

CMS-INDIA CORRUPTION STUDY 2017

Perception and Experience with Public Services & Snapshot View for 2005-17



“Recall the face of the poorest and the weakest person whom you may have seen, and ask yourself if the step you contemplate is going to be of any use to him. Will it restore him a control over his own life and destiny?”

– Mahatma Gandhi, June 1921



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Foreword



Corruption means different things to different people. There is a quote from Publius Tacitus (Gaius Cornelius Tacitus), author of several texts, including “Annals”. As commonly cited in English, the quote goes, “The more corrupt a State, the more numerous the laws”. That’s not quite correct. Tacitus wrote, “*Corruptissima re publica plurimae leges*”. We indeed have a clause about a corrupt State and another clause about plurality of laws. But there was no obvious causation in Tacitus. One could equally well translate this as, “The more numerous the laws, the more corrupt a State”. However, the correlation is not in doubt. There is the big-ticket kind of corruption, with an intricate link with electoral reforms and electoral funding. Most big-ticket kind of corruption is associated with allocation of natural resources and land conversion, the licensing regime having become less important. However, all citizens suffer the small-ticket kind of corruption, associated with the delivery of public services.

What does one do to reduce these kinds of corruption? Some version of the Robert Klitgaard formula will inevitably crop up. The original formula stated, $C = M + D - A$. Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Accountability. The UNDP refines the formula a bit more. Corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – (Accountability + Integrity + Transparency). One of the early reports on the undesirable effects of controls and subsidies was the Dagli Committee, way back in 1979. Much before these formulae came into vogue, the Dagli Committee argued for an end to shortages and discretion. Both are important instruments for reducing corruption in the delivery of public services. However, that’s the supply-side, so to speak. The countervailing force exerted on the demand-side is perhaps even more important in making governments transparent and accountable. In the last couple of decades, one can think of several such demand-side initiatives.

In terms of documenting corruption, especially if one is interested in surveys that cut across all States and are not confined to a single State, everyone who works or writes in this area will quote Centre for Media Studies (CMS) and the CMS “India Corruption Study”. Since this has now been undertaken for several years, it can be used to benchmark improvements over time too, with “public services” suitably defined by CMS. (This is the 11th Round.) CMS also enables us to distinguish between perception of corruption, experience and estimation (PEE).

In the past, CMS surveys have often made readers pessimistic. Though there are grounds for pessimism still, there are some silver linings this time, though those silver linings are not spread uniformly across all States. But this is not just a survey. There are also useful suggestions for governments to take note of.

April 03, 2017

Dr Bibek Debroy
Member, NITI Aayog

Foreword



Dr. Bhaskara Rao and CMS deserves congratulations for having been a pioneer in a very significant and important area of communication and taking on the challenging aspect of the ethical dimensions and the professional standards in that significant area.

The Centre for Media Studies (CMS) has been trailblazer. What is exciting that every year we find that CMS is exploring some new aspects or highlighting emerging trends long before the others recognize them. This year's report is no exception and has maintained that tradition.

An added point of interest in this year's report is that it comes at the midpoint of the Modi Sarkar's first term in office. Modi Sarkar is the first totally right of Centre Government in independent India. The subtle differences in the attitude to corruption in public affairs and the emerging differences among the states are the most interesting aspect of this report which for any student of political science must have immense value. The key difference is that the government has initiated specific steps like demonetization and GST which are bound to have significant impact on the corruption scene in the country.

I am sure the CMS Report of 2017 will become an important reference for future scholars on the aspect of corruption in public services.

I congratulate CMS for having emerged as really authentic conscious keeper of the Media, Governance and the Communication sector in all its dimension today.

April 21, 2017

N. Vittal
Former Central Vigilance Commissioner, Gol

Preface



I take pleasure in presenting this report based on 11th round (2017) of the annual CMS-India Corruption Study (CMS-ICS). This year, the report signals a turning point. It brings out not only decline in the extent of corruption in citizens availing basic public services (SDG indicator 16.5.1), but it also indicates a significant dip of 70 per cent in the amount of bribe paid by citizen during 2016-17 as compared to the estimated amount in the previous round.

Now that India is going through a big breakthrough in ICT by way of digitalisation, broadband connectivity and mobile access, further big relief to citizens could be expected in the coming couple of years. As CMS report of 2006 hinted, ICT is bound to change the course of the country, including freeing citizen from paying bribe.

All this should also mean a change in the way news media of the country covers corruption. For, perceptions of people cannot be much different from their own experiences over the years. Let's take the example of the large number of Telugu news channels, where the coverage on corruption is in a competitive context, making perception overwhelming. This is reflected in the findings. Clearly, a turn around is not possible without rigor in news media coverage of corruption.

I take this opportunity to thank Dr N Bhaskara Rao, who has been the guiding force for all CMS studies till date on corruption and others related to governance. I like to also compliment my colleague Mr Alok Srivastava for leading this interesting study. I thank Dr Bibek Debroy and Mr N Vittal for their Forewords. We look forward for their continued encouragement with their critical analysis of CMS-ICS, as before.

While this report is very optimistic on the decline of corruption in citizens availing basic public services, we have a long way to go before each citizen gets their rightful access to quality basic services. Till then, we all members of civil society, along with government have a crucial role to play in ensuring the same...

CMS and I are committed to this vision of equitable development and responsive governance.

In solidarity

P N Vasanti

Director General, CMS

www.cmsindia.org

April 21, 2017

Section I: At a Glance

Overview

This eleventh (11th) round of annual CMS- India Corruption Study (*herein after referred as CMS-ICS 2017*) covers both rural and urban locations of 20 states. The data collection was conducted in October-November 2016 and an additional telephonic sub-sample survey to capture perception of households visited earlier on effect of demonetization on level of corruption in public services was conducted in January 2017. It is pertinent to mention that the 'demonetization phase' as one may call the period starting November 8, 2016 did not have much effect on the main findings of the study. Reason being, the reference period for the study is 'during last one year' prior to the survey and hence a major part of the reference period was before the '*notebandi*' happened. Also, it is important to understand that the focus of all rounds of CMS-ICS since beginning (2000) is to capture corruption prevailing in G2C (Government to Citizen) phase i.e. at service delivery end, which is by and large observed to be petty (or retail) in nature, where the money paid as bribe, in majority of the cases, is not in the denomination of the currency (INR 1000 and 500) barred for legal tendering since November 10, 2016. In short, demonetization phase has no or minimal effect on the findings of CMS-ICS 2017 on petty corruption.

