ATTITUDES OF SERBIAN CITIZENS TOWARDS CORRUPTION

Eighth research cycle

UNDP SERBIA

Opinions expressed in this report represent the opinions of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of United Nations Development Programme.

* All terms used in this report in masculine gender encompass similar terms in feminine gender.
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1. Methodological remarks

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<td>Field work</td>
<td>Period between December 7 and 17, 2013</td>
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<td>Type and sample size</td>
<td>Random, representative sample of 600 citizens of Serbia aged over 18 (KiM excluded)</td>
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<td>Sample frame</td>
<td>Polling station territory, as the most reliable unit of registry</td>
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This public opinion research by CeSID and UNDP Serbia was carried out between December 7 and 17, 2013, in the territory of the Republic of Serbia, excluding Kosovo and Metohija.

The research was carried out on a representative sample of 600 citizens of Serbia. The research instrument used in the survey was a questionnaire, designed in cooperation with the client; it consisted of 112 questions.

Interviews with citizens were carried out “face to face”, i.e. in direct contact with interviewees. In the course of training of interviewers, the trainers insisted on the implementation and respect of two very important rules that - besides the very sample itself - significantly influence the representativeness of the research: respect of steps and the first birthday rule. Respect of steps ensures that the interviewer comprehensively covers the complete research point, while the first birthday rule excludes the possibility of the questionnaire being answered by citizens who were the first to open the door to the interviewer. This means that the interviewers were asked to question a person over the age of 15 in a household, the first whose birthday is closest to the day of interviewer's visit. In this manner, we ensured the representativeness of interviewees in terms of gender, education and age.
2. Sample description

The following categories of interviewees were encompassed during the conduct of this research, based upon the established methodology:

*Gender structure of interviewees:* 49% women and 51% men;

*Avg. age of interviewees:* 48 yrs.

*Education structure of interviewees:* elementary school or less – 20% of interviewees; two or three years of vocational training school – 11% of interviewees; four years of secondary school 46%; college or university – 20% of interviewees; pupils, students – 3% of interviewees;

*Avg. income per member of household* (in households participating in the research): 17,835 dinars;

*Nationality of interviewees:* Serbian 88%, Hungarian 4%, Bosniak 2%, ethnic Albanian 2%, Roma 1%, others 3%.
3. Introduction

The study before you is part of a joint research project by the organisation UNDP Serbia and the public opinion research agency CeSID DOO. This is the eighth research cycle of the project initiated in October 2009.

There are two clearly recognisable phases in the continued research so far: the first, prior to the elections in the Republic in 2012, and second, post-election phase, concluded in December 2013.

The first phase was characterised by high distrust of the key institutions of the system, dissatisfaction with their work and apathy of citizens as regards the battle against corruption and its forms of expression in society.

The second phase began with the formation of the Government of the Republic and the arrest of Miroslav Mišković, when the battle against corruption became one of the priorities of new authorities, when citizens’ trust of the institutions was increasing, and when the average Serbian citizen began to perceive corruption more as one of the important problems facing Serbia.

One gets the impression that the eighth research cycle is leading into the third phase, where living standards, unemployment and poverty redirect the attention of citizens, again, from the issue of corruption; trust of institutions stagnates or decreases, and citizens are, more and more, losing patience with the battle against corruption which has not, so far, led to expected or announced results.

The good news is that citizens still recognise that corruption represents a problem. The bad news is that they are of the opinion that there are now more urgent problems in Serbia, and the majority of the problems are related to poor living standards and the alarmingly high level of unemployment.

When one adds to all these factors the fact that, in the past month, there have been more frequent announcements that there will be early parliamentary elections and that individuals from sections of current government are the main actors in frequently emerging scandals, one should not be surprised with slightly worse results as regards citizens’ attitudes to the battle against corruption at this moment.
4. Summary

- As regards the battle against corruption, Serbian citizens still have most trust in the current Government of the Republic. Like in the last research cycle, 64% of citizens believe the Government is making certain results in the battle against corruption; 46% say that the Government should lead the battle against it.

- However, there is certain stagnation in the perception of Government's work in preventing corruption - there is a growing small number of those who say the Government is very efficient in the battle against corruption; accordingly, there is a rise in the category of interviewees who believe the Government is poorly efficient in the battle against corruption.

