

ULUSLARARASI

ŞEFFAFLIK

DERNEĞİ



CORRUPTION in TURKEY

WHY
HOW
WHERE

The Results of Public Opinion Survey

March 2015

TI-Turkey (Uluslararası Şeffaflık Derneđi) was founded in 2008 by voluntary efforts. The association aims to set the rule of transparency, integrity and accountability principles in all segments of the society for the democratic, social and economic development of the country. TI-Turkey predicates on collaboration of public sector, businesses, unions, universities, professional chambers and non-governmental organizations in the scope of its anti-corruption efforts. It expects legibility, integrity, legal conformity, accountability and traceability from all individuals and institutions in society who constitutes the social structure and/or holds public power, and conducts its activities within the frame of these principles. TI -Turkey shares the principles and visions of Transparency International (TI). TI-Turkey is the national representative of TI, the global coalition against corruption which has national chapters in more than 100 countries.

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THE OBJECTIVE OF THE RESEARCH

The main objective of the research is to measure Turkey's public opinion and experiences on corruption cases regarding the following subjects

- Corruption-Prone Areas/Institutions with the Highest Level of Corruption
- The Reasons of Corruption
- Corruption and Voting Preferences
- Personal Experiences Related to Corruption
- The Most Trusted Institutions in Fight Against Corruption

METHOD of the RESEARCH

- ▶ The research has been conducted by Konsensus Research and Consultancy.
- ▶ The Research has been conducted with 2000 people between 18-69 years old through phone calls.
- ▶ At the 95% confidence, the margin of error is $\pm 2,1\%$ for the research. This margin of error varies based on characteristics of different regions.
- ▶ Interviews conducted with people who were selected based on random household selection rules and they were carried out between February 24, 2015 - March 19, 2015. The analysis was carried out by taking the data related to the valid percentage into consideration.



Field Team

- ▶ The field study team consisted of total 83 people, including 4 supervisors and 79 interviewers.
- ▶ During the field study, the interviewers were held responsible for conducting interviews while the supervisors were held responsible for controlling 30% of the surveys from each interviewer they are supervising by listening.

Questionnaire and Pilot Study

- ▶ Before the implementation of the field study, Transparency International Turkey prepared the questionnaire which is expected to be completed in 13-17 minutes during the interviews. Questionnaire was finalized by the Konsensus Research and Consultancy.
- ▶ 30 pilot interviews were conducted to eliminate the errors which may result from the design of the question form and arise in practice; following this pilot study some questions in question form were updated and the technical errors were eliminated.
- ▶ After this update an approval received from Transparency International Turkey and the field study has begun on Tuesday, February 24, 2015.

Controls

- ▶ All the interviews have been recorded and the controls were performed by listening them. These records will be destroyed 6 months after the study.
- ▶ As a result of these controls surveys that showed irregularities were eliminated and the interviews were repeated. 211 surveys were eliminated through these controls and repeated. 10 controllers were in charge of these controls.

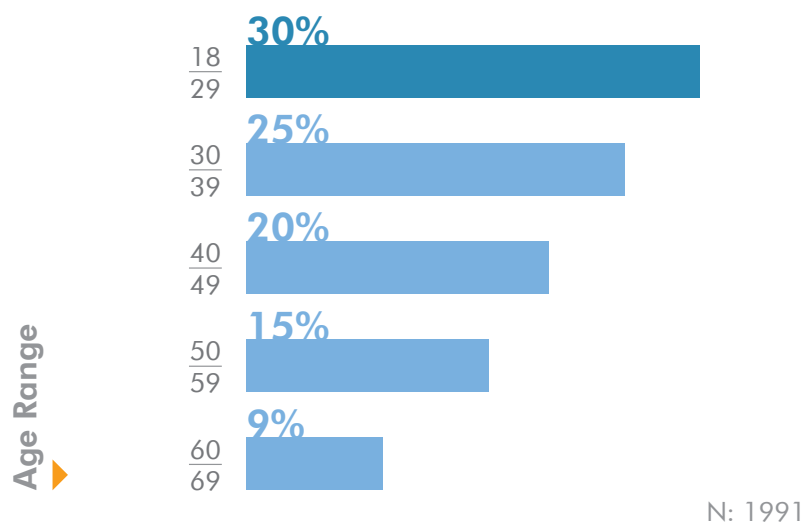
RESEARCH SAMPLE

Gender distribution of the sample is in line with the distribution among Turkey's population.



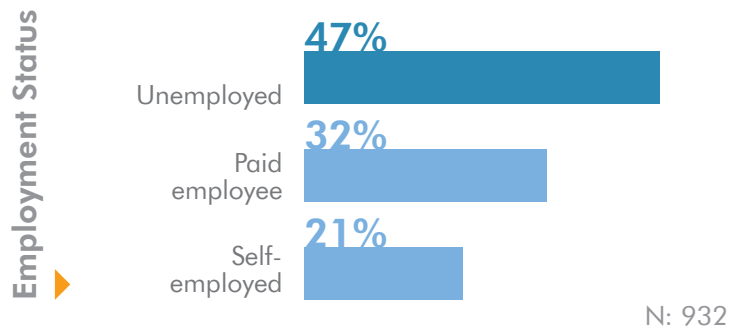
38,9

The average age of the sample is 38.9.



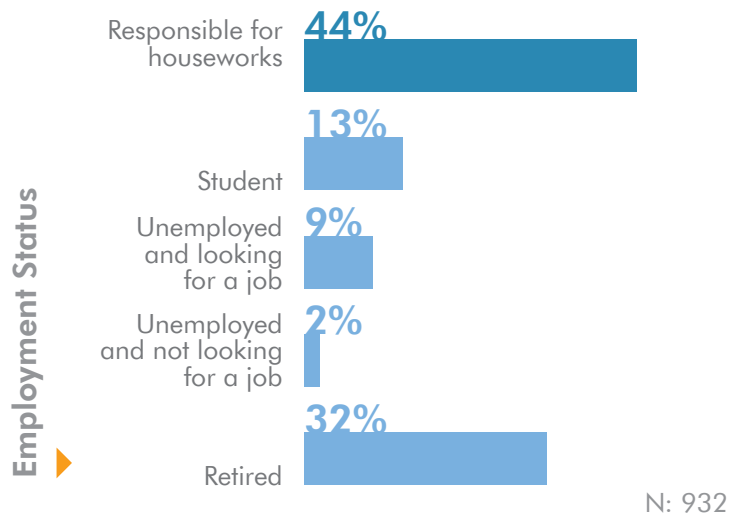
47%

53% of people who were interviewed are employed while 47% is unemployed



44%

44% of the respondents who indicated that they're unemployed stated that they are responsible for the housework, while 13% are students, 9% are unemployed and looking for a job, 2% are unemployed and not looking for a job and 32% are retired.

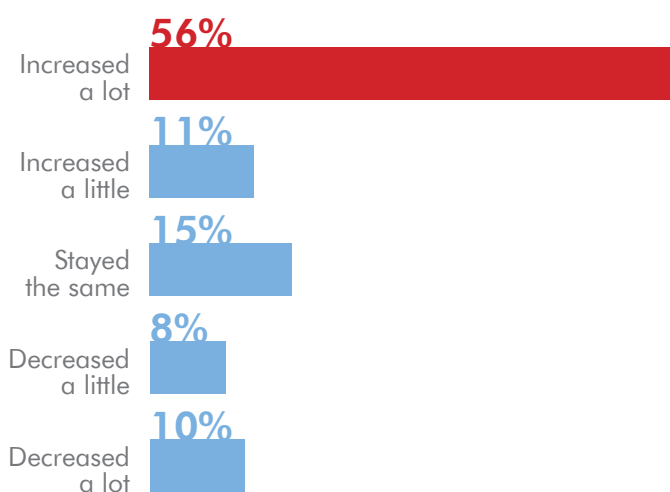


RESEARCH FINDINGS

Over the past two years how has the level of corruption in Turkey changed?

67%

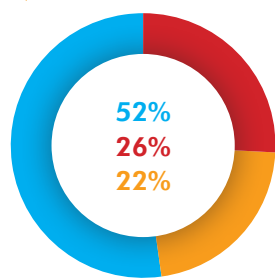
67% of respondents think corruption is increased while 18% think it is decreased.



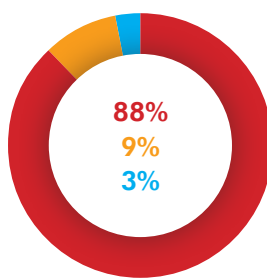
N: 1884

Voting Preferences

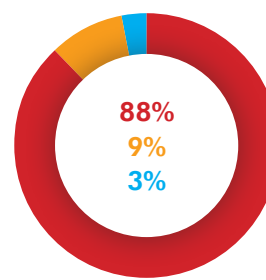
■ Increased ■ Stayed same ■ Decreased



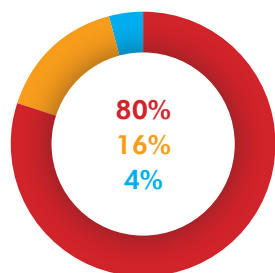
AKP



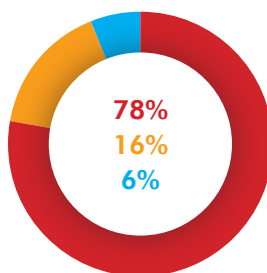
CHP



MHP



HDP

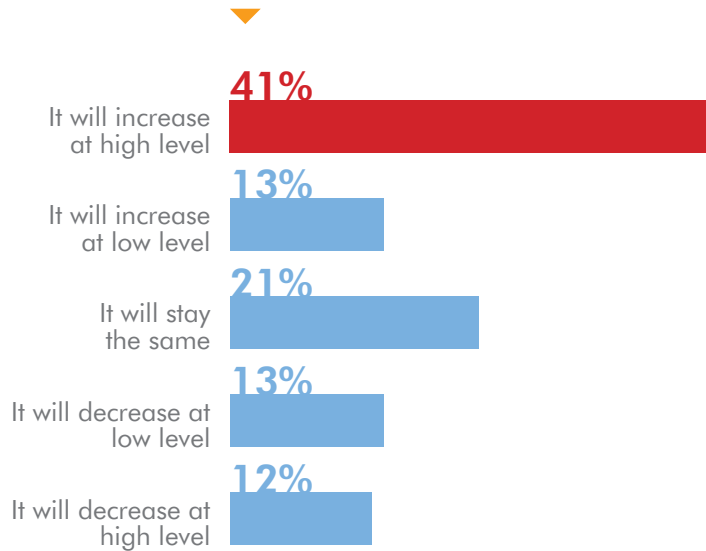


Others

54%

54% of respondents think corruption will increase while 25% think it will decrease.

