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Corruption in the road police of Chisinau municipality: sociological study

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We wish to thank Peace Corps Moldova, namely Aaron Preman and Anti-Corruption Center “Transparenta” Orhei for editing the English version of this book.

We often wonder about: who is more corrupt or guiltier – one who offers a bribe or the one who accepts it?

1. Organization and methodology of the sociologic study

Research made by Transparency International - Moldova show that the corruption phenomenon in Moldova is widespread, and it affects severely the development of the entire society. The studies carried out previously pointed out some causes and consequences of corruption in such areas as public procurements, education and health care systems, judicial system, fiscal system, customs activity, local public administration, and the private sector¹.

The idea of this study is to clear up some aspects of corruption that appear in the relationships between representatives of private public transport of Chisinau municipality (particularly, the minibus drivers) and municipal road police.

According to the data of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways, 1800 minibuses were registered in Chisinau at the beginning of 2004, which ensured passenger transportation on 68 routes. In order to emphasize the problems faced by the minibus drivers and assess corruption in the public transport of Chisinau municipality, a sample group of 210 minibus drivers or 11,7% of their total number that have daily routes on 42% of those 68 routes, was designed. In order to reflect in the

¹ *Corruption and Quality of Governance: The Case of Moldova*, Transparency International - Moldova, Chisinau 2001.

Corruption and access to justice, Transparency International - Moldova, Chisinau 2002.

Corruption in Moldova: Facts, Analysis, Proposals, Transparency International - Moldova, Chisinau 2002.

Impactul coruptiei asupra micului business, Transparency International - Moldova, Chisinau 2002.

Jurnalistii contra coruptiei, Transparency International - Moldova, Chisinau 2003.

study the opinions of drivers from a larger number of routes that would cover the entire Chisinau municipality, interview operators went to the terminus stations in all sectors of the capital, and selected the respondents randomly. The interviews with individual drivers were made at their working places (minibuses), with an anonymous questionnaire. They were assured complete anonymity from the very beginning.

Taking into account the fact that a number of questions can be put only to the owners of minibuses, the questionnaire included two parts: first one with questions addressed to drivers, and the second one just for owners of minibuses. The sociological questionnaire was designed by Mr. Valeriu Mîndru in collaboration with Dr. Lilia Carasciuc and Efim Obreja, representatives of Transparency International Moldova. The field research was made by the network of researchers of the Urban and Rural Sociology Center (URSC). Period of data collection: 28 January – 5 February 2004.

2. Goal and objectives of the study

The main goal of the study is to assess the corruption in municipal road police and to set the consequences of corruption phenomenon in the public transport activity of Chisinau municipality.

The main objectives of the study are:

- to determine the frequency of contacts between minibus drivers and representatives of municipal road police, the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of Chisinau Municipality Mayoralty, as well the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers Transportation;
- to emphasize the main reasons for which the drivers of maxi-taxi (minibuses) are usually stopped and the way they are treated by state's representatives;

- to set the amount of fines and unofficial payments paid by drivers and to estimate their weight in total expenditures;
- to elucidate the corruption cases in municipal road police;
- to identify measures of fighting against corruption in the given area.
- The questionnaire is presented in the annex.

3. General data about respondents

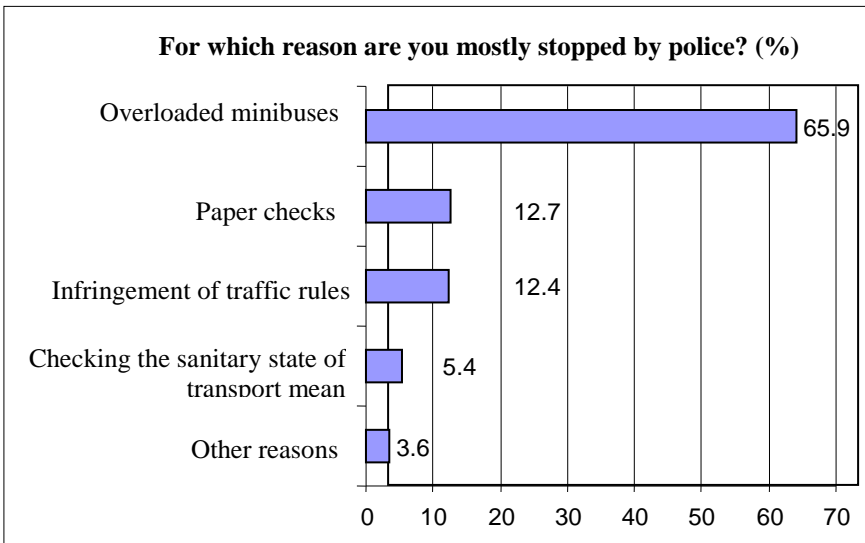
According to the research data, trips by such transportation units as maxi-taxi (minibuses) in Chisinau municipality are ensured by drivers with (in average) 5 years experience with this mean of transportation. Most of them (85%) work on minibuses that belong to private persons (83%), or firms and organizations (2%). Only 15% of respondents work on personal minibuses. According to the results of the poll, each third minibus owner (32%) works or worked in the transport field, 7% are employees of law entities (police, courts, prosecutor office), 3% are employed in state institutions (Mayoralty, Government, Parliament) and 27% work in other fields. 31% of interviewed drivers do not know or preferred to hide the name of the owner. It should be mentioned that according to the data of the public opinion poll, only 23% of respondents are members of transport associations.

4. Relationship with the representatives of control bodies

Irrespective of the fact whether the drivers are or are not members of a transport association, or whether the minibus belongs to a boss or is personal, each of them have certain direct contacts with the representatives of various control bodies: road police and the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of the

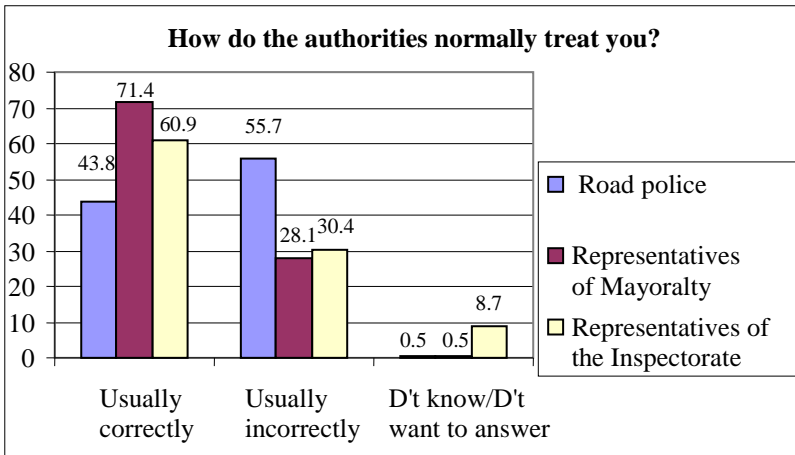
Chisinau Mayoralty. Some drivers have also contacts with the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers Transportation. As a rule, these are drivers of minibuses that continue the route outside the city (for example, route Nos. 190, 124, 107, etc.)

In accordance with the interview data, at the moment of inquiry, a minibus driver was stopped during a week on average for about 3.3 times or once in two days by a police officer, 1.6 times or about once in 5 days – by the representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways, and 1.4 times or once in 5 days by the representatives of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers Transportation. and, as the results of the poll show,



minibus drivers were stopped in most cases due to overloaded buses (excess of passengers). This reason was mentioned by 2/3 of the interviewed drivers. Some 13% of them are also often stopped for paper check (driving license, etc.) or for infringing the traffic rules (12%), to check the sanitary state of the transport means (5%). For other reasons, drivers are stopped rarely (4%).

