease, but also many other branches of political and administrative system such as state funding and policies for science, research and innovation, in the interaction between governmental institutions within regions and within international community. Saying simply, after unexpected collapse of the central government, countries could not manage with self-ruling immediately, since before they simply followed Moscow's orders and imposed policies. The thesis of this chapter is that "distinctive historical legacies of Soviet higher education were especially ill-suited to adapt to the economic crises of the 1990s, and that sharp declines in state funding combined with the particular policy choices that were made after 1991 to severely "disarticulate" and disrupt higher education and research in Russia and across Central Asia."²⁵ Kyrgyzstan and other nation states were put into severe economic conditions, which was the reason for degradation of higher educational system. The crises of the 1990s thus degraded the ability of Kyrgyzstan to maintain the level of education on the previous Soviet level, to regulate academic quality, to sustain equal social order and "update" or modernize educational system along with innovations.

Moreover, Kyrgyzstan was not considered as a strong economy during Soviet times. While some urban areas and more developed countries such as Ukraine, Kazakhstan,

²⁵ David P. Backer, *International Perspectives on Education and Society*, Vol.9, London, 2008, p 159. Print

Turkmenistan (Ukraine had an strong nexus to Russia, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have been always gas rich) could afford to find and allocate some national funds to higher education institution. Kyrgyzstan did not have enough governmental budget funds to be invested into development of this system. That led to prosperity of the term bribe and corruption within our universities.

“The rapid privatization led to gross corruption in many public universities and some of the new private institutions (with the “seizure” of state property and facilities and the unregulated imposition of tuition and student “fees”); and that decentralization at least contributed to a university acknowledged plunge in academic quality, as attempts to establish new state curricular standards were often ignored or effectively disregarded by institutions or regional authorities.”²⁶ Yes, Central Asia, in particular Kyrgyzstan inherited apparatus of the higher education, but support structures such as educational exchanges, subsidies from central government were abandoned.

“Even though given freedom could not be fully enjoyed, there were still undeniable benefits from it. Newly “national” higher education systems in Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Central Asia restored instruction in national languages, and in some cases (Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan) also quickly restored Latin scripts. Private higher education institutions opened up (the first since they had been banned by the Communist Party in 1918), which came to include some innovative graduate schools and new universities such as the New Economic School in Moscow, the European University of St .Petersburg, and the Moscow School of Social and Economic Sciences in Russia; Khazar University in Azerbaijan; the American University of Armenia; the Kyrgyz –Turkish Manas University and the American University of Central Asia in Kyrgyzstan; and others.²⁷ The fact that American University in Central Asia is mentioned in the article of D.P Backer as an innovative and non – corrupted graduate

²⁶ Backer, 169

²⁷ Backer, 168

school is an additional evidence to my aforementioned research stating that there is no corruption in AUCA.

However, the situation in higher education in Kyrgyzstan is relatively good comparing to other countries. For example, “Moldova, Armenia, Tajikistan experienced persistent economic crisis, Belarus and Uzbekistan persistent political dysfunction and authoritarianism, Turkmenistan unique unfortunate combination of both.”²⁸ Whereas, in the year 2000, investments into higher education have been accelerated in the more economically dynamic nations of the region such as Russia, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan (flush with oil and gas), as well as in the more politically dynamic nations of the regions such as Georgia, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan (all of which experienced political revolutions in 2003, 2004, and 2005 respectively)²⁹

Thus, Kyrgyzstan has inherited governmental order from the Soviet Union and this, of course, concerns educational system as well. There is no argue that the USSR brought innovations and significant development to academic environment of Kyrgyzstan, since back to that time Kyrgyz people were just settled after being a long time nomads. But with the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan could not manage to recover from losing the strong Soviet form of governance, which led immediately to degradation of many organizational sectors. Educational system stopped being sponsored properly by the Kyrgyz government. Low salaries produced corruption within universities, because teachers did not have sufficient income to maintain family and themselves. However, bribes for good grades, release from assignments and extension of deadlines have been not always offered in an open form. Sometimes bribes have been in a latent form of service or gifts. The next chapters will discuss the issue of the gift and the distinction between a gift and a bribe.

