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## Corruption, Informality and 'Living Law' in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan

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agents (officials who take bribes) was replaced by institutionalized corruption with an organized informal structure and dependent agents. In the case of chaotic corruption an agent is free in his corrupt behavior (setting the amount of bribe, allocation of bribed money to "upstairs" etc.), while in an institutionalized corruption system the agent has fixed "corruption instructions" determined by the system.

This paper develops a theoretical framework for analyzing the process of institutionalization of corruption in post-Soviet transitions. It will contribute to the study of informal practices by applying the concept of institutionalization to informal practices with the aim of explaining change in informal practices over time. The paper will be based on an extensive review of the literatures on corruption and organizational change. The paper creates unique conceptual

framework based on corruption studies on the one hand, and on organizational studies on the other hand. This framework will be used in later studies to analyze the institutionalization processes of corruption in selected countries.

#### 5.4 **Elena Denisova-Schmidt**, University of St.Gallen (HSG) **Regional Differences in Perceived Corruption among Ukrainian Firms**

This paper investigates regional differences in the perception of corruption and informal practices among Ukrainian firms. Using two different data sets from Ukraine (a newly conducted firm survey and the Business Environment and Enterprise Performance Survey from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development), we assess the firms' judgment of who engages in corruption and informal practices, who benefits from them and who is harmed by them: officials, executives, employees, shareholders, vendors, customers, competitors or society as a whole.

Our findings suggest that perceptions of corruption differ significantly across regions, even taking into account the size, industry, workforce composition, and other characteristics of the firms based on propensity score matching. In particular, perceived corruption is highest in the Eastern oblasts and lowest in the West, which points to distinct business practices that may be rooted in the different histories of Ukrainian regions.

#### 5.5 **Rustamjon Urinboyev**, Lund University, Sweden **Corruption, Informality and 'Living Law' in Post-Soviet Uzbekistan**

This paper aims to explore the multifaceted meaning, logic and morality of informal transactions in order to better understand the social context informing the meaning of corruption and bribery in Uzbekistan. It will be argued that the informal transactions in Uzbek society reflect different cultural and functional meanings than in most of the Western world; hence, there is a need to make a distinction between the informal practices of kleptocratic elites, which have nothing to do with 'survival', and the informal coping strategies of the ordinary citizens and low-level officials (i.e. corruption of the weak). If this is true, there may be reasons to re-evaluate the relevance of the international legal definitions of corruption and bribery in the context of Uzbekistan, and possibly other Central Asian countries.

These issues will be investigated with reference to the following three ethnographic case studies from post-Soviet Uzbekistan: (1) a case study on informal transactions between citizens and utility fee collectors; (2) a study on multifaceted meaning, morality and logic of bribery where I focus on informal transactions between citizens and traffic police and physicians; (3) a study on the entanglement of economy, morality and materiality, through ethnographic study of wedding ceremonies. This study is based on three periods of field research conducted between 2009–2012 in rural Fergana, Uzbekistan. It draws on the concept of 'living law' and the theory of norms to provide a theoretical framework.