Of course, the fact that minibus drivers are stopped by control instances is not unusual. It is important that this activity does not impede, but contributes to the development of public transport; the drivers are treated as persons that do their job and an incorrect behavior is not allowed. Or, namely this fact was emphasized by most interviewed drivers, and first of all the behavior of road police. Thus, more than half of them, or 56% of the interviewed drivers consider that municipal road police is being incorrect with them. Such a behavior of road police was pointed out especially by the drivers of minibuses that belong to electric transport department of Chisinau Municipality Mayoralty – 75%. In their opinion, only the representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways have a normal behavior (100%).

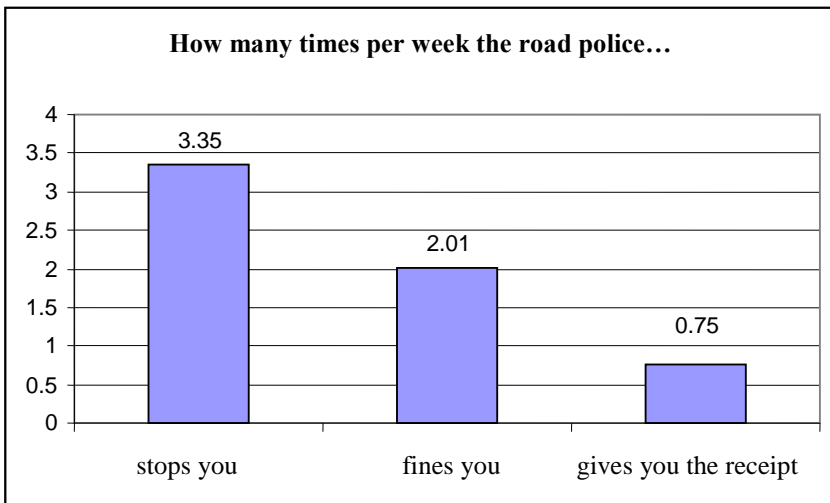


Probably when the drivers appreciate whether the behavior towards them is correct or not, they take into account how objective and positive is the attitude of the respective servant towards their activity, but especially whether the punishment is deserved or not. Of course they express their point of view. Without getting into many details, it was suggested to relate how

often the drivers of minibuses are fined and how often they receive receipts for the paid fines, i.e. to which extent the applied fines are official.

5. Bribery demand and supply

According to the results of the study, during a week, a minibus driver is fined on average two times by the road police, and receipts are issued by the inspectors only 0.75 times. That is, on average during a week, a minibus driver is stopped by the road police about 3 times, out of which 2 times is fined and 2 out of 3 fines (or payments) are unofficial.



Data of public opinion poll also emphasize that in some cases during a week a minibus driver may be stopped by road police up to 21 times or 3 times a day. He can be fined up to 15 times a week or 2 times a day and only 5 times to be given a receipt, i.e. only for each third fine. Of course this is not regularity but an exception. At the same time, it should be mentioned that the given study points

out that the road police shows different degree of severity with respect to different drivers of minibuses and some of them are not even stopped or fined.

The representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways, as well as of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers Transportation have less contacts with minibus drivers and do not even have the right to fine them, they can only withdraw their authorization for passenger transportation (Mayoralty’s representatives) or to make a report on them (Inspectorate’s representatives).

| <i>How many times a week...?</i> | Minimum | Maximum | Average |
|---|---------|---------|---------|
| ...are you stopped by the road police | 0 | 21 | 3,35 |
| ...are you fined by the road police | 0 | 15 | 2,01 |
| ...do you receive receipts from the road police | 0 | 5 | 0,75 |

Anyway, if there is someone who does not pay the fine, these persons are in minority, because according to the study, most drivers pay the fines, but in different ways: sometimes officially, sometimes unofficially. And, according to the data of the investigation, the second method of paying the fine is more advantageous and convenient for both parties: drivers and police inspectors. This conclusion results from the drivers’ answers to the question “Which share of the fine is necessary to be paid directly to the inspector in order to “solve” the problem right away?” The respondents said that 52% of the fine’s amount is paid on average, in this way both the driver and inspector “gain”.

6. Estimation of unofficial payments to road police

Actually, one of the main goals of this investigation is to estimate the amount of total bribes paid to road police and to make some estimations regarding the budget losses due to this phenomenon.

This analysis was made taking into account the average volume of total costs incurred by a minibus driver during a week, the share of unofficial expenses and frequency of bribery payment.

Minibus drivers were asked: “What is the approximate amount of expenditures of a minibus driver during one week?” The results are included in the following table:

Total expenditures made by a minibus driver during one week

| Type of expenditures | Total expenditures (average) in MDL | Including unofficial expenses (average) in MDL |
|--|--|---|
| 1. Fuel – petrol, diesel oil, gas | 1085 | - |
| 2. Technical checkup – repairs, spare parts | 270 | 121 |
| 3. Fines paid to road police | 89 | 78 |
| 4. Payment made for license restitution | 3 | 3 |
| 5. Fine paid to Inspectorate’s representatives | 3 | 3 |
| 6. Payment made to minibus owner | 1883 | - |
| 7. Other expenses | 75 | 75 |

According to the answers of respondents, a driver of minibus usually spends about MDL 3408 a week, out of which MDL 1355 for fuel (MDL 1085) and technical checkup of the minibus (MDL 270). A considerable part of expenses is the payment to the minibus owner – MDL 1883 or about 55% of the total amount of costs. Added together, these categories of costs, as well as other costs for parking and maintenance, payment to the dispatcher (MDL 75) constitute MDL 3313 or the absolute majority of costs. Only MDL 95 of all costs incurred by the driver during a week is fines and unofficial payments made to road police, the Inspectorate

of Goods and Passengers Transportation and the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways.

One can notice that in the respondents' opinion, a great part of expenses are, however, unofficial. Costs of fuel are considered official by the drivers, because it is not a problem to receive the receipt, though many of them do not ask for it. This doesn't mean ultimately that those from gas stations hide their revenues, but may serve as a premise for such thing. The same situation appears in case of car technical checkup, payment to the owner and dispatcher.

At the same time, it should be mentioned that according to the respondents, a minibus driver makes about 7 routes daily and serves about 261 passengers. That is, during a day, each driver accumulates about MDL 522 for passenger transportation, and during a week - MDL 3654 (the reality might be quite different, taking into account that the declared number of routes and passengers could be minimized by the drivers for understandable reasons). Anyway, for passenger transportation in those 1800 minibuses registered at the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of Chisinau Municipality Mayoralty, an amount of MDL 6,577 million is collected during a week.

According to the poll, about 66% of the drivers pay unofficially fines to the police inspectors. On average per week each of them pays about MDL 78, so, those about 1200 drivers pay unofficially to police inspectors about MDL 93.6 thousand. Thus, during a year the "income" of road police inspectors is of about MDL 4.867 million. This result presents just a very approximate estimation of the phenomenon. For a more precise estimation it is necessary to take into account official and unofficial payments and their frequency for each route. The Table below shows these calculations.

TABEL DIN EXCEL!!!

