

## OPINION POLL – DECEMBER 2015

### PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION IN SERBIA

*Tenth Research Cycle*

UNDP SERBIA

*The opinions presented in this Report are those of its Authors and do not necessarily reflect positions of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).*

*All words/terms used in this report in the masculine gender are to be understood as including persons of both male and female gender they refer to.*

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## 1. Methodological notes

Survey carried out by	CeSID Opinion Polling Agency and UNDP Serbia
Fieldwork	Between 25 November and 3 December 2015
Sample type and size	Random, representative sample of 600 adult citizens of Serbia (excluding Kosovo and Metohia)
Sample frame	Polling station catchment areas as the most reliable registry units
Selection of households	Random sampling without replacement – each second street address from starting point for each polling station catchment area
Selection of respondents by household	Random sampling without replacement – respondents selected by date of first birthday in relation to survey date
Survey method	Face-to-face at home
Survey instrument	Questionnaire

This public opinion survey was carried out by CeSID and UNDP Serbia between 25 November and 3 December 2015 and covered the territory of Serbia excluding Kosovo and Metohia.

The survey involved a representative sample of 600 citizens of Serbia.

The survey instrument used was a 113-item questionnaire developed in collaboration with the client.

The interviews were conducted face-to-face, in direct contact with respondents. During interviewer training, instructors insisted on adherence to two important rules that, in addition to the sample, together have a major impact on the representativeness of the survey – order of steps and the first birthday rule. Adherence to the order of steps ensures that an interviewer can comprehensively cover each survey point, whilst the first birthday rule prevents responses only from members of the public who first answer the door when an interviewer visits. Interviewers were required to interview the member of each household aged 18 or above whose birthday came soonest after the date of the interviewer's visit. This also ensured the representativeness of respondents by gender, education and age.

## 2. Description of the sample

The following categories of respondents were covered based on the methodology established for the survey:

*Structure of respondents by gender:* 49 percent women, 51 percent men.

*Average respondent age:* 50.

*Structure of respondents by education:* primary school or lower, 13 percent; two- or three-year secondary school, 12 percent; four-year secondary school, 45 percent; college/university, 29 percent; school/university student, one percent.

*Average monthly income per household member (for households covered by the survey):* RSD 23.000.

*Respondent ethnicity:* Serbian, 86 percent; Hungarian, three percent; Bosniak, four percent; Roma, 1 percent; other, six percent.

Note: For the sake of clarity of charts and tables, in the tenth research cycle we selected the cycles where findings for particular issues were at their most positive and negative. Wherever considerations of space so allow, the charts include information from research cycles performed in the second half of the year so as to allow comparison of research trends at the annual level.

### 3. Summary

*This December's survey of public perceptions of corruption in Serbia performed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and CeSID marks the tenth anniversary of the first study of this type, and, as such, is a fitting opportunity to recapitulate the public's views of the extent of corruption, its causes, the means of addressing it, and the actors at the forefront of this effort.*

*This joint research project was established in October 2009, and surveys of public perceptions of corruption were until 2014 performed twice annually using identical methodology and a nearly identical questionnaire on a sample of 600 respondents from across Serbia, excluding Kosovo and Metohia. One survey each was carried out in both 2014 and 2015, so that a full 18 months elapsed between the ninth and tenth research cycles.*

*In general, the findings of the ten research cycles can be clearly divided into two segments: October 2009 to June 2012, and December 2012 to December 2015.*

*In the opinion of the Serbian public, the hallmarks of the first period, from October 2009 to June 2012, are a decline in trust in institutions; a seeming lack of willingness on the part of the authorities to tackle growing corruption; declining living standards; and mounting economic problems, primarily manifested through rising unemployment, economic insecurity, and lack of opportunities for young people. In this context, political turmoil should not be neglected either: this culminated in parliamentary and presidential elections in May 2012 that brought into office a new Government and President.*

*The second period, which more or less commenced with the elections mentioned above and was captured by five cycles of research into perceptions of corruption, from December 2012 to December 2015, differs from the preceding period in major respects. Trust in government authorities has gradually been returning; members of the public are becoming more aware of the issue of corruption and its consequences for the state as a whole; and the spate of arrests that followed the formation of the new Government has inspired confidence amongst the public that something was finally being done to tackle corruption.*

*These are the key differences in public perceptions between these two periods, with one election cycle acting as watershed:*

*1) Corruption, along with unemployment, became a priority issue for the Serbian public at this time and retained this status over the following three years to this cycle, albeit with a gradual downward trend in evidence since 2014;*

- 2) *Following the initial round of arrests in corruption cases, the public are now more confident that there is willingness amongst state institutions to tackle this issue; in parallel, expectations are rising for a future decrease in the extent of corruption;*
- 3) *Relative to the period before December 2012, we have recorded significantly fewer cases of direct and indirect corruption in Serbia;*
- 4) *A constant increase is in evidence in the number of people ready to stand up to corruption and refuse to give a bribe if asked for one;*
- 5) *Since December 2012 there has been a decrease in the number of those polled who believe that government authorities are corrupt. Although the decline has been somewhat slower, the downward trend in the perception of institutional corruption is quite noticeable;*
- 6) *Politics, healthcare, and the police are 'critical points' and areas where potential for corruption is at its greatest;*
- 7) *The public expect strict sanctions and changes to current legislation to prevent and eliminate corruption;*
- 8) *The Government of Serbia, judiciary, and the police, as well as the independent watchdog the Anti-Corruption Agency, are expected to do the most to address corruption;*
- 9) *The Anti-Corruption Agency is becoming more and more recognisable to the broader public, and expectations of it in terms of tackling corruption are on the increase.*

***This year's survey, performed for the tenth time, is specific in that the issue of corruption is somewhat less well defined among the public, whilst government authorities have also been rather less active in addressing this phenomenon.***

*Corruption has continued its downward slide on the list of key problems faced by the average citizen of Serbia: it is now in fourth place, with as few as nine percent of those polled citing it as the country's primary issue. This is the lowest percentage since October 2010, when the figure stood at a mere seven percent. Economic issues, such as unemployment, low income, poverty, and lack of opportunities for young people are so pressing that any other objective problems simply take the back seat to them.*

*More than two-fifths of those polled believe their living standards are 'poor' and 'intolerable', but nonetheless keep faith in the direction that Serbia is moving in. At 37*

*percent, the percentage of those who feel the country is moving in the wrong direction is the lowest recorded to date, and is nearly equal to the percentage of respondents who feel that Serbia is moving in the right direction, which stands at 34 percent in this cycle.*

*Research trends indicate that, at eight and 20 percent, respectively, the number of those polled with direct and indirect experiences with corruption has remained at the minimum in evidence since late 2012. At the same time, in comparison with December 2012 there have been no major positive changes, and no significant reduction in the number of corruption cases has been recorded when compared to this period.*

*There have also been no major changes when it comes to the professions perceived by the public as the most prone to corruption. As has become the norm, doctors (44 percent) and police officers (16 percent) share the top position: members of these two professions are in contact with the public most often, and the nature and significance of their jobs make them particularly susceptible to bribery.*

*However, law enforcement officers, doctors, and other civil servants are not the only ones to blame for corruption: members of the public themselves share the responsibility, as their long-standing habits in attempting to bypass rules and procedures are very difficult to change. This research cycle, the same as the preceding one, has revealed that more than one-half of those polled (51 percent) have offered a bribe to obtain a service, whilst nearly one-quarter (24 percent) have offered a bribe to avoid problems with the authorities. Only one-quarter, therefore, of the eight percent of all respondents who did take part in corruption were directly asked for a bribe, whilst the remainder offered a bribe themselves in an attempt to obtain an illicit advantage.*

*There has been major progress with regard to the average bribe over the past three months. This amount has halved relative to December 2013 and is slightly lower than in July 2014, at **126 euros**. This is also the second-lowest average amount recorded since the start of this research project.*

*Although the average bribe has fallen and cases of direct and indirect of corruption are at their lowest level to date, only slightly above one-fifth of those polled (22 percent) believe that corruption has declined over the past 12 months. A total of 45 percent of all respondents feel corruption has remained at last year's levels, whereas 21 percent believe it has increased in extent. These figures are somewhat poorer than previously, and, in addition to the current perception of corruption, they also affect respondents' expectations of future trends in the area. One-quarter of those polled expect a decline in the extent of corruption in Serbia in the future; this figure is no less than 12 percentage*

points lower relative to 18 months ago. By way of a reminder, in December 2012 as many as 41 percent of all respondents showed optimism in future efforts to address corruption; conversely, in November 2011 the figure stood at a mere 14 percent.

Efforts to tackle corruption in Serbia should be led by the judiciary, with support from the police and the Anti-Corruption Agency. A total of 41 percent of those polled feel the judiciary should be at the forefront of these activities, whilst 39 percent each believe this part should be played by the police or the Anti-Corruption Agency.

The percentage of respondents who believe the Government of Serbia should lead the anti-corruption effort is now lower by as much as 11 percentage points. Thus the Government, the unambiguous first choice for respondents over the preceding three cycles, is now ranked fourth, with 36 percent of those polled feeling that this entity should lead the anti-corruption drive. One of the reasons for the Government's somewhat poorer showing in this regard should be sought in the shrinking percentage of respondents who feel the executive is efficient at addressing corruption. Thirteen percent of those polled believe the Government has been completely inefficient in tackling corruption, the worst finding since June 2012. When taken together with the 17 percent who believe the Government is mostly inefficient, the total comes to a significant 30 percent of all respondents who believe the Government should be more efficient at addressing the issue of corruption.

On the other hand, the public perception of corruption at most state authorities has declined significantly. Among other things, this research cycle has recorded the lowest percentage of those polled (43 percent) who believe there is corruption in the Government of Serbia since the beginning of this research project.

Some institutions, however, are perceived as more corrupt now than in the previous cycles. These include the media (an increase from 53 to 57 percent), NGOs (27 to 34 percent), religious bodies (27 to 32 percent), and the President (31 to 33 percent). The percentage of those polled who believe the media are not corrupt has been declining steadily. At this time, 57 percent of those polled believe there is corruption in the media, the poorest result since this research project began. Similarly, 32 percent of all respondents hold the same view of religious institutions, the worst finding since perceptions were first measured in 2009.

Education and healthcare, systems that members of the public generally consider corrupt, have seen their perceptions improve somewhat. The number of those polled who believe healthcare is corrupt has declined by 11 percentage points; in addition, there has



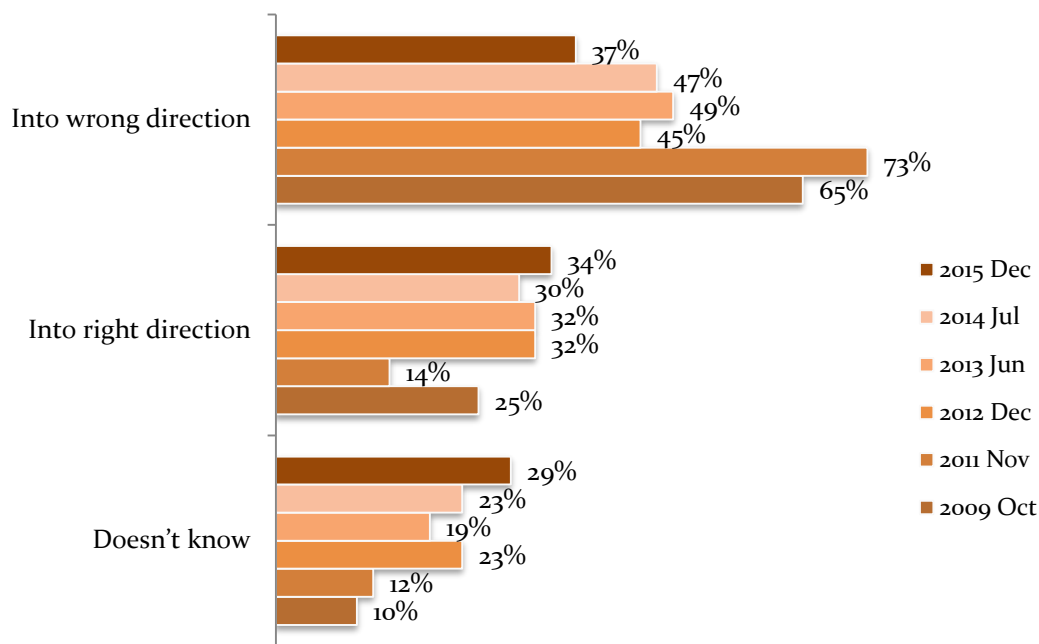
*been a ten-percentage-point drop relative to last year in the number of those polled who see education as prone to corruption. However, notwithstanding the above findings, nearly two-thirds of all respondents (63 percent) feel that corruption in healthcare is 'great' (28 percent) or 'very great' (35 percent). Slightly over two-fifths of those polled (41 percent) believe that corruption in the Serbian education system is either 'great' or 'very great'.*

#### 4. Social and economic situation in Serbia – expectations of the public

The survey of the social and economic situation in Serbia has revealed two findings that are completely at odds with one another. On the one hand, nearly one-half of those polled (47 percent) feel their living standards have declined over the past year, whilst, on the other, the number of respondents who feel Serbia is moving in the right direction has increased; see Chart 1.

This cycle has also recorded the lowest percentage of respondents who have misgivings over the direction the country is moving in. Relative to July 2014, when 47 percent of those polled voiced negative expectations as to the future of Serbia, in this cycle the number of pessimists is lower by as much as ten percentage points.

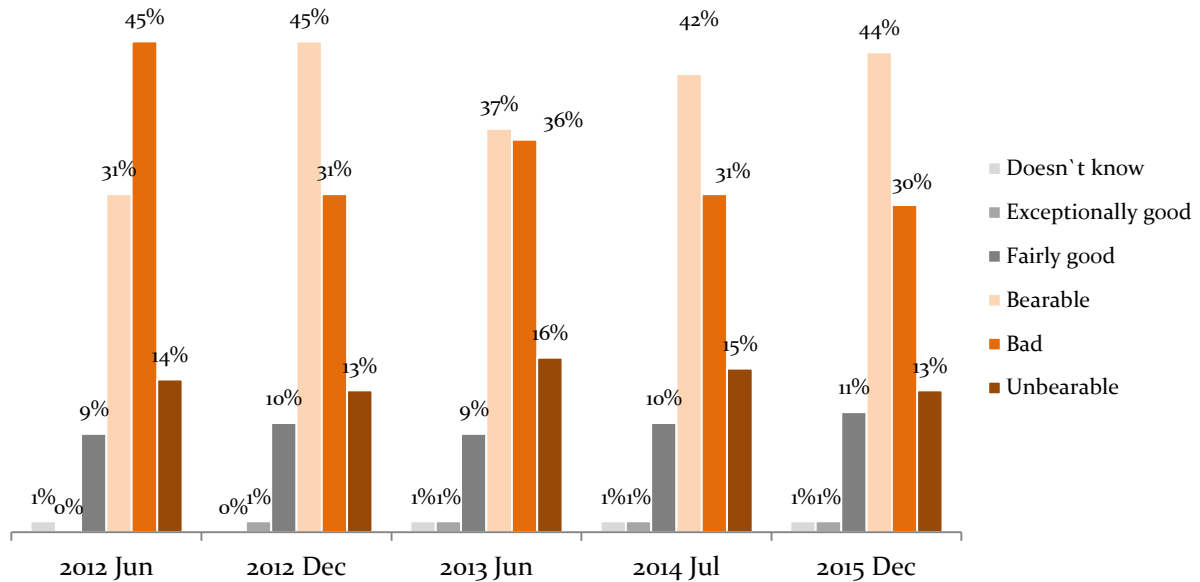
Chart 1 – In general, do you think Serbia is moving in the right or the wrong direction?