This report offers highlight of CMS-ICS 2017 and also gives a comparative picture of the findings with earlier round of CMS-ICS 2005 i.e. 2005 vis-à-vis 2017. The comparison of corruption over the two periods indicates, involving citizen across socio economic spectrum, how different public services were perceived and experienced by the citizen/ service seekers.

Methodology followed for this round of CMS-ICS is same as in the earlier years. Perception, Experience and Estimation (PEE) approach was followed for this round as well. It captures peoples’ Perception (P) and Experience (E) with Public Services and further Estimates (E) the amount paid as bribe by common citizens to avail public services during the previous one year. Perception and experience related to both basic and need based public services. Ten (10) public services in all, that a household is likely to avail at least once in a year, was covered in this round (and in 2005) of CMS-ICS.

In each state, a sample of around 150 households was covered from at least 2 districts (*one of these districts covered was the state capital*) spread across 10-12 locations (rural and urban) in each state. In all, more than 200 clusters were covered during the study.

Table 1: Public Services Covered in CMS-ICS 2005 & 2017	
Public Distribution System (PDS)	Banking Services
Electricity	Police
Health/Hospital	Judicial services
School Education	Land/Housing
Water Supply	Tax* (income/sales/excise)
*only urban	

The states covered in this round (and in 2005) of CMS-ICS are:

Table 2: States covered in CMS-ICS 2005 and 2017			
Andhra Pradesh	Assam	Bihar	Chhattisgarh
Delhi	Gujarat	Haryana	Himachal Pradesh
Jammu & Kashmir	Jharkhand	Karnataka	Kerala
Madhya Pradesh	Maharashtra	Odisha	Punjab
Rajasthan	Tamil Nadu	Uttar Pradesh	West Bengal

State wise variation for each public service has not been measured in this round as a lesser proportion of surveyed households at the state level had reported interacting with a particular public service during the last one year. However, the sample was significant to draw a conclusion about a public service at national level.

CMS annual surveys have been reminding that corruption in India is exaggerated in public discourses. One of the reasons for this exaggeration is the way the news media cover corruption, particularly in the context of public services. It is because of “repetitiveness” of coverage of corruption, mostly by television channels, that “perceptions” about corruption are viewed as much higher than what is on ground and what has been the experience.

A decade ago, a CMS report had questioned the global surveys’ ranking of India on prevalence of corruption in public services, because the rankings were based more on “perception” than “experience”. Also their sample is less of “*aam aadmi*”, the ordinary citizens.

CMS pointed in its earlier rounds that corruption has been on decline in the context of common man trying to avail basic public services, and particularly where ICT has been adopted. CMS has been concerned in all its annual India Corruption Study with petty corruption that citizen encounters and experience while availing “basic public services”, which are provided by the government and an ordinary citizen depends on and avails at least once or more often in a year.

Overall Summary

- Between 2005 and 2017, there is a definite decline in both perception and experience of citizens about corruption in availing public services.
- This 11th round of annual CMS-India Corruption Study (CMS-ICS 2017) brings out that nearly 43 % of the households across 20 states feel that the level of corruption in public services has *increased* during the last one year in their respective states. Compared to the scenario about 12 years back, the perception has improved for good i.e. a dip of around 30 percentage points is observed (in 2005, 73% of the households had perceived *increase* in corruption level).
- More than half (56%) feel that the level of corruption *decreased* in public services during demonetization phase (November-December 2016).
- As per CMS-ICS 2017, around one-third of the households in 20 states *experienced* corruption in public services at least once during the last one year. Compared to this, as per the findings of CMS-ICS 2005, the percentage of households which experienced corruption in public services was more than half (53%).
- The states where percentage of households *experiencing* corruption in 2017 round was more than 'combined state average' of 31% are Karnataka (77%), Andhra Pradesh (74%), Tamil Nadu (68%), Maharashtra (57%), J&K (44%), Punjab (42%) and Gujarat (37%).
- States where percentage of households *experiencing* corruption in public services is in single digit, i.e. less than 10 percent, include Himachal Pradesh (3%) and Kerala (4%) only.
- Almost all households, across 20 states, who were asked to pay bribe by the public servants, had no option but to pay bribe to avail the service.
- Denial of public services because households could not pay a bribe was most reported in Land record/ Housing (3.5%) followed by Police (1.8%).
- Households have paid as low as INR 20 to get their ration in PDS shops or to get admission form from a government school and as high as around INR 50000 for admission in a government school or to get an early date for hearing of their case in a court.
- The total amount paid by households across 20 states and 10 public services as bribe is estimated to be INR 6350 crore (63500 million) as against INR 20500 crore in 2005.
- Though 58% of the common citizens are aware about RTI Act; those seeking information under RTI Act was less than 1%, even after more than a decade of the law coming into force.

Public Services

- ✓ Average number of public services, out of 10 public services covered in 2017, interacted by a household during last one year was five.
- ✓ More often interacted public services include Banking services(75%), PDS (74%), Public health/hospital (72%) and Electricity (70%).
- ✓ Perception about *increase* in level of corruption in a particular public service during last one year was highest in Police (32%) service followed by PDS (29%), Electricity (27%) and Judicial services (26%).

- ✓ Highest percentage of households reported *experiencing* Corruption in Police (34%) followed by Land/Housing (24%), Judicial services (18%) and Tax (15%) related public services.
- ✓ The highest amount (INR 50000) among services paid in a school 'for admission', was in Maharashtra.
- ✓ The least amount paid was INR 10/- 'to take loan application form' in Jharkhand and INR 20/- 'to get school admission form' in Karnataka.
- ✓ Average amount paid by a household in a year is around INR 1840/-. A conservative estimate of the total bribe amount paid during last one year in 20 surveyed states across 10 public services is around INR 6350 crores as against around INR 20500 crores estimated during 2005 round.