Estimarea plăților de amendă total, inclusiv plăți neoficiale (pe parcursul un...

| Numărul rutei | Total unități pe rută | Din ele au fost chestionați | Plățile totale efectuate poliției rutiere | | | | | Estimarea plăților totale pentru amezi (inclusiv plăți neoficiale) | Au declarat suma plăților amenzii în anchetă | Medi... |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--|--|---|-----------------------|-------------------|--|--|-------------|
| | | | Au declarat că au fost amendați (întrebarea 6.1.1) | Au declarat suma plăților amenzii în anchetă (întrebarea 11.3.1) | Au răspuns că au plătit, dar nu au declarat suma în anchetă | Media (lei) col8/col5 | Suma totală (lei) | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 |
| 103 | 62 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 114.67 | 344 | 7109.54 | 2 | 9 |
| 105 | 28 | 8 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 32.92 | 197.50 | 691.32 | 3 | 1 |
| 108 | 40 | 9 | 9 | 9 | 0 | 140.70 | 1266.30 | 5628.00 | 8 | 13 |
| 110 | 44 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 0 | 43.36 | 607.00 | 1571.16 | 9 | 5 |
| 111 | 32 | 14 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 58.55 | 644.00 | 1472.11 | 5 | 6 |
| 112 | 35 | 5 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 108.75 | 435.00 | 3806.25 | 4 | 8 |
| 115 | 40 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 0 | 169.30 | 1693.00 | 6772.00 | 6 | 20 |
| 117 | 40 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 147.50 | 885.00 | 5900.00 | 4 | 17 |
| 119 | 40 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 90.00 | 90.00 | 3600.00 | 1 | 4 |
| 121 | 36 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 129.75 | 1038.00 | 4671.00 | 7 | 10 |
| 122 | 30 | 5 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 21.67 | 65.00 | 650.10 | 3 | 2 |
| 123 | 30 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 56.50 | 452.00 | 1695.00 | 6 | 3 |
| 124 | 35 | 11 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 63.38 | 507.00 | 1814.97 | 7 | 6 |
| 125 | 34 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 53.33 | 160.00 | 1359.92 | 3 | 5 |
| 140 | 16 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 101.00 | 404.00 | 1616.00 | 3 | 7 |
| 152 | 25 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 40.00 | 40.00 | 500.00 | 1 | 4 |
| 154 | 28 | 11 | 11 | 11 | 0 | 81.60 | 897.00 | 2284.80 | 8 | 4 |
| 155 | 55 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 1 | 48.92 | 587.00 | 2498.41 | 10 | 3 |
| 160 | 60 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 76.67 | 230.00 | 4600.20 | 2 | 4 |
| 166 | 50 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 1 | 157.27 | 1730.00 | 7863.50 | 9 | 9 |
| 171 | 52 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 137.50 | 550.00 | 7150.00 | 3 | 13 |
| 172 | 16 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 47.86 | 335.00 | 765.76 | 7 | 4 |
| 176 | 30 | 9 | 9 | 8 | 1 | 48.89 | 391.10 | 1466.70 | 2 | 2 |
| 188 | 38 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 113.43 | 794.00 | 4310.34 | 6 | 1 |
| 189 | 32 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 43.50 | 174.00 | 1392.00 | 3 | 4 |
| 190 | 36 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 0 | 86.50 | 519.00 | 3114.00 | 5 | 8 |
| 191 | 32 | 8 | 8 | 8 | 0 | 132.00 | 1056.00 | 4224.00 | 8 | 8 |
| 193 | 26 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 47.50 | 190.00 | 1235.00 | 3 | 3 |
| Total pe rutele cercetate | 1022 | 206 | 193 | 184 | 9 | 89.24 | 16280.90 | 89762.09 | 139 | 7 |
| Total pe toate rutele mun. Chișinău | 1800 | 363 | Z | Z | Z | 88.48315 | 28674.77 | 158093.70 | Z | 78.0 |

The results show that the total amount of unofficial payments made to police workers during a week is about MDL 98 thousand, and during a year - MDL 5 million. In order to calculate approximately the losses to the budget due to inspectors hiding these payments, we remind that unofficial payments constitute about half (52%) of the amount owed to the state. In this case the budget losses make around MDL 10 million from the road controls of minibuses alone.

According to the data of the study, the representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of Chisinau Mayoralty have certain “benefits” from the drivers’ activity, too. Thus, last year, on average, the authorization on passenger transportation was withdrawn from every driver at least once, and to obtain a “clean” authorization without indicating the number of points, each of them paid a “tax” equal to MDL 65. It should be mentioned that according to the public opinion data, the “tax” for “clean” authorization restitution varies between MDL 20 and 200. But most pay unofficially MDL 50. These payments made by those 1800 minibuses during a year would amount for about MDL 177 thousand.

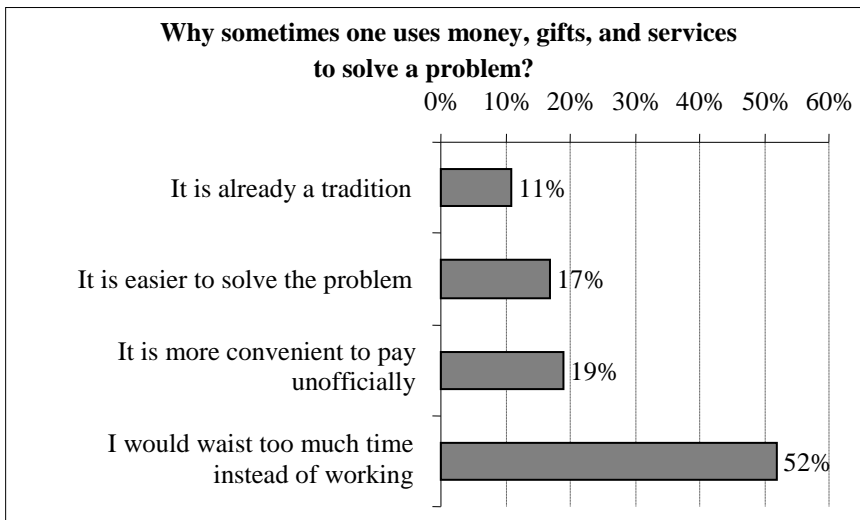
Given the fact that the representatives of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers Transportation have fewer “clients”, the received amounts from minibus drivers are of course much smaller.

At the same time, it should be mentioned that many of the minibus drivers frequently do not even know the amount of the payment they should pay when fined. Thus, according to the study, 21% or every fifth driver recognized that when he is fined, he doesn’t know usually the amount of the official fine.

7. “Arguments” in favor of corruption

What makes drivers offer bribes and have unofficial relations? The previous analysis emphasizes that it is more convenient for drivers to pay unofficially than officially.

Simultaneously, the answer to the question “Why sometimes we use money, gifts, services to solve a problem?” indicates that time is more important for drivers than money. However, maybe these two values (time and money) are anyway important for drivers and they put the sign of equality between these. But by offering unofficial amounts of money, drivers gain time, which offer them the possibility to continue their activity (and gain money), diminishing thus the caused prejudices.



Thus, most or over half of the drivers (52%) consider that if they haven't had unofficial relations and didn't pay bribes, they would have lost time instead of working. Almost every fifth driver (19%) declared that however, it is more convenient to pay unofficially

than officially, and 17% think that in this way it is easier to solve the problem. At the same time, 11% of the drivers consider that unofficial relations are already a tradition that one has to respect. Or, these would mean that drivers, irrespective of the value they attribute to time, money or unofficial relations, are predisposed to pay unofficially. Thus, favorable conditions to deepen corruption are created.

If we ask who, which party is more corrupt – the one that asks for bribe or the one that offers it, it seems that both are quite interested. Two thirds of respondents consider that road police usually does not act legally. For over 37% of respondents it doesn't matter whether the money they pay goes to the state or "gets deposited" in private pockets.