- Parallel to the decline in perception of battle against corruption, there is a growing feeling among citizens that there is corruption in the key institutions of the system.

- At this moment, the percentage of citizens who are of the opinion that the key institutions of the system, such as the Government and Parliament of the Republic are to a certain extent or very corrupt is as much as 10% higher than only six months ago!

- Perception of the level of corruption within the political parties in December 2013 is the highest since the beginning of this research project and stands at a total of 80%!

- Similar to the political parties, the level of perceived corruption within the police has never been higher than in this research cycle - 74%!

- However, things are not that bleak and the proof lies in the fact that there is a lower level of direct interaction of citizens and corruption in the past six months; it fell from 11% claiming to have had direct contact with corruption to 8%, similar to the peak of the battle against corruption in December 2012.

- The last two cycles saw the establishment of a trend showing that citizens have less and less understanding for abuse of public position for personal or party purposes and realisation of interests that are all but public. The percentage of those who describe such behaviour as corruptive surmounted the record of 80% in this research!

- Citizens show less and less tolerance for gifts to medical workers, but we still have 58% of those who think that presents to doctors or nurses are not bribes.
• Socially desirable citizens’ answers are visible in the fact that, although prone to criticising corruptive behaviour of others, they themselves are often ready to bypass the rules if it suits them.

• Almost **60%** of Serbian citizens with direct or indirect experience of corruption offered bribe **THEMSELVES** in order to get certain service!

• Doctors and policemen still remain in professions that citizens single out as those most prone to corruption; however, particular attention should be paid to worrying statistics that show the level of cases of corruption within the state administration or concerning state employees has risen by a total of **5%**!

• One in five corruption cases (**19%**) in the past three months involve state employees, thus demonstrating the continuing trend of rising corruption within this profession in the past three cycles.

• A favourable fact is that the number of cases where one party was an education worker (teacher) fell to only **2%**, while only a year ago teachers represented one in ten cases of corruption in Serbia.

• As regards measures in the battle against corruption, interviewees stand for **harsher legal measures, improvement of existing laws, but also for raising awareness about corruption** among the citizens of Serbia.

• Some **86%** of interviewees are of the opinion that it is necessary to work on **preventing corruption** by removing its causes, which is the best result since the beginning of this research project.

• It is also interesting to note that this is the first time that more than half of interviewees (**54%**) believe that control of public administration, by the civil sector, would lead to a decrease in corruption within state bodies.
5. Socio-economic situation in the country – expectations of Serbian citizens

At present, almost a third of Serbian citizens (31%) believe that things in Serbia are going in the right direction! This is the third research cycle where we register almost an equal percentage of citizens expressing optimism in regard to Serbia’s future - Chart 1.

*Chart 1: Generally speaking, do you think things in Serbia are going in the right or wrong direction?*

The good news is that there is a continuing trend that less than half of Serbian citizens believe that Serbia is going in the wrong direction. Both results are a direct consequence of the change of people in power since the elections in May 2012 and show that citizens are still nourishing careful optimism as regards the activities of the republic branches of power.

There is a worrying fact that the optimism nourished by citizens as regards the future of the country is being ruined by the deteriorating economic situation in Serbia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year and Month</th>
<th>In the Wrong Direction</th>
<th>In the Right Direction</th>
<th>Doesn’t Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2013 Dec</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 Jun</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 Dec</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 Jun</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 Nov</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At present, since the beginning of the research project in 2009, we record the highest percentage of interviewees who say that their material situation is unbearable (18%). When we take into account another 36% who describe their economic situation as bad, we have a little more than half of Serbian citizens whose material resources are barely enough to survive with.
The subjective parameter (personal assessment of one's own material situation) is accompanied by objective parameter indicating that the average amount of income, per household member in Serbia, in December 2013 is lower than in June 2013, standing at only 17,835 dinars!

If we take into account the data of all relevant research that show living standards and unemployment are currently the biggest worry for Serbian citizens, the fact that people live increasingly worse and yet show an enviable level of optimism as regards the country's future, tells us that the current ruling coalition (still) enjoys high trust (and patience) of citizens for its work.

We find the confirmation for this finding in the fact that, at this moment, a total of 45% of citizens are convinced they live worse than a year ago, and that there are only 7% of those who say their material situation has improved in the past 12 months.¹

As far as next year's expectations are concerned, 18% of interviewees expect an improvement in their material situation, which is an increase of 2% than in June 2013 and comes close to the maximum optimism recorded in the research cycles so far, which stood at one fifth of interviewees who expected their material situation to improve in the coming year (result from December 2012).