²⁸ Backer, 170

²⁹ Ibid.,

9. Gift in ancient societies: three obligations to give, receive and reciprocate (Marcel Maus)

“Give as much as you take, all shall be very well”³⁰

The line between a bribe and a gift is not always clear. One must be very careful making gifts to colleagues and co-workers. But life without gift-giving and gift receiving is impossible. This question is raised by Marcel Maus in his book “The gift”. He gives a history of the gift starting from ancient times. As we see, gift tradition has been preserved till nowadays.

Gift giving and receiving is a universal behavior that is familiar to everyone. This is the process that integrated the society. It’s one of the ways of social communication. “Gift giving is a vehicle of social obligation and political manoeuvre.”³¹

Extracting main point from the theory of Marcel Maus there is no free gifts. The whole idea of a free gift is based on misunderstanding. There should be any free gifts. The rule that every gift has to be returned in some specified way sets up a perpetual cycle of exchanges within and between generations. This information is derived from the structure of many ancient societies such as Roman, Germanic and other Indo-European laws. The main rule states that it man has to return more than was received and failure to receive means losing the competition for honor.³²

In a good number of civilizations gifts are made on a volunteer ground, however in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily. Moreover, not only gifts in the form of property and wealth, movable and immovable goods and other economically useful things are exchanged, but also people tend to exchange with such acts of politeness as banquets, rituals and receptions. That’s the normal human being’s behavior, having latent feeling inside to give something in respond.

³⁰ Rev. Taylor in Marcel Maus – The Gift, Te Ika a Maui, Old New Zealand, p. 130, proverb 42.

³¹ Schieffelin in Marcel Maus – The Gift, 1980

³² Maus, Marcel. *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, p.30. W.W Norton, New York, 2000. Print

“In some ancient societies to refuse to give, to fail to invite, just as to refuse to accept, is tantamount to declaring war; it is to reject the bond of alliance and commonality.”³³ It means nobody is free to refuse the present is offered. Moreover, people try to outdo each other on generosity. We even can call it’s even kind of rivalry who is richer and wealthier, whose gifts are of greatest values and greater in number. It is a competition to see who the richest and the most madly extravagant. Marcel Mauss calls it a “war of property” or “struggle of wealth”³⁴. Thus the imposed social norm makes people to give, receive and reciprocate. This three – fold obligation derives from its cultural embeddedness.³⁵

Gift dimensions such as a price or quality are used to create, maintain, regulate, or sever relationships within a particular community. That’s true, those to whom we give differ from those to whom we do not usually give. We do not receive gifts from everyone either, only from people who are somehow are useful or will be useful in the future. The gifts given and received are expressions of our social relationships. Also the value of the gift reflects the weight and importance of the social connection. Giving too much, too little or too late depends on relationship with each other. “A sequence of reciprocal gift exchanges establishes a transactional relationship between individual.”³⁶ We give, receive and reciprocate using our own personal intention and strategy.

9.1 Germanic Law (The Pledge and the Gift)

From my empirical research concerning attitudes of Germans towards gifts and corruption, I found out that Germans do not like mixing up private and professional lives, accordingly avoid personal gift-giving and gift-receiving at work place . However, Germans have their own system of the gift which partially preserved till nowadays.