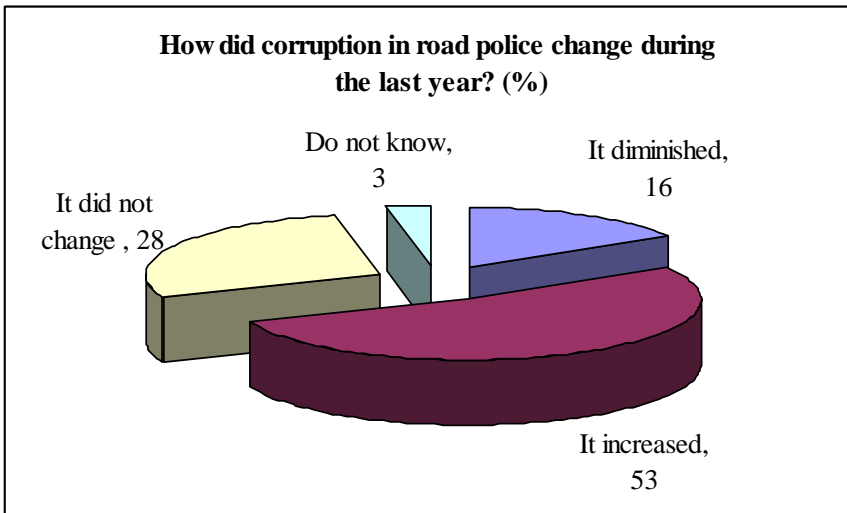
Which of the opinions below you consider being true and which one is not?

| | True | False | Didn't know/ didn't answer |
|--|--------|--------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Usually road police acts legally | 31,43% | 67,62% | 0,95% |
| 2. Bribery is a way to solve a problem | 80,95% | 18,57% | 0,48% |
| 3. I don't care whom to pay: to police inspector or state, anyway it doesn't change anything | 37,62% | 60,48% | 1,90% |

This tolerance towards the phenomenon and the lack of a civic position may continuously increase the phenomenon. It is also alarming the fact that four out of five respondents consider the bribery a way to solve the problem, i.e., if you have money to offer a bribe, any problem could be solved. Or, this would mean that the corruption leaves its impacts on social conscience.

8. Evolution of corruption in road police

The opinion that corruption in road police increased last year was expressed by over half of the interviewed drivers (53%). About 28% of drivers consider that the situation in this area did not change and corruption in the road police remained at the same level. And only 16% of the drivers are optimistic and consider that corruption in the road police diminished last year.



9. How much does a route cost?

Each seventh interviewed driver mentioned that he is the owner of the minibus and this is the category of respondents which knows the real costs incurred to start the business. However, part of them did not want to answer or did not answer sincerely to some questions. This fact did not allow making some estimates of official and unofficial expenses in this field. Some answers

indicate also that actually a great number of minibus owners do not even know the real amount of expenditures incurred in different entities authorized to register or issue documents, because according to the study, in order to obtain a route, over 70% of the owners of minibuses resorted to the services of a firm or intermediary person. If we make an analysis of the expenses accumulated by minibus owners to get a route, we ascertain that the payment differs a lot from year-to-year and from owner to owner.

Thus, according to the data of the investigation, in 2003, the expenses to obtain a route varied between USD 150 and 14000 (without the vehicle and with it); in 2001 – USD 3000 and 9000, and in 2000 – between USD 400 and 5000. If we have to refer to the difference in payments for different routes, then, out of those 29 routes under investigation, the most expensive in the last three years were No. 171 – USD 9000, No.112 – USD 8.500, and Nos.121 and 108 – USD 6000.

What expenses did you bear to obtain a route?

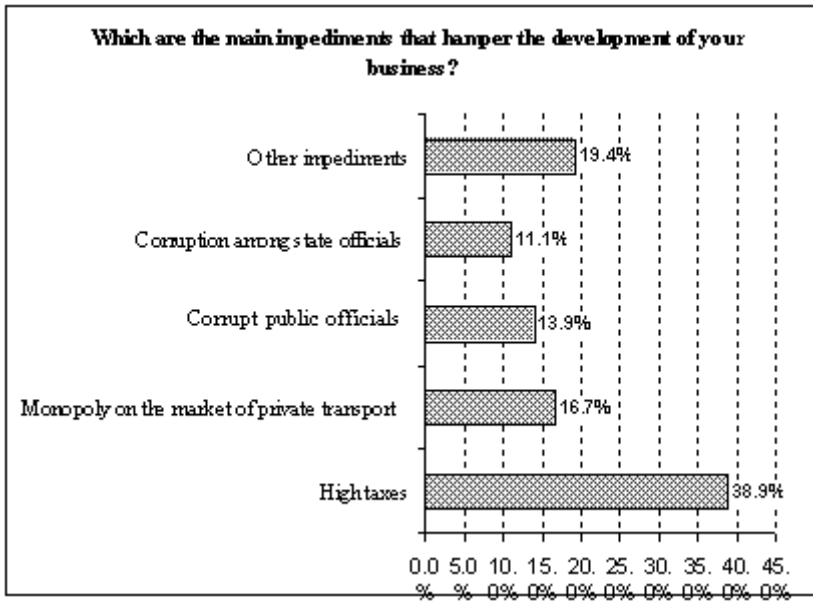
| No. | The year of obtaining the route | Payment to obtain a route (USD) | | Way of obtaining the route: 1. The owner appealed to the services of a firm/person 2. The owner made all procedures by himself 3. The owner used both ways |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------|---|
| | | Without minibus | With minibus | |
| 1 | 2003 | | 10 000 | 1 |
| 2 | | 200 | | 3 |
| 3 | | 6 000 | | 1 |
| 4 | | 4 000 | | 1 |
| 5 | | | 10 000 | 1 |
| 6 | | 4 000 | | 1 |

| | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|--------|---|
| 7 | | | 14 000 | 1 |
| 8 | | 150 | | 2 |
| 1 | 2001 | 6 000 | | 1 |
| 2 | | 8 500 | | 1 |
| 3 | | 3 000 | | 1 |
| 4 | | 9 000 | | 2 |
| 5 | | 6 000 | | 1 |
| 6 | | 3 000 | | 1 |
| 1 | | 2000 | 400 | |
| 2 | 30 | | | 3 |
| 3 | 5 000 | | | 1 |
| 1 | 1999 | 400 | | 1 |
| 2 | | 4 000 | | 1 |
| 3 | | 5 000 | | 1 |
| 1 | 1998 | 700 | | 1 |
| 2 | | 2 850 | | 1 |
| 3 | | | 15000 | 1 |
| 1 | 1996 | 2 000 | | 1 |
| 2 | | | 15 000 | 1 |
| 3 | | | 10 000 | 2 |

We should mention that in order to obtain a route it is necessary to submit an application to the Mayoralty. And if it is so, why persons that intend to obtain a route do not do this officially, paying for the route at the mayoralty and not to physical persons that earlier obtained a route free of charge and now are selling them, making a very profitable business without having any rights of property on these routes. Or, why such amounts of money

should “be deposited” in the pockets of some persons and not in the municipal budget? Anyway, we think that these are not rhetorical questions. The existing problem has to be considered.

10. Impediments to business development



As the results of the poll show, minibus owners are faced nowadays with different impediments of administrative, legal, financial nature, etc., which complicate even more their activity and the business they have.

Thus, as the minibus owners declare, the high taxes they have to pay to the state represent the main impediment in the development of their businesses (opinion of 38.9% owners). Secondly, due to the monopoly on the market of private transport, at present, the possibilities of the minibus owners to maintain the buses on the route or to place others have diminished considerably (16.7%). Minibus owners have also mentioned that frequent checks of state

institutions are also a problem (11%). At the same time, 14% of respondents consider the corruption of public servants as the main impediment in the development of a private business.

11. Corruption phenomenon in the view of maxi-taxi drivers

In general, the respondents were quite active in elucidating corruption in the field under examination. Being asked, the interviewed persons offered real examples from their own experience. Thus, the interviews related that in some cases that...:

Maxi-taxi drivers are forced to make unofficial payments or are punished without any reason:

#02, 03.02.04, 11:30²: “At 22-00, while going home, I was stopped by road police for vehicle check-up. Seeing that everything is o.k., the inspector said: “Anyway, I will make a report on you”.”