¹ In our June research cycle, the results were almost the same. The material situation was assessed as worse than 12 months before by 44% of interviewees; 5% said they lived better than 12 months before.
6. Key problems faced by the citizens of Serbia

The extremely negative living standard parameters we described in previous section are the precondition for ranking the list of key problems faced by the citizens of Serbia - Chart 3.

The primary problem, that tops this unpopular list from cycle to cycle, is **unemployment**! More than two fifths of Serbian citizens (43%) say that lack of jobs is the biggest problem they face. It is the very impossibility to earn enough for basic living needs of which is responsible for at least two problems on the list - **poverty** and **lack of opportunities for young people in Serbia**.

*Chart 3: Key problems faced by the citizens of Serbia (overview by research cycles)*
Poverty has moved corruption from second to third place in the list of the biggest problems faced by citizens. At present, following unemployment that dominates at the top of list, there is poverty as the key problem for 18% of Serbian citizens; corruption takes third place, with 12% of those interviewed seeing it as the biggest problem faced by Serbian citizens currently.

It is a fact that the majority of citizens put economic problems first, which, in reality, does bother them the most; on the other hand, the problem of corruption is taking root in the minds of the average citizens of this country. However, we get the impression that everyday political life and the bad economic situation have pushed corruption into the background and that the enthusiasm shown by citizens for solving this problem is diminishing to a certain extent.
7. Corruption experiences

The good news is that the level of direct experience of citizens with corruption has decreased in the past six months - Chart 4.

In June 2013, 11% of interviewees confirmed they gave bribes in the form of gift or certain amount of money; currently, the percentage of those who have participated in corruption activities is down by a total 3% and has returned to the level of December 2012.

*Chart 4: Direct and indirect experience with corruption (comparative overview)*

Besides the lower percentage of citizens directly involved in corruption activities, there is a smaller percentage of indirect knowledge of corruption. In our December research cycle we recorded the lowest number of interviewees who confirmed that someone from their closest circles of relatives or friends had experiences with corruption activities!

Only 19% of interviewees claim that people close to them had experiences with corruption in the past three months, which is a decrease of 1% compared to a year ago. At the same time, this is the lowest percentage since the beginning of this research project.²

Which professions are most prone to corruption?

² Percentage of interviewees who had either direct or indirect experience with corruption halved in relation to 2009, when the first research on corruption using this methodology was carried out.
Certain professions are stigmatised by citizens as those most prone to corruption in Serbia - Chart 5. Trends that we have been monitoring in the past three cycles clearly point out doctors and policemen as professions where cases of corruption are permanently present.

**Chart 5 - Who did you give a bribe to in the previous three months?**
(*percentage of the total number of cases where interviewee gave bribe in previous three months)

The amount of bribes (in the form of gifts or money) that citizens gave to doctors in the past three months is worrying. In the past two cycles, almost half of all corruption cases (48%) and bribery were linked to health care system and doctors! The record high number of cases of gifts and bribes being given to doctors was recorded in June 2012, when a total of 61% of interviewees confirmed this form of corruption! It is necessary to note that citizens also count cases of small gifts - coffee, sweets or spirits that they give to show gratitude to doctors and medical staff for well performed procedures.

In the last three cycles, the police have varied between 15% and 20%; in this cycle, the level of corruption perception within the police is a bit higher than six months ago. 3

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3 The highest number of direct police corruption cases was recorded in October 2010 and November 2011 - a total of 26%; the smallest number of those who gave a bribe to a policemen was recorded in June 2013 - 15%.
We would like to emphasise the worrying statistics that the number of corruption cases within the state administration/involving state employees has increased 5%! One in five corruption cases (19%) in the past three months is related to state employees! 

Participation of other professions in corruption cases remained at the same level or slightly less compared to the June cycle.

It is a favourable fact that the number of corruption cases where one party was a worker in the education system (teacher) has fallen to only 2%; just a year ago teachers were involved in one in ten cases of corruption in Serbia!

Chart 6: What is the reason for giving the bribe?