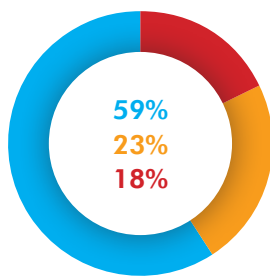
How will the level of corruption in Turkey change in the next two years?



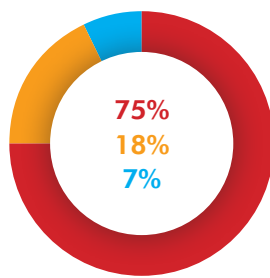
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Voting Preferences

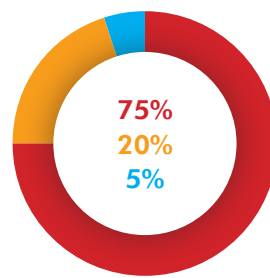
■ Will increase ■ Will stay same ■ Will decrease



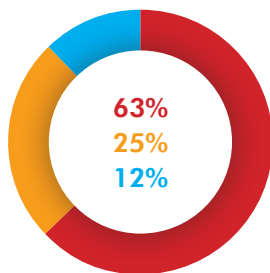
AKP



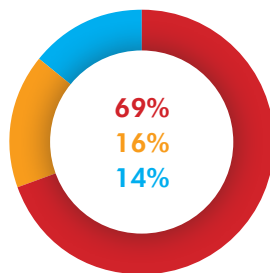
CHP



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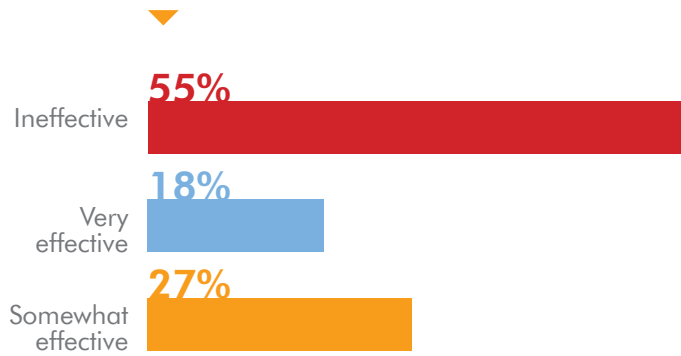


Others

55%

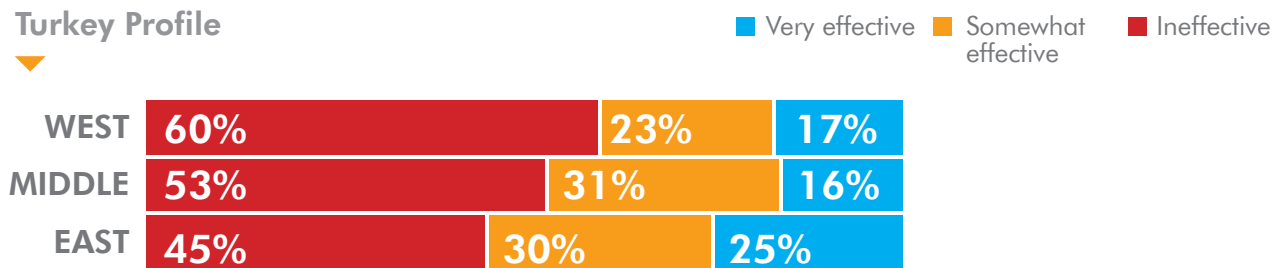
More than half of the respondents finds the efforts of government in fight against corruption ineffective.

To what extent do you think the current government's efforts in fighting against corruption are effective?

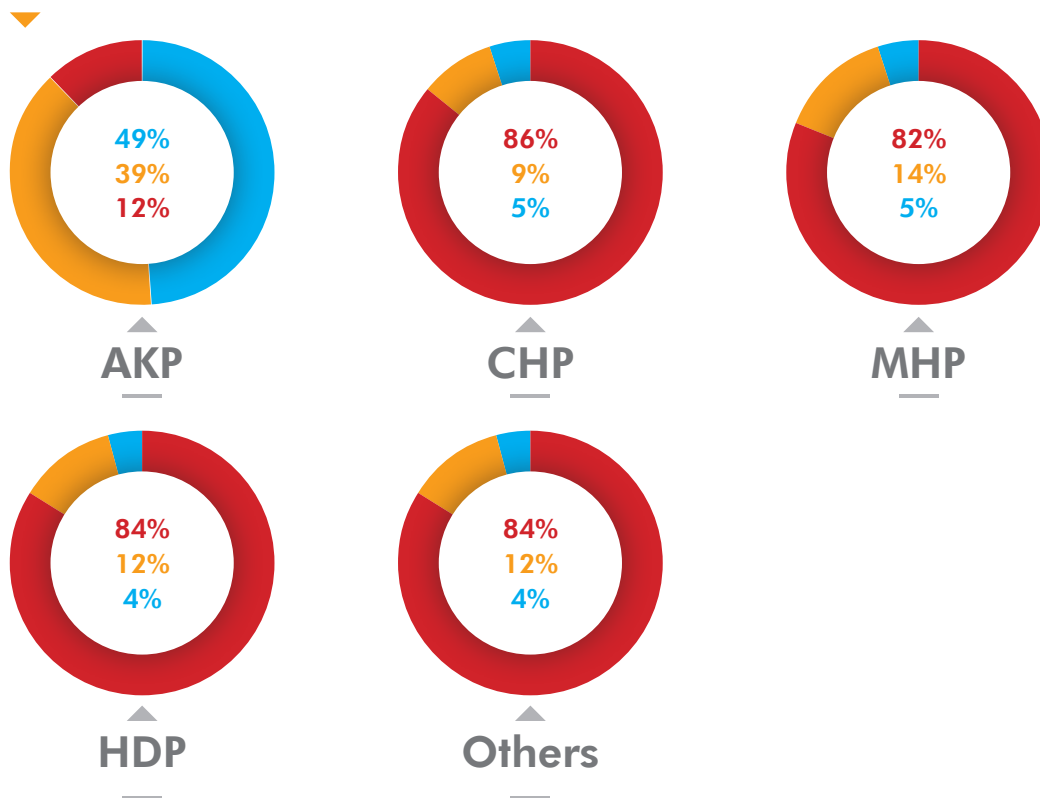


N: 1902

Turkey Profile



Voting Preferences



- ▶ Evaluation of these results as a whole, enables us to see the degree of effectiveness of the fight against corruption in Turkey and public's perception on the issue from a wider angle. While the first factor regarding the reasons of corruption appears as immunity and impunity, 55% of the public finds the effort of the government on fighting against corruption ineffective. It is possible to reach the conclusion that immunity and impunity hinders the fight against corruption and resolves its impacts.
- ▶ It is possible for to see a direct relationship between these two findings and public's opinion regarding the increase in the level of corruption. Yet, the corruption investigation which started in December 2013 covers the greatest corruption allegations within the history of Turkey. However these allegations were not taken seriously by the government, instead they were considered as an attempted coup, intense dismissals and changes of offices took place in police departments and judiciary, the former ministers allegedly involved in the case were not tried and immunities were protected. Keeping in mind these environment, the findings of the research regarding ineffectiveness in fight against corruption, increased corruption risk due to immunity and impunity and under the influence of these increased corruption level presents a consistency.

So Why the Government that Came to Power in 2002 with the Slogan of Fighting against 3Y (Yoksulluk (Poverty)), (Yolsuzluk (Corruption)) and (Yasaklar (Prohibitions)) is Found Unsuccessful Today?

1

In AKP 2002 Election Manifest, very important and concrete actions on the fight against corruption were compiled as commitments, such as;

- ▶ Assets of politicians and government executives will be made transparent, legislations on the works that can not be done after resignation will be improved,
- ▶ Transparency in the finance of politics will be improved,
- ▶ Public procurement system will become in compliance with EU norms,
- ▶ Penalties on corruption will be exacerbated
- ▶ Mechanisms to monitor the progress in the fight against corruption will be established
- ▶ Qualification and merit system in appointments in public institutions will be fully enabled
- ▶ Administrative and legal precautions will be taken to uncover and investigate corruption cases and to punish the corrupt.

2

Strategy and Action Plan on Fight Against Corruption

- ▶ Objectives similar to the ones from election manifest were present in the Action Plan for Increasing Transparency and Strengthening Fight against Corruption prepared in 2011. However, these commitments were not realized to a large extent.