³³Mauss. p 13

³⁴ Mauss, p.37

³⁵ Ibid.,

³⁶ Fredrick , Barth in Marcel Mauss – The Gift. *Models of Social Organization*. Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper No. 23, London. Print

“Although Germanic societies have not preserved for us such ancient and complete vestiges of their theory of gift, they nevertheless had a system of gifts, given, received, and reciprocated either voluntarily or obligatorily, so clearly defined and well developed that there are few systems so typical.”³⁷

“A detailed study of the very rich German vocabulary of the words derived from *and gaben* has not been made. [...] They are extraordinary numerous: *Ausgabe, Abgabe, Hingabe, Liebesgabe, Morgengabe*, the very curious *Trostgabe* (consolation prize), *vorgeben, vergeben* (to waste, and to forgive), *widergeben and wiedergeben*. [...] The study of *Gift, Mitgift*, etc., and the study of the institutions that are designed by these words has also yet to be made.”³⁸

There is, moreover, an institution that only a short time ago persisted, that doubtless still persists in the morality and economic traditions of German villages. It is the *Gaben*³⁹. “At baptism, first communions, engagement parties, and the weddings, co-villagers usually present gifts whose value should generally exceed the expense of the wedding. In certain areas of Germany, the *Gaben* constitutes the bride’s dowry, which is given her on the wedding morning. This is known as *Morgengabe*. There is also a custom which obliges godfathers and godmother to make gifts to their grandchildren (*Helpfete*)”⁴⁰

Thus, there is set of some ancient Germanic laws, which partially exist in modern Germany, also imposes an obligation the gift to be exchanged, offered, acceptance of this offer, and the obligation to reciprocate.

Ideally, gift giving should not establish obligation for exchange. But latent pressure to reciprocate imposes certain rules, from which we can not deviate, since we all live in the community. In order to avoid inferior and safe-guard reputation, the recipient must

³⁷ Maus, p. 60

³⁸ Ibid.,

³⁹ Meyer, Em in Marcel Maus – The Gift, Deutsche Volkskunde, pp.115, 168, 181, 183, etc. All the textbooks on Germanic folklore (Wuttke etc) can be consulted on this question.

⁴⁰ Maus, p.61

reciprocate. Failure to reciprocate appropriately can result in an asymmetrical relationship, but we do not want this.

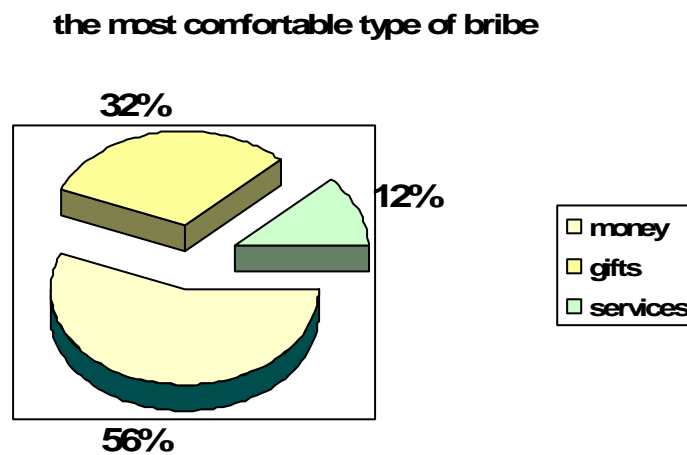
10. Culture of Gifts in Kyrgyzstan

“To receive gifts is to lose freedom.” - Sandi⁴¹

10.1 Gifts and Bribes

What is the difference between a gift and a bribe? A gift is something of value given without the expectation of return; a bribe is the same thing given in the hope of influence or benefit.⁴²

Chart 9: The Most Comfortable Type of Bribe



According to the answers of respondents this diagram shows what the most comfortable type of bribing is. We see that more than a half thinks money is the best way for bribing. Probably, it's safer and more rational method of payment.

⁴¹ *Bribery and Gift Giving*. Web. 28 April. 2010. < <http://www.scribd.com/doc/11723050/Bribery-and-Gift-Giving> >

⁴² Nadler, Judy. *Gifts and Bribes*. 2006. Web. 28 April 2010.

<http://www.scu.edu/ethics/practicing/focusareas/government_ethics/introduction/gifts.html>

Let's find out why? First off all, money don't take much place. The sum could be given in a small envelope directly to a teacher or to a leader of a class who is chosen to be mediator between students and teacher staff. Everybody understands they are involved in corruption and it's still fortunately publicly unrecognized. Thus, it's in interests of both sides make the process of giving and taking money more invisible and accurate.