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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They were directly asked to pay</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>They offered to pay in order to avoid problems with relevant individuals</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>They offered the bribe to obtain certain services</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I was directly asked to pay</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>I offered to pay in order to avoid problems with relevant individuals</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>I offered the bribe to obtain certain services</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct experience</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initiative to give a bribe continues most frequently to come from citizens themselves; cases where someone was directly or indirectly asked for bribe in order to perform a task are significantly fewer - Chart 6. This is an unchanging trend that tells that Serbian citizens have a concerning habit of solving their problems and needs with gifts, without hesitating that such a move could be sanctioned.

Almost 60% of Serbian citizens with direct or indirect experience with corruption offered bribes THEMSELVES in order to obtain certain services!

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4 The smallest number of citizens who gave a bribe to state employees was recorded in June and December 2012 - 9%. The record number of citizens who bribed a state employee (19%) was recorded in November 2011, as well as in this cycle.
However, we have to note that the number of cases where citizens were directly asked for bribe is slightly higher than six months ago (an increase from 19% to 22% in the category of citizens who were directly asked for a bribe). On the other hand, in cases of indirect experience with corruption, the number of cases where citizens were directly asked for bribe dropped by 3% in the last three months (from 27% to 24%).

A worrying result: the bribe amount given in the past three months in this research cycle has for the third time exceeded 200 euros! The highest recorded average amount of a bribe in the previous six cycles was 255 euros in October 2010. Results from this cycle (the average amount of a bribe is 250 euros) show that it has come very close to the record amount in October 2010.

So, the number of corruption cases has gone down in the past three months; however, at the expense of the smaller number of corruption cases, there is a rise in the seriousness of cases where it was recorded, as well as an increased risk for those who give and receive a bribe. This can be seen in the rise in the average amount of a bribe in the past three months.

The rise in the average amount of a bribe in the past three months has had significant consequences on the family budget which is, as we have seen, becoming smaller and
smaller. For 34%\(^5\) of citizens who gave a bribe in the past three months, the expense was practically a serious blow to the family budget.

However, despite this, citizens opted to give bribes instead of solving their issues in the legal manner. By doing this, they expressed distrust of the work of both the institutions that are involved in preventing corruption and those to which they gave a bribe.

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\(^5\) In our June 2013 research we also recorded that a third of citizens for whom a bribe was a serious expense; thus, one can say that there is a trend where less well-off citizens accept bribes as a means of realising their goals regardless of established procedures and rules.
8. Perception and understanding of corruption

At the end of 2012 we recorded a sudden drop in corruption in terms of the perception of Serbian citizens; this was the result of political changes and arrests of "important players" on the Serbian public scene - Chart 8.

![Chart 8: Level of corruption in the previous year](chart8)

However, in the past two cycles we saw citizens' perception of a decreasing level of corruption in Serbia stagnate. In this research cycle, there were a slightly smaller number of those who claim that the level of corruption has dropped a little in Serbia; this result shows that citizens still have certain ambiguities as regards the direction of the battle against corruption.

![Chart 9: Level of corruption in the next 12 months - expectations](chart9)
These ambiguities are probably the key reason for the decrease in optimism among citizens as regards the future of the battle against corruption in Serbia - Chart 9.

Compared to the maximum expectations citizens have from the battle against corruption (December 2012), when more than two fifths of citizens expected a decrease in the corruption level in the coming 12 months, the trend of citizens' expectations decreasing - which began in June 2013 – also continued in this research cycle.

Currently, only 2% of citizens expect the level of corruption to decrease in the coming 12 months, which is 3% less than six months ago. There are a slightly smaller number of citizens (from 28% to 27%) who claim that the level of corruption will decrease a little in the coming year. The largest bulk of citizens (43%) are of the opinion that nothing significant will change in Serbia as far as the level of corruption is concerned in the next year and that everything will remain the same.

The good side of the highly visible media campaign of zero tolerance towards corruption - where citizens became familiar with the impacts the existence of corruption has - is that a trend was established, where citizens are extremely aware of the influence that corruption has on their private lives, but also on the business and political circumstances in the country.

This year's December research confirmed previous findings: a total of 57% of citizens believe that corruption affects their family and personal life to a certain extent. The percent of interviewees who are aware of effect of corruption on business circumstances stands at 73% and on political circumstances in the country stands at 84%. This confirms the findings from the previous two research cycles.

Apart from being increasingly aware of the overall impact of corruption on everyday life in Serbia, citizens are becoming more and more intolerant of forms of corruption in Serbian society from cycle to cycle - Chart 10.