3

Failure in Commitments on Open Government Partnership

Turkey was affiliated in Open Government Partnership in 2011 and prepared an action plan that covers:

- ▶ Information sharing with public
- ▶ To organise activities for active participation in policy and decision making processes and to increasing public awareness
- ▶ To improve dialogue between stakeholders

However, an evaluation report by Independent Reporting Mechanism was not prepared since Turkey did not make a measurable progress on open government commitments. A formal notice was sent to the government pointing out that compliance of Turkey with the membership criteria will be reviewed in case no progress is made during the 2nd action plan period.

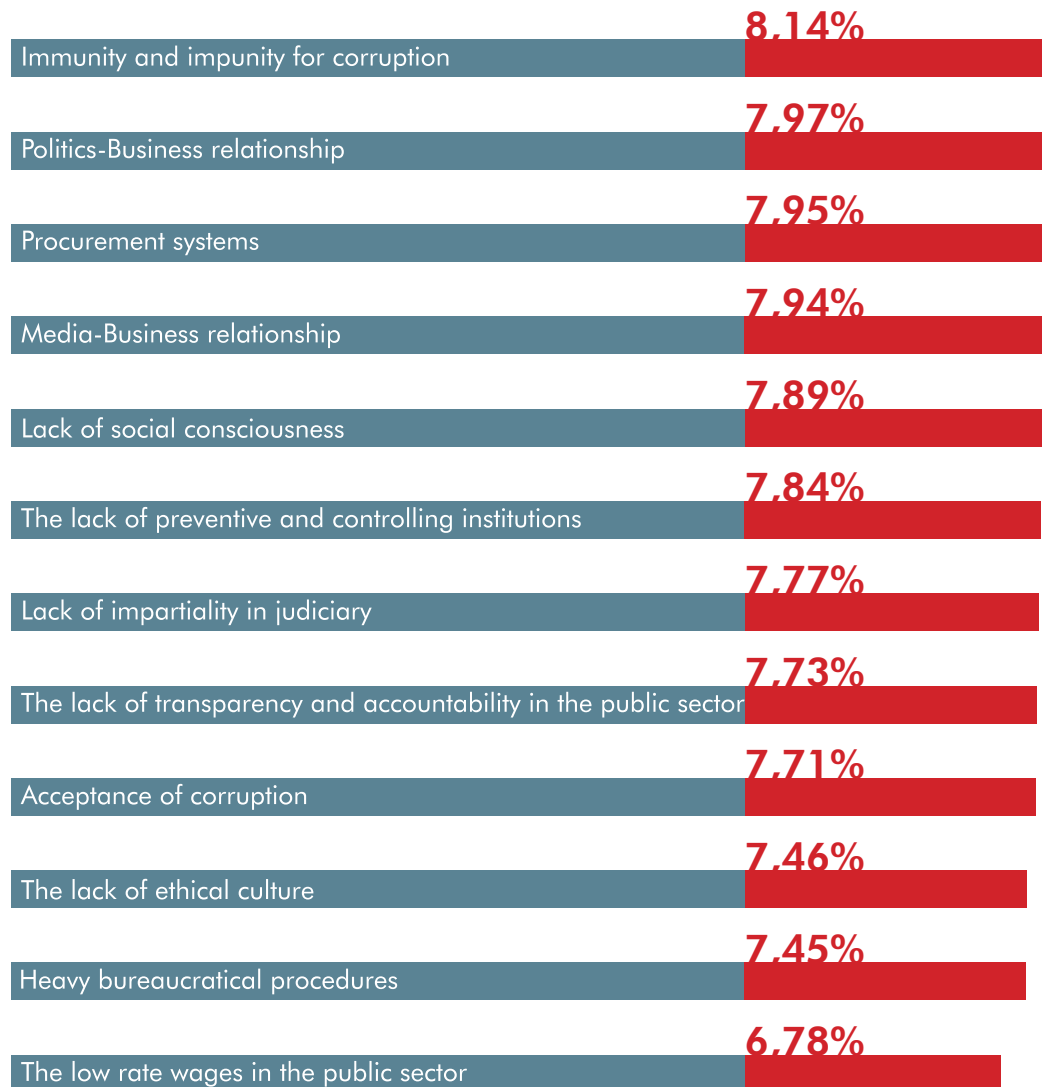
It is alarming that although Turkey is integrated into the global economy and has a growing economy, the country was the biggest faller with a drop of 5 points and in the rankings among 175 countries from 53 to 64 in Transparency International's 2014 Corruption Perceptions Index .

Turkey, who signed the UN Convention Against Corruption and OECD Convention which are accepted as the most effective international conventions on the issue of fight against corruption, appears among the countries "who had the least or no implementation" in the evaluation regarding the implementation of the both conventions.

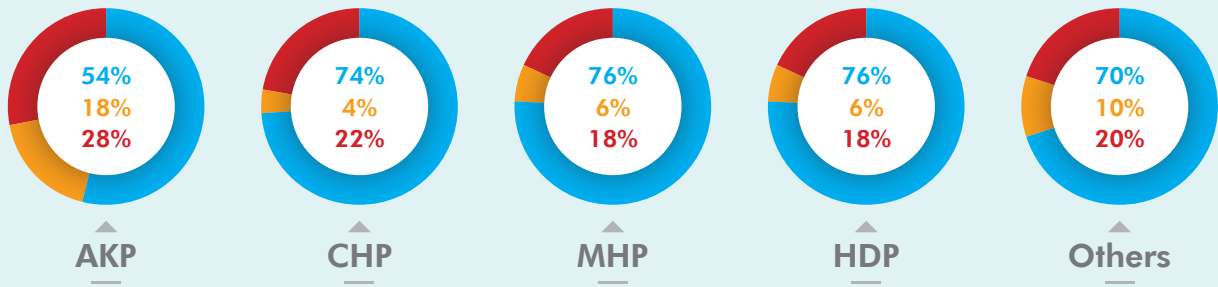
In the latest report of the Council of Europe, Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO), of which Turkey is a member, emphasis on the lack of progress about the recommendations stated in previous reports and demand for the achievement of "measurable progress within the shortest time possible" are statements that needs to be taken into consideration seriously.

The Reasons of Corruption

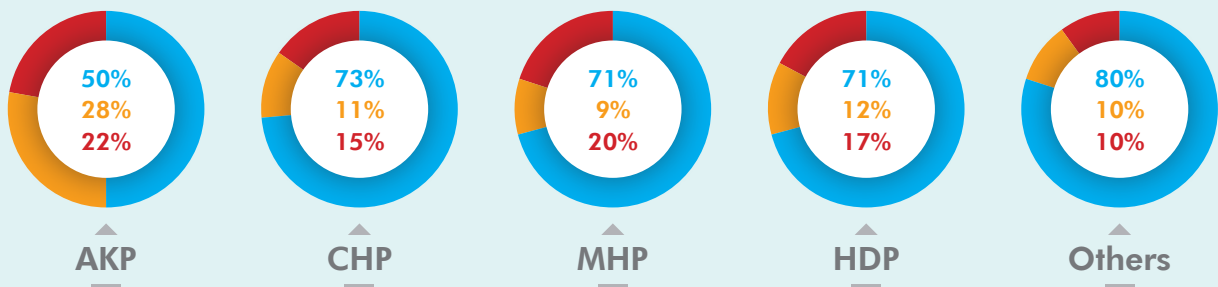
Could you evaluate the impact of the factors I will read to you as the reasons of corruption by rating them with a value between 0 and 10?