The second reason is that money is more practical in use than gifts. Money can be spent more efficiently and with favor. That means it brings more pleasure and attraction. This factors increases popularity of money-form bribing.

The third reason which explains convenience of money-form bribing is an exact evaluation of a subject. Subjects have different prices. They depend on prestige, actuality and importance of a subject. Accordingly, the more prestigious and important the subject the higher the price is. Since, our survey confirmed existence of fixed prices for each subject; we can assume that it's easier to give money, but not gifts or service. That happens because gift or service is not always proportionate to the "prestige" of a subject. For example, you present flowers and good chocolate, but the price is much higher. However, if it is vise or versa – present is exceeding the price, it can be accepted. So, in order to avoid such misunderstandings such as excess or shortage of exact value of the subject, it's better to give cash by a fixed price list.

Chart 10: Do you consider a gift as bribing?



The question numbers nine in our questions if students consider a gift as bribing. To our great surprise most of the students do not consider gifts as bribing! Fifty nine of all interviewed students said “No”, thirty nine – “Yes”, and 22 – “I don’t know”.

This question reflects very well the culture of corruption in Kyrgyzstan. Our people don’t think presents are bad. In my opinion, it has been rooted to our habits since very childhood. When children go to kindergarten, parents start to collect money for every holiday: fifth of October – Teacher’s day, the day of October Revolution – seventh November, Christmas, New – Year, The International Women’s Day – eights of March, if there are male teachers – The Day of Defendant – twenty –third of February, Nooruz (Muslim New –Year) – twenty first of March, then go May holidays – Labor Day – first of May, Kyrgyz Constitution Day – fifth May, Victory Day – ninth May etc.

When pupil starts to go to school some more holidays are added as for example Knowledge Day – first of September. Flowers are integral attribute of this holiday. Parents usually come up to a teacher with congratulations of beginning of a new study year. This high attention to a teacher is given because of different reasons. May be parents are just showing respect to a woman with whom their children are going to spend the most of the time or may be, for making teacher pleased and more attentive to their children. So to say, to make teacher love their children more.

My teacher’s name was Tatiyana Anatol’evna. There is a holiday called Tatiana’s Day – twelfth of January. We gave her presents every year throughout all years I was studying in that school. That was a tradition and we did not see anything bad in it.

When I finished up the school, we also congratulated our teacher. That was golden necklace. I mentioned it because I want to say that mostly presents the presents we gave were not just small things just for showing attention as for example congratulation card, flowers or candies. Those were useful things – irons, electrical kettles, tea services, watches, jewelry etc.

Making presents to the teacher at school is a big system. The leader of a class starts to collect equal amount of money which was beforehand counted up and divided among all student 2-3 weeks before the holiday. Then couple of students go to a store and buy a present which was chosen by all students.

So, Kyrgyz students are got used to give present since kindergarten times to the end of the school. But in university this cute and innocuous tradition turns up to an open or hidden corruption.

According to the chart number 2, we can see that thirty nine of asked students said that gift is a bribe. That's completely understandable that students prefer to give presents instead of money. It's more polite and safe. May be you have a deal with this teacher for the first time. It might happen he/she does not take money. In this case you can defend yourself saying the gift is just showing respect, attention or congratulation with holiday.

Answers given on the question "Why do not you consider gifts as bribing" in interviews confirmed my assumption about student's relation of giving presents to teachers. In the list below student's answers for this question:

- "It's made to show your respect to the teacher and to thank for knowledge"
- It's made to attract teacher's attention and make him/her more favorable towards you
- It's a tradition. Everybody does so. I don't want be an exception. Teacher might not like it
- At school when everybody agreed to collect money, I could not say "No, I do not want make a present to a teacher". That's improperly to stay away from your classmates. They can think you're greedy or arrogant.
- Teachers' salaries are so miserable. Gifts make teacher happier. They can be useful at home
- Gift is a more polite and safe form of "asking" teacher that you need better mark

10.2 Comparison of gift culture in Kyrgyzstan and in other countries

Our survey proves existence and flourishing of systematical corruption at some Kyrgyz Universities.