At the same time, the percentage of respondents who feel things are moving in the right direction in Serbia has been growing. One in three of those polled (34 percent) are now optimistic as to the country's future, as compared to 30 percent seen in July 2014.

The drop in the number of pessimists has resulted in a corresponding increase in the percentage of those unable to tell which direction Serbia would take in the future, from 23 to 29 percent. One possible reason for this finding may be an increase in the number of respondents who are waiting to see what the Government and senior political figures will do next before being able to assess the country's future.

Chart 2 –How would you rate your current living standards?



This increase in the number of respondents who trust Serbia is moving in the right direction is all the more significant if viewed in the context of the finding whereby more than two-fifths of those polled (43 percent) feel their living standards are ‘poor’ or ‘intolerable’; see Chart 2. Yet it should be underlined that a gradual downward trend is in evidence in the number of those claiming their living standards are ‘poor’ or ‘intolerable’, and some progress is visible in this regard relative to previous research cycles.

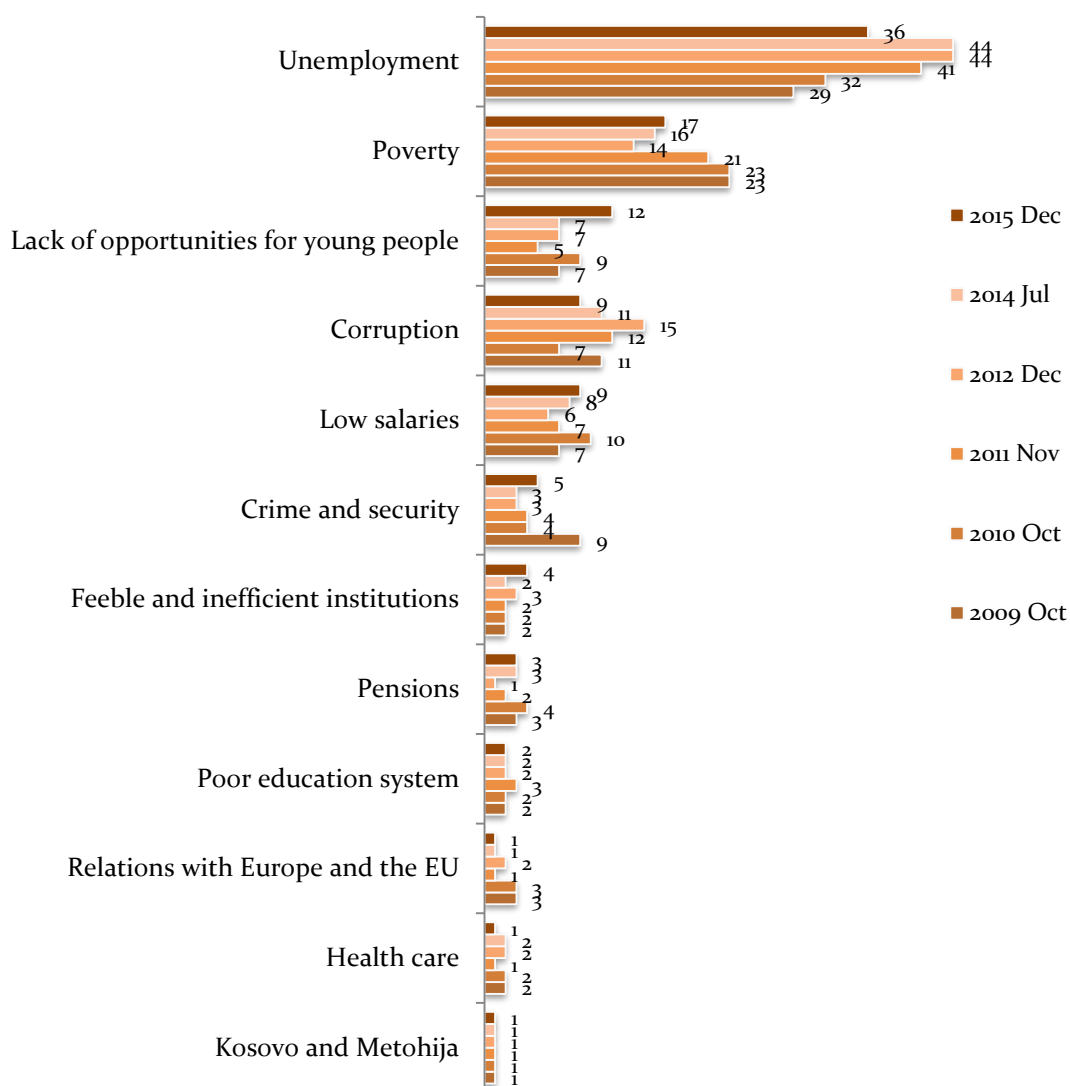
When compared to the preceding research cycle, where the percentage of respondents who claimed their standards of living were ‘poor’ or ‘intolerable’ had been the lowest recorded to date, the findings of the 2015 survey indicate an additional drop in the number of those polled who believe so, as well as an increase in the percentage of respondents who feel their living standards are ‘tolerable’ or ‘good’. The improvements, however, are in objective terms quite minor and cannot alter the fact that 43 percent of all respondents still believe their standard of living is less than tolerable.

On the other hand, these slight and seemingly minor improvements can be interpreted as signs that the public have patience with the Government’s actions and trust these will benefit the country. This conclusion is additionally borne out by the gradual increase in the percentage of respondents who believe their living standards will improve over the next year (21 percent), two percentage points more than one year ago and the best finding since the start of the research project.

## 5. Main problems facing Serbian citizens

The issues that the Serbian public faces are primarily economic in character; see Chart 3. More than one-third of those polled (36 percent) cited unemployment as the key problem; slightly under one-fifth (17 percent) believe poverty is the country’s principal issue; whilst another 12 percent claim opportunities are lacking for young people.

Chart 3 – Main problems facing Serbian citizens (by research cycle in %)



Problems such as **unemployment, poverty, low wages, pensions,** and even the **lack of opportunities for young people** are all direct consequences of the poor economic situation Serbia finds itself in.

All of the above problems are consistently ranked at the top of the list, with respondents additionally emphasising economic issues in this research cycle. Directly related to this is the somewhat lower percentage of those polled who focus on issues not immediately connected to the economy and those that have to do with anything else except poor finances and low living standards.

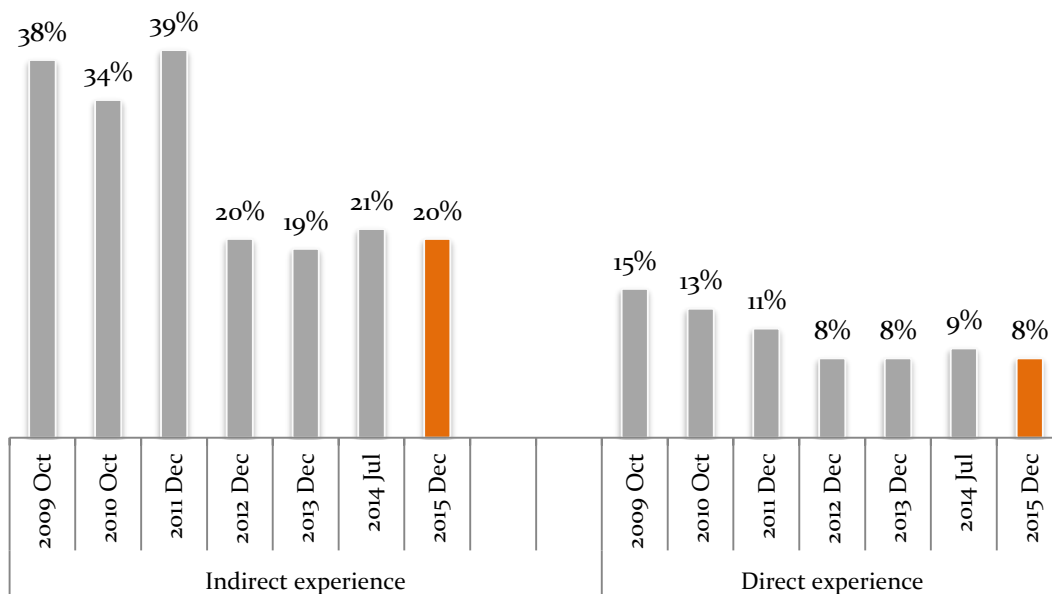
*The list of key issues faced by the Serbian public has ever since the start of the UNDP research project been dominated by economic problems or issues directly related to Serbia's poor economic situation.*

The importance of corruption as an issue for Serbian citizens is particularly borne out by the fact that this is one of the rare non-economic problems that are consistently rated highly on the list of priorities. The significance of efforts to address corruption is given additional emphasis by anti-corruption actions and campaigns, as well as arrests of suspects in bribery cases. This is exactly the reason why members of the public ranked corruption second on the list of key problems at the height of the previous Government's anti-corruption drive (in December 2012). However, over the three latest research cycles we have seen the importance of corruption stagnate or even suffer a slight decline. A total of 11 percent of those polled felt corruption was the key problem then, whereas nine percent believe this is now the case. In this cycle corruption is ranked fourth in importance, and the findings are similar to those seen in October 2010, when as few as seven percent of those polled cited corruption as a key problem for Serbia.

## 6. Experiences with corruption

A major decline in the percentage of respondents who had had either direct or indirect experiences with corruption occurred in 2012, and no notable changes have been in evidence since; see Chart 4.

Chart 4 – Direct and indirect experiences with corruption (comparison)



And, whilst in the winter of 2009 the percentage of respondents familiar with corruption cases as reported by their friends and family members had stood at a very high 38 percent, reaching a record of 39 percent two years later, December 2012 data showed a decline of as much as 20 percentage points that can be clearly linked to the policy adopted by the then newly established Government of Serbia which placed emphasis on efforts to tackle corruption

Findings of personal experiences with corruption followed similar patterns, falling from a record 15 percent in 2009 to eight percent in late 2012.

*The percentage of respondents who have come into contact with corruption over the preceding three months has not altered significantly relative to the last research cycle; the figures are also identical to those seen in December 2012.*

Trends established by the research show that the number of direct and indirect experiences with corruption has remained at the minimum level in evidence seen since late 2012. At the same time, there have been no major positive developments when

compared to December 2012, and no substantial decline in the number of corruption cases has been recorded relative to that time.

Which professions are the most prone to corruption?

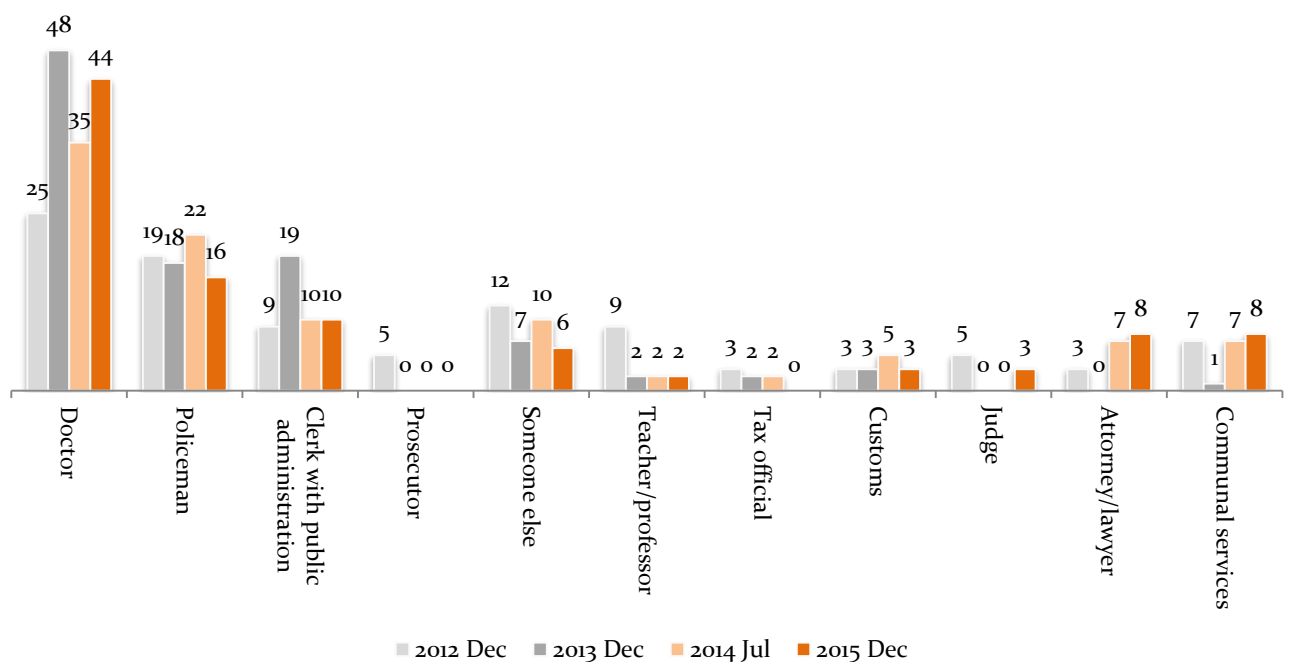
No major changes are in evidence when it comes to professions perceived by the public as the most prone to corruption; see Chart 5. As in all research cycles to date, the top two positions are reserved for doctors and police officers.

These two professions are in contact with members of the public more often than other occupations that respondents were able to choose from; moreover, the medical and law enforcement professions are responsible for providing particularly sensitive public services of healthcare and security that members of the public may be ready to pay extra for, meaning that opportunities for corruption are here at their most pronounced.

Longer-term data trends also reveal exactly how closely linked these two professions are. Whenever the survey has recorded an increase in cases of corruption involving doctors, the incidence of corruption amongst police officers has decreased, and vice versa.

*Chart 5 – Who have you bribed over the past three months?*

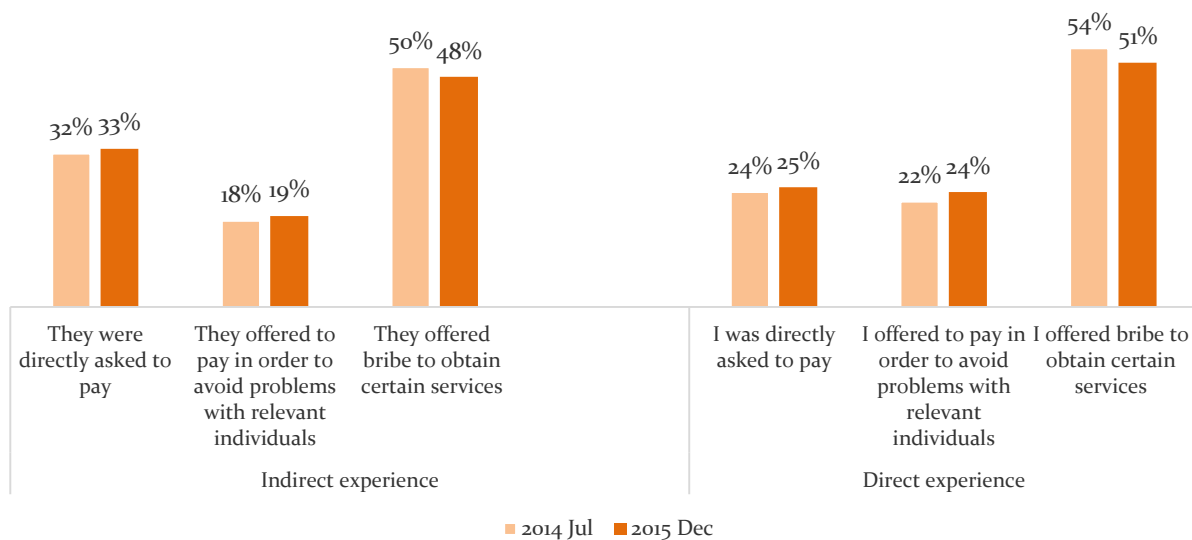
(\* Percentage of total number of instances where respondent has given bribes over past three months)



This latest poll has been no exception. The incidence of corruption amongst doctors over the three months preceding the survey has increased by as much as nine percent, whilst the incidence of corruption in law enforcement has declined by six percent. No major changes are in evidence relative to the July 2014 cycle when it comes to the other professions we tested for likely corruption potential.