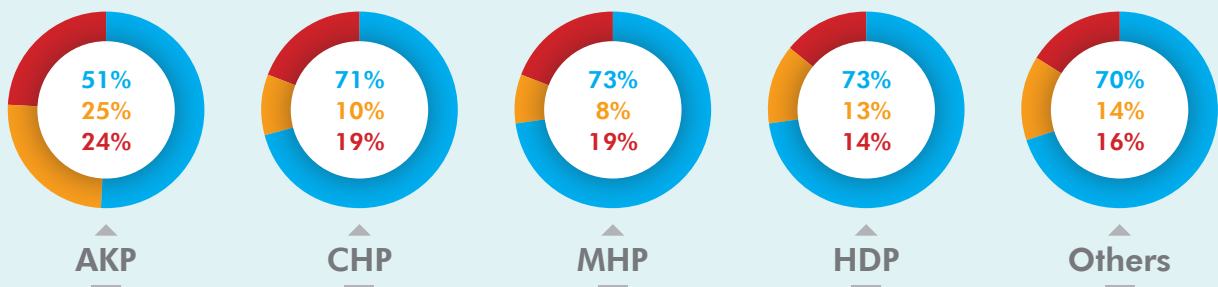
Immunity and impunity for corruption



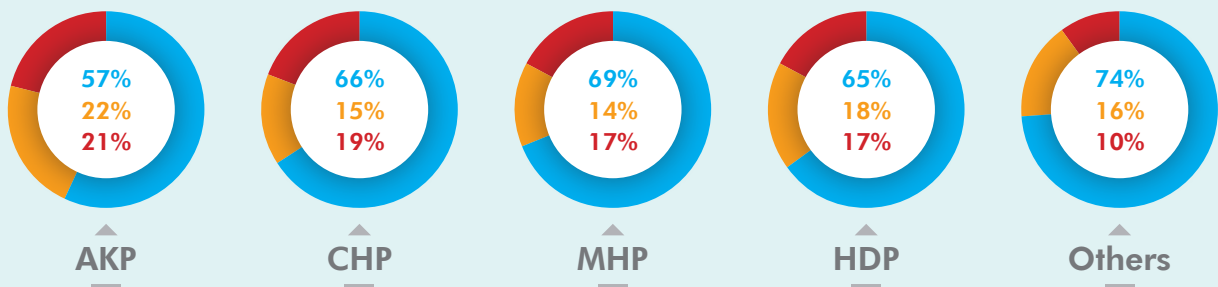
Politics-Business relationship



Procurement systems

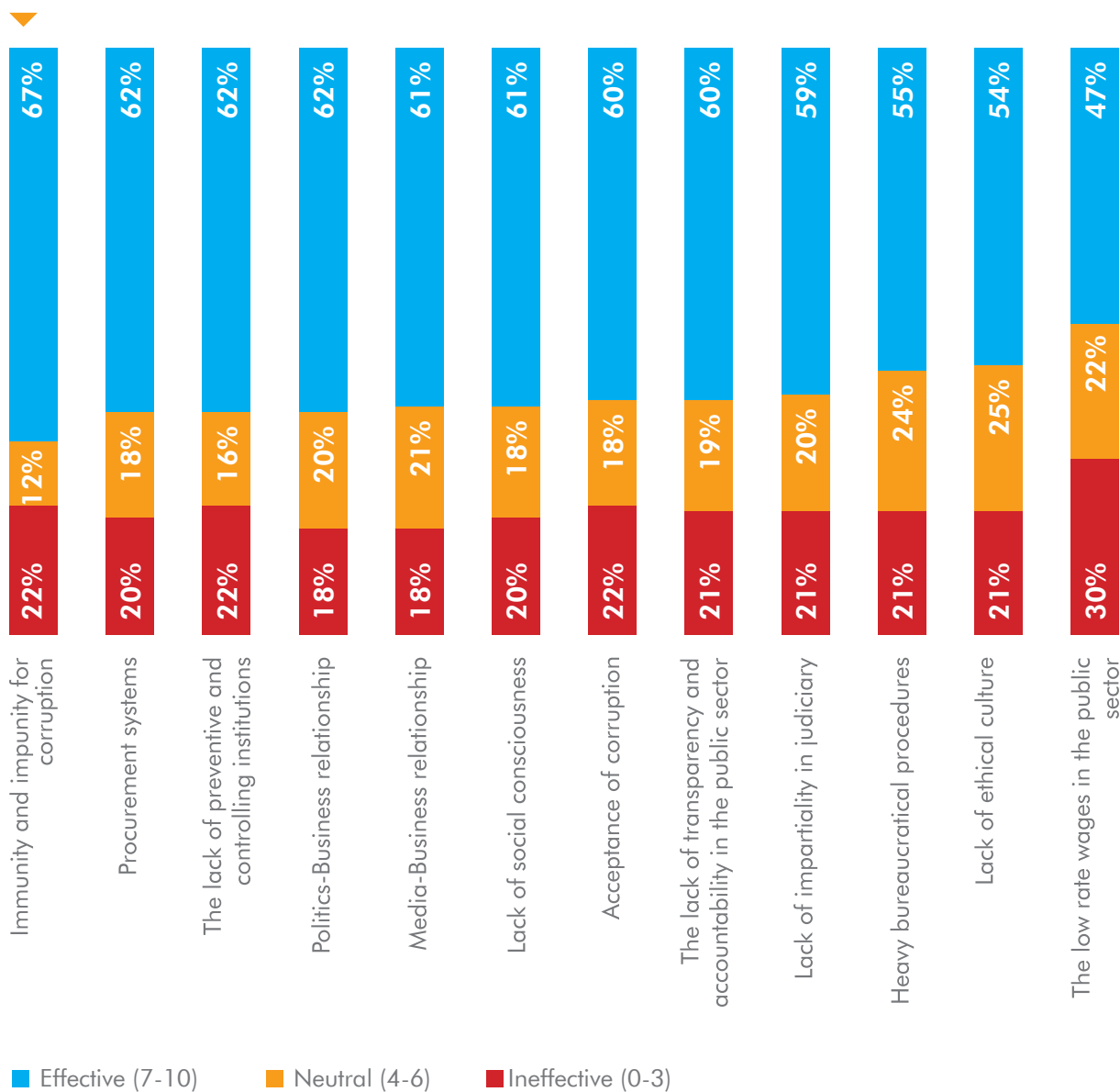


Media-Business relationship



■ Effective (7-10)
 ■ Neutral (4-6)
 ■ Ineffective (0-3)

Could you evaluate the impact of the factors I will read to you as the reasons of corruption by rating them with a value between 0 and 10?



Business Relationships

In this research it is clearly seen that the respondents pointed business relationships and private sector. In the ranking list of the reasons of corruption politics and business relationship ranks at 2nd while media and business takes 4th rank.

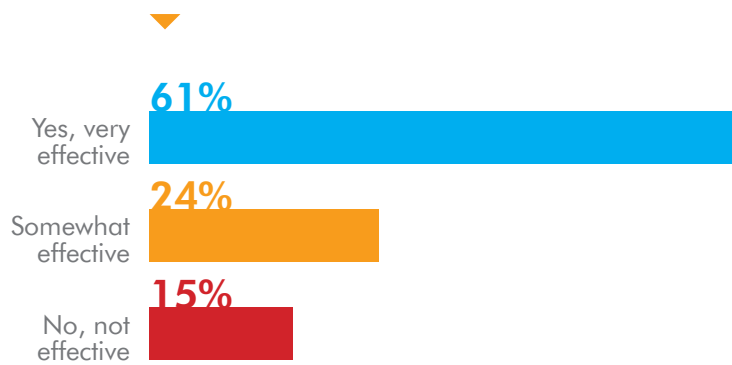
Considering procurement systems ranking at 3rd, it can be concluded that the respondents find the private sector has an important role in corruption.

61% of the respondents answered as "yes, private sector have a profound effect on public transactions and legal regulations through giving bribe, gifts and so on." the question on the impact of private sector on corruption in public sector. This result also supports the conclusion above.

61%

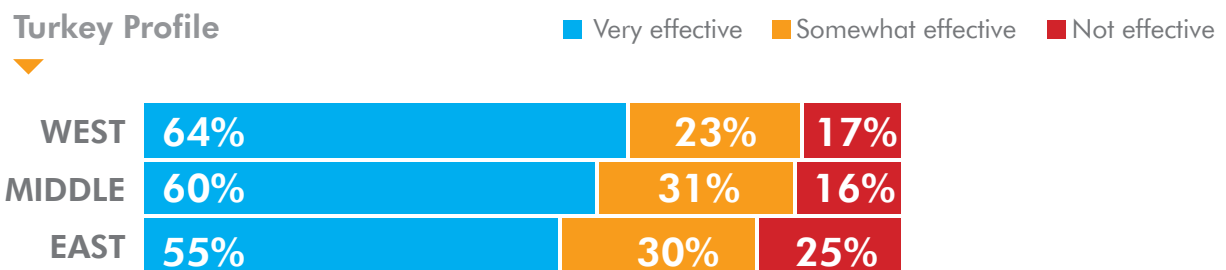
More than half of respondents think private sector is effective on public operations and legal arrangements by giving bribes and gifts.

Do you think private sector is effective on public process and legal arrangements by giving bribes and gifts?

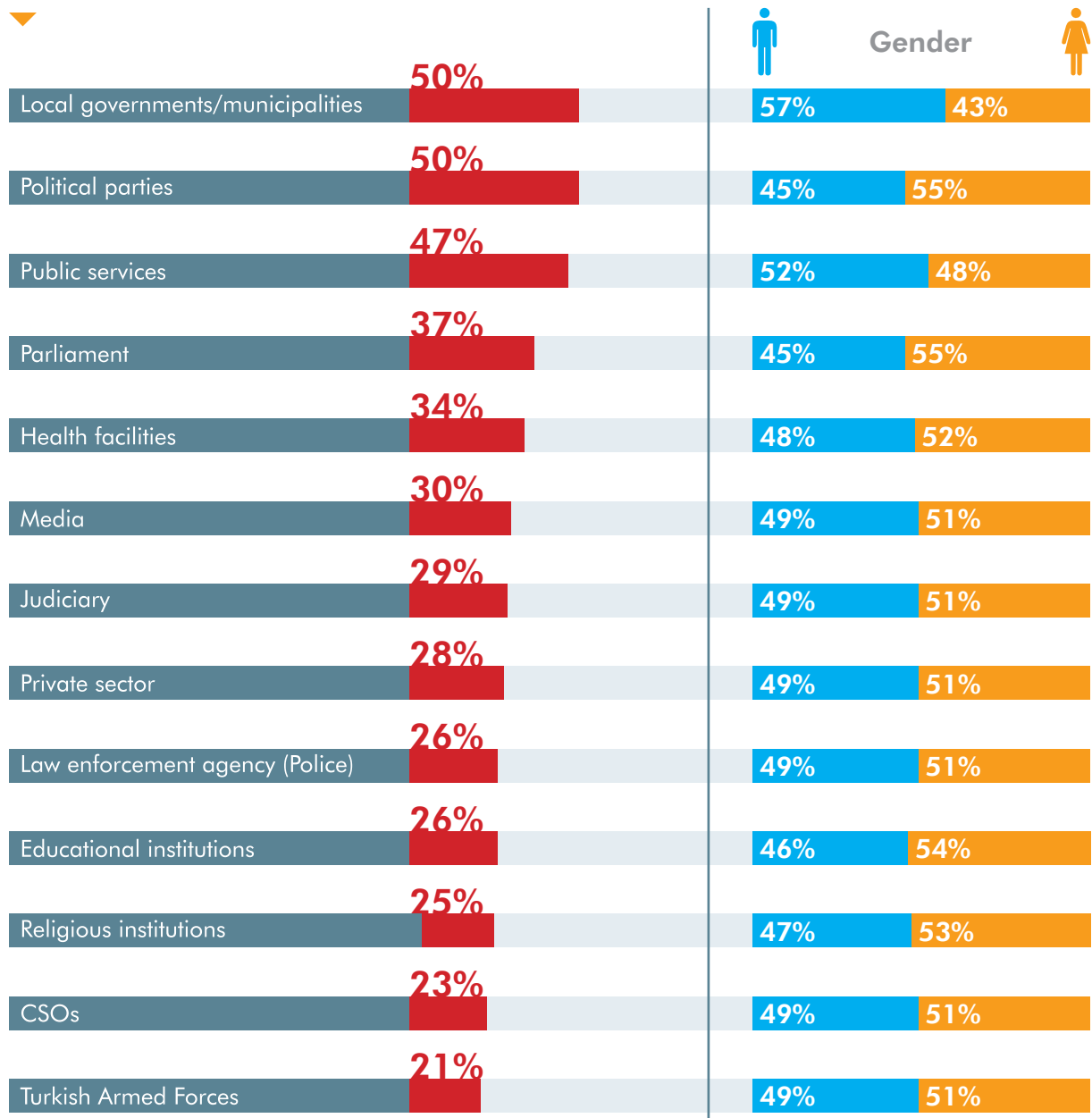


N: 1897

Turkey Profile



Which institutions I will read to you are the institutions with the highest level of corruption?





