



Anna Kubiak

Corruption in Everyday Experience

Report on Survey

The survey has been financed from the Ford Foundation Grant
and World Bank funds

Warsaw 2001

CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION – DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH	3
II.	COMMON DEFINITIONS OF CORRUPTION	3
III.	RESPONDENTS' OWN CORRUPTION EXPERIENCE.....	10
IV.	DESCRIPTION OF BRIBERY INTERACTION.....	16
	REASONS FOR GIVING BRIBES	16
	THE ADDRESSEES OF BRIBES.....	17
	THE PLACE OF GIVING BRIBES.....	17
	KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEED TO GIVE BRIBES.....	17
	THE BRIBE ITSELF AND ITS WORTH	17
	THE VALUE OF A "GIFT" AS A CRITERION OF BEING CONSIDERED A BRIBE	18
	THE MOMENT OF GIVING A BRIBE	19
	"PASSIVE" AND "POTENTIAL" BRIBERY	20
V.	EVALUATION OF CORRUPTION, ITS PUNISHMENT AND CAUSES	22
VI.	SUMMING UP.....	31
ANNEXES.....		32
	(I).....	32
	(II).....	34
	(III).....	35
	(IV).....	40
BIBLIOGRAPHY		41

I. INTRODUCTION – DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH

Corruption is present in the life of every society. However, it acquires particular significance in the legal, institutional aspect and in social perception during times of great political transformations. Such a period of change is currently being experienced by society in Poland.

Despite the fact that in the process of transformation of the economic and political system unquestionable success has been achieved, this does not yet mean that an efficient State has been built. Central as well as local government authority is generally perceived as inefficient, too politicized, and by the same set at attaining particular interests at the cost of the public interest. It functions with weak mechanisms of accountability of politicians and officials, which encourages corruption.

The change of ownership relations has made it possible to transfer immense state funds into the private sector. This has given rise to many opportunities to relatively quickly change the social status – by acquiring ownership and moving into the category of owners, which is linked with many temptations of bending or even breaking the law for the purpose of unjustified enrichment.

A significant portion of the economy still remains in the hands of the State or local government, which means that decisions of great material and vital significance for private entrepreneurs and the whole population remain within the competence of public officials.

The former state budget sphere, remaining unreformed to the end, continues to provide often deficit or low-standard services essential for the majority of citizens.

The first decade of the system transformation was also a period of low efficiency of legal protection and law enforcement bodies. The increased crime rate in various domains is accompanied by weaker effectiveness of action of the law enforcement bodies, frequent evasion of punishment in various criminal practices, including corruption practices.

The system transformation has also been a time of axiological chaos – disintegration or even erosion of hitherto functioning social norms, accompanied by a rise of aspirations and consumer attitudes that had been blocked by the decades of socialism, or developed by the new opportunities.

All these phenomena and processes have been conducive to the expansion and transformation of corruption, which had also been present in the previous political system.

II. COMMON DEFINITIONS OF CORRUPTION

Corruption is not a clear notion which is difficult to define, particularly in a viable way that could be useful in sociological empirical research. In the dictionary definition of this term attention is especially focused on the demoralizing character of corruption, i.e. inconsistent with the system of values adopted in society – corruption denotes decomposition, moral deterioration, the use of bribery practices [*Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1942: p. 256]. *Dictionary of the Polish Language* [1978: p. 1018] considers corruption to be "accepting or demanding material or personal gain by an employee of a state or public institution in exchange for the performance of a public office action or for infringing the law." In this definition the accent falls on the institutional-legal aspects of corruption.

But corruption consists of diverse actions as well as social situations and interpersonal relations. It is therefore difficult to describe its origin, forms of occurrence in cohesive, systematized academic statements [A. Kojder, 1995: p. 317].

One of the sociological theories referred to in the analyses of corruption is G.C. Homans' theory of exchange. In corruption, in corrupt transactions or interactions, we are always dealing with two sides: the "giver" and the "taker." The giver commands some goods that have value for individual takers. Goods that are more difficult to attain in a given society have to be paid a higher price than more common goods that are at the disposal of a greater number of givers, takers may pay less. "People who give a lot to others," writes Homans, "also try to receive a lot from them, while those who receive a lot from others are forced to give them a lot [...]. What is given by a person involved in the process of exchange may be a cost for him; what he receives – a reward..." [G.C. Homans 1975: p. 119]