I did not find that much information about university culture of corruption in other countries. Mostly sources talk about post – Soviet corruption public places of study. However, corruption is corruption, no matter where – whether it's school or government. I think corruption starts from the low level and then penetrates highest governmental organs. Thus, if bribe taking exists at universities, it also exists in all systems of a country.

Culture of corruption depends on “status” of a country, whether it's developed or in the process of development. USA and Europe has great propaganda against any forms of corruption. There are a lot of sites, articles and books. Some of them are aimed to explain why bribery is unacceptable, what is the legal and moral punishment for it. Other sources (most of the sources) help to distinguish bribery from a gift and vice versa. It's really hard sometimes to distinguish a gift from bribery. This problem usually appears during holidays such as Christmas, New Year etc. It is allowed to take presents from your colleagues. But how to know whether this is appropriate present? Whether it doesn't look as a piece of corruption? Therefore, there are special rules existing in American and European companies here in Kyrgyzstan and in every organization abroad (I mean Western world, since situation in East, Far east is different). One of this rule is called “five dollars present”. Colleagues are allowed to make gifts to each other, only of a cost of the gift does not exceed an amount of five dollars in US, accordingly five Euro on Europe. I derived this information from my personal experience, since I was working at the American Embassy for one year. American governing bodies always initiated trainings on the topic of corruption, explaining ethical principles of taking presents. About the principle of “five Euro present” I have known from interview with Mr. Brecht. He

confirmed that in organizations, companies as in universities in Europe this principle works very well. If you would like to make a present, do not make it more expensive than five Euros. Some objects, such as greeting cards, are perceived solely as gifts.⁴³

However, the situation in China and Japan is different. Gift giving is a prevalent social custom in China in all areas of life: in family and in significant relationships, as well as in dealing with political authorities, social institutions and business people. For all that, from an ethical perspective, it is very difficult to know when it is proper to give or receive a gift, what sort of gift is appropriate, or what social obligations gift giving imposes.

In China, special attention is given to the wrapping paper. A gift should always be wrapped, but avoid plain black or white paper because these are the colors of mourning. If possible, have your gifts wrapped in red paper, which is considered a lucky color. Also, Chinese people always refuse to accept a present. You need to insist. The present can not be expensive (unfortunately I did not find the exact price). When you make a present you need to it with both hands. Actually, there are a lot of rules, but these are the main ones.

In Japan, giving presents has been also rooted deeply into traditions. However, gifts making to colleagues in the organization should be modest, because the gift is not important as the ceremony of gift giving.

Countries like Malaysia and Paraguay are very concerned with corruption. In Malaysia you wouldn't give a gift until you had established a relationship with the person. In Singapore, government employees are not allowed to accept gifts, and the United States limits the acceptable dollar value to \$25.⁴⁴

⁴³ Davis, J. (1972), "Gifts and the U.K. Economy," *Man*, 7(3), 408-429.

⁴⁴ Kimberley, Roberts. *International Business Gift Giving Overview*. 2007. Web. 28 April 2010. <http://www.cyborlink.com/besite/international_gift_giving.htm>

Thus, we see that culture of gift giving varies from country to country. However, I think, Western countries such as US and Europe are very strict to this issue, whereas China and Japan have a culture of gift giving as a nice tradition, but with well built rules. Concerning Kyrgyzstan, I would say developing of gift culture is in the future. We need to get rid of a tradition to make present to highest authorities, teachers, leaders every holiday and they should stop waiting for receiving gifts. If we make a present as congratulation with New Year, it should have strict optimal price. Corruption demoralizes society, our generation need to struggle with it in order to impose an example and leave good traditions for the future generations.