States

- ✓ Karnataka (77%) followed by Andhra Pradesh (74%), Tamil Nadu (68%), Maharashtra (57%), J&K (44%) and Punjab (42%) emerged as more corrupt states among 20 surveyed states as far as 'experienced corruption in public services' is concerned. While in 2005, the more corrupt states were Bihar (74%), J&K (69%), Odisha (60%), Rajasthan (59%) and Tamil Nadu (59%).
- ✓ Out of 20 states covered in CMS-ICS 2017, the three lesser corrupt states implied by households 'experiencing corruption in public services' are Himachal Pradesh (3%) followed by Kerala (4%) and Chhattisgarh (13%). In 2005, the three lesser corrupt states were Kerala (35%), Maharashtra (39%) and Gujarat (43%).
- ✓ In terms of perception about *increase* in corruption in public services, Odisha (68%) followed by Karnataka (65%), Jharkhand (59%), Bihar (59%) and Chhattisgarh (56%) emerged on top with more than half of the respondents opining *increase* in level of corruption in public services during the last one year.
- ✓ States where more than half of the respondents opined that level of corruption has *remained same* or no change in level of corruption was observed during the last one year include, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Assam.
- ✓ On an average, the number of 'public services interacted with' by a household during the last one year prior to CMS-ICS 2017 was around five public services. States like Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Delhi had more (average 6 public services each) while in Gujarat it was least (3 public services).
- ✓ In most of the states, the more often paid bribe amount ranges between INR 100-500/-, however as low as INR 10/- and as high as INR 50000/- were also paid by a household in a year for availing one or the other public services.
- ✓ Key reasons for paying bribe in a public service is similar in most of the states. These reasons for corrupt practices could be broadly categorised as procedural; documentation related; payment evasion and dependency on service provider.

Section II: Salient Findings of CMS-ICS 2017

Interaction with Public Services

Dependency on public services continues to be high. In spite of the presence of private providers for many services such as Hospitals, Schools, Banks, the common citizens/households, irrespective of the socio-economic strata continue to depend on essential and most frequently needed public services. Primarily due to no or nominal/subsidized user fee to be paid. With present Union government's focus towards connecting people with banking services, compared to earlier rounds, banking services has shown a whopping increase in terms of interaction. Three out of every four surveyed households reportedly availed banking services during the last one year prior to the survey. Amongst others, the more availed public services continue

Table 3: Percentage of Households Interacted with Public Services during last one year

Public Services	Households 2017
PDS	74
Health/Hospital	72
Electricity	70
School Education	62
Water Supply	32
Land/Housing	25
Banking Services	75
Police	14
Judicial Services	10
Tax services*	6

*only urban

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

to be PDS (74%) followed by Health/ Hospital Services (72%), Electricity (70%) and School Education (62%). Other services like Police, Judicial services, Tax and even land/housing services are more need based and hence lesser percentage of households reported interacting with the same. However, lesser interaction with Tax services should be a matter of concern for the government, if it is keen to expand its tax net and ensure more individuals and commercial establishments pay income tax, service and value added tax (VAT).

General Perception about Corruption in Public Services

While 43 percent of the households across India felt that the level of corruption has *increased*, nearly one-fourth felt that it has *remained same* as before. States where more than half of the households perceived that the level of corruption has *increased* during the last one year include Odisha, Karnataka, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh and Gujarat.

Madhya Pradesh emerged as the only state where around two-third opined that the level of corruption in public services has *remained same as before*. In states like Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh, more than half felt that the level of corruption has *decreased* during the last one year prior to CMS-ICS survey. Analysing the perception of respondents by their gender, suggests that more proportion of male as compared to female respondents felt that corruption in public services has *increased* during the last one year. No significant variation was noticed when responses were seen by locations i.e. urban-rural.

Table 4: General Perception of Households about Corruption in Public Service during 2016 (in %)

State	Increased	Decreased	Remained Same*
Andhra Pradesh	38	4	58
Assam	24	24	52
Bihar	59	7	34
Chhattisgarh	56	24	20
Delhi	25	49	26
Gujarat	52	9	39
Haryana	38	52	10
Himachal Pradesh	16	58	26
Jammu & Kashmir	34	40	26
Jharkhand	59	13	28
Karnataka	65	-	35
Kerala	45	18	37
Madhya Pradesh	29	4	67
Maharashtra	45	31	24
Odisha	68	23	9
Punjab	52	32	16
Rajasthan	43	33	25
Tamil Nadu	43	18	39
Uttar Pradesh	27	57	16
West Bengal	11	64	25
All States Average	43	27	31

*include No opinion

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

Demonetization Somewhat Brought Down Corruption in Public Services

Table 5: Households' Perception of Corruption in Public Service during Demonetization Phase (in %)

State	Increased	Decreased	Remained Same*
Andhra Pradesh	28	40	32
Assam	7	67	27
Bihar	4	65	31
Chhattisgarh	4	73	23
Delhi	7	67	26
Gujarat	7	87	6
Haryana	13	53	34
Himachal Pradesh	-	38	62
Jammu & Kashmir	10	38	52
Jharkhand	11	63	26
Karnataka	11	61	28
Kerala	13	60	27
Madhya Pradesh	6	56	38
Maharashtra	25	50	25
Odisha	15	55	30
Punjab	6	44	50
Rajasthan	7	80	13
Tamil Nadu	6	56	38
Uttar Pradesh	20	60	20
West Bengal	40	33	27
All States Average	12	56	32

*include Don't Know/Can't Say

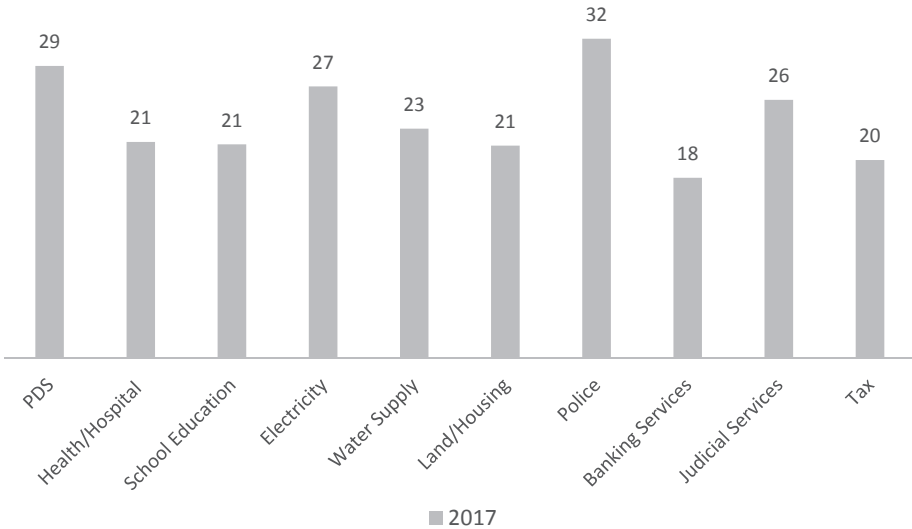
Source: CMS-ICS 2017

Post demonetization phase (Nov-Dec 2016), in January 2017, to capture citizens' perception about the level of corruption in public services during demonetization period, a telephonic survey with a randomly selected sub-sample of households in all 20 states was conducted. More than half feel that level of corruption *decreased* during this period while 12 percent opined that it had rather *increased* during this period. 21 percent feel it had *remained same* and around 11 percent did not hold any opinion.