Corruption is again somewhat more widespread amongst lawyers, employees of public utilities, and civil servants.

Chart 6 – What was the reason for giving the bribe?



Bribes are more often initiated by members of the public than by members of these professions; see Chart 6. This fact is obviously no justification for corruption on the part of doctors, police officers, and other surveyed occupations, but it does indicate that old habits die hard amongst the public in Serbia.

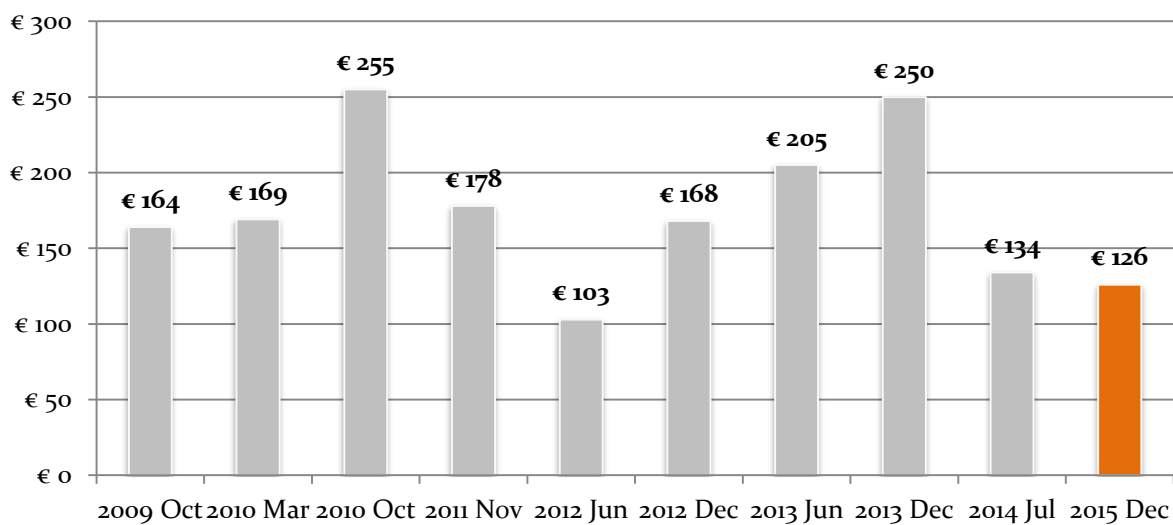
As in the previous cycle, more than one-half of those polled (51 percent) admit to having offered a bribe in return for a service, whilst nearly one-quarter (24 percent) claim to have done so to avoid problems with authorities. Therefore, as few as one-quarter of the eight percent of all respondents who took part in corruption were actually asked for a bribe; the rest offered bribes themselves in an attempt to secure illicit benefits.

The same holds true of instances of indirect corruption, cases that respondents are aware of involving their friends, family members, and acquaintances. However, cases where authorities seek bribes are more frequent with indirect corruption, whilst the percentage of members of the public who offer bribes themselves is somewhat lower.



Although the average bribe for the three months preceding the survey is a relative value that is greatly affected by the number of corruption cases and the minimum and maximum bribes offered by members of the public, a downward trend of the average bribe can still be observed; see Chart 7.

Chart 7 – Average bribe (comparison)



*At **126 euros**, the average bribe is half as high as in December 2013 and slightly lower than in July 2014. This is also the second-lowest average bribe recorded since the beginning of the research project.*

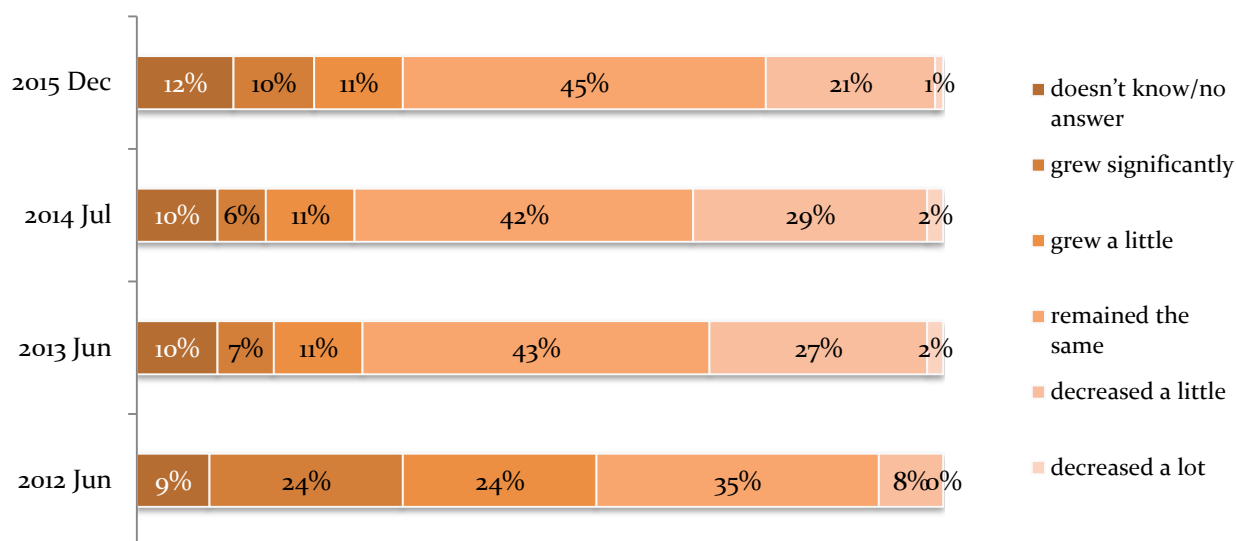
Fewer than one-fifth (18 percent) of the respondents who did offer bribes believe the sum was a significant outlay for their household. Most respondents who took part in corruption cases did not feel the bribe was a major item of expenditure in their household budget. The lower average bribe seen over the three months preceding the survey has certainly contributed to the belief that bribes are less of a burden.

## 7. Perception and views of corruption

The last research survey found the best results when it came to the reduction in corruption over the one year preceding the survey. At that time slightly fewer than one-third of those polled (31 percent) felt that corruption had declined ‘slightly’ (29 percent) or ‘greatly’ (two percent) over the 12 months preceding the survey. If one takes into account the fact that the last survey was done immediately following an election where corruption had been a key campaign issue, the 2014 findings come as less of a surprise.

The results of this cycle are somewhat poorer, but still much more favourable than the views voiced by members of the public in June 2012, when as few as eight percent of those polled had felt corruption had decreased over the preceding year. June 2012 saw the poorest results to date in terms of the perceived decrease in corruption; see Chart 8.

Chart 8 – Extent of corruption over the past year

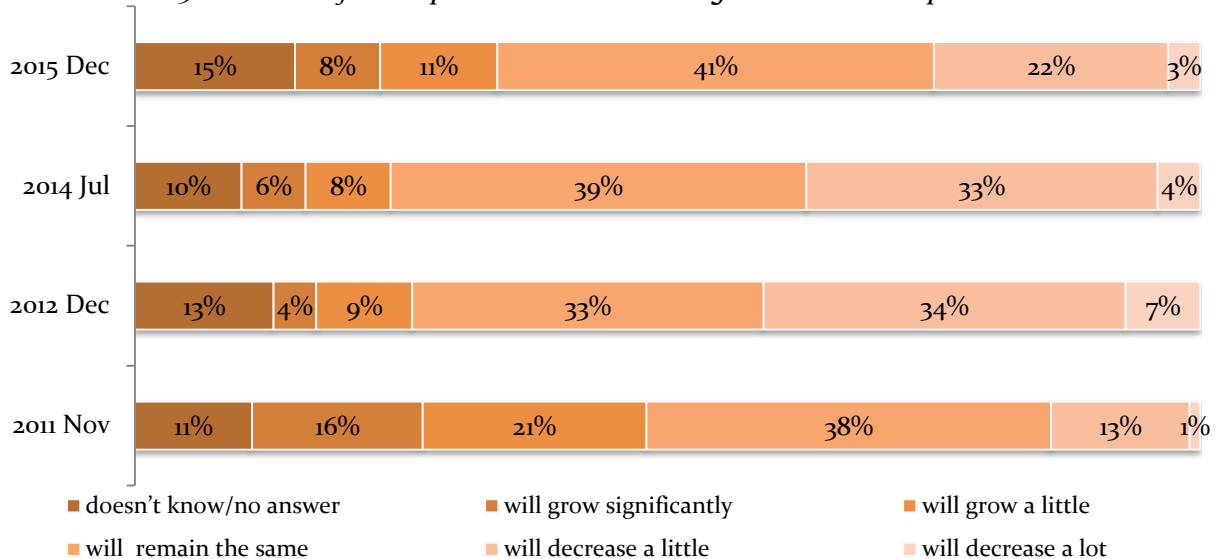


Slightly more than one-fifth of those polled (22 percent) believe that corruption has declined over the 12 months preceding the survey. A total of 45 percent believe corruption has remained at last year’s levels, whilst a final 21 percent feel it has increased.

The somewhat poorer findings of the perceived decline in corruption seen in this research cycle when compared to 2014, a post-election year, have also moderated respondents’ expectations for the coming 12 months; see Chart 9.

Relative to the last cycle, when as many as 37 percent of those polled believed corruption would decrease over the coming year, optimism is now much more muted in this regard.

Chart 9 – Extent of corruption over the coming 12 months - expectations



One-quarter of all those polled believe corruption in Serbia is set to decrease, but this figure is lower by as much as 12 percentage points in comparison with 18 months previously. By way of a reminder, optimism for the future of anti-corruption efforts ranged from as much as 41 percent of all respondents in December 2012, to as low as a mere 14 percent seen in November 2011.

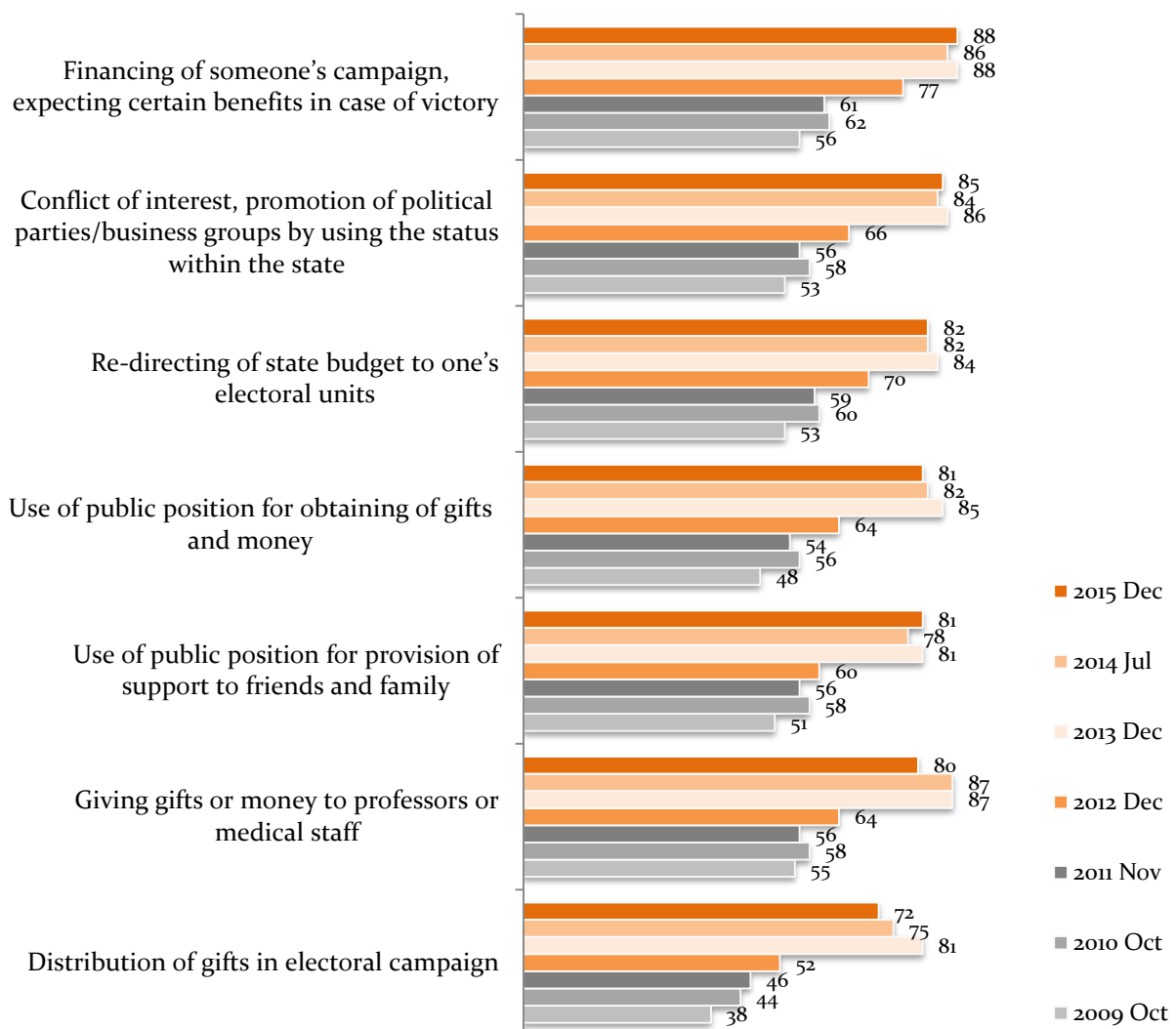
Public perceptions of the potential outcome of efforts to address corruption are strongly influenced by political and social developments at any given time. In the 2014 election campaign all political parties focused on anti-corruption efforts, and this raised expectations of the public to a significant degree. A similar situation was in evidence in December 2012, when numerous arrests convinced the public that the authorities were serious in their intent to stamp out corruption.

On the other hand, the authorities' current focus on resolving economic issues has had a major impact on public expectations of future anti-corruption activities, as well as on whether members of the public view the war on corruption a primary government policy objective.