Conclusion

In conclusion, my bachelor thesis is devoted to academic corruption in Kyrgyz and German Universities, though it's hard to compare two incomparable things such as corrupt and non-corrupt educational systems. It's important to compare them, because it would, first off all, help to find out the reasons for such different corruption scale in both countries, and second off all, German educational system would serve as an example to Kyrgyzstan, which might lead to improvement of the current situation in Kyrgyz academic environment. I applied different methods appropriate to Kyrgyz and German environments, different approaches which make possible contrast of corruption phenomenon in Kyrgyz and German universities.

It's well-known fact that Kyrgyzstan is stressed out greatly by corruption issue in many organizational spheres. Educational system is not an exception. That's why in empirical research on Kyrgyzstan, the main purpose was evaluation and measurement of level, process, scale and system of corruption. The educational system is damaged a lot by corruption! Anti-corrupt measures shall be undertaken. Taking as a contrast educational system of Germany,

which is a perfect example of anti-corrupt academic organization, is one of these measures. German case might serve as a good example for Kyrgyzstan. It's useless trying to measure corruption level in German universities, but talking about German attitude towards corruption, moral principles and gift-giving/gift receiving issue in higher education systems is very important, since it helps find out the reasons of such distinctive situation with corruption in Germany and Kyrgyzstan.

If the first part of the bachelor thesis is of empirical manner establishing existence or non-existence of bribery issue in universities, the second part explains the reasons of it. Kyrgyzstan has showed quit high corruption level in the most of Bishkek universities, whereas there are only some rare exceptional cases in Germany. Two countries have absolutely different scale, attitudes and perceptions of corruption. Why? I come with the following conclusion in case of Kyrgyzstan: first of all, tribal past of Kyrgyz people, second of all, legacy of the Soviet Union, third off all, economic instability.

Modernization in Kyrgyzstan is a recent phenomenon comparing to Germany. If to compare historical backgrounds of both countries, we can see that Kyrgyz people in the 17th century were still nomads. There were neither exact borders nor sovereignty. Kyrgyz people had strong societal tribal organization. Family ties have been always highly important. Obligation to help relatives has been deeply rooted to Kyrgyz society already in ancient times and keeps exist till nowadays. There was neither formal bureaucracy nor official administration. Decision making and conflict resolution was dependent completely on opinions of Aksakals, who could probably have not been always objective, deciding in favor of stronger and more numerous tribe or in favor of those who could have seemed more beneficial in terms of material means.

In contrast, Germany had a fast pace of bureaucratization and modernization back to those times: "Some of the state bureaucrats of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [already] had a real full-time employment and were salaried for their services. Rule systems

were given to ensure that the administrations worked in an efficient manner and on a daily basis.”⁴⁵

Thus, strong tribal family ties are not completely eliminated in Kyrgyzstan. According to the theory of Marcel Mauss, ancient societies tend to gift-giving and gift-receiving relations and this requires obligation to reciprocate. These procedures serve to integrate society. Gifts produce latent corruption in the modern Kyrgyzstan. It's just a nicer and more polite form of bribery in some cases. Kyrgyz people need to get rid of a tradition to make present to highest authorities, teachers, leaders every holiday and they should stop waiting for getting gifts. It would definitely contribute to decrease of corruption level – no gifts, no acts of reciprocation, no latent corruption. Due to tribal roots, Kyrgyz people still do not tend to make significant distinction between private and professional lives, whereas Germans prefer to abstain from private lives being interfered into professional activity. Unfortunately, job appointments in Kyrgyzstan are made not on the ground of individual's professional qualification, but on the ground which brother/sister/uncle etc is able to pay more for the job position and advantages followed by this appointment. Moreover, important job positions might be bought for a high price, which is to my opinion, highest possible form of corruption. In German case with strong separation of private life from professional activity, interaction between co-workers is comparatively transparent and clear.