Perceive Increase in Corruption in Public Services During last one Year

Among the public services, police and PDS emerged as the ones where around 30 percent of the citizens perceived that the level of corruption has *increased* during the last one year.

Graph 1: Percentage Perceived 'Increase' in Corruption-By Service



Noticeably, across all public services, less than one-third of the respondents opined that level of corruption has *increased* during the last one year. Compared to previous rounds, the percentage of such households who perceived *increased* level of corruption in these public services has come down significantly in all 10 public services covered including Police and PDS.

Perception about Governments' Commitment towards reducing Corruption in Public Services

Around 40% feel that the Union Government led by Modi is committed towards reducing corruption in public services, another 40 % felt that the government is committed to some extent only.

Further states, where a substantial percentage (more than 33%) opined that their respective state government is 'not at all committed' towards reducing corruption in public services include, Karnataka, Haryana, Delhi, West Bengal, Rajasthan and J&K. Compared to perceptions about commitment of state governments across, Union Government is perceived relatively in a better way, as far as commitment towards reducing corruption in public services is concerned.

Table 6: Perception about Union and Respective State Governments' Commitment Towards Reducing Corruption (in %)

State	Union Government		State Government	
	To a Great Extent	To some extent	To a Great Extent	To some extent
Andhra Pradesh	42	35	42	45
Assam	4	78	6	72
Bihar	54	45	19	65
Chhattisgarh	50	36	25	55
Delhi	73	14	19	33
Gujarat	10	69	13	60
Haryana	78	11	6	5
Himachal Pradesh	59	23	61	22
Jammu & Kashmir	45	33	22	43
Jharkhand	31	53	30	40
Karnataka	54	23	13	-
Kerala	40	42	40	32
Madhya Pradesh	25	57	36	44
Maharashtra	9	77	11	69
Odisha	36	64	29	70
Punjab	92	5	74	22
Rajasthan	46	28	30	32
Tamil Nadu	38	45	34	49
Uttar Pradesh	28	51	32	31
West Bengal	6	15	3	13
All States Average	41	40	27	40

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

While more than 40 percent of respondents below 35 years of age find the Union Government led by Modi to be more committed towards reducing corruption in public services. On the respective state government's commitment, only 25 percent in this age group hold similar opinion. By urban/ rural locations, no noticeable difference in opinion was observed for either governments.

Corruption in Public Services-Exaggerated, but Real!!

While 70 percent of households felt that most of the time the corruption in public services is exaggerated, nearly 45% felt that prevalence of corruption in public services is 'real', though of varying degrees.

Responsible for Corruption in Public Services- Government officials (42%) and Politicians (35%) continue to be viewed as the key players for the existence of corruption in public services. The trend was similar across all states. Noticeably, in states like Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and J&K, around a quarter of the respondents, put the onus for prevalence of corruption in public services on 'citizens'.

Nevertheless, overall corruption has declined in the process of citizen availing basic public services in the last one year and even more during the last 10 years. This could be attributed to a better than before active citizenry.

Undoubtedly, both Technology and Transparency in service delivery have contributed in the overall decline in corruption at service delivery end, yet some public services continue to be riddled with corruption. Use of ICT will help towards eliminating corruption from public services was emphasized in CMS report- Tracking Corruption in India-Towards Sustaining Good Governance (2006).

Table 7: Heard about RTI Act (in %)

State	2007*	2017
Andhra Pradesh	17	58
Assam	18	48
Bihar	3	65
Chhattisgarh	6	58
Delhi	10	73
Gujarat	6	68
Haryana	3	93
Himachal Pradesh	6	61
Jammu & Kashmir	6	62
Jharkhand	7	36
Karnataka	15	79
Kerala	14	48
Madhya Pradesh	10	24
Maharashtra	14	80
Odisha	4	83
Punjab	5	84
Rajasthan	10	42
Tamil Nadu	8	19
Uttar Pradesh	2	18
West Bengal	2	54
All States Average	8	58

*RTI Act came in to force in 2005, hence not covered in 2005 round.

Source: CMS-ICS 2008 and 2017 rounds

Usage of RTI

Awareness about the Right to Information (RTI) Act has jumped many folds as compared to 2007, though 2007 round focused only on BPL households. However, its usage to improve public service delivery remains dismal. Hence, the decline in corruption in public services, as this round of CMS-ICS brings out, is in spite of low usage of RTI Act by common citizens to expose corrupt and unfair practices in public services and ensure that service providers are fair in service delivery. None, except 4 respondents shared that they used RTI to seek information.

One each sought information from the departments of Public Health, School Education, Water Supply and Minority Rights. One hopes that the brutal murder of several RTI Activists in past few years have not dampen the courage of common citizens to seek information. Lack of awareness about process for seeking information could be another reason for less usage of RTI.

Table 8: Perception and Experience of Households about Corruption in Public Service (in %)

	Perceived 'Increase or Remained Same' Corruption level*	Households Experienced Corruption**
Andhra Pradesh	81	74
Assam	34	18
Bihar	85	26
Chhattisgarh	64	13
Delhi	84	16
Gujarat	48	37
Haryana	40	19
Himachal Pradesh	59	3
Jammu & Kashmir	84	44
Jharkhand	75	24
Karnataka	100	77
Kerala	69	4
Madhya Pradesh	68	23
Maharashtra	68	57
Odisha	77	19
Punjab	68	42
Rajasthan	68	14
Tamil Nadu	70	68
Uttar Pradesh	40	19
West Bengal	36	21
All States Average	64	31

*Base for calculating Perceived Corruption is all respondents

**Base for calculating Experienced Corruption is those who interacted with at least one public service during last one year

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

CMS-ICS 2017 round brings out that corruption involving citizen is still around. Thus, suggesting that improvements are not yet realized wide across. More than 40 percent citizens across 20 states perceived that the level of corruption in public services has increased during the last one year in their respective states, while 31 percent of those who interacted with at least one public service reported experiencing corruption during the same period.

A high percentage of citizens/households, who interacted with one or the other public services during the last one year, in states like Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra experienced corruption.