Corruption in Local Governments/Municipalities

While municipalities draw the attention by being thought as the institutions where corruption is the most common, they are the institutions to which illegal payments were made and gifts were given most. The news on investigations taking place in recent years show that corruption risk and practice are at serious levels in municipalities. Independent from political parties and geography they belong, many municipalities were investigated due to corruption allegations. Last month TBMM (The Grand National Assembly of Turkey) Deputy Chairman Sadık Yakut who answered CHP deputy Alaattin Yüksel's parliamentary question also stated that Sayıştay (Turkish Court of Accounts) filed criminal complaints on 28 municipalities between 2004 and 2014 based on the findings of audits carried out.

Corruption in Political Parties

Still, Turkey lacks of a political ethics law. This situation causes unavailability of conflict of interests and lack of effective audit on political financing, especially on the election campaigns. In addition, since there is no legal framework that regulates lobbying activities, monitoring the relation of politics with other fields remains as a challenge. Together with the examples on the use of politics as a profit making tool in Turkey, it is also seen that there is a strong public perception in this direction.

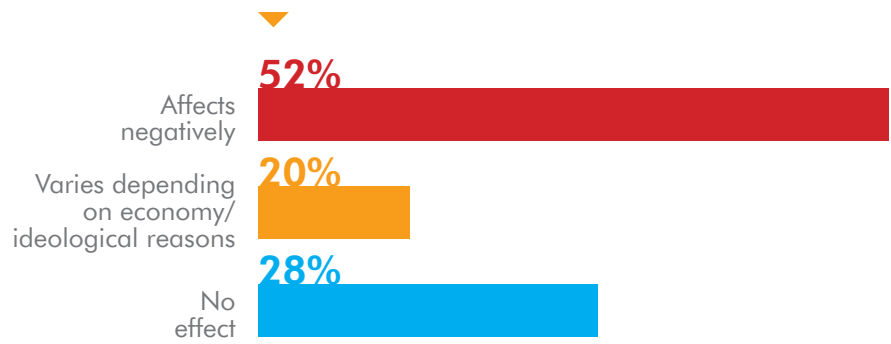
In addition to these, lack of transparency is also a concerns for political parties due to weakness in internal democratic principles and strong influence of the leaders.

Immunities covering the safeguards even against the allegations of corruption are effective in placing both political parties and the parliament on higher rankings in this research as institutions where corruption is widespread.

52%

More than half of the respondents indicate that the corruption allegations will affect their vote preferences negatively.

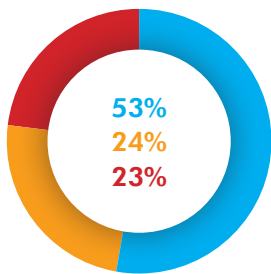
To what extent the corruption allegations about the political party you voted before are effective in your choice for the next elections?



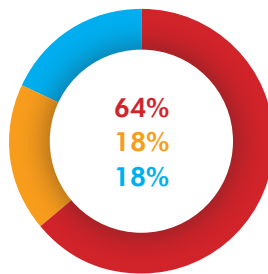
N: 1908

Voting Preferences

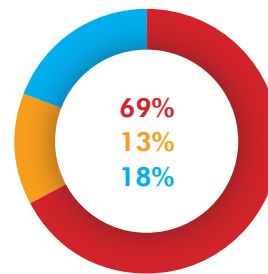
■ Affects negatively
 ■ Varies depending on economy/ideological reasons
 ■ No effect



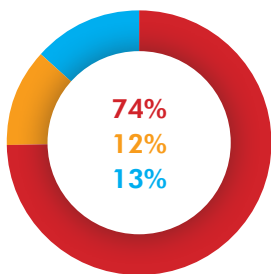
AKP



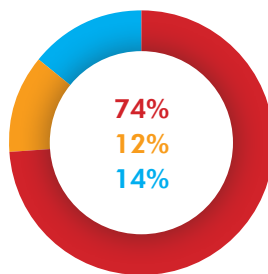
CHP



MHP



HDP

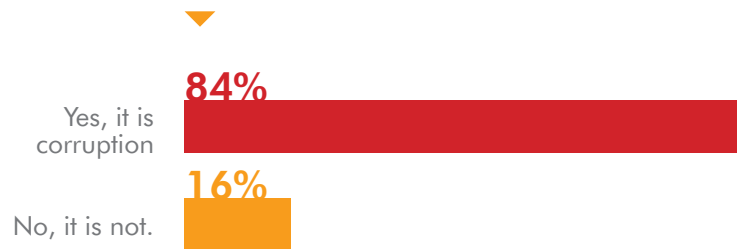


Others

84%

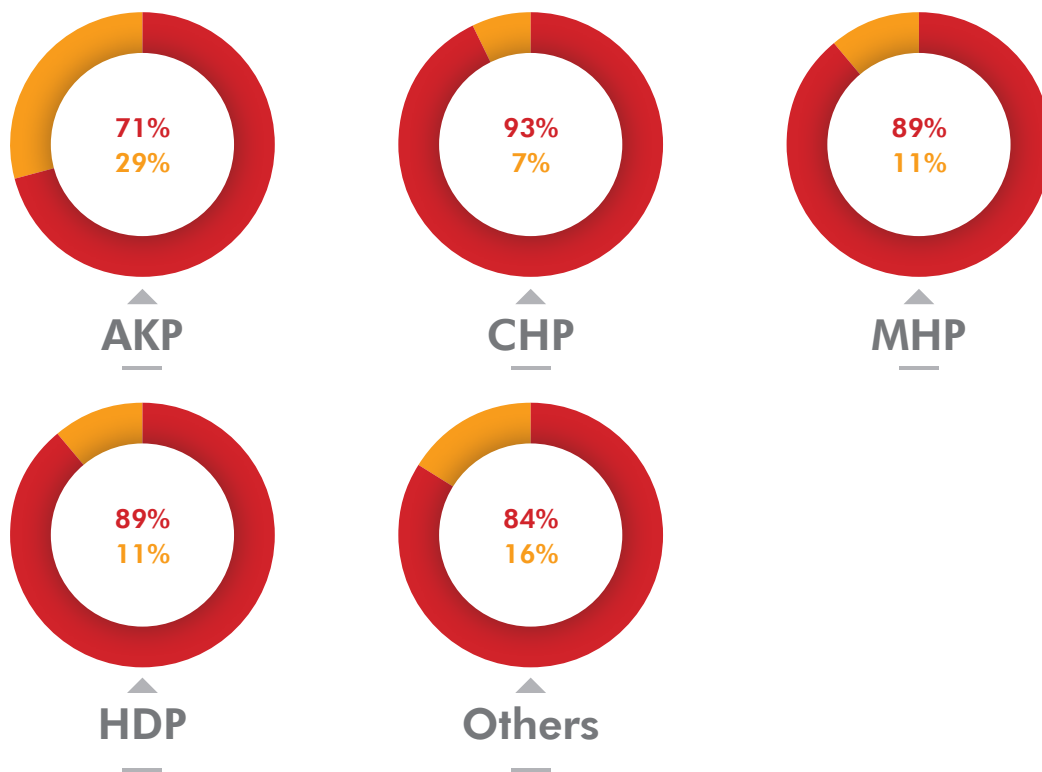
Majority of the respondents think that giving gifts (or tip) to a public official is corruption.

Is giving gifts (or tip) to a public official corruption?