The last two cycles saw the establishment of a trend where citizens have less and less understanding for abuse of public position for personal or party purposes and realisation of interests that are all but public. The percent of those who describe such behaviour as corruption has exceeded the record of 80% in this research cycle!

It is very also important to note that the until recently deeply rooted activities such as giving gifts or additionally paying teachers or health care workers is increasingly being perceived by citizens as corruption!
The percent of citizens who believe this is a form of corruption exceeded 60% in the previous two cycles; in this cycle, a total of 87% confirmed that gifts to workers in the education and health care system are a form of corruption!

Chart 10: Are the following things, and to what extent, examples of corruption?

- Redirecting of the state budget to one’s electoral units: 84% (2013 Dec), 70% (2013 Jun), 59% (2012 Dec), 56% (2012 Jun), 54% (2011 Nov)
- Conflict of interest, promotion of political parties/business groups by using the position of the state: 86% (2013 Dec), 56% (2013 Jun), 56% (2012 Dec), 56% (2012 Jun), 54% (2011 Nov)
- Giving gifts or money to professors or medical staff: 87% (2013 Dec), 64% (2013 Jun), 50% (2012 Dec), 50% (2012 Jun), 44% (2011 Nov)
- Use of public position for obtaining of gifts and money: 85% (2013 Dec), 69% (2013 Jun), 4% (2012 Dec), 4% (2012 Jun), 4% (2011 Nov)

The media is the main source of information and key communication channel with citizen as far as issues of corruption are concerned - Chart 11.

The media has risen significantly as the primary source of information on corruption in relation to June 2013. A total of 74% of citizens obtained information on corruption through the media (TV, print media, Internet and radio), which is an increase of 14% compared to June 2013.

Although questionable in terms of objectivity, indirect knowledge of corruption is still a very important source of information on corruption in Serbia. At present, 31% of citizens obtain information on corruption by hearing it during everyday small talk,

6 Percentages presented in Chart 10 are obtained by adding the answers of interviewees who agreed that the named activities can be considered as corruption to medium or large extent.
while one in three interviewees claim they rely on friends and relatives for information on corruption. Personal experience with corruption was confirmed by 3% fewer interviewees than in June - 10%.

*The smaller number of corruption cases in the past three months led to citizens being more informed through the media, and less through their own experiences or the experiences of people close to them.*

**Chart 11: Sources of information on corruption**

Increased awareness of corruption among citizens has led to a somewhat stronger critical attitude towards the role of state in prevention it - Table 1.

More than 60% of interviewees (62%) still say that there is no will in the country for the a proper and efficient resolution of the problem of corruption.

This is a slightly better result compared to previous research cycle, when a total of 69% of citizens agreed with the statement that there is no will in the country to fight the battle against corruption. One should bear in mind the fact that almost a third of interviewees believe that there is will in the state to tackle the issue.

Citizens are sceptical of the punitive measures as regards corruption cases. 87% of interviewees are of the opinion that only harsher sanctioning and implementation of punitive measures can prevent corruption in Serbia.
Table 1: How much do you agree with the statements listed in the table?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corruption in general</th>
<th>Cycle</th>
<th>Doesn’t know/NA</th>
<th>I agree</th>
<th>I partially agree</th>
<th>I partially disagree</th>
<th>I disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is no will in Serbia for the proper and effective uprooting of corruption</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption can be uprooted only by severely punishing perpetrators</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption can be uprooted only by removing its causes</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every institution should equally be responsible for preventing and fighting corruption among its ranks</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialised institutions (police, judiciary, Agency) should be the leaders in the battle against corruption</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is no cooperation and coordination between specific institutions in the battle against corruption</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of citizens who believe that specialised institutions (such as the judiciary, the Agency and police) should lead the battle against corruption has remained at the same, high level of last year - 83% of them support the idea.

86% of interviewees believe that it is necessary to work on the prevention of corruption by removing its causes, which is the best result since the beginning of this research project.
9. Perception of corruption in different sectors

Citizens show growing distrust of the work of institutions in the eighth research cycle. What has become the trademark of this research cycle is the worst result for political parties, which are regarded as corrupt organisations by a high 80% of interviewees!

Perception of the level of corruption within political parties in December is the highest since the beginning of this research project and stands a 80%!