Perceptions about corruption are much higher in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, J&K, Karnataka, and Odisha than the experience of paying bribe in availing public services.

Experienced Corruption in Public Services

Table 9: Households Experienced Corruption in Public Service (in%)

Public Service	Households *
PDS	12
Health/Hospital	8
School Education	6
Electricity	7
Water Supply	9
Land/Housing	24
Police	34
Banking Services	7
Judicial Services	18
Tax (only urban)	15

*out of those HHs who interacted with respective public services

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

Among the public services, where households experienced corruption include Police, Land & Housing, Judicial services, Tax and PDS.

Police service continue to be riddled with corruption. More than one third of the households, who interacted with Police paid bribe in the previous one year. Nearly a quarter of those who dealt with Housing/ Land related services claimed paying bribe. Also noticeable is the fact that most of the public services, where more proportion of service-seeking households end up paying bribe are need based public services and monopolistic in nature. Households have no option but to avail their services. No doubt law enforcing public services such as Land Records and Housing Registration, Police, Judicial services and Tax cannot have

alternative but efforts taken to bring more transparency and efficiency in their service delivery such as computerised land records, e-stamp paper (land/housing) or e-FIR (Police) or online filing of Taxes and direct transfer of tax refunds to assessee's bank account (Tax) or e-courts (Judicial services), may further help in curbing corrupt practices in these public services. Public services having social media such as Facebook and Twitter accounts, also provide an opportunity to citizens to share their grievances and draw notice of concerned officials. This in turn keeps service providers on alert against any misdoings or misdeeds/corrupt practices by any staff or middlemen.

Reasons and Amount Paid as Bribe

As observed from the key reasons cited for paying bribe, online services, which ensures minimal interaction with service providers or lesser control of public service staff in diverting services to others on its whim and wish, will definitely bring down corruption at G2C level.

Table 10: Reasons and Average Amount Paid by households for availing Public Services

Public Service	Reason for paying Bribe (% of HHs paid bribe)	Average amount Paid in a year (INR)
PDS	To get new ration card (34%)	278
	Deletion/ Addition of name in ration card (37%)	342
	For taking monthly ration (31%)	353
Health / Hospital Services	Getting the prescribed medicine (30%)	573
	As in-patient/ for getting bed/services (26%)	360
	For diagnostic services/ Pathological tests (10%)	732
	As out-patient / Purchase Medicine (25%)	535
School Education	School Admission (50%)	3067
	Issuance of certificate (10%)	2413
	Low Attendance/promotion to higher class (23%)	2033
	Application for scholarship (14%)	1082
Electricity	Correction of the faulty meter/inflated bills (44%)	538
	New connection (38%)	777
	Load enhancement (16%)	478
	Change/Correction of name/address and bill (7%)	588
Land Record / Housing	To get plots in auction/ Transfer of ownership/Mutation (65%)	2508
	Purchase of land/Stamp paper/ obtaining land and property document (13%)	5363
	Building approval/ get house plan sanctioned/ New construction (27%)	1665
Police	Get the complaint/FIR Registered (36%)	2214
	Remove name as an accused/avoid arrest (23%)	2450
	Avoid Challan for Violation of traffic rule (25%)	822
Water Supply	Installation of new water connection (33%)	2166
	Installation/Maintenance of water supply (64%)	558
Banking Services	Take loan (71%)	1004
	Open account/ documentation process (32%)	1108
Judicial services	Get hearing date of choice (40%)	2150
	Get certified copy of the order (60%)	4002
Tax	Get rebate/tax evasion (76%)	3816
	Avoid and reduce penalty/ to ensure not to come under the tax net (29%)	1675

Source: CMS-ICS 2017

Section III: Decade of 2005-17

Table 11: Interacted with Public Services during last one year (in %)

Public Services	Households	
	2005	2017
PDS	68	74
Health/ Hospital	54	72
Electricity	62	70
School Education	40	62
Water Supply	15	32
Land/ Housing	14	25
Banking Services	10	75
Police	17	14
Judicial services	14	10
Tax services*	8	6

*only urban

Source: CMS-ICS 2017 and 2005

Comparison of two rounds of CMS-India Corruption Study brings out continued dependence on public services. Exceptional being banking services, where a huge jump in percentage of households interacted with banking related services could be seen (from only 10% in '05 to 75% in '17). The need-based services (like Police, Judicial services, Tax) continue to have lesser interaction compared to basic services. Interestingly, in spite of claims by need based service providers that citizen-friendly process is in place, the percentage of households interacting has not seen any significant increase. In fact, it hovers around 5-15 percent. More concerted

efforts need to be made for encouraging citizens to avail the services. This in turn will also further improve the perception of the citizens about these public services.

Table 12: General Perception of Corruption in Public Service- by State (in %)

Rounds	Increased		Decreased		Remained the Same	
	2005	2017	2005	2017	2005	2017
Andhra Pradesh	72	38	9	4	19	58
Assam	89	24	3	24	7	52
Bihar	87	59	1	7	12	34
Chhattisgarh	70	56	5	24	24	20
Delhi	73	25	6	49	21	26
Gujarat	69	52	8	9	21	39
Haryana	76	38	4	52	19	10
Himachal Pradesh	53	16	4	58	42	26
Jammu & Kashmir	79	34	5	40	16	26
Jharkhand	78	59	3	13	19	28
Karnataka	82	65	1	-	15	35

Contd...

Rounds	Increased		Decreased		Remained the Same	
	2005	2017	2005	2017	2005	2017
Kerala	55	45	11	18	29	37
Madhya Pradesh	75	29	6	4	18	67
Maharashtra	83	45	4	31	11	24
Odisha	71	68	15	23	14	9
Punjab	60	52	11	32	29	16
Rajasthan	71	43	6	33	22	25
Tamil Nadu	69	43	12	18	18	39
Uttar Pradesh	67	27	6	57	25	16
West Bengal	74	11	6	64	18	25
All States Average	73	43	6	27	20	31