The second big reason for corrupt educational system in Kyrgyzstan is the legacy from the Soviet Union. Even though entrance into the Soviet Union has accelerated the process of modernization – Russia contributed significantly to the development of education, Kyrgyzstan inherited Soviet complicated bureaucratic system. I would say that the Soviet Union is a clear example of single incredibly huge bureaucratic machine. Every possible sector of Soviet society was ruled by the Soviet *nomenklatura*. This term is derived from Latin meaning “the

⁴⁵ *History of Bureaucratization and Bureaucracy*. Web. 24 April. 2011.
<<http://pagerankstudio.com/Blog/2010/10/history-of-bureaucratization-and-bureaucracy/>>

list of names”⁴⁶. The presence of patron-client relations produced high dependence on a person staying above the career ladder and the Soviet government in general. The Soviet ruling elite group who held the highest administrative position in all spheres of Soviet countries’ activities such as government, industry, agriculture, education and of course, mass media. Restricted mass media does not work properly, it does not tend to expose corruption machinations within all governmental sectors, including educational sphere. Though it has started to announce just recently loud cases, where politicians have been convicted in bribe taking, but, unfortunately, it does not relate to university corruption yet. Thus, the bloated bureaucracy and restricted mass media rights in Kyrgyzstan inherited from the Soviet Union.

In addition, the situation is aggravated by long term economic instability in our country after the fall down of the Soviet Union. Third important reason for high corruption level in Kyrgyzstan is weak economy. Being a member of the USSR Kyrgyzstan experienced high economic grow in industry and agriculture. Unfortunately, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it took Kyrgyzstan a long term to recover. Probably, it cannot achieve complete recovery till nowadays. It’s obvious that low salaries make people forget about moral values and justify accepting bribes in any form of it – gifts, service or cash. Accordingly, enough high salaries in Germany provide people all basic needs, which make lives of Germans possible without bribe-taking.

Summarizing all these grounds explaining high level of corruption in Kyrgyzstan, we need, thus, work hard on the future of our country by creating strong governmental system with highly skilled politicians and economists which would work on development of our country, improving of economic situation and comply with modern requirements.

⁴⁶ Nomenklatura. Web. 23 April. 2011. <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nomenklatura>>

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Appendix I

Survey – Bribing in Universities (Students)

University:

Gender:

Age :

Semester:

Who pays for your study: a) by yourself b) parents c) scholarship d) BaFög

How would you evaluate your financial status?

a) lower than average b) average c) higher than average

1) Which of the social problems do you believe is the most important in Germany?

- 1) Ethnic/religious diversity of population
- 2) Corruption
- 3) Control over economy by foreign organizations and investors
- 4) Economic decline
- 5) Organized crime

2) How do you interpret the word corruption? (5 the most important reason, 1 is not important at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
Participation in commercial ventures					
Acceptance of monetary rewards for services rendered					
Acceptance of birthday and other gifts					
Assisting relatives in meeting influential people					
Helping relatives in getting job/getting into schools					
Connection to organized crimes					

3) Have you ever heard about bribing in universities in Germany or other countries? If yes, please comment.

4) If a professor has a birthday or if there is any other holiday what do you usually do? (For example, give him/her card/flowers/candies or more valuable gift, oral congratulations)

5) Do teachers accept gifts from students?

- a) Yes (If yes, what kind of gifts?) b) No c) Sometimes d) Never tried

6) How would you evaluate the reasons for low corruption index in Germany? (5 the most important reason, 1 is not important at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
It contradicts to moral principles					
No need in extra income – salary is high enough					
Punishment for bribe-taking is severe					

Are there any other possible reasons to add?

7) Is there any article in your university code concerning bribing policy?

- a) Yes b) No c) I don't know

8) Do you know any professor of your university who has taken money/gift/service and in respond has given a good grade or has allowed not turning in an assignment?

- a) Yes b) No c) I don't know

9) Have you ever offered money/gift/service in order to get a good grade/ extend deadline/ escape turning in of an assignment?