#02, 03.02.04, 11:10: “I work on route No. X. On 31.01.04, Saturday, 12 o'clock, a representative of road police came and said to us that if we don't want to be stopped every day, we should collect 10 lei from each driver per day. There are 46 minibuses on the route so; we have to pay him MDL 460 daily.”



Maxi-taxi drivers are forced to pay or are punished without clarifying the situation and

² The number of interviewer is indicated, as well as the date and the time of the interview.

determining if they are guilty. For this purpose, the deficiencies regarding the roads condition, technical means of signalizing the traffic, drawbacks of improper system of ticketing, technical check-up, traffic organization and others are used as reasons:

#02, 03.02.04, 11:10: “Next to the “Patria” cinema, on former Miciurina Street, due to ice, I crossed the line a little bit. I was asked to pay a fine of MDL 100 in order not to lose my driving licence”.

#08, 30.01.04, 11:00: “My authorization was withdrawn, the reason being dirty vehicle”.

#08, 29.01.04, 10:15: “From the beginning I was asked to pay the fine for incorrect stopping at the pedestrian crossing. Then, while the vehicle stopped, some passengers got on the bus; that is why the fine was justified as overloaded bus”.

#06, 30.01.04, 11:30: “The drivers are often stopped in the evening after working hours. In an evening while going home after 23:30, I was stopped by the police and fined invoking the reason that I was working after working hours. They did not believe that I was going home”.

#06, 30.01.04, 10:50: “I was stopped because of a ticket problem and fined with MDL 90 because I did not distribute them to passengers. In this case I was not guilty because nobody gives tickets, not just me”.

#09, 29.01.04, 10:05: “The infringement under the red color of the traffic light near “Zorile” costs MDL 50-100. Near the footwear factory "Zorile" there is a defective traffic light. It has just red and green colours. Not far from it there is a police post. Colours are changing very quickly, so when you pass you can not say whether you passed on green or red. This fact is beneficial for policemen. I passed on green. While I was driving near the police, the traffic light showed the red color. The policeman stopped and punished

me severely both orally and materially. The solution was quick. I gave him quickly MDL 50. Without giving me the receipt that would confirm that a fine was paid, I went back to my job. Everything is forgotten soon enough”.

#08, 29.01.04, 10:50: “Next to Sculeni traffic light, the policemen are making money. The traffic light has no yellow color”.

#06, 29.01.04, 11:00: “A road accident that took place near the Institute of Medicine was hampering the traffic. That is why the vehicles were passing their traffic lane and were moving ahead several meters on the opposite lane. Even if the vehicles prior to the minibus did the same, the policeman stopped me because I was a minibus driver. I did not infringe the law by avoiding the accident place, but I was forced by the policeman to pay a fine. The policeman stopped me thinking that minibus drivers have more money and can pay”.

#09, 29.01.04, 10:50: “The policemen were after the traffic light next to “Zorile”. They knew that the traffic light was defective and was not functioning. I was going with several passengers in the direction of Stefan cel Mare Boulevard. I passed this intersection according to the rules; there were no pedestrians on the street. Immediately after the traffic light I was stopped by the policeman. I was accused that I had infringed traffic rules, that the vehicle was dirty and I passed too speedy near the traffic light not offering priority to pedestrians. A small conflict arose. In order not to lose time I gave them quickly MDL 30 and left”.

#09, 29.01.04, 11:05: “The police were verifying the technical checkups of the vehicles at terminus stations. I was subject to such procedure in the morning at Ciocana terminus station. When I got to the Buiucani terminus station (Butoias), there was another check-up by policemen. I was irritated and said some protesting words to them. As a result a big fight started. I was taken to the

police station and they made an administrative report on me. I had to pay a fine of MDL 180”.

#05, 30.01.04, 10:30: “Due to Stefan cel Mare street being blocked, the police inspector showed another direction of the route: Puskin street, to the right. I didn’t pay attention that is why next police officer stopped



me and withdrew my driving license. Legally, the license should have been withdrawn for three years, but next day I obtained it back with the help of my friends working in the police for MDL 1400”.

#05, 03.02.04, 10:55: “At the first traffic light I passed at green. At the second it was red. I stopped giving the way to pedestrians. The policeman stopped me, being about to withdraw my driving license for half a year. I paid him immediately MDL 800”.

#06, 31.01.04, 12:30: “I was punished for passing on red, but actually I didn’t. In this case I was passing an intersection where the distance between traffic lights is big. I passed at green and when I got to the other part of the crossroad the colour changed to red, and the policeman fined me”.

#03, 02.02.04, 14:30: “I had to drive some foreign passengers (from the USA) to Hâncești and to leave them there, because they were supposed to come back by themselves. For this kind of work

I didn't get a travelling warrant. They stopped me and made a report on me".

#04, 30.01.04, 11:00: "Once in two months, representatives of Mayoralty come and check the sanitary and technical state of the vehicle, and each time they ask for MDL 100 from each driver. All this is additional to the annual technical check-up of the vehicle".

#02, 30.01.04, 12:35: "During the night I stopped under the bridge to collect water to pour in the vehicle's radiator. The policeman came and started to make a report, the reason being that I was washing my car with the water from Bic River, but it was raining outside. The fine was MDL 250. Now I am in a lawsuit".

#05, 29.01.04, 10:30: "When the roads were icy I passed the intersection while the green colour of the traffic light changed into red. The Policeman declared that I passed at red. I paid him MDL 50 in order to not delay the passengers".

Maxi-taxi drivers are forced to pay, charging them with ungrounded accusations or declaring a false road situation:

#02, 03.02.04, 11:55: "I passed at yellow colour of the traffic light, but the policeman said I passed at red. He should have taken my driving license for half a year, but thanks to my friends in the police I paid MDL 200 and they gave me my driving license back".

#06, 30.01.04, 10:35: "I was accused that I passed on red, but actually the traffic light was not functioning. Anyway I had to pay in order not to lose the time fighting".

#04, 31.01.04, 12:25: "Passing at intermittent green colour of the traffic light, the policemen that were 100m away from it accused me that I passed at red. I had not other solution than to pay a bribe".

#05, 29.01.04, 13:45: “When the green colour of traffic light was changing into red I was in the middle of the intersection. Road police stopped me and asked “What shall we do?” I had just given change from MDL 100 and was short of small value banknotes, so I gave them MDL 100”.

#06, 30.01.04, 10:00: “I had to pay MDL 90 for so-called passing on red, but, actually I did not, but I was not able to prove it. In order not to lose time, I had to pay”.

#03, 30.01.04, 10:25: “It happens you are not infringing the traffic rules but they take your money. They state that you passed on red colour and you can not prove anything”.

#03, 30.01.04, 14:00: “I was stopped and told that I was driving at 72km/h, but I was only driving 60km/h. They filed out a report. In another case they made a report because I did not give tickets when my bus was empty”.

#04, 02.02.04, 11:55: “Once I passed at intermittent green colour of the traffic light and they told me that I passed on red colour, trying to withdraw my driving license. I had to pay a bribe. I have to feed two kids at home. I had no choice”.

#02, 29.01.04, 11:00: “Half an hour ago I was stopped at the intersection of Mioritsa street with Traian Boulevard by the road police, and I was told that I begun the travelling at green colour 3 seconds earlier, for this reason I was asked to pay a fine of MDL 120”.

Drivers are punished because they do not know or do not observe the legal requirements:

#06, 30.01.04, 11:05: “I was fined for excess number of passengers, even if I had just six standing passengers. I do not understand it: there are cases when you are allowed to be overloaded and cases when you are not. As a minibus owner I am

stopped by road police more frequently than other drivers. This is explained by the fact that the minibus owner can pay more than simple drivers”.