*Although less optimistic about future anti-corruption efforts, Serbians are highly aware of the negative consequences of this phenomenon for nearly all aspects of life.*

*More than one-half of those polled (51 percent) feel that corruption has a ‘moderate’ or ‘very great’ impact on their personal lives; 64 percent are convinced of the adverse impact of corruption on the business environment; and 78 percent underline the negative effect of corruption on politics in Serbia.*

Chart 10 – Are the following actions examples of corruption, and, if so, to what extent (in%)?<sup>1</sup>



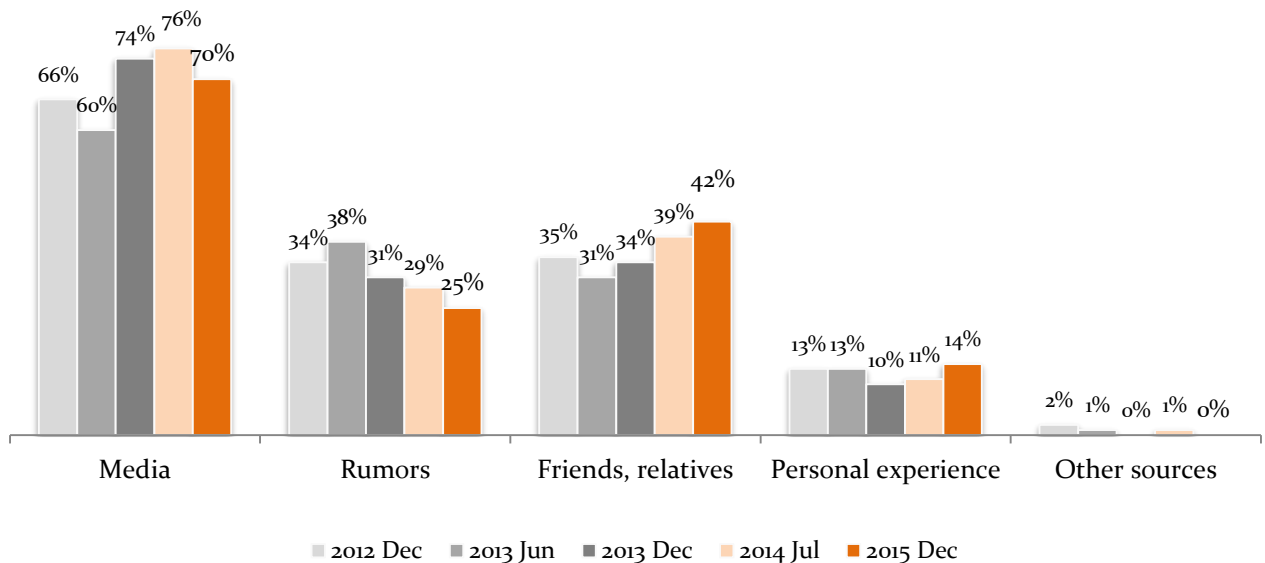
<sup>1</sup> The percentages shown in Chart 10 were obtained by adding together responses claiming the practices offered could be considered corruption to a moderate or great extent.

Public awareness of the harmful consequences of corruption and its various aspects remains high; see Chart 10. From one cycle to the next, increasing numbers of respondents believe funding a party’s election campaign, in the expectation of preferential treatment if that party wins the election, constitutes corruption. As many as 88 percent of those polled see this type of political support given in return for personal benefit as a corrupt practice, two percentage points more than in the last poll.

For other perceived forms of corruption the percentages are similar to those seen in 2014, with the only notable difference being a slight decrease in the number of respondents who believe giving presents in the course of an election campaign or giving gifts to healthcare workers or teachers constitutes corruption.

The Serbian public primarily relies on the media for information, and the same holds true for information about corruption cases; see Chart 11.

Chart 11 – Sources of information about corruption



Somewhat fewer respondents than in the two previous cycles (albeit a still very high 70 percent) report seeking information about corruption in the media. One-quarter of those polled rely on rumours or unsubstantiated information about cases of corruption, a decrease of four percentage points relative to the last opinion poll.

In addition to information relayed through the media, members of the public also base their views about corruption on personal experiences (14 percent) and contacts with people they have confidence in, such as family members, friends, and co-workers (42 percent).

*Table 1 – To what extent do you agree with the following statements?*

Corruption in general	Cycle	DNK / No response	Agree	Partially agree	Partially disagree	Disagree
There is no willingness to truly and efficiently eradicate corruption in Serbia	Dec '12	6	40	20	15	19
	Jun '13	6	50	19	13	12
	Dec '13	6	39	22	16	16
	Jul '14	6	43	22	15	14
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>
Corruption can be eradicated only by strictly penalising perpetrators	Dec '12	3	71	15	5	6
	Jun '13	3	73	15	5	4
	Dec '13	3	72	15	7	4
	Jul '14	2	72	16	6	4
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>
Corruption can be eradicated only by removing its root causes	Dec '12	3	66	18	8	5
	Jun '13	5	64	18	8	6
	Dec '13	4	68	18	6	5
	Jul '14	4	66	19	6	5
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>
Each institution should be equally responsible for preventing and addressing corruption within its ranks	Dec '12	4	71	16	6	3
	Jun '13	5	73	14	6	2
	Dec '13	3	73	14	5	5
	Jul '14	3	71	17	4	5
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
Specialised institutions (police, judiciary, the Agency) should have lead roles in tackling corruption	Dec '12	4	68	18	6	4
	Jun '13	4	58	25	8	5
	Dec '13	4	64	19	10	4
	Jul '14	4	64	20	8	4
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
There is no co-operation or co-ordination between the various institutions active in tackling corruption	Dec '12	17	46	22	9	6
	Jun '13	14	50	19	10	7
	Dec '13	14	48	20	11	8
	Jul '14	13	50	20	11	6
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 1 shows statements related to corruption, the forms it takes, and the possible means of addressing it. We wanted to determine how members of the public felt about these statements, and, in doing so, ascertain their views of corruption and its manifestations. The respondents were asked to respond to each statement on a scale from 1 ('Agree') to 5 ('Disagree').

The responses do not reveal any major changes compared to past research cycles. Respondents still declare in favour of a rather strict stance on corruption, with 87

percent convinced of the need for rigorous punishment of corrupt practices. An identical percentage believe that corruption can be prevented by addressing its root causes.

A full 89 percent of those polled have consistently been demanding that all institutions assume responsibility for resolving issues of potential corruption within their own ranks.

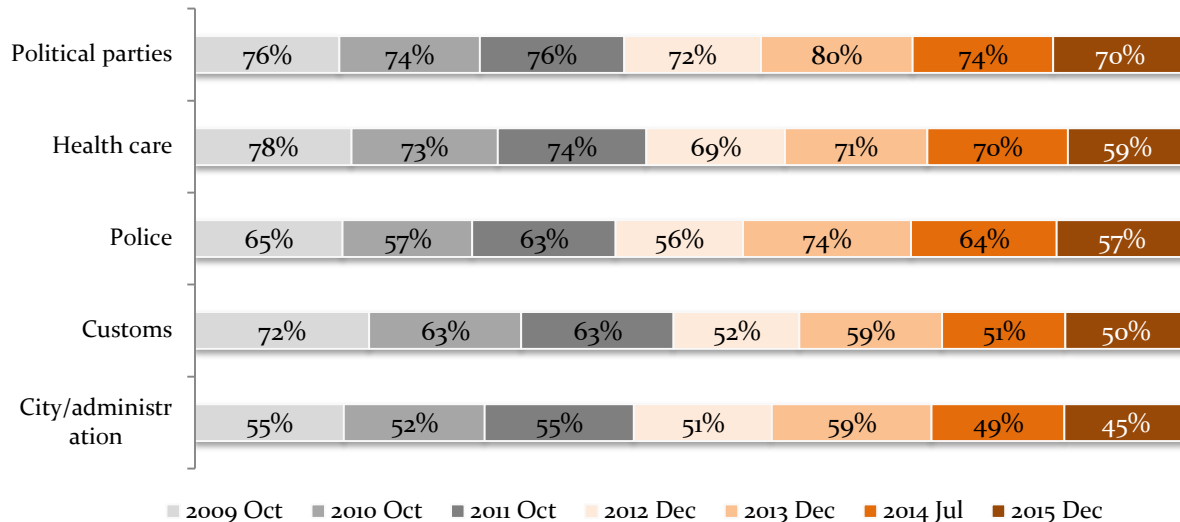
In principle, most data obtained by examination of these statements in this poll do not differ significantly from findings of past research cycles. However, a cause for concern is the increased percentage of respondents voicing doubts as to whether there is willingness in Serbia for true and effective efforts to stamp out corruption.

In this year's research cycle, 78 percent of those polled expressed misgivings as to the existence of willingness to eradicate corruption in Serbia, a full 13 percentage points more than in the preceding survey, performed in July 2014. Reasons for increasing suspicion amongst the public should be sought in their growing impatience for numerous cases of corruption to finally be resolved in court.

## 8. Perceptions of corruption by sector

The two latest research cycles – the July 2014 poll and this survey – have revealed an encouraging and significant decline in how institutional corruption is perceived by the public. See Chart 12.

Chart 12 – Institutions with corruption perception levels exceeding 50 percent



Although the percentage of respondents who question institutional capacity is very high, it should be noted that this is nonetheless lower than in the previous cycle, and especially so in comparison with the findings recorded two years ago (December 2013).

Some institutions viewed by the public as traditionally prone to corruption have seen improvements, some of them notable (such as with healthcare and law enforcement) and others minimal (political parties, customs administration, local authorities). Although these changes for the better are limited in scope, one should keep in mind that this is the second research cycle in a row that such progress has been recorded, which may constitute a trend that these institutions could make use of and so change public perceptions of their performance.

*A total of 70 percent of those polled still see political parties as corrupt; 59 percent of all respondents feel the same about healthcare. Notwithstanding major progress, the Serbian public continues to view the healthcare system as the second most corrupt sector.*

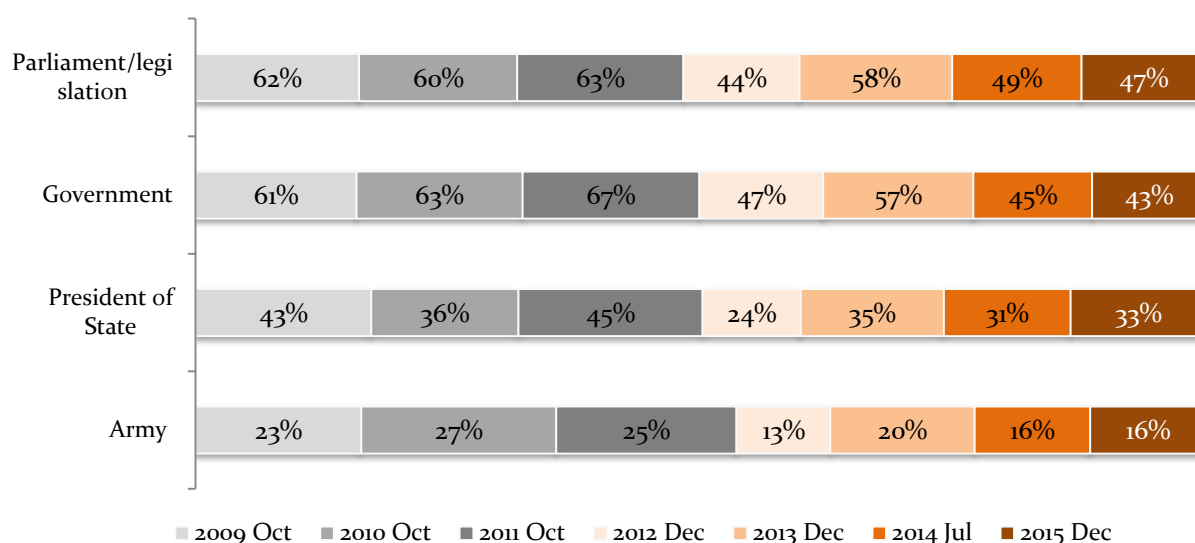
The perceived extent of corruption in healthcare has decreased by as many as 11 percentage points, although the number of respondents who claim to have bribed a doctor in the three months prior to the survey has grown by nine percentage points. Fewer and fewer respondents mistrust local governments: this figure now stands at 45



percent. Relative to December 2013, the number of those polled who believe municipal authorities are corrupt has gone down by as much as 14 percentage points. This is the second research cycle in a row where the percentage of respondents who perceive local authorities as corrupt is lower than 50 percent.

We have been able to capture improvements with most other key institutions as well; see Chart 13.

Chart 13 – Perceived extent of corruption in key state institutions



This poll has seen the best results for the Government of Serbia since the research project began in 2009. Slightly more than two-fifths of those polled (43 percent) believe the Government is corrupt. Although still a major cause for concern, this finding nevertheless constitutes a two-percentage-point improvement over the next most favourable finding, recorded in July 2014.

In addition to the Government, the National Assembly has also made progress relative to the summer of 2014. The percentage of respondents convinced that there is corruption in the legislature stands at 47 percent – close to this institution’s best result, seen in December 2012, when 44 percent of those polled felt the Serbian Parliament was corrupt.

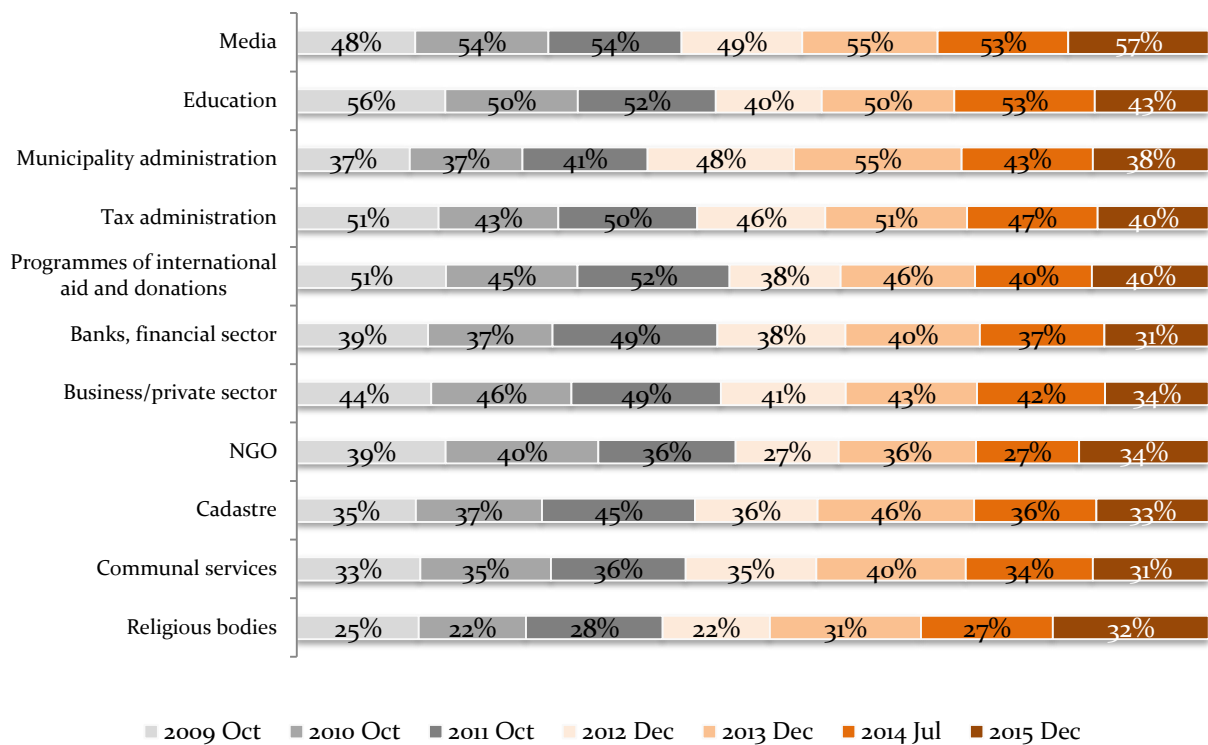
One-third of those polled (33 percent) believe the President is corrupt. This is an increase of two percentage points relative to the last survey, and places this institution in the group of those whose results have deteriorated slightly.