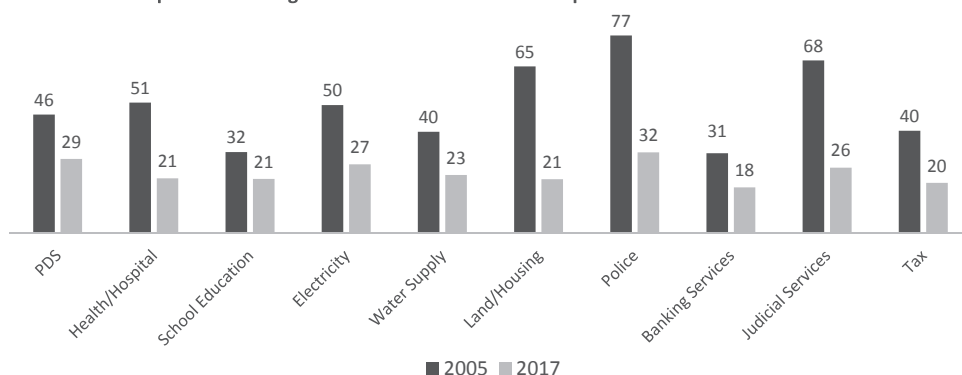
Source: CMS-ICS 2017 and 2005

Despite decline in the level of corruption, a sizeable population (40%) holds a perception that level of corruption has increased in last 12 months while nearly one-third believes no change in level of corruption in public services. Although all state governments claim taking major steps towards checking corrupt practices in public services, including those who came to power promising good governance. Significant ones being Bihar, Delhi, Gujarat- clearly perception matters more!

Extent of visits or contacts by citizen to public services have come down in the previous year significant in some services. This may mean different in the case of some services as in the case of PDS, health and school education. But the frequency *increased or remained same* as in 2005 in the last decade in the case of Police, Judicial services. Certain services witnessed improvement in the service delivery functioning.

Perception about Corruption in Public Services: 2005 vs 2017

Graph 2: Percentage Perceived 'Increase' in Corruption in Public Services-2005 vs 2017

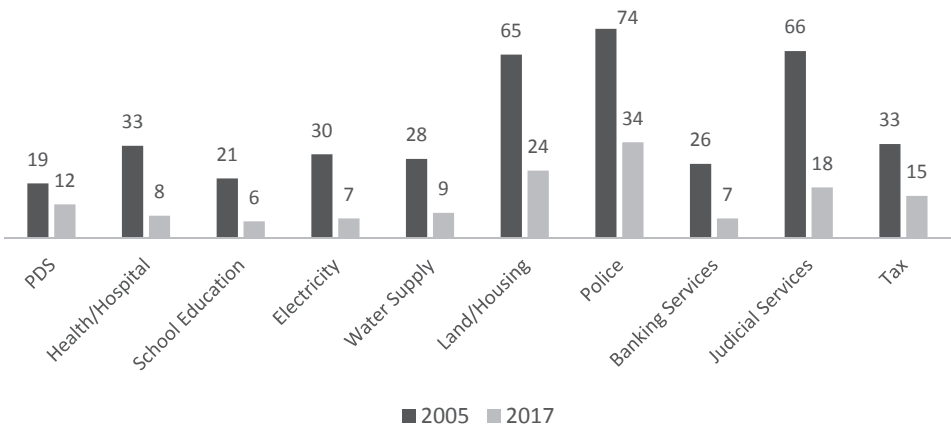


The perception about increase in level of corruption has shown a declining trend in 2017 as compared to 2005 round findings. This was observed across all services. While perception about corruption in most of the public services have shown a dip during the last 10-12 years, services like housing, police, Judicial services and housing/land records, have shown more significant change in people's perception.

Experienced Corruption in Public Services: 2005 vs 2017

The incidences of corruption in public services has definitely shown a decline in last decade across all public services. However, a significant percentage out of those interacted with a particular public service did pay bribe or used influence to avail the services.

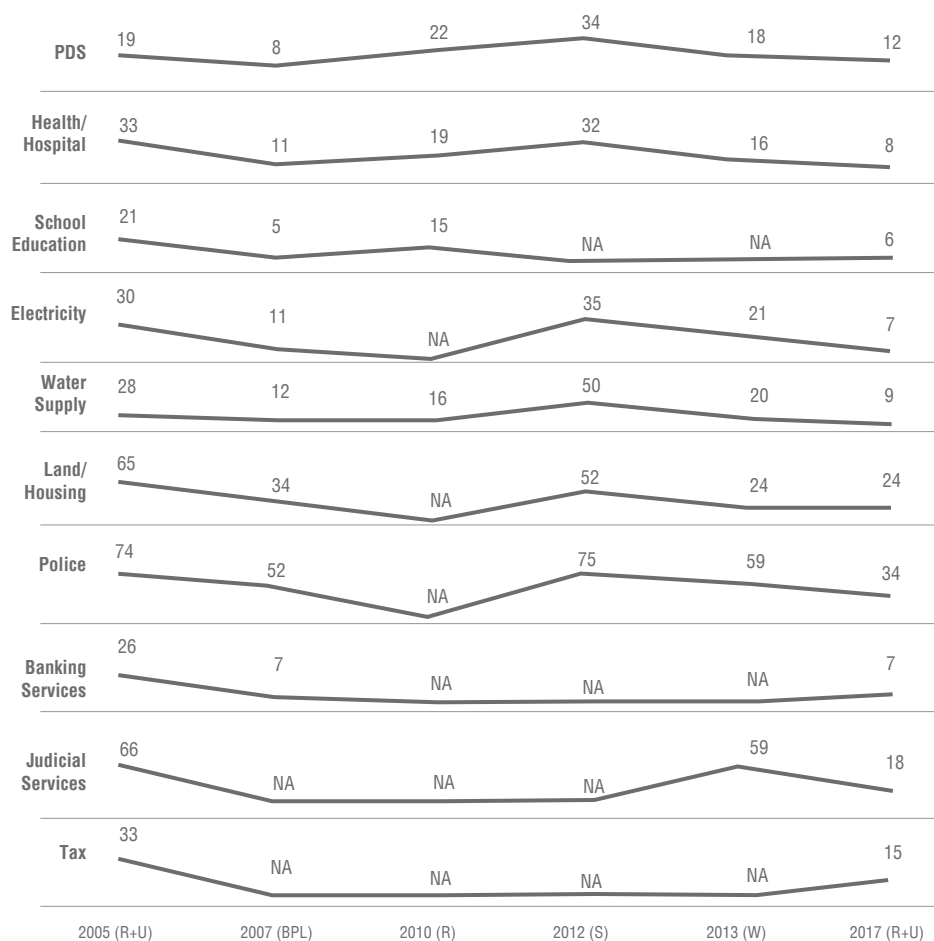
Graph 3: Experienced Corruption in Public Services- 2005 vs 2017



Overall in terms of decline in percentage points between two rounds (2005 and 2017), it has come down sharply across public services, indicating curbing of corrupt practices to a large extent in the public services. Markedly that corruption involving citizen in availing critical public services has come down in 2017 more than marginally. This has been observed all across public services, including in the case of Police and Judicial services.