#01, 03.02.04, 13:49: “Coming home from Criuleni, I took 5 passengers, but I was stopped by the road police and fined with MDL 500”.

#01, 03.02.04, 14:15: “As an owner driver, in the evening I had a birthday party, I consumed some alcohol, in the morning right at the first station I was stopped and fined with MDL 500”.

#04, 29.01.04, 10:00: “Those from MIA fined me with MDL 180 because I was washing the car near Bic River on Albisoara Street, being allowed to do it only in authorized washing stations”.

#06, 30.01.04, 12:00: “I was fined a report because I took a passenger not at the station and I couldn’t defend myself”.

Drivers pay fines and bribes due to passengers’ infringements:

#06, 31.01.04, 11:20: “I was in the second lane when a passenger exited. This fact was observed by a policeman who immediately intervened and fined me. I did not give the permission to the passenger to exit, but however I had to pay unofficially to solve the problem as quick as I could and not to lose time”.

#06, 29.01.04, 10:20: “I stopped the minibus near the traffic light because it was the red colour and a passenger came in, observed by a policeman. He forced me to pay a fine, even if I was not guilty”.

#02, 03.02.04, 11:10: “For passing on red colour I was fined a report. I paid two receipts officially of MDL 90 and to road police MDL 600 plus 20 l of fuel (MDL 95) in order not to lose my driving license for half a year”.

#02, 03.02.04, 12:30: “Due to a traffic accident I received a criminal report. For this accident I had to pay a fine of MDL 1800-

3600. At the same time I paid a bribe to the Judge and police in the amount of MDL 10.000”.

Unofficial payments are asked or received from the drivers taking advantage of infringements made by them:

#07, 30.01.04, 10:20: “I passed on red colour of the traffic light and was stopped by a policeman. He asked me to follow him into the police car. In the car, the policeman asked me to pay an amount that I did not like. I expressed my opinion and explained that my passing at red colour was not intentional. But the policeman did not want to listen keeping to say that I have infringed the traffic rules, and finally I had to pay the asked amount because the policeman made me understand that if I do not obey he can fine me for other infringements made at that moment”.

#04, 29.01.04, 12:35: “For the fact that I passed at red colour I had to pay a bribe in the amount of USD 100 to get my driving license back”.

#07, 29.01.04, 11:25: “I passed on red colour of the traffic light and I was stopped by the policeman. He asked me to pay an amount for infringing the rules. I paid the unofficial amount asked by the policeman (MDL 50) thus solving the problem easily and saving time”.

#07, 30.01.04, 10:45: „I was transporting with my car agricultural products (bags of cereals, sunflower seeds) in order to sell them. A policeman stopped me on the road and asked the papers for verification. Then he asked what kind of goods I was transporting and for which purpose. After I have explained him, the policeman said that my vehicle was in an improper condition and he had to withdraw my driving license. So I started to negotiate. Finally the problem was solved. I gave him several bags of cereals and sunflower seeds”.

In some cases the policemen accept unofficial payments through third persons:

#05, 29.01.04, 13:05: “I was stopped when I passed at intermittent green colour of the traffic light. The policeman was young, stopping me for about 10 minutes and being indecisive about the modality of the “payment”. Finally, he told me to give the money to a street vendor at the corner of the street saying that it is for the policeman. I gave MDL 50 for the policeman, after which, he let me go”.

#10, 02.02.04,
11:30: “The policeman stopped me near „Cosmos” for overloaded minibus. Usually he tells me where to meet and tells me to drop the money in a car without mentioning the amount”.



Careless attitude towards drivers and their papers:

#05, 30.01.04, 10:55: “A year ago, the police withdrew my driving license because I passed at intermittent green. I left to finish my route, and upon my return I did not find the policeman. At the police station I was “terrorized” that my driving license was thrown away. Fortunately, my friend filmed the policeman in the moment of withdrawing the driving license that helped me to find the inspector and retrieve the license, a process that lasted 10 days”.

Police does not react at drivers’ information about offences and offenders:

#05, 29.01.04, 12:00: “My minibus was overloaded. In the minibus a pickpocket was caught red handed. I locked the minibus doors in order that he can not escape. A policeman stopped me because I was overloaded. He did not take into consideration my explanation about the offender and fined me with MDL 20”.

#05, 29.01.04, 12:00: “I found out a criminal wanted by republican police was in my minibus. Observing the police car I stopped next to it blocking the minibus door. In order to take urgent actions, police started to make a report on me”.

Some policemen do not pay when travelling in minibuses:

#10, 30.01.04, 10:40: “Some policemen do not want to pay for the trip, thus provoking conflicts between drivers and policemen. As a result the drivers are threatened and sworn at”.

In some cases decisions are adopted with harsh punishments that do not correspond to the infringements:

#08, 02.02.04, 11:15: “My authorization was withdrawn for incorrect parking at the terminus station”.

#06, 29.01.04, 11:35: „Next to the taxi parking the road was slippery, and I wasn't able to stop at red colour of traffic light, which was fined by the road police by taking the driving license”.

The drivers that are under protection as public servants can work with fewer problems:

#08, 29.01.04, 9:30: “I don't have fights with the police because my boss works in the police and settles everything”.

#10, 30.01.04, 13:50: “I was fined when the vehicle was overloaded with 4 passengers, while another minibus overloaded with more passengers was not even stopped by police inspectors. A conflict started between me and police. At the end he threatened me that next time it will be harder for me. Actually, the owner of the minibus who was not stopped has a brother at the Center for fighting against organized crime”.

#10, 30.01.04, 13:05: “I do not have problems with road police, I am being fined (stopped) only by those that do not know me, because I have an uncle in the road police ...”

In cases of accident the police servants are protected:

#08, 29.01.04, 11:15: “I had a legal process for a road accident with a policeman from road police. Even if the accident took place because of the policeman, the judge decided in his favour. As a result, I paid for all the damages”.

Obtaining justice is more expensive than the amount of unofficial payments:

#05, 30.01.04, 12:00: “Even if I passed at intermittent green of the traffic light, I was stopped and he filed a report. I offered MDL 50 to the policeman. He told that I had to do this immediately. We went to court. I won, but I lost about MDL 1000 plus time - a month”.

In some cases the passengers help to clarify the situation:

#09, 31.01.04, 11:45: “I was driving overloaded near the traffic light next to the University “Ion Creanga”. Immediately after the traffic light, there is a long portion of road before the next traffic light. I passed correctly on green the first traffic light, but when I was close to the next traffic light, it changed into red. A policeman appeared unexpectedly, saying that I passed on red. We started to argue. At the end he gave up, because the passengers started also to argue. The case resolved, so I continued my trip”.

#10, 02.02.04, 11:00: “The traffic light was not working properly, only red and green. Passing the intersection next to this traffic light generated a conflict between the policeman and me. Being invited to court, I won. One of the reasons was that I had witnesses (women) who had a driving license”.

Due to the lack of necessary conditions some infringements made by the drivers are inevitable:

#08, 02.02.04, 11:00: “Minibus stations are too small, but law says that the minibuses should stop at a distance of 15m from the pedestrian crossing”.

In some cases drivers say that the law is observed:

#03, 29.01.04, 12:00: “Everything is clear: when I infringe the traffic rules I am punished. I have never been punished unjustly”.

In other cases minibus drivers themselves by infringing the traffic rules are initiating the corruption acts. The policemen do not solve the respective cases, but accept bribes:

#09, 29.01.04, 10:30: “I was near the "Patria" Cinema. The minibus was full with passengers due to peak hours, when people were hurrying to work. Near the cinema a policeman stopped me. We started to argue. The passengers started also to complain. The policeman accused me with an overloaded vehicle. He was going

to fine me with MDL 54. Then I offered him MDL 20. After some time, the policeman took the money and the case was resolved”.