Chart 12: Institutions with a corruption perception level of over 50%

Parallel to the rise in corruption perception within political parties, we note a rise in corruption perception in almost all institutions that citizens regard as dominantly corrupt from cycle to cycle (health care system, police, city administration, etc.) in comparison to June 2013 - Chart 13.

The only exception in this research cycle is customs, where the corruption perception level has dropped from 62% to 59%.

On the other hand, there is a visible rise in the corruption perception level within police, health care system and city administration that varies from 3% in health care to 9% in the police.

The corruption perception level within the police, like in the case of political parties, has never been higher than in this research cycle - 74%!
A worrying fact is that, besides the rise in perceived corruption in institutions that citizens consider dominantly corrupt, there is a rise in the corruption perception level within the key institutions of the system - Chart 13.

**Chart 13: Level of perceived corruption in key institutions of the system**

We recall that after the 2012 elections there was a rise in trust in the institutions of system which resulted in the perceived level of corruption within them decreasing. Thus, only a year ago, we recorded the lowest level of perception of corruption within the state institutions since the beginning of this research project.

At present, however, the percent of citizens who believe the key institutions of the system, such as the Government and Parliament of the Republic are to a certain extent or very corrupt is **a full 10% higher** than only six months ago!

The president of the state, at present, is regarded as corrupt by 6% more interviewees than in June 2013, and 11% more than in the previous December!

The army is currently enjoying the highest level of trust among citizens, i.e. the number of those who regard the institution as corrupt is the smallest: only one in five citizens, or 20% of interviewees are of such an opinion. However, even as far the army is concerned, we level of perceived corruption within the institution grew 4% in relation to the previous, June research cycle.

The other institutions tested in this research cycle also saw slightly worse results compared to the previous research cycle - Chart 14.
The only institutions which recorded a lower corruption perception level than six months ago are the banks! 40% of citizens perceive corruption within banks, which is a decrease of 2% compared to six months ago.

There are four institutions that have gone backwards in this research cycle as regards the perceived level of corruption. They are media, municipal administration, tax administration and education. We record a perceived level of corruption higher than 50%. The negative record is held by municipality administration, regarded by 55% of citizens as corrupt. This is the worst result since November 2009.

Chart 14: Perception of corruption – other institutions

It is a devastating fact that the corruption perception level in educational institutions, i.e. the entire education system, has, after stagnating and dropping in the past two cycles, again risen significantly. At present, one in two interviewees regards Serbian education to be corrupt.
9.1 Corruption by sector – Health care system

In the opinion of Serbian citizens, the health care system is one of the most corrupt spheres of everyday life.

Some 71% of interviewees perceive the existence of corruption in the health care system. 48% of cases of direct corruption in the past three months are related to the health care system, i.e. gifts and bribes to doctors and medical staff.

On a scale from 1 to 5, where one stands for no corruption and five for very present corruption, our interviewees positioned health care system at the very high 3.99. This is a bit higher than in the previous two research cycles, where the rating was about 3.90.

Chart 15: Perception of corruption in the health care system

More than two fifths of interviewees believe that corruption within the health care system is very present, while there are 27% who say there is a lot of corruption in the system!

Only 5% of citizens doubt that there is corruption in the health care system, while only 2% claim there is no corruption at all!

Citizens’ knowledge about the presence of corruption within the health care system mostly comes from indirect sources - Chart 16. A quarter of citizens are informed about forms of corruption through the media and media output, while 45% obtained information from their closest friends and relatives.
The good news is that - although there are more of interviewees who say corruption is present within the health care system - there is a significantly smaller number of those who witnessed it personally.

**Chart 16: On what grounds do you believe that corruption is widespread within the health care system?**

In the previous two cycles there was a rising number of citizens having personal experience with corruption within the health care system. That led to the June result, when 22% of interviewees claimed they had had personal insight into the corruption within the health care system. Six months later, the percentage of interviewees with personal experience of presence of corruption within the health care system has dropped by 7%. This can be interpreted as there being slightly fewer corruption cases in the past three months.

Although the number of citizens with personal experience with corruption in the health care system is slightly smaller, their general attitude towards the phenomenon has not changed much - Table 2.

The number of interviewees who justify small gifts for doctors and medical personnel remained at the level of previous two pieces of research and currently stands at 58%.
Another 55% of interviewees believe that it is normal to present a gift to the medical worker who enables one to get undergo a medical procedure by skipping the queue.