The President, together with the armed forces, traditionally above public suspicion, is one of the institutions viewed as potentially corrupt by the fewest respondents.

*At this point, 16 percent of those polled believe there is corruption in the armed forces, a result quite similar to that recorded in July 2014 and the second highest since research into perceptions of corruption first began in Serbia.*

In addition to the President, the institutions respondents feel are more corrupt now than in the last poll are the media (an increase from 53 to 57 percent), NGOs (27 to 34 percent), and religious organisations (27 to 32 percent).

Chart 14 – Perceived extent of corruption in other institutions



*An increasing percentage of respondents believe the media are corrupt. The latest results show 57 percent of those polled believe there is corruption in the media, the worst result since this research project began. Religious organisations have fared similarly, with 32 percent seeing them as corrupt, the worst finding since data were first collected in 2009.*

Encouragingly, the number of respondents who see educational institutions as corrupt has declined by ten percentage points relative to 2014 to its second lowest level since 2009. In addition, members of the public feel there has been progress (in terms of less

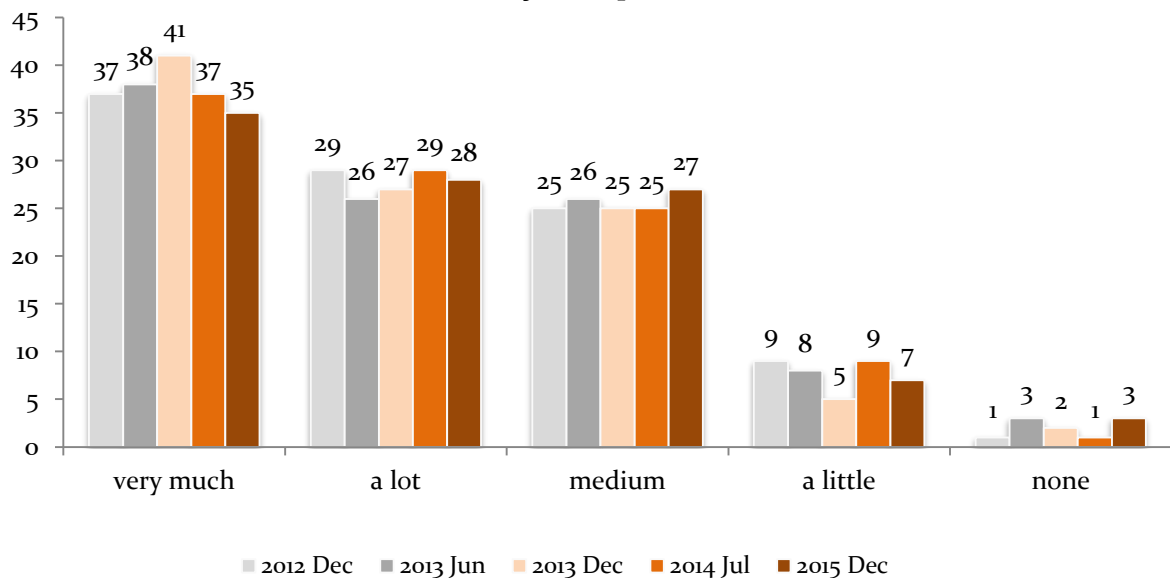
corruption) at tax authorities (a drop from 47 to 40 percent), local authorities and local administrations (43 to 38 percent), the banking sector (37 to 31 percent), and private businesses (42 to 34 percent).

### 8.1 Corruption by sector – Healthcare

Politics and healthcare are still considered the most corrupt areas of public life in Serbia. Although the percentage of respondents who feel the public health system is corrupt has declined by 11 percentage points relative to 2014 (see Chart 12), members of the public see healthcare, next to political parties, as the area that carries the highest risk of corruption.

*More than two-fifths (44 percent) of all cases of corruption seen over the three months prior to the survey originate in the healthcare sector. See Chart 5.*

Chart 15 – Perceived extent of corruption in healthcare (in%)



Interestingly, notwithstanding the greater incidence of bribery involving medical doctors in the past three months, the number of respondents who believe the extent of corruption in healthcare is ‘great’ or ‘very great’ has gone down somewhat; see Chart 15.

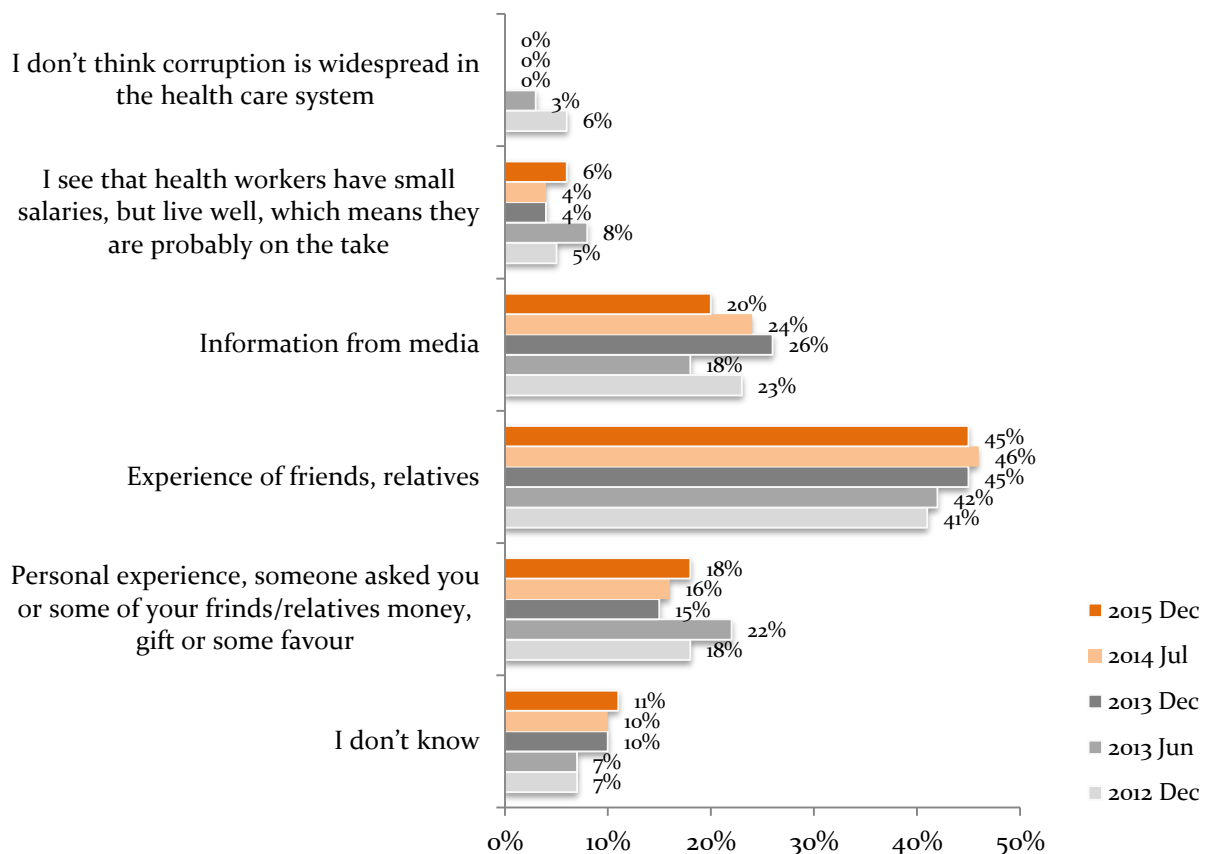
*Yet nearly two-thirds of those polled (63 percent) believe the extent of corruption in healthcare is ‘great’ (28 percent) or ‘very great’ (35 percent).*

We asked respondents to state, on a scale from 1 ('No corruption') to 5 ('Corruption is present to a very great extent'), whether and to what extent corruption was present in healthcare. One in ten of those polled believe corruption is present to a limited degree or completely absent, whilst slightly more than one-quarter (27 percent) feel that the Serbian public health system is 'moderately' corrupt.

The average score for corruption in healthcare, plotted on a scale from 1 to 5, remains a high 3.84, although this figure is lower than those seen in previous research cycles.

A particular cause for concern when it comes to perceived corruption in healthcare is the fact that respondents' views are based on their personal experiences and those of people close to them, such as family members and friends. See Chart 16.

Chart 16 – Why do you believe corruption in healthcare is widespread in Serbia?



Slightly fewer than one-fifth of those polled (18 percent) claim that personal experience has taught them there was corruption in the public health service, whilst 45 percent of those polled receive information about this issue from friends and family members.

The media play a much more limited role in providing information to the public about corruption in the public health service than is the case with incidents of corruption in other areas. As few as one-fifth of those polled (20 percent) obtain information about corruption in healthcare through the media. Table 2 shows to what extent respondents agree with statements about corruption in healthcare and its various forms.

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

Healthcare	Cycle	DNK / No response	Agree	Partially agree	Partially disagree	Disagree
Drinks, coffee, or sweets given as gifts to doctors or nurses are not bribes, these are just tokens of affection for people who do us favours and help us	Dec '12	5	36	23	15	21
	Jun '13	4	40	19	19	19
	Dec '13	5	37	21	19	19
	Jul '14	5	36	26	13	20
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>
Bribery and corruption are the cancer eating away at our healthcare system	Dec '12	6	57	23	7	7
	Jun '13	6	57	20	11	7
	Dec '13	4	59	22	11	5
	Jul '14	5	57	23	9	6
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>
If you want to jump the queue, it is normal to give something to the person who helped you	Dec '12	5	19	20	18	37
	Jun '13	6	24	19	19	32
	Dec '13	7	23	22	22	27
	Jul '14	5	23	23	15	34
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>30</b>
It is not fair to justify corruption by citing low salaries in healthcare	Dec '12	6	59	18	10	7
	Jun '13	6	69	14	5	6
	Dec '13	6	62	16	9	7
	Jul '14	6	64	15	8	7
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>
There would be no corruption in healthcare if patients did not offer doctors and nurses bribes	Dec '12	6	24	23	20	27
	Jun '13	8	25	20	20	27
	Dec '13	7	29	19	19	27
	Jul '14	8	27	18	21	26
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>25</b>
There should be a ban on giving anything to doctors and nurses, even including petty gifts (drinks, coffee, sweets)	Dec '12	5	38	22	14	21
	Jun '13	7	34	15	14	29
	Dec '13	7	37	18	17	22
	Jul '14	6	40	15	15	24
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>26</b>

The findings shown in this table have not seen major changes from one cycle to the next. Members of the public generally condemn corruption in the public health system and believe these phenomena are the ‘cancer eating away at our healthcare system’. Most respondents (79 percent) also agree that low salaries of healthcare staff should not be invoked as justification for corruption in healthcare

Interestingly, however, in spite of their rigid stance on corruption, one-half of those polled support rewarding someone willing to help them skip the queue. Respondents are divided between those who do not see petty gifts such as drinks, coffee, sweets, etc. as corruption (66 percent), and those who feel healthcare providers should not be allowed to receive any presents, even small tokens of gratitude.

It is also noteworthy that both these groups of respondents have, from one cycle to the next, consistently been growing more rigid in their support or opposition to informal rewards. This finding can be explained by the fact that many respondents generally set against the idea of giving healthcare providers gifts of sweets or drinks have in practice succumbed (or would succumb) to patterns of behaviour usual among the population of Serbia.

*Table 3 – Perceived extent of corruption amongst Serbian healthcare providers*

To what extent are these professions corrupt	Cycle	DNK / No response	None	Slight	Moderate	Great	Very great
Nurses	Dec '12	7	15	24	27	15	12
	Jun '13	5	12	27	27	15	14
	Dec '13	8	12	23	25	16	16
	Jul '14	9	14	21	26	14	16
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>
Hospital administrative staff	Dec '12	13	20	23	21	12	10
	Jun '13	13	23	22	20	12	10
	Dec '13	13	17	23	19	16	12
	Jul '14	16	14	21	25	12	12
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>
Doctors	Dec '12	5	4	7	19	29	36
	Jun '13	5	3	6	20	26	40
	Dec '13	6	2	9	16	22	46
	Jul '14	6	2	6	18	26	42
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>36</b>
Staff at National Health Insurance Fund offices	Dec '12	28	9	8	18	19	18
	Jun '13	27	9	5	21	18	20
	Dec '13	26	5	9	18	18	23
	Jul '14	28	6	9	18	20	19
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>22</b>

As for the perceived extent of corruption amongst healthcare providers, there has been no major change relative to previous research cycles: doctors are still seen as the most corrupt parts of the system; see Table 3. Yet, in the latest poll, nearly all professions in the healthcare sector have seen more favourable results, with some even recording the best findings since the corruption perception survey began.

*Members of the public feel doctors are the primary agents of corruption in the public healthcare system, although this poll has found a record low percentage of respondents who see corruption amongst doctors as ‘great’ or ‘very great’.*

The public continue to believe that nurses and administrative staff are less corrupt than doctors and Health Insurance Fund employees. Corruption amongst nurses is perceived as ‘great’ or ‘very great’ by slightly more than one-fifth of those polled (22 percent), a decline of as much as eight percentage points relative to 2014, and the best result since 2009. This poll has also recorded the best findings for administrative staff since records began in 2009: one-fifth of all respondents believe these are corrupt to a large extent, a drop of four percentage points on July 2014.

Progress, reflected in lower perceived corruption, is also in evidence when healthcare institutions are considered; see Table 4. All institutions examined for integrity in this survey have obtained better results in comparison with previous research cycles. Although percentages of respondents who perceive corruption remain significant, gradual progress relative to earlier findings is certainly encouraging.

Perceived corruption at healthcare institutions is linked to the service provided by each particular institution. The more complex the medical care provided or procedure offered, the more corrupt the institution will seem to the average member of the public.

*Primary healthcare provided by outpatient clinics is seen as the least corrupt medical service. Clinics are considered corrupt by fewer than one-fifth of those polled (18 percent), with 11 percent seeing corruption there as ‘great’, and another 7 percent believing it to be ‘very great’. Rehabilitation centres are perceived as corrupt by slightly under one-third of those polled (30 percent), a drop of one percentage point on 2014.*

*This is the best finding for both of these sets of institutions since this research first began.*

Table 4 – Perceived extent of corruption in healthcare institutions

Institution	Cycle	DNK / No response	None	Slight	Moderate	Great	Very great
Outpatient clinic	Dec '12	6	15	32	26	13	8
	Jun '13	6	16	28	25	13	12
	Dec '13	11	12	27	17	18	15
	Jul '14	11	12	25	25	14	13
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>
General hospital	Dec '12	10	5	15	26	25	18
	Jun '13	8	6	17	26	24	18
	Dec '13	11	5	15	24	20	26
	Jul '14	11	5	12	27	23	22
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14</b>
Clinical hospital centre	Dec '12	15	4	9	20	26	25
	Jun '13	16	3	9	23	22	27
	Dec '13	23	4	8	18	22	26
	Jul '14	18	3	7	23	23	26
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>21</b>
Clinical centre	Dec '12	15	5	9	22	26	23
	Jun '13	16	3	9	20	26	26
	Dec '13	23	4	7	17	22	28
	Jul '14	18	4	6	22	23	27
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>24</b>
Rehabilitation centre (spa, recovery facility, etc.)	Dec '12	23	7	13	26	19	13
	Jun '13	25	7	13	24	18	13
	Dec '13	29	8	9	20	16	18
	Jul '14	31	5	12	21	14	17
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>

Although lower than previously, perceived corruption is still at its most pronounced at institutions such as clinical hospital centres, clinical centres, and general hospitals.