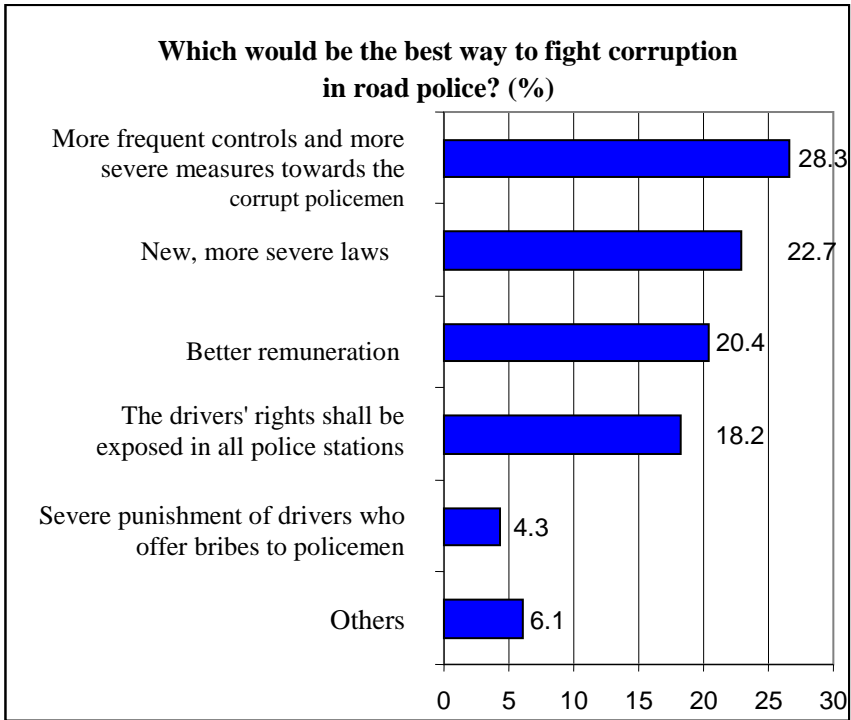
#06, 30.01.04, 11:45: “Usually the drivers come with the idea to offer a bribe. Actually, namely the minibus drivers are those who give the money, they come with these offers in order to solve the problems instantly and quickly”.

#07, 29.01.04, 10:35: “I was speeding, when a policeman stopped me. I offered him MDL 50 but he told me to add another 20. I told that I can give him just 10 and he agreed. In this way I solved the problem paying an unofficial tax of MDL 60”.

It was mentioned that the respondents were quite active in elucidating the corruption spreading degree in the activity of passenger transportation. The presented testimonies are enough to ascertain wide spreading of corruption phenomenon in the activity of passenger transportation in maxi-taxi, as well as to emphasize the specific of this phenomenon in this field. One can also observe an increased degree of tolerance towards the corruption. In many cases a bribe is initiated by maxi-taxi drivers. All these conclusions impose the implementation of more measures in order to prevent and to fight against the corruption in passenger transportation activity, between road police servants and other categories of public servants.

12. Measures to prevent corruption

Interviewed subjects declared themselves in favour of the application of some efficient and severe measures against corrupt people, counteracting this social vice.



Thus, almost every third respondent considers that first of all, it is necessary to make more frequent controls and apply more severe punishments towards the corrupt policemen. Every fourth has the opinion that it is necessary to adopt new, more harsh laws towards corrupt persons. Every fifth respondent thinks that a better remuneration of police work would contribute to a great extent to fighting against corruption in road police and every fifth mentioned that in order to reduce corruption in road police it would be useful to have the rights of drivers hung on the walls in all police stations.

Unfortunately, only 4% of the interviewed drivers are aware of the fact that offering bribery is corruption and that is why they

consider that one of the most efficient measures against corruption in road police is severe punishment of drivers who offer bribes.

Conclusions

According to the results of the public opinion poll, we can make the following conclusions:

In accordance to the data of the poll, maxi-taxi passenger transportation (minibuses on routes) in Chisinau municipality is ensured by drivers with a 5 years experience in the field. The majority (85%) work on minibuses that belongs to private persons (85%) or firms, organization. Only 15% of respondents work on personal minibuses.

During a week, a minibus driver is stopped about 3 times by the road police, out of which 2 times is fined, and 2 out of 3 fines are unofficial.

More than half or 56% of the interviewed drivers consider that municipal road police are behaving incorrectly. At the same time, 66% of the drivers felt that the behavior of the representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of Chisinau Municipality Mayoralty was correct.

According to the study, most drivers pay fines, but in different ways: sometimes officially, sometimes unofficially. The second way of paying the fine is more advantageous and convenient for both parties: drivers and policemen. This conclusion results from the answers of drivers to the question: "Which share of the fine has to be paid directly to the inspector in order to solve the problem immediately?" which showed that on average, 52% of the fine amount is paid.

The results of the investigation emphasize that on average, a minibus driver pays weekly MDL 89 to the road police, out of

which MDL 78 unofficially. Thus, annual net “revenues” of road police inspectors amount to about MDL 5 million.

A certain “profit” out of drivers’ activity is obtained by the representatives of the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways of Chisinau Municipality Mayorality. Thus, last year, on average, the authorization of passenger transportation was withdrawn at least once from each driver, and to obtain a “clean” authorization without indicating the number of points, each of them paid on average a “tax” equal to MDL 65.

The carried out study points out the fact that maximum unofficial payment equals in some cases MDL 500 in the case of road police; in that of the representatives for the Department of Public Transport and Communication Ways = up to MDL 1500; and to the representatives of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passengers= up to MDL 600.

Over half of drivers consider that the refusal to offer bribery would cause considerable loss of time. However, each fifth driver declared that it is more convenient to pay unofficially than officially, and 17% have the opinion that in this case it is easier to solve the problem. At the same time, 11% of drivers consider that the unofficial relations are already traditional and should be “observed”. Over 80% of the respondents declared that bribery is a modality of settling a problem.

Over a half of interviewed drivers (53%) consider that corruption in the road police has increased during the last year; 28% consider that the situation did not change and the corruption in the road police is at the same level. And only 16% of drivers are optimistic and think that corruption in road police has diminished last year.

Only 30% of the interviewed drivers consider that the road police act legally as a rule, and 38% of them declared that it makes no difference for them whom to pay: the police inspector or the state.

According to the study, in order to obtain a route, over 70% of minibus owners used the services of a firm or person. But if we analyze the expenses of the owners of minibuses incurred when obtaining the route, we can state that the payment differs from year to year and between owners. Thus, according to the investigation, in 2003 the cost of obtaining a route were between USD 150 – 14000; in 2001 – USD 3000 – 9000, and in 2000, these expenses varied between USD 400-5000.

Out of 29 routes subjected to interview, the most expensive routes during three years were: the routes No. 171 – USD 9000, No.112 – USD 8.500 and routes Nos. 121 and 108 – USD 6000.

As the results of the poll show, at present minibus owners face various impediments that complicate even more their activity and the business is becoming more difficult. Thus, as the owners have declared, a very important impediment in developing their business is, first of all, huge taxes to be paid to the state – 38.9%. Secondly, due to a monopoly on the market of private transport, at present, the possibilities of the minibus owner to maintain the buses on the route or to place others are considerably lower - 16.7%. Thirdly, frequent checks of state institutions do not stimulate their activity, but makes it more difficult - 11%. At the same time, 14% of respondents consider that the corruption of public servants is the main impediment in the development of their private business.