There is a contradiction among citizens as far as corruption in the health care system is concerned. They justify gifts and queue jumping on one side, while on the other side, some 81% of them say that bribes and corruption are the "cancer" of Serbian health care system!

At the same time, 55% of interviewees stand for a complete ban on all gifts, even the smallest of gifts, to medical workers.

Table 2: To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Health Care</th>
<th>Cycle</th>
<th>Doesn’t know/NA</th>
<th>I agree</th>
<th>I partially agree</th>
<th>I partially disagree</th>
<th>I disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liquors, coffee or candies given to doctors or nurses are not bribes, it is</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>only a courtesy to people that provide services to us and help us</td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bribes and corruption are the cancer of our health care system</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you want to get something by skipping the queue, it is normal to give</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something to the person who helps you</td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not fair that corruption is justified by the low salaries of health</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>care workers</td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There would not be corruption in health care if patients did not offer</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bribes to doctors and nurses</td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giving anything to doctors and nurses should be prohibited, even the</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smallest things (liquors, coffee, chocolate)</td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As far perception of corruption among medical workers is concerned, the situation is very close to the findings from the previous two research cycle - Chart 17.
There is a growing number of citizens who are of the opinion that doctors top the corruption list and that corruption is very present among them. Almost half of interviewees (48%) are convinced that doctors are largely or very corrupt.

The number of those who believe in absolute corruption among doctors has grown by 6% in relation to the June research cycle!

There is also a rise in corruption perception for other medical personnel in relation to two previous cycles. Citizens mostly trust the honesty of administrative personnel in hospitals and health care centres. They are followed by nurses and medical technicians. Besides doctors, citizens see the highest level of corruption among health care fund workers.

Chart 18: Perception of corruption level in medical institutions
Trends regarding corruption level in specific medical institutions, already established in previous two cycles, still stand. The corruption level is highest in clinical-hospital centres, clinical centres and general hospitals; a generally lower level of corruption is associated with rehabilitation centres and health care centres.

Table 3: Is a bribe necessary for...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is a bribe necessary for...?</th>
<th>Cycle</th>
<th>Doesn't know/NA</th>
<th>No, it's not</th>
<th>Yes it is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary examination</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laboratory</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specialist examination</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dec. 13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Admission into a health care institution</td>
<td>Dec. 12</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jun. 13</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Corruption is reserved for more complex medical procedures such as surgery, surgery after queue jumping, or admission into a health care institution. On the other hand, simple check-ups and laboratory analyses do not require a bribe to be given to doctors who perform them.

### 10. Battle against corruption

Above all, an effective battle against corruption calls for work on attaining a higher quality of work by the state administration, as well as suppressing corruption within the bodies involved in the implementation of laws.

In the opinion of citizens, inadequate control of state administration and a high level of corruption within the bodies responsible for implementation of laws are the key factors impeding the battle against corruption - Chart 19.

*Chart 19: Factors impeding the battle against corruption in Serbia*
Two fifths of citizens single out inadequate control of state administration and slightly less than a third of them see corruption within the bodies responsible for implementation of laws as key obstacles in the battle against corruption. If one adds to this the usual practice among Serbian citizens of solving their problems by using their connections and disregard of legal procedures, one can clearly see the obstacles that need to be overcome in order to have a lower level of corruption in the future.

Citizens’ readiness to use any means available in order to solve a certain issue or accomplish a goal can also be recognised in the fact that (between the two research cycles) there is a smaller percentage of interviewees who would not give a bribe to an employee if they asked for one and in the number of those who would give a bribe if they had enough money - Chart 20.

*Chart 20: If you were in a situation where you were directly asked by someone to give a bribe, what would you do?*
The percentage of interviewees who would not give a bribe dropped from 46% to 40%, returning to the level of December 2012. The number of those who would be willing to give a cash bribe has risen to one fifth of the total number of interviewees.

On the other hand, there is continued stagnation in the category of interviewees who would report someone asking for bribe to the relevant law enforcement bodies, and a drop in the category of interviewees who would report a case of corruption to the relevant administration.

Only one in 11 interviewees is willing to report a case of corruption to the relevant administration whose employee is directly involved in it!

What bodies do citizens believe should lead the battle against corruption?