- a) Yes (if yes, what kind of gift did you offer?) b) No

10) Imagine there's a possibility to offer money/gift/service to improve your grades/ extend deadline/ escape turning in of an assignment? Would you use this chance?

- a) Yes. Under which circumstances? b) No. Under which circumstances?

11) If professors' salaries would suddenly get significantly lower, do you think they would take bribes?

- a) Yes. Why? b) No. Why? c) I don't know

12) Have you ever cheated in university exam?

- a) Yes b) No

13) What's the punishment for cheating?

14) Do you know something about private life of professors?

- a) Yes b) No

Please explain

Survey – Bribing in Universities (Teachers)

1) Which of the social problems do you believe is the most important in Germany?

- 1) Ethnic/religious diversity of population
- 2) Corruption
- 3) Control over economy by foreign organizations and investors
- 4) Economic decline
- 5) Organized crime

2) How do you interpret the word corruption? (5 the most important reason, 1 is not important at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
Participation in commercial ventures					
Acceptance of monetary rewards for services rendered					
Acceptance of birthday and other gifts					
Assisting relatives in meeting influential people					
Helping relatives in getting job/getting into schools					
Connection to organized crimes					

3) Have you ever heard about bribing in universities in Germany or other countries? If yes, please comment

- a) Yes b) No

4) If you have a birthday or if there is any other holiday how do students usually congratulate you? (For example, students give card/flowers/candies or more valuable gift, oral congratulations)

5) Do you accept gifts from students?

- a) Yes b) No

6) If the answer on the previous question was “yes”, do you feel obliged to give a good grade/extend the deadline/allow not to turn in paper?

a) Yes. Please comment b) No. Please comment

7) How would you evaluate the reasons for low corruption index in Germany? (5 the most important reason, 1 is not important at all)

	5	4	3	2	1
It contradicts to moral principles					
No need in extra income – salary is high enough					
Punishment for bribe-taking is severe					

Are there any other possible reasons to add? - - -

7) Is there any article in your university code concerning bribing policy?

a) Yes (if yes please indicate what the policy states about) b) No

8) Do you know any professor who has taken money/gift/service and in respond has given a good grade or has allowed not turning in an assignment?

a) Yes b) No

9) If your salary would suddenly get significantly lower, could you imagine yourself taking bribes?

10) What’s the punishment if a student cheats?

11) Do you prefer to keep back your private life from students? (date of birthday, marital status, children)

Please comment

Социологический опрос

ВУЗ: _____ Пол: ж м
Курс: 1 2 3 4 5 Возраст:

- 1) Вы когда – либо «разводили» предметы?
а) ДА б) НЕТ
- 2) Если да, сколько предметов вы «развели» в прошлом семестре?
а) 1 - 2 б) 3-4 в) 5 - 6 г) более
- 3) Как Вы обычно разводите предметы? (если ответ на первый вопрос «да»)
А) Напрямую б) через посредника (староста или другое лицо)
- 4) Как Вы думаете кто в большей мере инициатор взятки?
А) студент б) преподаватель г) студент и преподаватель
- 5) Как Вы думаете какой из ниже перечисленных способов взятки наиболее удобный
а) деньги б) подарки в) услуги
- 6) Рассматриваете ли Вы подарок или услугу с вашей стороны как взятку?
А) да б) нет В) не знаю
- 7) Имеются ли в Вашем учебном заведении фиксированные цены на предметы?
а) да б) нет в) не знаю
- 8) Сколько стоит «развод» в среднем
А) зачет _____ б) экзамен _____
- 9) Согласны ли Вы с тем, что коррупция понижет уровень образования?
А) абсолютно согласен б) согласен в) не согласен
- 10) В каком университете наименьший уровень коррупции?
А) КРСУ б) КНУ в) АУЦА г) Манас д) другое
- 11) Где Вы предпочитаете учиться?
А) где предметы «разводятся» б) где предметы «не разводятся» г) мне все равно
- 12) Уровень коррупции в Вашем университете?
а) высокий б) средний г) низкий д) нет