Another theoretical perspective which is useful when defining corruption is describing it as an expression of social pathology, i.e. "a kind of behavior, type of institution or structure of a social system that remains in essential, irreconcilable contradiction to the general values, unacceptable in a given society." [A. Podgórecki, 1969: p. 24]. The most complete concept of pathological behavior, with a classification of its various forms, is that of R. Merton. In his considerations social pathology is defined on the basis of the concept of anomie, a situation in which people who are in it treat the surrounding social system with weakened respect for the fundamental social norms, feeling that these norms have lost their obligatory character. Anomie does not mean a lack of a norm or even lack of clarity in the understanding of these norms, but a situation in which the

acting entities, knowing the norms that are obligatory for them, are ambivalent towards these norms [R. Mertin 1982: p. 224].

Apart from the reference to the context of sociological theories, to explain the phenomenon of corruption more fully it also appears to be important to refer to the reasoning of jurists.

In law literature the following are named as elements of corruption:

- bribery
 - * accepting a bribe (venality) – passive bribery
 - * giving a bribe (graft) – active bribery
 - * intermediation in bribery
 - * provocation of bribery
- paid patronage
- nepotism
- blackmail
- embezzlement of public money [T. Chrustowski, 1985: p. 27].

Corruption, however, is not a term of legal vocabulary. Even though there are many regulations that are designed to prevent or combat corruption, these legal acts in themselves do not contain the concept of "corruption." Therefore there is no legal definition of it.

In writings we come across many ways of defining corruption, indicating for example: the areas where it occurs – official corruption, political, commercial corruption [A.Z. Kamiński, 1997: p. 4; J. Babiuch-Luxmoore, 1997; P. Palka, M. Reut, 1999], what corruption is a threat to [Łętowska E. 1997], how it is perceived by a given society – white, gray and black corruption. [E. Hankiss, 1986]

International institutions such as Transparency International or the World Bank, which deal with measuring the corruption level in various countries, in their research focus on the public sector and define corruption as the abuse of public office for private gain.

In research carried out within the Anticorruption Program and the Institute of Public Affairs, attempts were made to reach the common, spontaneous definitions of corruption and thus at the beginning of the interview the respondent was asked how he understands this definition. The statements were not too expanded, usually very laconically mentioning features, examples, names of behavior. These responses were arranged at first into 23 categories, and after an analysis of the edge distribution – into 8 more general categories (plus the category "hard to say") with the following frequency of occurrence in the surveyed group:

- 1) responses defining corruption generally, without additional explanations that it is bribery and graft – 30%;
- 2) responses accentuating first of all giving bribes, bribing – benefits, giving money, gifts – 26%;
- 3) responses accentuating that corruption is first of all taking bribes – forcing out benefits, receiving donations, money, gifts in exchange for doing one's job, taking care of a matter – 20%;
- 4) responses defining corruption as theft, larceny, fraud, economic abuse – 12%;
- 5) responses in general defining corruption as conduct against the law, dishonest, illicit, immoral – 11%;
- 6) responses linking corruption with various social and occupational categories: with officials, politicians, authority, the criminal world, the judiciary, doctors and health services, teachers – 9%;
- 7) responses defining corruption as favoritism, nepotism, i.e. staffing posts by family members and friends, taking care of matters through connections, backing, arrangements – 5%;
- 8) responses indicating that respondents do not know what corruption is and give this term an incorrect meaning – e.g. "corruption is a group of people in power," "when someone does something wrong in politics," "insolvency of workplaces," "cunning," "something wrong" – 5%;
- 9) responses "hard to say," "I don't know," "I don't understand what it is" – 17%.

(The responses do not add up to 100%, as these are open questions and responses of one person may be classified into several categories).

The greater majority of respondents identified corruption with bribery and graft. There was a large proportion of people who were unable to say what corruption means (22% altogether). Some of the responses "hard to say" may also mean an unwillingness to think it over or to give an answer. The percentage of responses showing lack of knowledge or difficulties with understanding this term vary in accordance with the social and demographic features of the respondents [detailed data are included in the Annex].

The numerical data show that most often the responses indicating misinterpretation of the word corruption or responses "hard to say" were given by:

- inhabitants of rural areas;
- farmers, old age and disability pensioners, the unemployed and unskilled workers;
- elderly persons;
- respondents with low educational attainment;
- low-income respondents;
- people who read the daily press rarely or not at all.