The Government of the Republic of Serbia is still the primary choice of the majority of interviewees as far as the battle against corruption is concerned - Chart 21.

At present, 46% of interviewees believe that only the Government of the Republic is able to stand up against corruption in the country. This is the second consecutive cycle
where citizens single out the Government as the body that should lead the battle against corruption.

**Chart 21: Leaders of the battle against corruption**

Since the very beginning, the Government has been recognised as a body from which citizens expect a lot in this process. In the last two cycles it took the leading position in the battle against corruption from the police; however, there has been a slight rise in the percentage of interviewees who find the latter to be the most adequate body to fight corruption in the country - from 39% to 41%.

Slightly diminished media exposure over the past six months has led to a 6% decrease in the number of interviewees who recognised the Agency as the leader of the battle against corruption. On the other hand, as regards the judiciary, there was a rise in number of interviewees who currently expect more effort from it in the battle against corruption.

40% of interviewees believe that the judiciary should lead the battle against corruption, which is the best result for the judiciary in the research project so far!
Citizens believe that battle against corruption should be fought by introducing harsher punitive measures for the perpetrators of these acts. Harsher sanctions and punitive measures are something that **82%** of citizens stand for. This manner of the battle has once again confirmed its primacy in the choices put before citizens in comparison to other solutions in the battle against corruption.

*Chart 22: Measures for the battle against corruption*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harsh legal sanctions</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved legislation (new anti-corruption law, international conventions)</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening of state control over public administration</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raising the level of awareness of corruption</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enforced control of civil sector (NGOs) over public administration</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transparency in administrative decision making</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raised salaries for public administration employees</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interviewees expect a lot from the improvement of legal measures, but also from raising awareness of corruption among Serbian citizens. Both measures for tackling corruption are supported by **67%**.

It is very interesting to note that there is a growing number of those who appreciate the control role of the civil sector over the public administration, in order to lower the level of corruption. More than half of interviewees (**54%**) say that it is a good idea for the civil sector to be engaged as much as possible in controlling the work of the public administration.

As regards the current perception of the Government’s work to suppress corruption in Serbia, there is a certain stagnation trend - Chart 23.

Although the percentage of those who believe there is a certain efficiency in the Government’s efforts to fight corruption in the country remains the same as in the
previous cycle (64%), a smaller percentage of interviewees say that the Government's efforts are very efficient. Accordingly, there has been a rise in the number of those who say it is a little efficient.

The current stagnation is a product of citizens' expectations regarding the resolution of the 24 disputed privatisations and court epilogues of already processed corruption scandals in the past 12 months.

**Chart 23: Efficiency of the Government of the Republic of Serbia in the battle against corruption**

11. **Perception of the work of the Anti-Corruption Agency**

Recognisability of work of the Anti-Corruption Agency among citizens of Serbia is undisputed. At present, 77% of citizens are aware of its existence and of its activities - Chart 24.

**Chart 24: Recognisability of Anti-Corruption Agency**
In the last three research cycles we obtained a similar result in regard to the recognisability of the institution among interviewees. This tells us that the Agency was able to adequately present itself and profile itself among citizens of Serbia.

Chart 25: Agency's contribution to the battle against corruption

The problem the Agency faces is the slightly calmer and less prominent media coverage of the period of its work after the end of the monitoring of the financing of the electoral campaign. This has led to a smaller perception of the institution's work in
the eyes of average citizen. Accordingly, there is a smaller percentage of citizens who believe the Agency is currently making an adequate contribution to the battle against corruption.

It is necessary to say that there is still a very large number of citizens who are not familiar with the purview of the Agency in the battle against corruption. From cycle to cycle we find almost a third of citizens who cannot answer this question. We can interpret this result as being a consequence of their unfamiliarity with the work and mandate of this institution.

Compared to June 2013, there are 8% fewer interviewees who are of the opinion that the Agency has partially or significantly contributed to the battle against corruption. Accordingly, there is has been an 8% increase in those who claim that the Agency gives little or no contribution to the battle against corruption.

*Chart 26: Is the Agency able to control the financing of political parties?*

Apart from this, there is an ever smaller number of citizens who believe that the Anti-Corruption Agency is able to control the financing of political parties - Chart 26.

In this research cycle, contrary to the maximum of 27% of interviewees who believed the Agency was able, partially or completely, to control the financing of political parties in June 2013, less than a fifth of interviewees claim the same thing.