At the same time, the procedures available at these facilities are seen as requiring the greatest bribes; see Table 5.

*Healthcare services seen as the 'most expensive' are being hospitalised (at EUR 180), having an operation (EUR 440), having an operation done without being placed on a waiting list (EUR 646), and having sick leave extended by a medical panel (EUR 202).*

The estimated bribe needed to have laboratory work done has increased somewhat relative to the last survey, whilst being seen by a specialist is perceived as requiring a slightly lower bribe than 18 months ago.



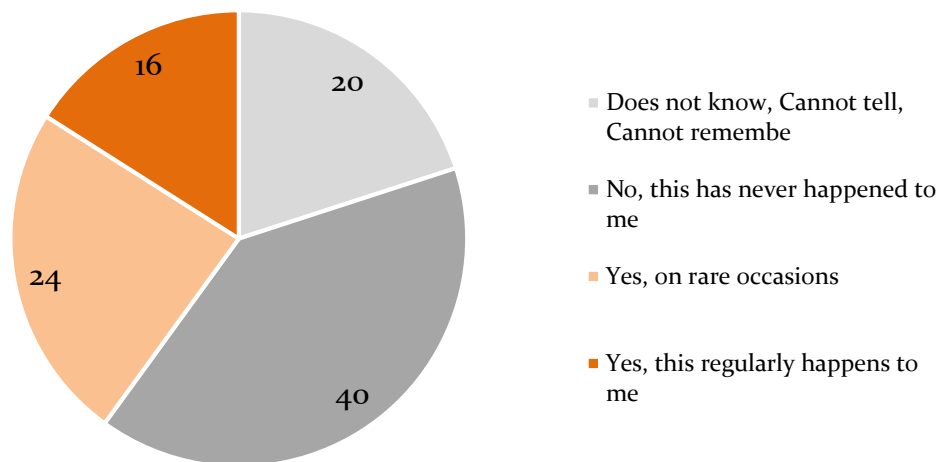
Although respondents believe some procedures now require a larger bribe, it should be underlined that fewer of them believe a bribe is actually needed for more complicated procedures.

Table 5 – Do you need a bribe to...?

Do you need a bribe to...?	Cycle	DNK / No response	No	Yes	Average bribe (EUR)
Be seen by a GP	Dec '12	31	63	6	54
	Jun '13	23	73	4	32
	Dec '13	32	60	8	48
	Jul '14	37	54	9	30
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>40</b>
Get laboratory work done	Dec '12	32	64	4	55
	Jun '13	25	70	5	36
	Dec '13	34	58	8	50
	Jul '14	39	53	8	36
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>79</b>
Be seen by a specialist	Dec '12	37	38	25	114
	Jun '13	28	44	28	79
	Dec '13	39	36	25	84
	Jul '14	42	29	29	91
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>86</b>
Be hospitalised	Dec '12	44	29	27	154
	Jun '13	37	32	31	144
	Dec '13	46	28	26	162
	Jul '14	50	19	31	163
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>180</b>
Have an operation done	Dec '12	37	16	48	438
	Jun '13	29	22	49	380
	Dec '13	39	19	42	431
	Jul '14	41	12	47	412
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>440</b>
Have an operation done without waiting	Dec '12	37	9	55	704
	Jun '13	34	8	58	549
	Dec '13	43	5	52	653
	Jul '14	43	6	51	762
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>646</b>
Have sick leave extended by a medical panel	Dec '12	60	18	22	226
	Jun '13	59	18	23	164
	Dec '13	65	15	20	189
	Jul '14	64	14	22	258
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>202</b>

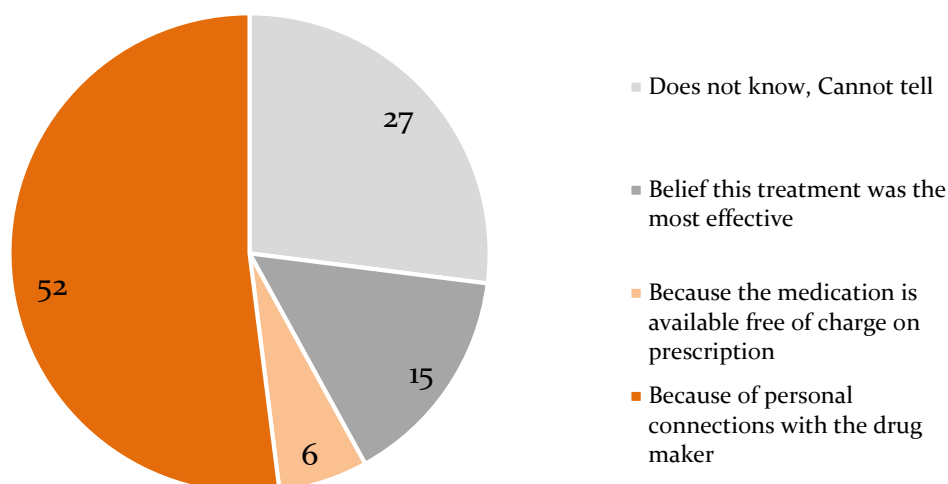
A form of corruption highlighted by respondents is the relationship between doctors and pharmaceuticals firms; see Charts 17 and 18. When visiting a doctor, two-fifths of those polled found themselves being recommended medications produced by a particular company active in the Serbian market.

*Chart 17 – In prescribing a course of therapy, has a doctor ever recommended or indicated preference for medications produced by a particular pharmaceuticals company? (in%)*



One-quarter of those polled (24 percent) reported that doctors rarely insisted on products made by a particular company, whilst 16 percent claimed this practice had become a regular occurrence.

*Chart 18 – Reasons why doctors may prefer particular medications (in%)*



Most respondents who have been recommended medications produced by a particular company feel this was due to the doctor's personal connections with the pharmaceuticals firm in question.

Fifteen percent of those who received recommendations as to which drugs to use believed this had been due to the effectiveness of the course of treatment indicated. One in twenty felt the key reason was the ability to obtain the drug free of charge on prescription.

More than one-half (52 percent) of all respondents who had been recommended a particular drug by their doctor believed the recommendation had been made because of personal interests of both the doctor and the drug maker, regardless of the results the treatment may have on the patient.

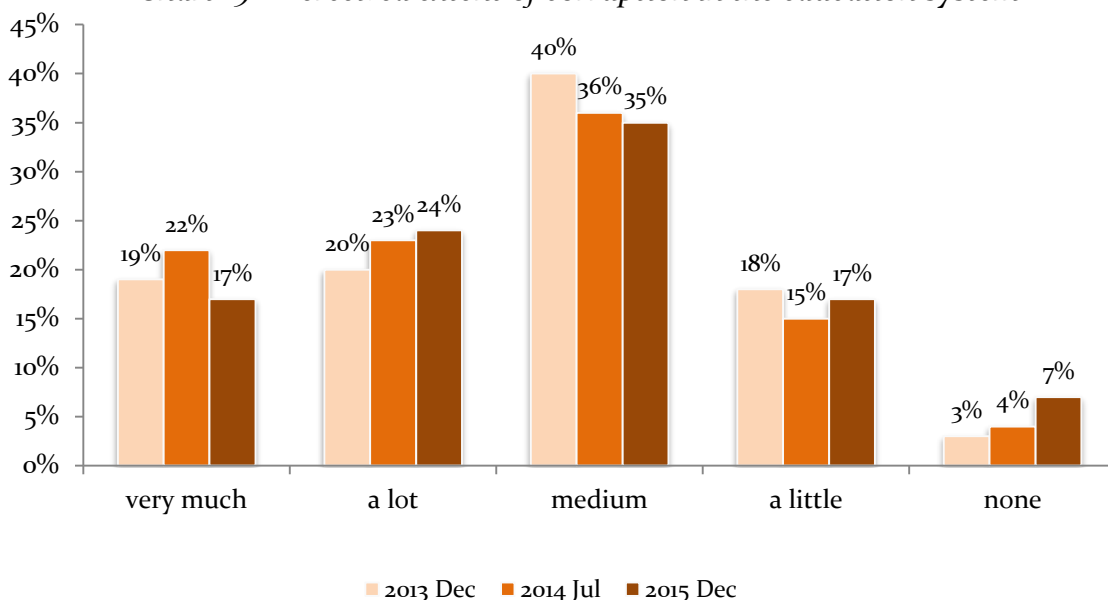
## 8.2 Corruption by sector – Education

The Serbian public feel there is much less corruption in the education system now than in 2014. When the latest poll’s findings are compared to results of the previous research cycle, a ten percentage point decrease becomes apparent in the number of respondents claiming that the education system is corrupt. Positive changes are also apparent in public perceptions of corruption in education plotted on a scale from 1 to 5.

We asked respondents to answer, on a scale from 1 (‘No corruption’) to 5 (‘Corruption is present to a great extent’), whether and to what extent corruption was present in the education system. The number of those polled who believe corruption was present in education to a very great extent has declined by four percentage points; whilst a five-percentage-point increase has occurred in the percentage of respondents claiming there was little or no corruption in education.

*The latest poll found that slightly more than two-fifths of those polled (41 percent) feel that corruption is present in the Serbian education system to a ‘great’ or ‘very great’ extent.*

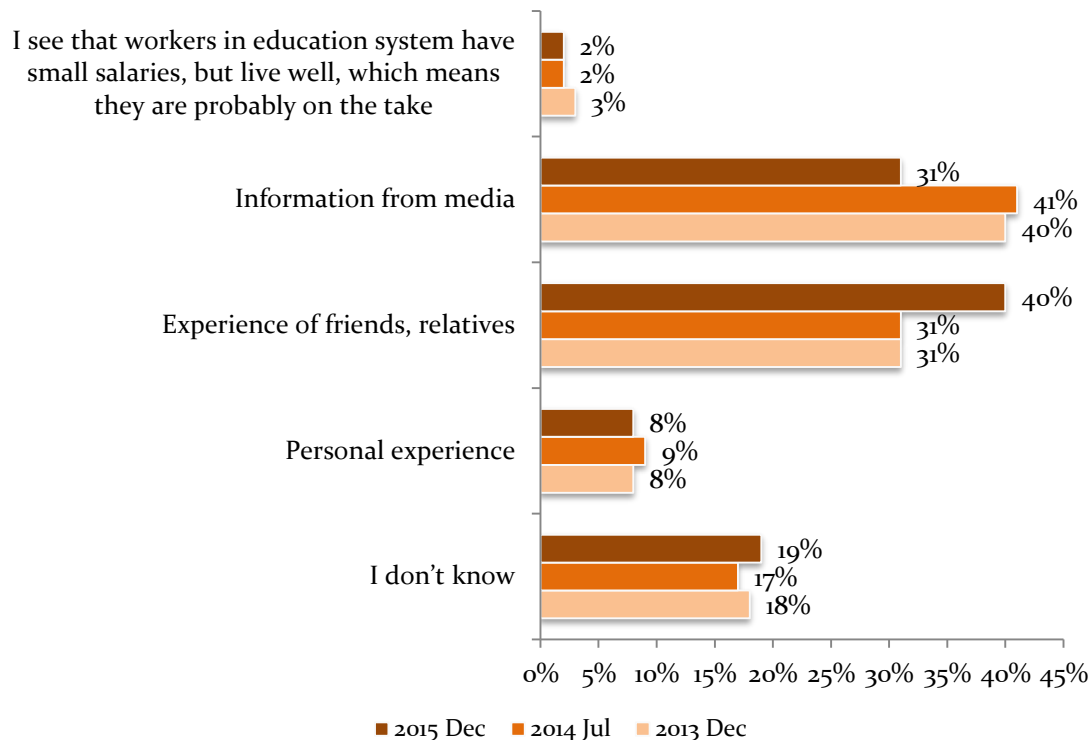
Chart 19 – Perceived extent of corruption in the education system



The average score for corruption in education, plotted on a scale from 1 to 5, stands at 3.27, somewhat lower than in the previous research cycle.

Respondents draw on personal experiences to inform their perceptions of corruption in the healthcare sector. The situation is somewhat different in education; see Chart 20.

Chart 20 – Why do you believe corruption in education is widespread in Serbia?



A mere eight percent of those polled claim personal experiences are their primary source of information about corruption in the education system. Most respondents (40 percent) claim to rely on family members, acquaintances, and friends who have had such experiences or are familiar with the phenomenon for indirect information about corrupt practices in education. Personal contacts have replaced the media as the main source of information about corruption in this sector.

Notwithstanding the perceived lower extent of corruption in education, the public still believe such practices have an exceptionally harmful effect on the future of Serbia's education system; see Table 6. A total of 70 percent of those polled blame lack of reforms and poor quality of the education system for its under-performance, whilst 62 percent feel corruption at all levels is the culprit for the poor state of the education system.

*Table 6 – To what extent do you agree with the following statements?*

Education	Cycle	DNK / No response	Agree	Partially agree	Partially disagree	Disagree
Poor performance of Serbia's education system is the consequence of systemic corruption at all levels	Dec '13	11	41	21	17	10
	Jul '14	12	39	27	14	8
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>
The problem with Serbia's education is not the people but an unreformed and underperforming system	Dec '13	11	46	25	11	8
	Jul '14	11	43	26	13	7
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>

Respondents believe that university and college professors and deans, as well as school headmasters, are the most prone to corruption; see Table 7.

*Table 7 – Perceived extent of corruption amongst Serbian education system staff*

Education	Cycle	DNK / No response	None	Slight	Moderate	Great	Very great
Primary school teachers (Grades 1 through 4)	Dec '13	15	37	27	12	4	5
	Jul '14	19	34	27	11	5	4
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
Primary school teachers (Grades 5 through 8)	Dec '13	15	26	30	17	7	5
	Jul '14	18	26	28	17	7	4
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>
Secondary school teachers	Dec '13	14	13	21	28	14	10
	Jul '14	19	12	19	28	13	9
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>
University/college professors	Dec '13	15	4	10	17	26	28
	Jul '14	20	4	7	17	26	26
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>21</b>
Ministry of Education staff	Dec '13	35	4	8	14	19	20
	Jul '14	34	4	7	15	18	22
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>
Headmasters of primary/secondary schools and deans of faculties/colleges	Dec '13	19	4	9	13	23	32
	Jul '14	22	3	6	16	19	34
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>30</b>

The fact that the education system is now seen as less corrupt is also reflected in the somewhat better respondent perception of senior faculty and managerial staff at universities and colleges, as well as headmasters of primary and secondary schools. Relative to the previous poll, there has been a four-percentage-point drop in the number of respondents who believe managers in education are corrupt, and a decline of six percentage points in the number of those polled who claim that corruption amongst university and college professors is 'great' or 'very great'.

The trend has continued whereby the average bribe increases in proportion to the level of education; see Table 8.

*Respondents perceive enrolling at the secondary school of one’s choice, enrolling at university, and passing examinations at university as activities offering the greatest scope for corruption.*

One-quarter of those polled (24 percent) feel that enrolling at the secondary school of one’s choice requires a bribe that is, on average, 60 euros greater than in 2014, and amounts to 274 euros.

A total of 29 percent of all respondents believe corruption is key to enrolling at university or college, as well as that the average amount needed to do so is 522 euros, slightly less than 18 months ago.