Experienced Corruption- Changing trend in last 12 years: A time series reflection of the scenario across the more often interacted public services show a decline as far as percentage of households that reported *experiencing* corruption in public services is concerned. In fact, overall, *experience* with corruption in public services has *come down* significantly in the last 10-12 years in Police, Judicial services, Banking, Electricity and Land/Housing services (see Graph 4)

**Graph 4: Households Experienced Corruption in Public Service -
A comparative picture 2005-17 (Households in %)**



Note: NA- not covered in this round; R+U=Both rural and urban locations, BPL-only BPL households; R= only in rural locations; U=only in slums; W=only women respondents

Source: CMS-ICS 2005, 2007, 2010, 2012, 2013 and 2017

State wise variation or change for each public service has not been measured in this round as a lesser proportion of surveyed households in some states reported interacting with a particular public service during the last one year.

Overall, the percentage of households in each state *experiencing* corruption in at least one public service has come down in most states except states like Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. In these states, the percentage of households experiencing corruption in public services has gone up.

Table 13: Households Experienced Corruption in Public Services (in %)

State	2005	2017	Change (% points)
Andhra Pradesh	54	74	+20
Assam	49	18	-31
Bihar	74	26	-48
Chhattisgarh	51	13	-38
Delhi	49	16	-33
Gujarat	43	37	-6
Haryana	50	19	-31
Himachal Pradesh	53	3	-50
Jammu & Kashmir	69	44	-25
Jharkhand	48	24	-24
Karnataka	57	77	+20
Kerala	35	4	-31
Madhya Pradesh	55	23	-32
Maharashtra	39	57	+18
Odisha	60	19	-41
Punjab	50	42	-8
Rajasthan	59	14	-45
Tamil Nadu	59	68	+9
Uttar Pradesh	50	19	-31
West Bengal	46	21	-25
All States Average	53	31	-22

* Base for calculating Perceived Corruption is all respondents

** Base for calculating Experienced Corruption is those who interacted with at least one public service during last one year

Source: CMS-ICS 2017 and 2005

Reasons for paying Bribe in Public Services: 2005 vis-à-vis 2017

These reasons for corrupt practices could be broadly categorised as the ones related to procedural; documentation related; payment evasion; and dependency on service provider.

Among the reasons cited for paying bribe, noticeable is the fact that main reasons continue to be similar in most of the public services over the last 10 years.

Table 14: Main Reasons for which Bribe Paid by Households

Public Service	Reason for paying Bribe	Households Paid Bribe* (in %)	
		2005	2017
PDS	To get new ration card	46	34
	Deletion/Addition of name in ration card	13	37
	Get monthly ration/change not returned	29	31
Health/ Hospital Services	Getting the prescribed medicine	17	30
	As in-patient/ for getting bed/services	42	26
	For diagnostic services/Pathological test	17	10
	Get medicine from dispensary/store	16	25
School Education	School Admission	-	50
	Issuance of certificate	27	10
	Avoid retention due to low attendance	6	23
	Application form for scholarship	3	14
	For free books, uniform etc.	37	4
Electricity	Change/Correction of name/address	27	7
	Correction of faulty meter/inflated bills	18	44
	New connection	25	38
	Load enhancement	2	16
Housing/ Land Record	Property registration/mutation/transfer of ownership	47	65
	Purchase of Stamp paper/obtaining land and property document	28	13
	Building approval/get house plan sanctioned / new construction	54	27
Police	Registration of FIR/arrest of accused/ ensure follow up	52	34
	Police verification for passport/job	11	6
	Remove name as an accused/avoid arrest	11	23
	Avoid Challan for violation of traffic rule	15	23
Water Supply	For installation of new water connection	57	33
	Installation/ Maintenance of water pipeline	19	64
Banking Services	To take loan/defer loan payment	85	71
	To open account/documentation process	15	32
Judicial Services	For favourable judgment	23	-
	To get certified copy of the order	28	60
	To get early hearing date of choice	31	40
Tax	To get rebate	69	76
	To avoid and reduce penalty/ not come under tax net	14	29

* %age is out of those who experienced Bribe demand

Source: CMS-ICS 2017 and 2005

Estimation of Bribe Amount Paid: Further to assess the quantum of bribe money paid across public services an estimate of the total bribe amount paid during last one year in 20 surveyed states across 10 public services was done. A conservative estimate brings out the figure to be around INR 6350 crores, as against around INR 20,500 crores estimated during 2005 round.

A significant dip of around 70 percent in the total amount paid as bribe in this round of CMS-India Corruption Study (CMS-ICS 2017) as against CMS-ICS 2005 could be attributed largely to reasons such as lesser percentage of households reported paying bribe, use of ICT/online services, more active citizenry and role of media and social media in highlighting corrupt practices.

Some Simple Suggestions flowing from CMS-ICS 2017

1. That there have been constant efforts to streamline public services, is not widely acknowledged. Such efforts should not be viewed as exceptional or sporadic or specific to a location, service or a period. Realization, based on repeat experience of citizens, is possible with systemic and specific correctives.
2. Why are the differences between states so varied in delivery of public services, despite every state claiming initiatives? Competitive spirit is good. But it should not end up with just image management, instead performance outcomes should be criteria. Rating and ranking has become a mania in media and even in government. Such an approach should be restrained and the process should be far more rigorous and concern should be long term. Reviews and ratings of performance should facilitate initiatives and correctives going beyond temporal image. That is what CMS PEE model is envisioned more than a decade ago.
3. Despite decline in corruption in citizen availing public services over the decade, including in police and Judicial services, perceptions have not. How come? The kind of competitive coverage of corruption by news media today compels Perception management. The concern should be more for expediting performance. But this dilemma has to be tackled with special strategies in the specific context of public service. Certain changes in the way the news media, particularly news channels report corruption in the context of public services need to be promoted credibly and professionally.
4. Citizen activism is best bet. Transparency sustains and stimulates activism. Even more in the context of public services, particularly need based services.
5. With ICT, a breakthrough should be evident. Even going beyond social media, mobile phones should be the medium for turn around. Airlines and railways more specifically have demonstrated recently how ICT could be availed interactively, informed way and involving potential seekers of public services. Each basic public service should come up with special package of correctives and initiatives. CMS report- *Tracking Corruption in India-Towards Sustaining Good Governance (2006)* had emphasized the kind of difference ICT could make in bringing relief to citizen.
6. With expanding broadband networks, increase in digitalization, speed and access of mobile phones should substantially improve the functioning of public services. Analytic methodologies should be availed to zero in on an ongoing basis specific issues that concern citizens. Why did the reasons for paying bribe remained same today as they were in 2005 as if no specific initiatives were taken? Dr N Bhaskara Rao's book, *Good Governance-Delivering Corruption-free Public Services (Sage Publications, 2013)* had specifically discussed these aspects.
7. RTI should be availed pro-actively by public services (in a reverse way). Three pronged efforts are suggested. First, special efforts on certain public services locally problematic and yet RTI not being availed by citizen as is evident from an analysis of RTI applications and appeals. The RTI commissioners should take these services next one year for special promotion of RTI among those sections or pockets. Second, Information Commission should take to special analysis of applications filed in the previous year, the response