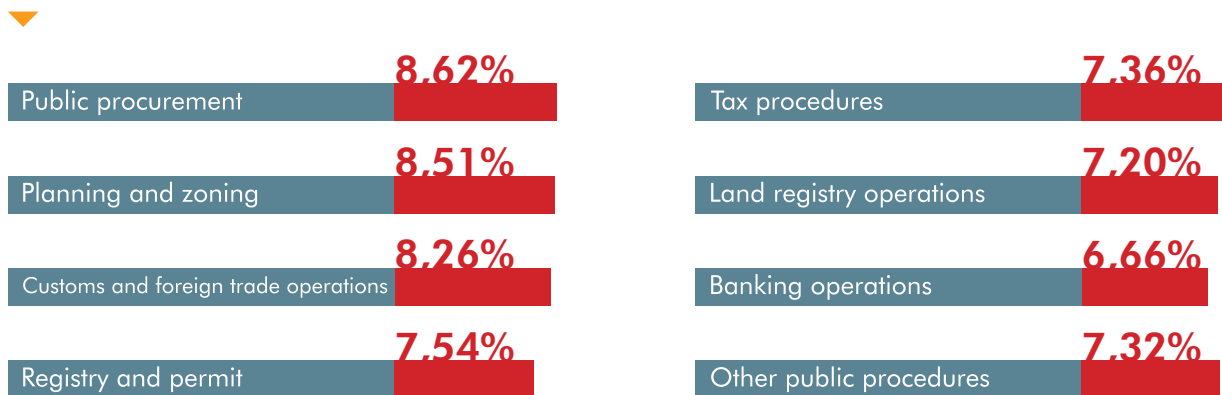
N: 1906

Voting Preferences

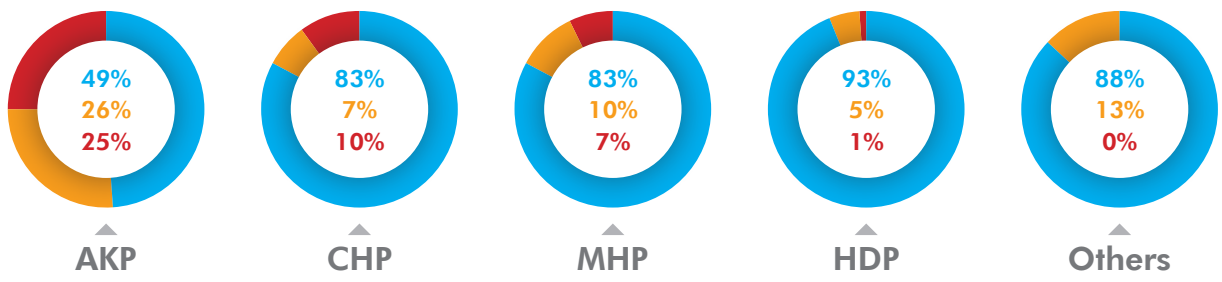


Corruption in Public Operations and Procedures

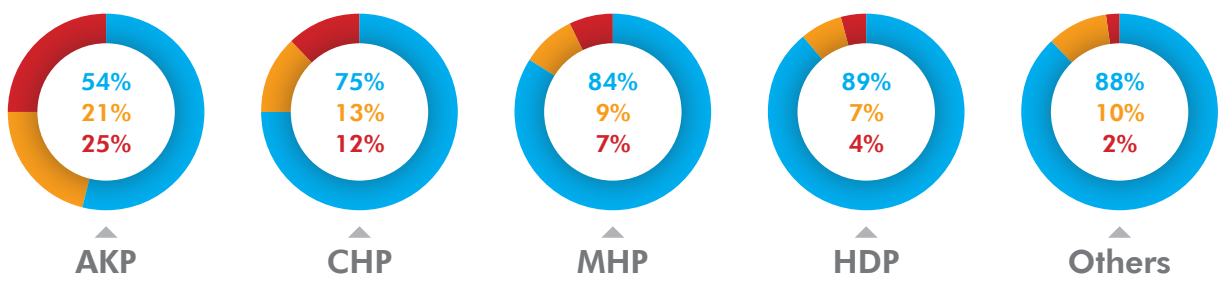
Could you evaluate the level of corruption on public operations and procedures by rating them with a value between 0 and 10?



Public procurement

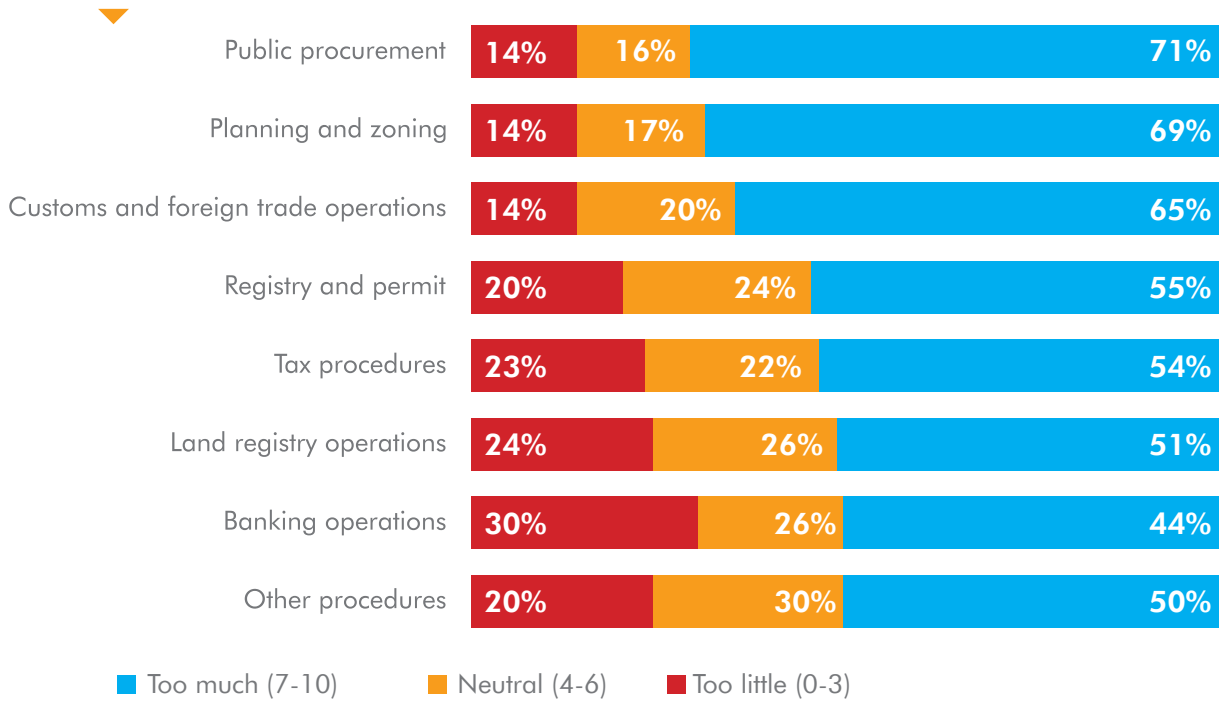


Planning and zoning



■ Too much (7-10) ■ Neutral (4-6) ■ Too little (0-3)

Could you evaluate the level of corruption on public transactions by rating them with a value between 0 and 10?



Corruption Risk in Public Procurements

Public Procurements is one of the areas that become prominent in various parts of our research. While procurement systems take 3rd place in the reasons of corruption ranking, it takes the first place in corruption rating in public operations and procedures with 8.62 points over 10. It is observed that respondents point to a systematic area rather than their personal experiences.

So, what makes public procurements a field that is so risky in terms of corruption?

With tens of amendments made in recent years on the legislation that regulates public procurements, areas for new exceptions were created and the scope of public procurement legislation applied has been narrowed. Rules that will enable the audit of public procurements were weakened with these changes in legal framework.

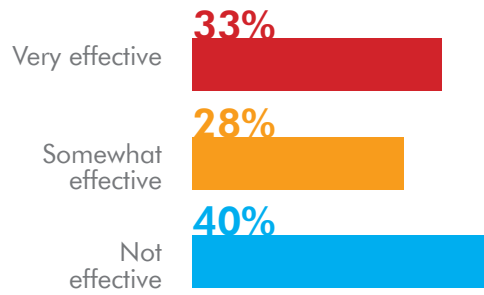
According to the research conducted by Transparency International Turkey in 2010 within the context of Comparative Indicator-based Monitoring of Anti-corruption Project, it is a common practice in public institutions to prepare the criteria of choice in procurements by pointing out to a specific firm.

In the first 6 months of 2013, the rate of public procurements made within the scope of exceptions is 24%.

61%

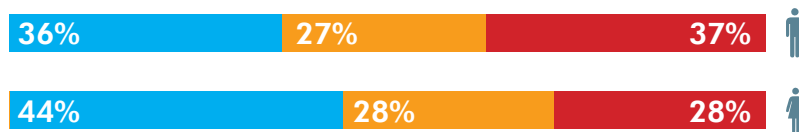
61% of respondents think that personal connections are very effective to handle the process in public institutions.

How effective your personal connections to handle the process in public institutions?