*Table 8 – Do you need a bribe to...?*

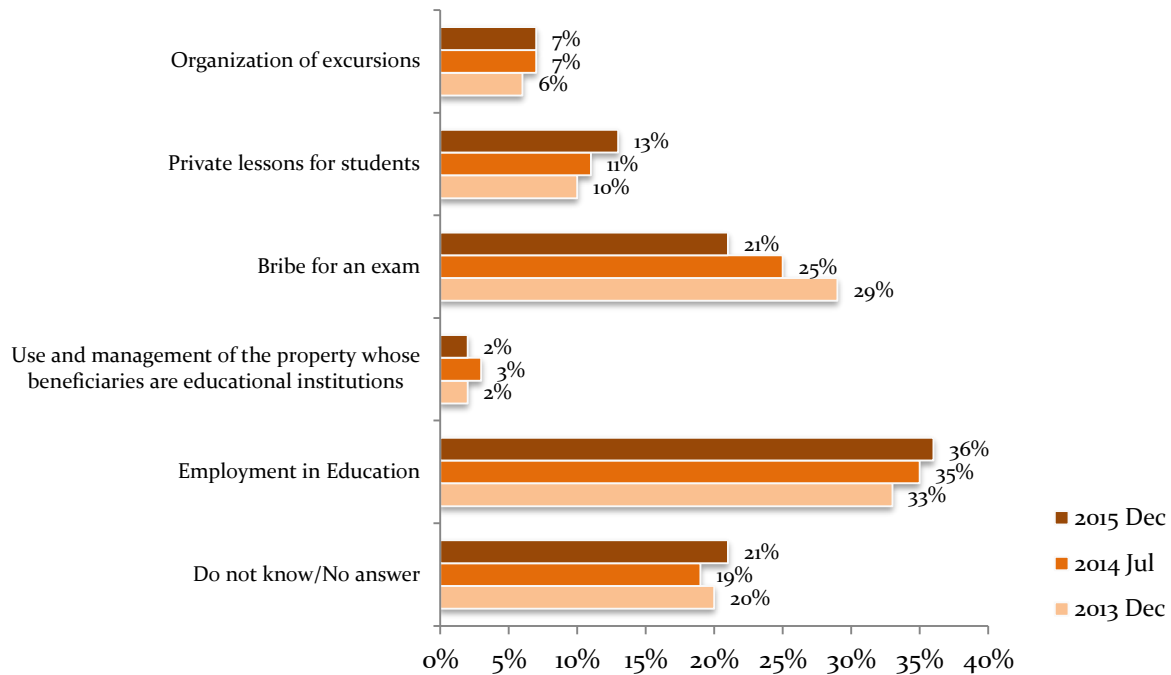
Do you need a bribe to...?	Cycle	DNK / No response	No	Yes	Average bribe (EUR)
Get better grades in primary and secondary school	Dec '13	54	30	16	100
	Jul '14	53	29	18	145
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>94</b>
Pass final examinations in primary and secondary school	Dec '13	57	32	11	156
	Jul '14	59	30	11	139
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>190</b>
Enrol at the secondary school of your choice	Dec '13	56	24	20	260
	Jul '14	57	22	21	215
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>274</b>
Enrol at college/university	Dec '13	60	17	23	563
	Jul '14	57	13	30	539
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>522</b>
Pass examinations at college/university	Dec '13	54	11	35	335
	Jul '14	54	8	38	296
	<b>Dec '15</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>304</b>

One-third of those polled (34 percent) also believe bribes can buy passing grades in university examinations. The average bribe needed to pass an examination is quite similar to that recorded in 2014, and amounts to slightly over 300 euros.

*Members of the public have the most misgivings about examinations at college and university: nearly two-fifths of them feel students can buy their way through exams. The average bribe required to pass an examination, according to respondents, amounts to slightly over **EUR 300**.*

Critical points with potential for corruption in the education system are: *getting a job in the education system* (cited by 36 percent of those polled), *grading students* (21 percent), and *asking students to take private lessons* (13 percent).

Chart 21 - Principal types of corruption in the education system (in%)



Corrupt practices related to employment in the education system are nothing new; ever since this research project began, respondents have been citing this area as a potential avenue for corruption. Interestingly, each successive cycle has found an increase in the percentage of respondents who feel corruption in education was at its most widespread when it came to finding employment in the system; the cause of this is the growing joblessness in Serbia.

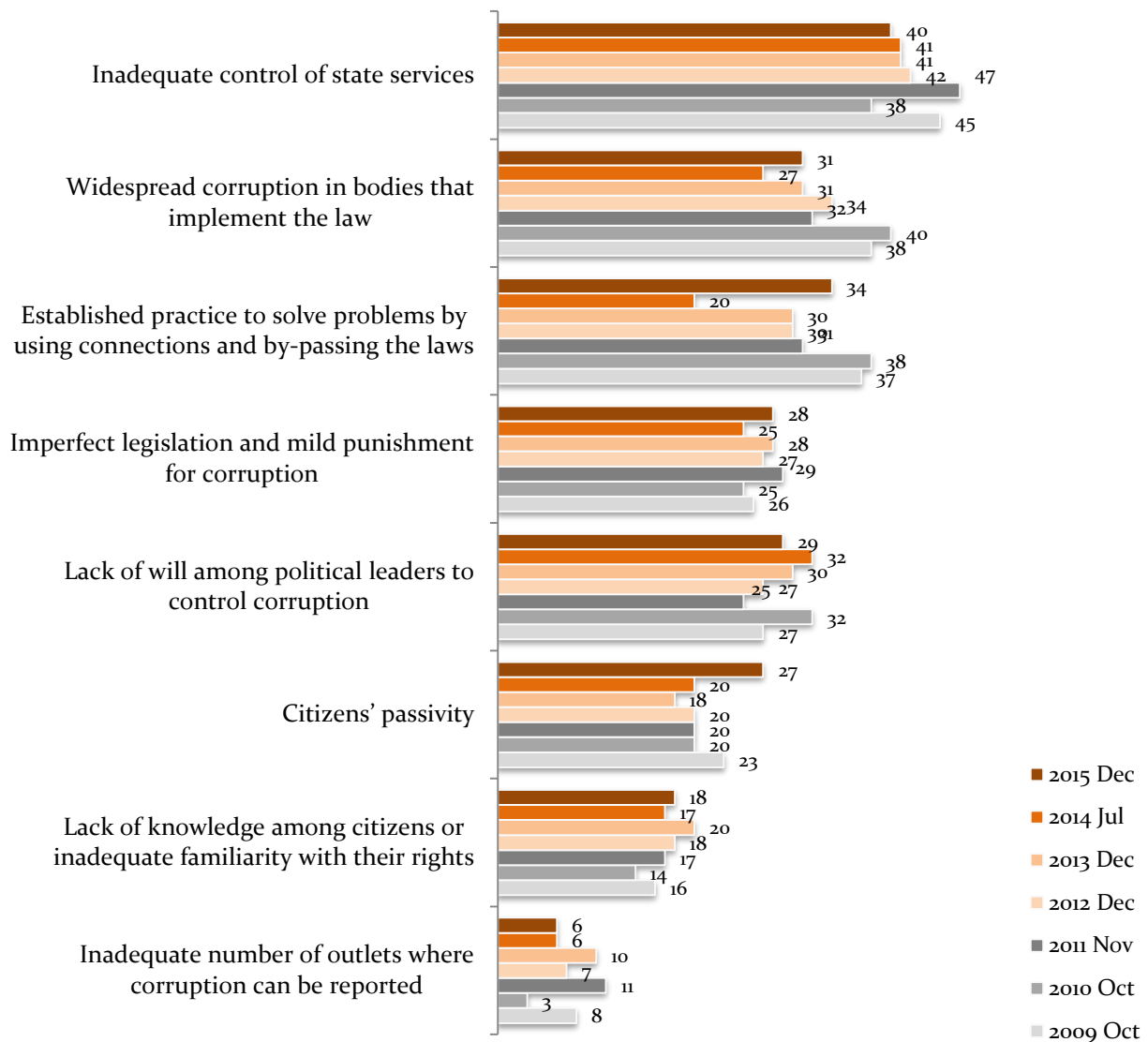
On the other hand, fewer respondents believe there is corruption in the form of bribes given in return for passing an examination or getting better grades in primary or secondary school (a drop from 25 to 21 percent). There has been a corresponding increase in the number of those polled who complain about teachers attempting to make money on the side by offering private tuition in spite of being paid to teach children at school (an increase from 11 to 13 percent).



## 9. Efforts to address corruption

For efforts to tackle corruption in Serbia to be successful, a set of problems must be resolved. These include inadequate oversight of government services; the practice of solving problems by bypassing regulations; and the need to eliminate corruption from within law enforcement bodies; see Chart 22.

Chart 22 – Issues hampering efforts to address corruption in Serbia (in%)



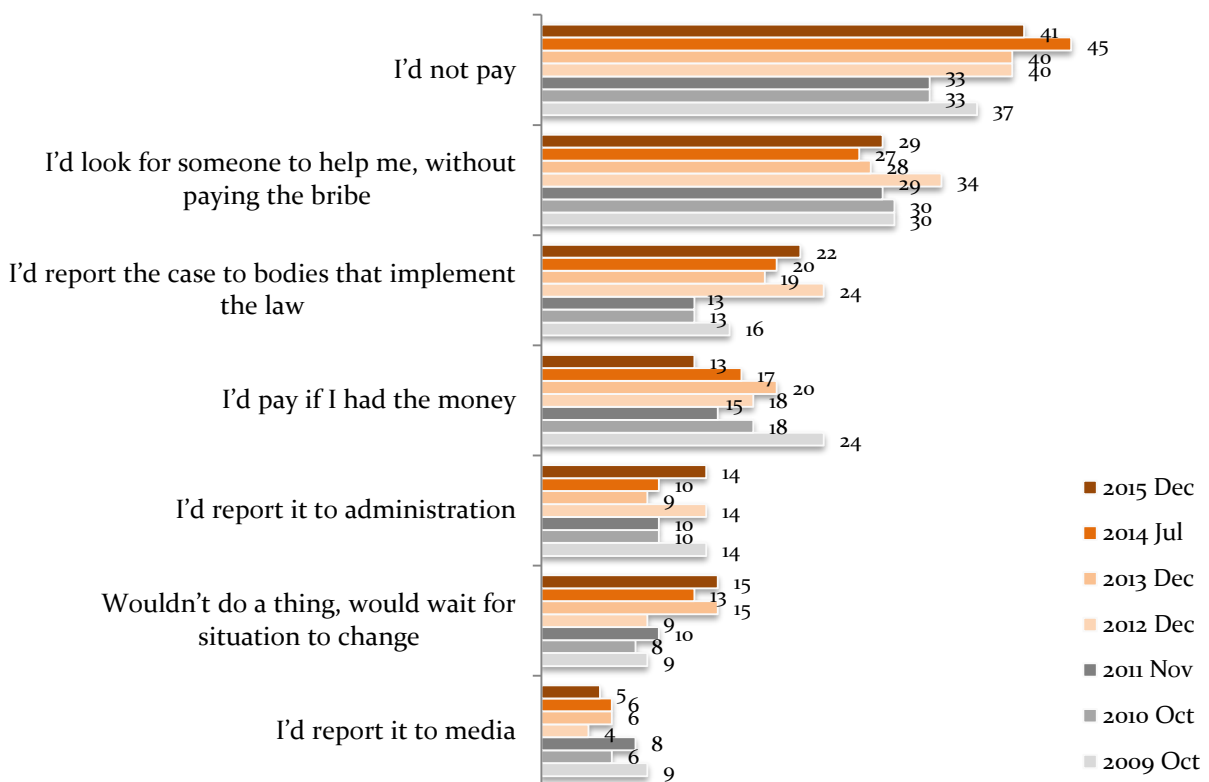
Respondents believe that government bodies themselves are responsible for a fair number of problems hindering anti-corruption efforts. Two-fifths of those polled (40 percent) see inadequate control of government services as the principal issue adversely affecting the anti-corruption drive. In addition, 31 percent of all respondents believe law enforcement bodies are themselves corrupt, whilst another 29 percent of those polled feel that political leaders are not ready to curb the spread of corrupt behaviour.

Apart from the lack of willingness on the part of government bodies to deal with corruption, the findings of this poll have also revealed an increase in the number of respondents who believe it has become commonplace to resolve problems outside of institutions and by sidestepping regulations.

In the July 2014 survey one-fifth of those polled felt that the practice of addressing problems outside of institutions and by circumventing regulations was a key obstacle to tackling corruption. By comparison, in the 2015 research the number of those who agree with this statement has risen by as much as 14 percentage points.

A significantly greater percentage of respondents, relative to previous surveys, feel that lack of public engagement is one of the reasons why efforts to tackle corruption have not been as successful as expected. Insufficient public engagement was cited by 27 percent of those polled in this cycle, an increase of seven percentage points on 2014 and the highest percentage since this research project began.

Chart 23 – If someone were to ask you personally for a bribe, what would you do? (in%)



Ever since December 2012, when we first recorded a shift in how Serbian citizens perceived corruption and the government's stance towards it, a trend has been in evidence whereby more than two-fifths of those polled claim they would not pay if

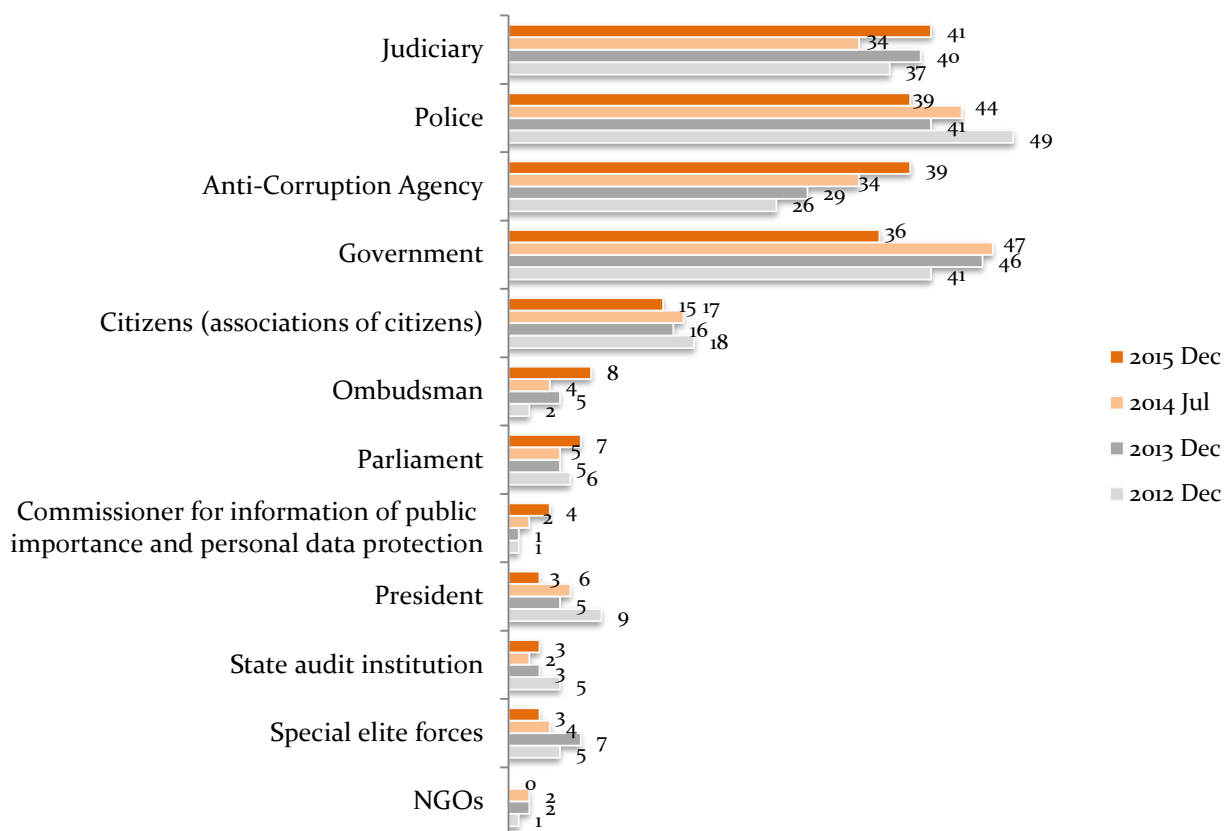
asked for a bribe; see Chart 23. Although this number is now four percentage points lower relative to July 2014, the result is still very good and is completely in line with the findings of the last four research cycles.