quality by the concerned depts. and the outcome derived by those citizens. Such an analytic exercise periodically should guide the departments to take correctives in a preventive and proactive way. Third, state information commissions should coordinate with the state government department responsible for implementation of Service Delivery Guarantee Act, with specific reference to certain identified public services.

8. Despite leadership being sensitive in several states to the potential of ICT, there is no evidence of it where it is more needed to make a difference to the ordinary citizens, the villagers, for instance. It suits officials of land registration, for example, when computer printers in office are outdated, servers are slow and scanners are scarce. No wonder why this department is stunningly corrupt even in 2016–17. A reversal in the trend would have been evident had there been Independent monitoring of delivery of basic public services at grassroots. States are focusing much more on “achievement-claim advertisements and PR”.
9. Citizen charter should be focused with regards to these departments engaged in the delivery of basic public services. There could be a citizen charter-fortnight focusing on not more than three or four functions which are the compelling reasons for citizen to pay bribe.
10. Stream line helpdesks or counters where they exist or set up specific to public services, which are visited more frequently. Eventually the need or compulsions for citizen going to departments repeatedly and websites should come down, not increase. This should be a performance criterion.

CMS INDIA REPORTS IN GOVERNANCE SECTOR 2000-17

- Union Government's Performance Appraisal –Two Years of Modi Government (2016)
- India Corruption Study 2015- Perception and Experience with Public Services in Delhi (2015)
- Independent Audit of Implementation of Clients'/Citizens' Charter (CCC) of Central Board of Excise and Customs (2015)
- Independent Audit of Implementation of Clients'/Citizens' Charter (CCC) by Central Government Ministries/ Departments (2014)
- India Corruption Study 2013-Focus on Women Users of Public Services (2013)
- Independent Audit of Implementation of Clients'/Citizens' Charter (CCC) by Central Government Ministries/ Departments (2013)
- India Corruption Study 2012: Expanding Slums...Growing Corruption (2012)
- Face of Corruption in News Media – A Report on their Coverage (2011)
- India Corruption Study 2010 – Is the Scenario Changing? (2011)
- Face of Corruption in News Media – A Report on their Coverage (2010)
- India Corruption Study: 2002 – 2009 – A Comparative Scenario (2010)
- India Corruption Study (2008) – corruption involving citizens in 3 public services
- TII-CMS India Corruption Study – with Focus on BPL Households– corruption involving citizens in 11 public services (2008)
- Tracking Corruption in India – 2005, (2006)
- India Corruption Study- corruption involving citizens in 11 public services (2005)
- Corruption in 8 Urban Public Services-Perceptions and Experiences of Citizens (2003)
- Compendium of Citizen Charters (2003)
- CMS Corruption Perception Index – Public Services and Departments (2002)
- India Corruption Report – Urban Public Services– corruption involving citizens in 6 public services (2000)
- Adequacy of Citizen's Charter (2001)
- Transparency Review, a bi-monthly journal since 2006

Some Quotes/ Foreword excerpts

Centre for Media Studies (CMS) has continued its tradition of making an unique contribution to an intelligent debate on sensitive issues...I had a ringside view of corruption in our system and therefore greatly appreciate the value addition to our understanding made by CMS...

—**N. Vittal**, former Central Vigilance Commissioner, Gol (2003)

Given that the principal objective of this (RTI) Act is to promote transparency and accountability in the working of every public authority, this CMS's publication-Tracking Corruption-should serve as an important reference work for the effective implementation of RTI across the country. I congratulate CMS on this initiative and share their expectation that the forthcoming study in this series for 2006 will serve to strengthen all of us interested in empowering India's citizenry and promoting good governance in the wake of RTI.

—**Wajahat Habibullah**, former Chief Information Commissioner (2006)

In the release of the findings of the India Corruption Study- 2010, the Centre for Media Studies has placed these concerns in the centre of a growing discourse. It may be useful for CMS to take on more numbers of such studies to facilitate both implementation and governance. I am sure that this will help make focused and practical interventions in scaling down corruption, and increasing people's right to survive with dignity with justice.

—**Aruna Roy**, Social Activist & Founder, Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan (2011)

Over a decade, Centre for Media Studies (CMS) has been doing pioneering research, which has deepened our understanding of corruption in various sectors and regions in India over time. Where we relied on anecdotal evidence and conjectures for decades, CMS has been supplying us hard data and quantitative evidence. What is more, conscious effort has been made to appreciate the nuances in a complex phenomenon of corruption, rather than indulging in sensationalism and head-line grabbing. For instance, CMS research has established clearly the regional and sectoral variations, and also captured the changing trends and shifting.

—**Dr. Jayaprakash Narain**, President, Loksatta (2012)

Any study on corruption can only be done through surveys and questionnaires. Following the methodology used in earlier CMS studies, this one (CMS-ICS 2015) also quantifies perception, experience and estimates. It is a study worth reading and disseminating because of the awareness such studies create, contributing to the countervailing pressure...

—**Prof. Bibek Debroy**, Member NITI Aayog (2015)

I am happy to note that Centre for Media Studies (CMS) has been carrying out the exceptional good work in various areas having substantial public interest. One of their initiatives is the study on corruption in the country...I am sure that this study will help the public at large, the researchers, NGOs, Government in tackling the menace of corruption. I am confident that CMS will come out with more such purposive, educative and impactful surveys in time to come.

—**K V Chowdary**, Central Vigilance Commissioner, Gol (2015)