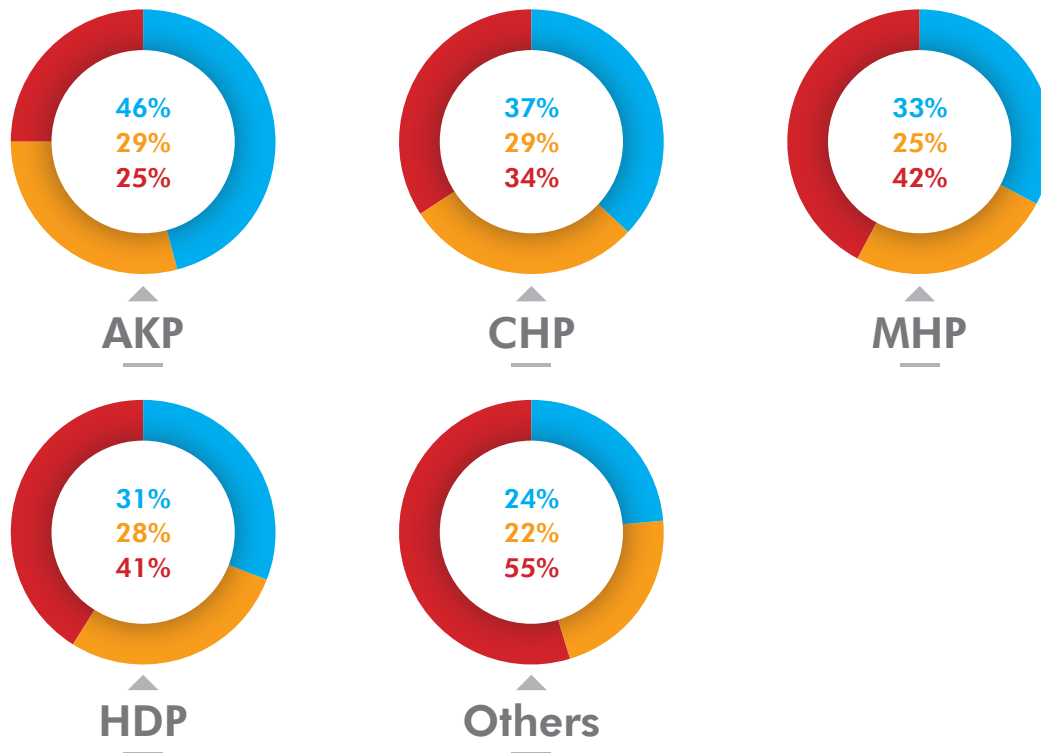
N: 1928

Gender



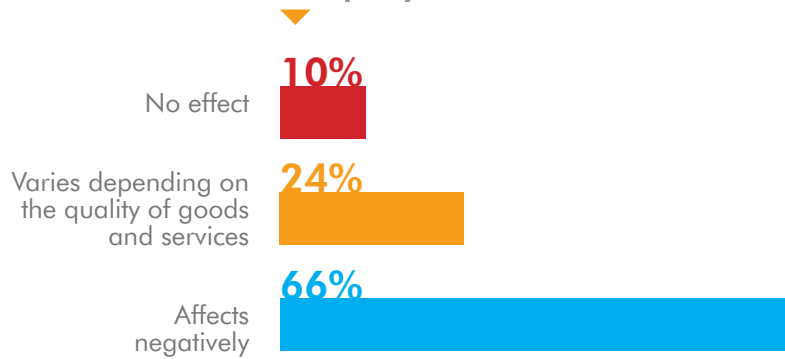
Voting Preferences

Very effective (Red), Somewhat effective (Orange), Not effective (Blue)



More than half of the respondents indicated that the company's alleged involvement in corruption affects negatively the purchase of goods or services that they will make from that company.

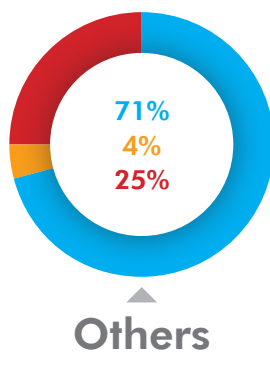
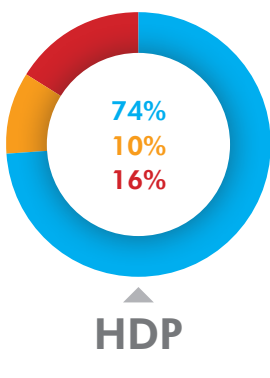
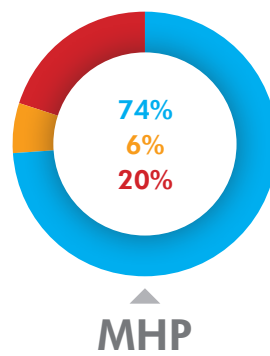
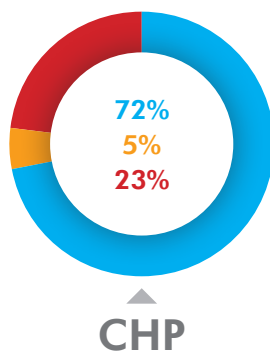
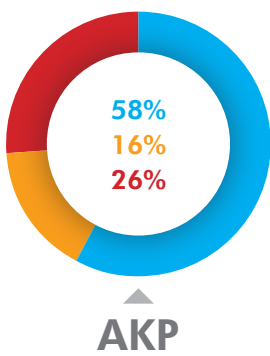
How does it affect the company's alleged involvement in corruption the purchase of goods or services that you will make from that company?



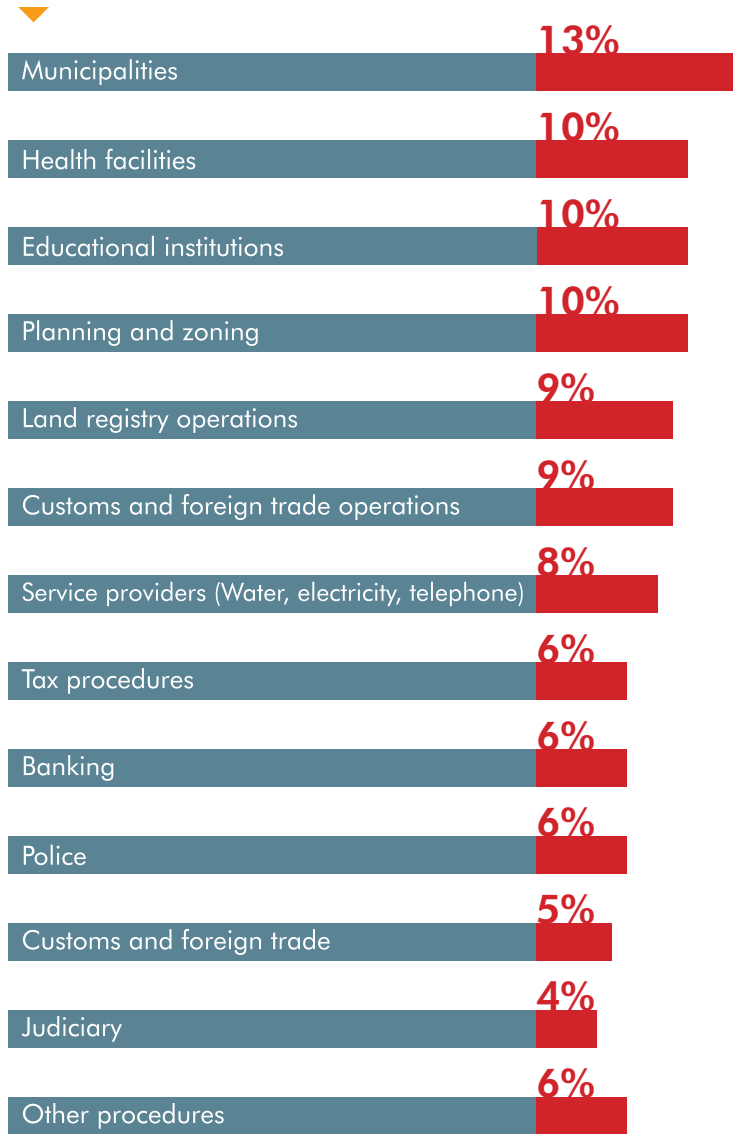
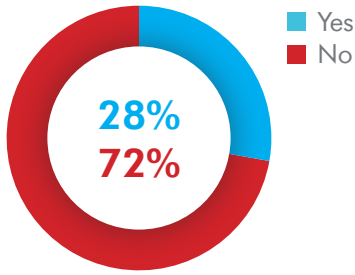
N: 1925

Voting Preferences

- No effect
- Varies depending on the quality of goods and services
- Affects negatively



Did you or your any acquaintance have to make illicit payments or give gifts to the officers in following instutitions during last 12 months?

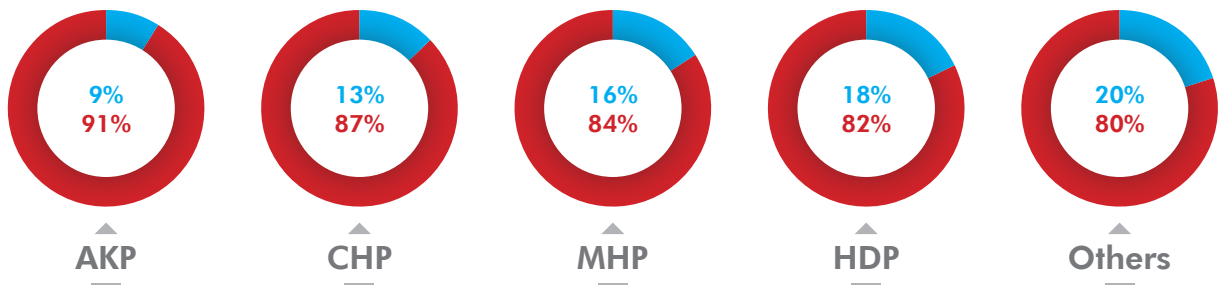


13%

The institution to which respondents made the highest illegal payment or gave gifts is municipalities with 13%.

Municipalities

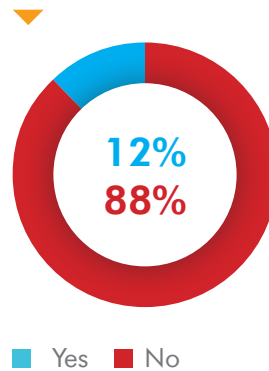
■ Yes ■ No



Did you make any legal complaints if you have been asked to make illegal payments or give gifts in the last one year?

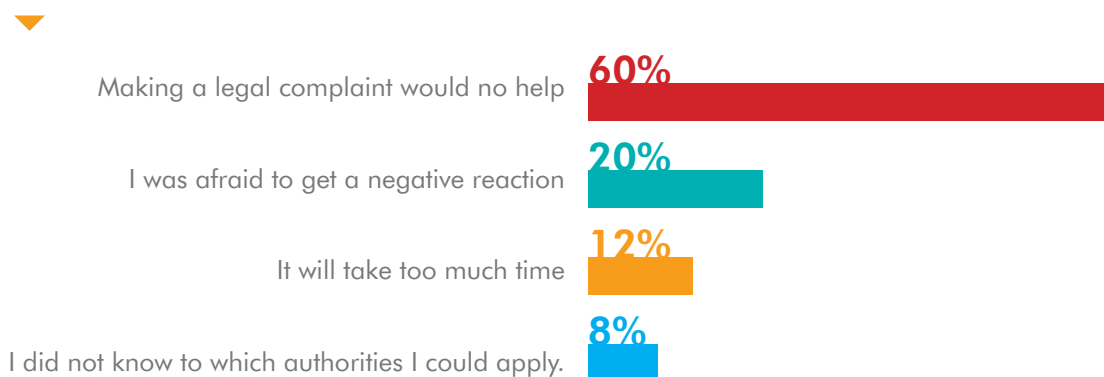
88%

A majority of respondents stated that they did not make any legal complaints about illegal payments.