This poll has also revealed a decline in the percentage of respondents who say they would give a bribe if they had the money. One-fifth of those polled admitted to being prepared to give a bribe in December 2013; this percentage first fell by three percentage points by 2014, only to decline further to a mere 13 percent in the latest poll.

*Low public confidence in the media – seen as corrupt by as many as 57 percent of all respondents– means that few of those polled would be ready to report any corruption to a media outlet.*

Serbia’s efforts against corruption should be headed by the judiciary, with support from law enforcement and the Anti-Corruption Agency; see Chart 24.

Chart 24 – Main stakeholders in efforts to tackle corruption (in%)



A total of 41 percent of those polled feel the judiciary should be at the forefront of this endeavour, whilst 39 percent each see the police and the Anti-Corruption Agency as the chief stakeholder.

The percentage of respondents who see the Government of Serbia as the key actor in efforts to tackle corruption has declined by as much as 11 percentage points.

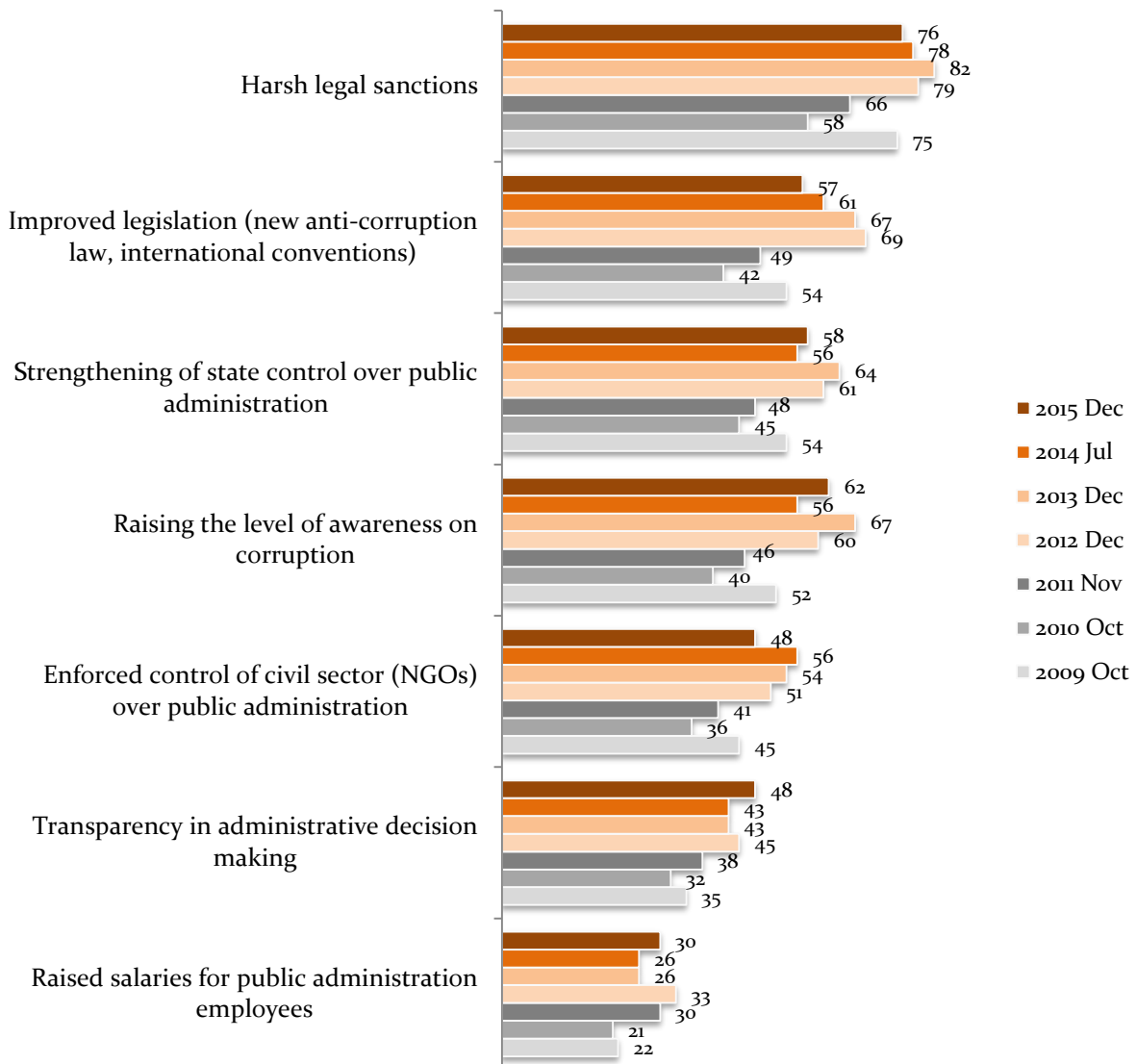
The Government, for the last three cycles the clear favourite of the public, has now been relegated to fourth place, with 36 percent of those polled believing it should lead the fight against corruption. There are multiple reasons that may lie behind this change in public perception, including: a) members of the public generally lack confidence in political parties, and this mistrust taints their perception of authorities established by those very same parties; b) the public believe the Government of Serbia is overextended and unable to fully focus on dealing with corruption, which is why this effort must be the responsibility of institutions especially tasked with these issues; and c) members of the public expect corruption cases initiated at the Government's insistence to finally be resolved in court before they are convinced of the authorities' willingness and desire to truly stand up to this menace.

Conversely, increasing numbers of respondents believe the Ombudsman may potentially lead anti-corruption efforts. Eight percent of those polled see this institution as a likely leader in this regard; this is an increase of four percentage points compared to the last survey. On the other hand, a mere three percent see the President as a potential leader of anti-corruption activities, half as many as in July 2014.

Strict statutory measures and sanctions must be applied to curb corruption: this view is backed by 76 percent of those polled, whilst 57 percent believe that existing regulations should continuously be updated and adjusted to reflect the changing situation in Serbia.

Relative to the last research cycle, there has been an increase of six percentage points in the number of respondents who claim greater public awareness could contribute to tackling corruption, whilst, on the other hand, a drop has occurred in the number of those in favour of greater civil sector oversight of public administration (from 56 to 48 percent; see Chart 25).

Chart 25 – Tactics to address corruption (in%)



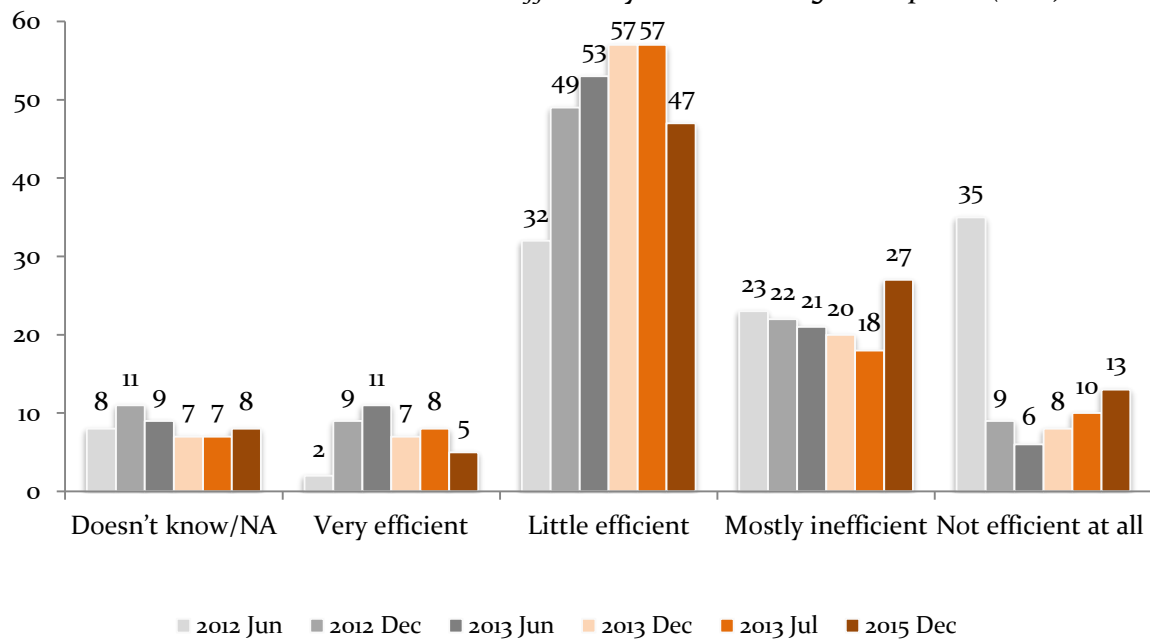
This year’s poll has also seen a historic high (at 48 percent), since the surveys first began in 2009, in the number of respondents who believe transparency in enacting and implementing administrative decisions could contribute to effectiveness of efforts to address corruption.

Somewhat fewer respondents believe corruption has decreased over the past year. There are also fewer of those who maintain corruption will decrease in the coming year; in addition, fewer people believe the Government should lead the anti-corruption drive. Given the above trends, the finding that respondents are less satisfied with the Government’s efficiency in addressing corruption does not come as much of a surprise; see Chart 26.

*Thirteen percent of those polled feel that the Government is ‘completely inefficient’ in tackling corruption – the poorest showing since June 2012.*

When taken together with the 17 percent who believe the Government is mostly inefficient, the total comes to a significant 30 percent of all respondents who believe the Government should be more efficient at dealing with the issue of corruption.

*Chart 26 – Serbian Government’s efficiency in addressing corruption (in%)*

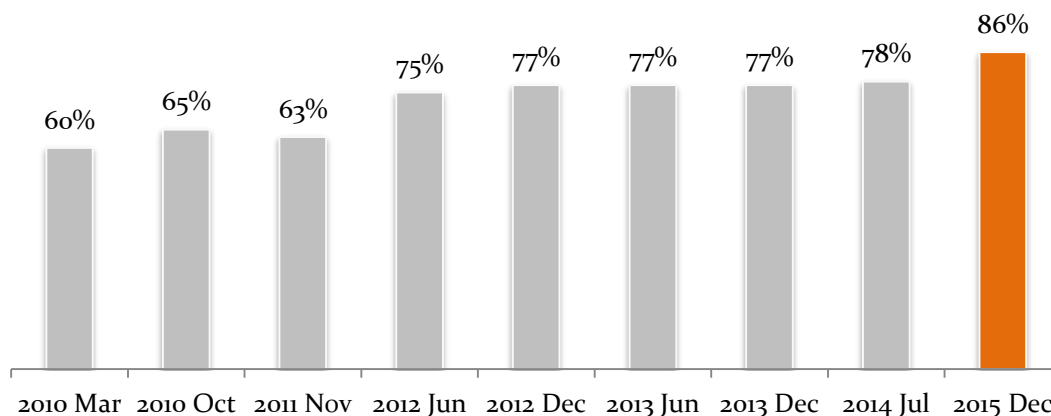


At the same time, there has been a decline in the number of respondents who maintain that the Government has been either ‘very efficient’ or ‘somewhat efficient’ in addressing corruption. These are again the poorest findings since December 2012.

## 10. Perceptions of the Anti-Corruption Agency

At this time 86 percent of those polled are familiar with what the Anti-Corruption Agency does; see Chart 27. The upward trend in the Agency’s visibility has been in evidence ever since December 2012 and has not changed much, but in this poll this watchdog’s recognisability has increased to whole new level.

Chart 27 – Visibility of the Anti-Corruption Agency

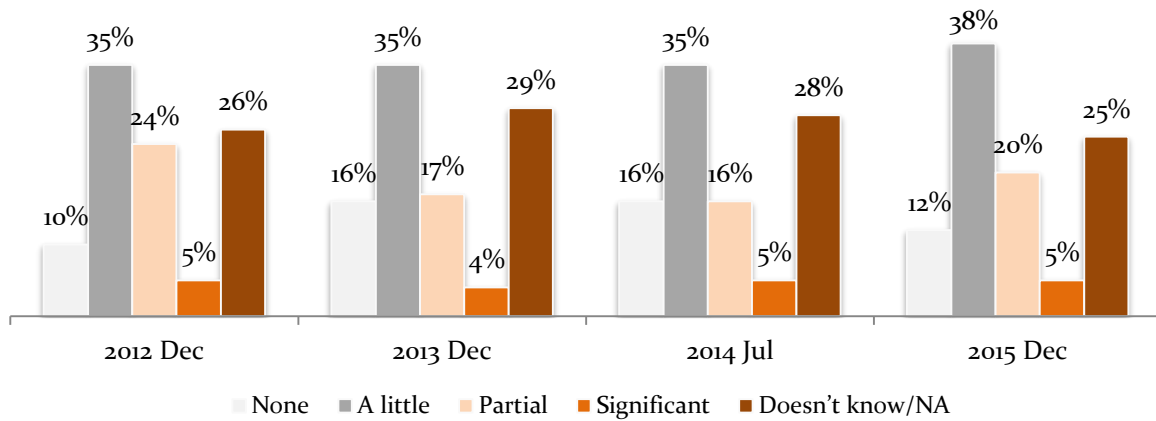


The 86 percent familiarity rating makes the Anti-Corruption Agency one of the most highly visible independent watchdogs. It is no longer an authority that comes into the public eye exclusively at election time, when it deals with campaign and political party finance issues; the public now follow the Agency’s actions and results throughout the year. It comes as no surprise, therefore, to see that two-fifths of those polled expect the Agency to lead the anti-corruption endeavour, with help from law enforcement bodies and the judiciary.

*The Anti-Corruption Agency’s greater visibility is not accompanied by any corresponding increase in public perceptions of its contribution to anti-corruption efforts.*

Findings used to assess the Agency’s contribution to tackling corruption in Serbia have not changed drastically relative to previous research cycles. Somewhat more than one-third of those polled maintain that the Agency has contributed little to the anti-corruption effort, whilst as few as one in twenty are convinced that this contribution has been significant; see Chart 28.

Chart 28 – The Anti-Corruption Agency’s contribution to efforts to address corruption



There has been a slight decline, relative to July 2014, in the percentage of respondents who believe that the Agency’s engagement has contributed nothing to preventing and addressing corruption in Serbia. The percentage of those polled who feel that the Anti-Corruption Agency has not contributed at all to preventing corruption has thus fallen from 16 percent to 12 percent, bringing the finding closer to the historic best recorded in December 2012.