In order to fight against corruption and stop this social vice, interviewed subjects declare themselves in favor of the application of more efficient and harsher measures towards corrupted persons. Thus, 28% of drivers consider that first of all, it is necessary to make more frequent controls and apply more severe punishments towards the policemen; 23% have the opinion that it is necessary to adopt new, harsher laws towards corrupt persons; 20% or each fifth respondent thinks that a better remuneration of police work

would contribute to a great extent toward fighting against corruption in road police; and 19% of drivers mentioned that in order to reduce the corruption in road police it would be good to have the rights of drivers hung on the walls in all police stations. Unfortunately, only 4% of the interviewed drivers are aware of the fact that offering bribery means corruption and that is why they consider that one of the most efficient measures against corruption in road police is severe punishment for drivers who offer bribes.

The insurance of transparency can act as a method of preventing the corruption in any field. In Moldova, the relationship „minibus driver – policeman” takes place away from passengers’ eyes. Usually, the policeman stops the vehicle, goes behind it and waits for the driver. If the conversation between policeman and driver would take place in front of witnesses (passengers), maybe the temptation to offer bribery and that of accepting it would be smaller. In the USA, according to the regulation, the policeman should approach the vehicle, and the driver, from security considerations, has no right to step off the vehicle. The same rule is applied in Moldova, but they are not obeyed. Implementation of this principle in the Republic of Moldova could serve as an attempt to ensure the transparency in the relationship “driver – policeman” and would diminish the number of informal transactions between them.

And finally, if we return to the question: who is more corrupt - the policeman or maxi-taxi driver, then we have to remember the elementary economic models of supply and demand. According to these models, for a certain price, the demand equals the supply. In our case, bribery demand is equal to its supply. As long as the demand exists, the supply will also exist. If the bribery offer is reduced and the demand remains the same, then “transaction costs” will grow and those who are asking for bribes will put more effort into obtaining it. If the bribery demand reduces, then we can expect a decrease of the total volume of bribes in this field. That is

why, of course, it is important to reduce corruption among ordinary people, but the effect will be more apparent if we diminish corruption in road police. At least economic theory says so.

Questionnaire

Transparency International – Moldova performs this public opinion poll in order to study the problems you are facing in your activity, impediments that are hampering you today to develop your business and in order to appreciate the corruption spreading degree among road police inspectors. The questionnaire is anonymous. Your answers shall not be showed to any persons. That is why we ask you kindly to be as frank as you can.

Thank you in advance for your collaboration.

1. For how many years do you work on a minibus? (4.85) years.

2. Is the minibus yours or belongs to the employer?

1. Employer (82,85%)
2. Personal (14,76%)
3. Other, name it (2,37%)
4. Don't know/do not want to answer

3. How many times a week are you stopped by:

1. Road police 3,35 times;
2. Representatives of Mayoralty (Department of public transport and communication ways) 1,58 times;
3. Representatives of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passenger Transportation 1,44 times.

4. For which reasons are you stopped more frequently?

1. Infringement of traffic rules (12,36%)
2. Overloaded minibus (65,82 %)
3. Sanitary checkup of vehicle (5,45%)
4. Papers check (12,73%)

5. If other, name them, please (3,64%).

5. How do they behave?

| | | Usually correctly | Usually incorrectly | Don't know/ Don't want to answer |
|---|--|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Road police | 43,84% | 55,67% | 0,49% |
| 2 | Representatives of Mayoralty (Department of public transport and communication ways) | 71,35% | 28,11% | 0,54% |
| 3 | Representatives of the Inspectorate of Goods and Passenger Transportation | 60,87% | 30,43% | 8,70% |

6. How many times *on average* it happens during a week:

1. To be fined by road police? (2.01 times)
2. To receive a receipt? (0.75 times)

7. When you are fined, do you usually know the amount of fine?

1. Usually, yes. (78.57%)
2. Usually, no. (21.43%)
3. Don't know/Don't want to answer.

8. In approximate terms, which share of the fine has to be paid directly to the inspector to “solve” immediately the problem? (% of the fine) 52.02%.

9. How many times your authorization on passenger transportation was withdrawn last year by the representatives of the Mayoralty? (0.99 times)

10. What is the average “tax” to obtain a “clean” authorization without indicating the number of points MDL 65.62?

11. If you had to make some calculations, what are the approximate expenditures of a minibus driver?

| Type of expenses | Total expenses (average) in MDL | Including unofficial expenses (average) in MDL |
|--|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Carburant – petrol, Diesel oil, gas (weekly) | 1085 | - |
| 2. Technical Checkup – repairs, spare parts (annually) | 270 | 121 |
| 3. Fines paid to road police (weekly) | 89 | 78 |
| 4. Payment made for authorization restitution (annually) | 3 | 3 |
| 5. Fines paid to Inspectorate’s representatives (annually) | 3 | 3 |
| 6. Payment made to minibus owner (weekly) | 1883 | - |
| 7. Other expenses (weekly) | 75 | 75 |

12. What do you think, why sometimes money, gifts, services are used to solve a problem?

1. It is easier to solve the problem (17.13%)
2. It is more convenient to pay unofficially than officially (19.12%)

3. It is loss of time instead of work (52,19%)
4. These are traditions already (11.16%)
5. Other, what? (0.40%)

13. If you have a real case, please describe it:

14. Do you think that corruption in the road police increased, did not change or diminished during the last year?

1. increased; 53.33%
2. did not change; 28.09%
3. diminished; 15.71%
4. Don't know/Don't want to answer. 2.85%

15. Which opinion mentioned below do you consider as being true and which false?

| | True | False | Don't know/ Don't want to answer |
|---|--------|--------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Road police acts as a rule legally | 31.43% | 67.62% | 0.95% |
| 2. Bribery is a way to solve a problem | 80.95% | 18.57% | 0.48% |
| 3. I don't care whom I pay: police inspector or state, anyway nothing changes | 37.62% | 60.48% | 1.90% |

16. Which are the most efficient measures to fight against the corruption in road police? (Up to three answers)

1. Better remuneration of work; 20.45%
2. All police stations should be equipped with drivers' rights: 18.18%
3. More severe controls and measures towards police: 28.28%

4. More harsh punishment towards the drivers that offer bribery to police: 4.29%

5. New, stricter laws: 22.73%

6. Other, name; 6.06%.

17. How many routes do you have per day? 7 routes .

18. How many passengers, on average, do you serve per day? 261 persons.

19. The minibus owner works or worked:

| | |
|---|--------|
| 1. In the transportation field | 31.90% |
| 2. In legal bodies (police, court, prosecutor's office), specify | 7.14% |
| 3. In state institutions (Mayoralty, Government, Parliament), specify | 3.33% |
| 4. Other field, specify | 27.14% |
| 5. Don't know/Don't want to answer | 30.48% |

20. Are you member of a Transport Association?

1. Yes 23,33%

2. No- 74.28%

8. Don't want to answer – 2.38%

Only minibus owners answer next questions:

21. When did you obtain the route? year

| | |
|------|------|
| 2003 | 4.3% |
| 2001 | 2.9% |
| 2000 | 1.4% |
| 1999 | 1.4% |

| | |
|------|------|
| 1998 | 1.9% |
| 1997 | 0.5% |
| 1996 | 2.4% |

Non-answers of drivers who are not minibus owners make up for the difference up to 100%.

22. In order to obtain a route, did you use the services of a firm (person) or took care personally of all staff?

1. Used the services of a firm/person 70.97%
2. Made everything personally 9.68%
3. Used both methods 9.68%
4. Don't want to answer. 9.68%

23. Cumulatively, what is the total amount of costs incurred to obtain the route? _USD 5238

24. Which are the main impediments in the development of your business?

1. Frequent controls of state bodies 11.11%
3. High taxes 38.89%
4. Corruption of state servants 13.89%
5. Monopoly on the market of private transport 16.67%
7. Other impediments 19.40%

Thank you for the interview