N: 1864

If not, what was the reason for that?



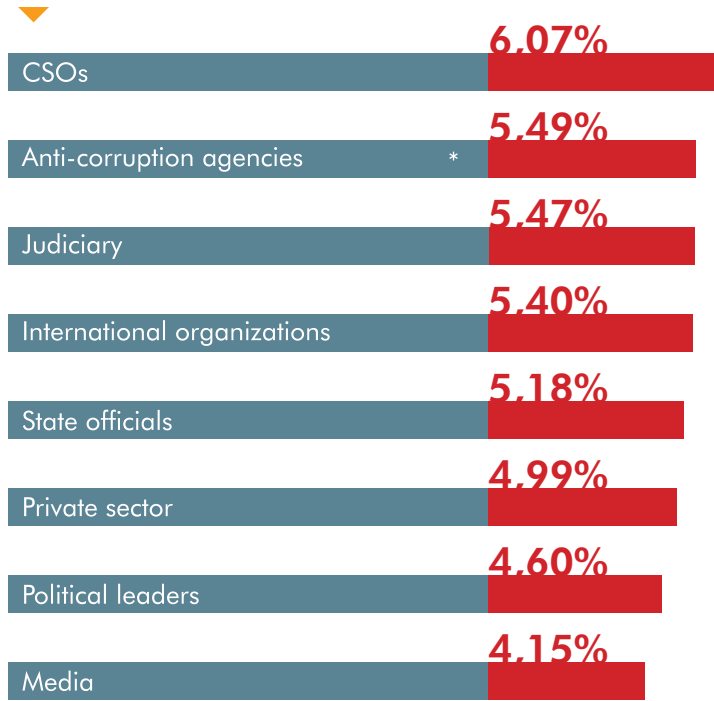
Impunity

88% of the respondents answered the question "If you were asked to make irregular payments/ give gifts, have you made a statutory complaint/notified authorities about it in one year?" as "No". When the reason for this is asked, 60% of the respondents stated that making a complaint would no help. This answer is undoubtedly related to "immunity and impunity" which takes the first place in the reasons of corruption.

In the corruption investigation which includes the greatest corruption allegations in Turkey's history and started in December, 2013, four ministers were allegedly involved and the decision of these four former ministers not to be sent to the Supreme Court was made in the Plenary of the Parliament. The results of the study indicates that this decision contributed to the spreading of immunity and impunity culture. Prevention of former ministers to be brought to justice, obviously contributed to the normalization of impunity in the society in addition to damaging principles of the rule of law by preventing corruption claims to be investigated in full transparency and as necessary.

Respondents think that when they experience corruption and they file complaints this will have no effect.

Could you evaluate which organizations you trust to be the best at fighting against corruption in Turkey by rating it with a value between 0 and 10?



According to the respondents Civil Society Organisations are the most trusted institutions in fight against corruption.

The Most Trusted Institutions in Fight Against Corruption

Civil Society Organizations are seen as the most trusted institutions in fight against corruption. It is observed that CSOs which are leading actors of democratization in Turkey, are taking place in the fight against corruption and their work on this field found reliable in society. In this context, it is seen that advocacy and research activities of organizations such as Oy ve Ötesi, Sandık Başındayız, Türkiye'nin Oyları and ESHİD which work for the prevention of violation, fraud and irregularities; umbrella organizations such as Denge ve Denetleme Ağı which bring together CSOs from various fields and Transparency International working in fields ranging from public sector to private sector and media find a positive reaction back from the public.

Participants who think private sector is effective in corruption, don't trust private sector on fight against corruption. Private sector takes the 6th place on the list of most reliable institutions on the fight against corruption.

These findings on private sector, points that private sector should take on responsibility about the fight against corruption. Another emphasis in the study which shows this necessity is that 66% of the participants answered the question "How do the claims on a company getting involved in a corruption affect your purchase of goods or services from that company?" by stating that it affects negatively.

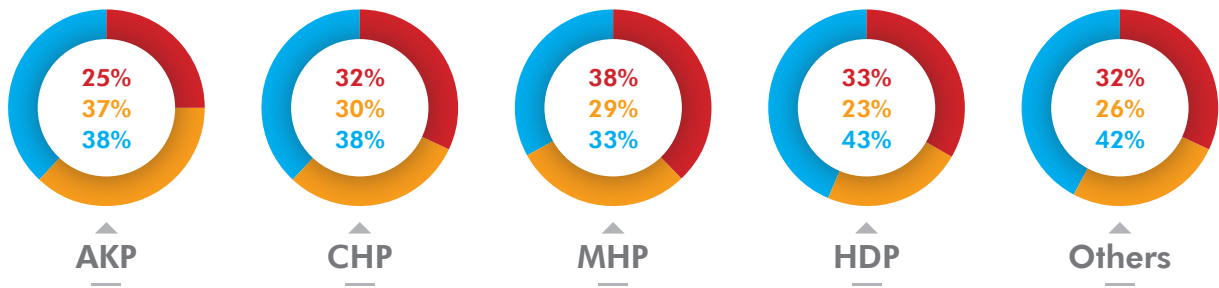
* Prime Ministry Inspection Board, Council of Ethics for Public Service, MASAK, KOM

Voting Preferences

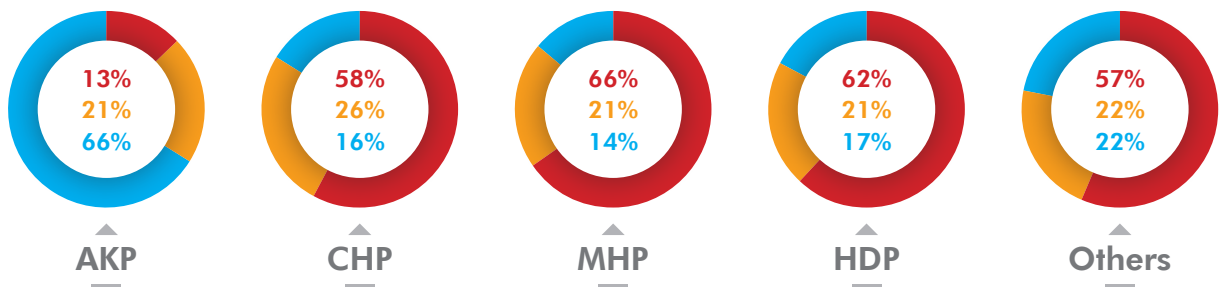


- Not trusted (0-3)
- Neutral (4 - 6)
- Trusted (7 - 10)

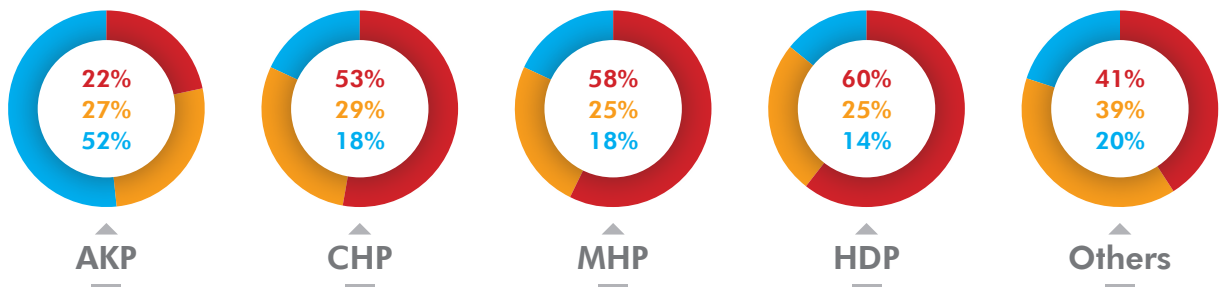
CSOs



Anti-corruption agencies



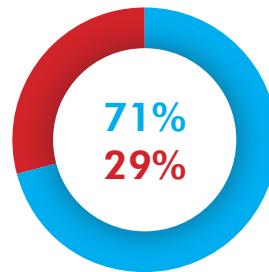
Judiciary



71%

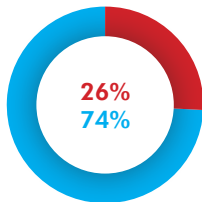
More than a half of respondents agree with the idea that every citizen's personal efforts can make a difference in fight against corruption.

Do you agree with the idea that every citizen's personal efforts can make a difference in fight against corruption?

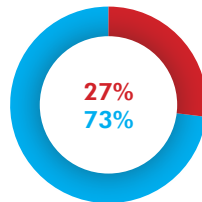


■ Agree ■ Disagree

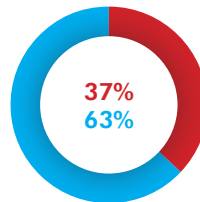
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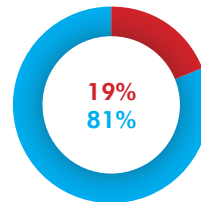
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AKP



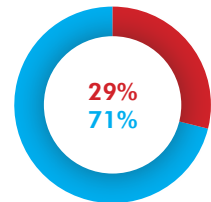
▲
CHP



▲
MHP



▲
HDP



▲
Others

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konsensus
arařtırma danıřmanlık

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