Corruption is therefore not a word generally known and understood. Especially recently the many references in the media concerning public life could suggest on the one hand the obviousness of this definition, and on the other – its ambiguity. For people who are not interested in political matters, corruption quite often is a word not understood.

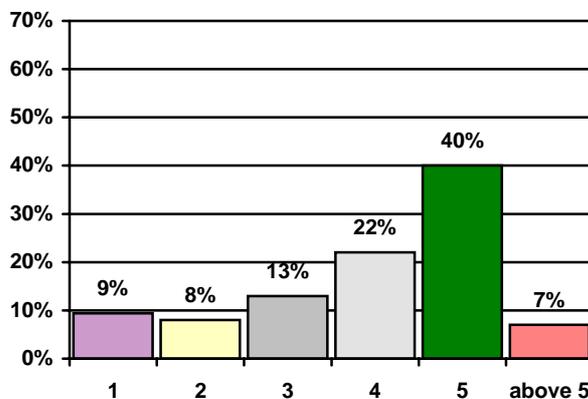
For full reconstruction of the public definition of corruption, a list of 10 statements was introduced which in earlier research had been checked as describing various dimensions and aspects of corruption. They concerned behavior in the public-political sphere, informal behavior from everyday life, as well as conflict of interests. The statements chosen describe behavior that may be evaluated inexplicitly, to determine which of these are considered to be an expression of corruption by them and which are not. The behavior described in the individual statements is not very spectacular – when building these statements there was intentional avoidance of "corruption fireworks." This has made it possible to identify various options in the definition of corruption by the respondents.

The respondents evaluated the type of behavior described in the statement according to a scale from 1 to 5¹, where 1 meant that the respondent does not consider the described example as corruption behavior, and 5 – that the respondent assesses the given statement as an example of decidedly corrupted behavior.

Below are the arrangements of responses (data in %).

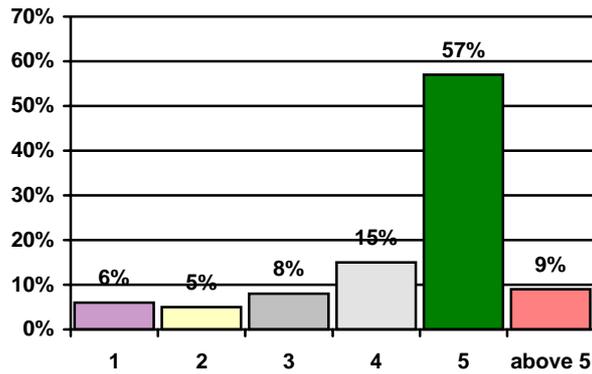
Statement 1.

1. **Accepting for work in a public office someone from the family or friends, when another unknown person was better qualified.**

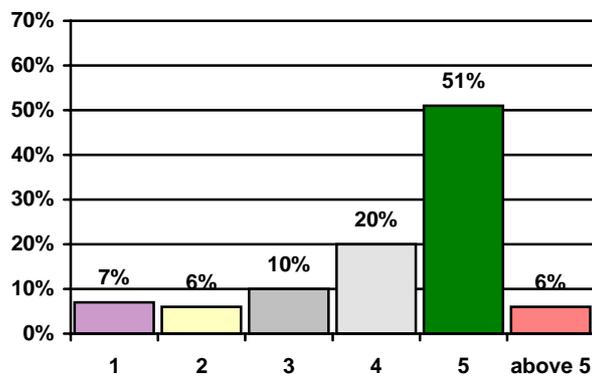


2. **Accepting by a politician money from a firm, enterprise, in exchange for conducting an election campaign, without disclosing this fact**

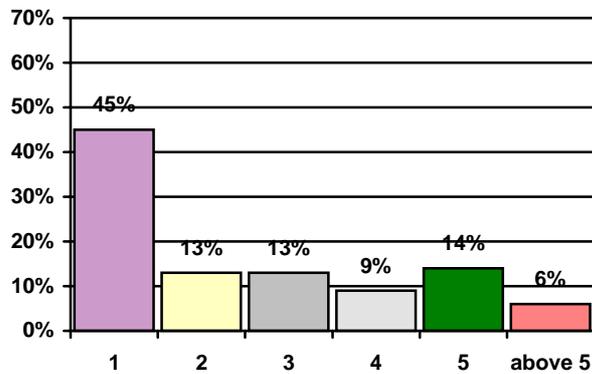
¹ There was also the response option "hard to say" but it was not read to the respondents.



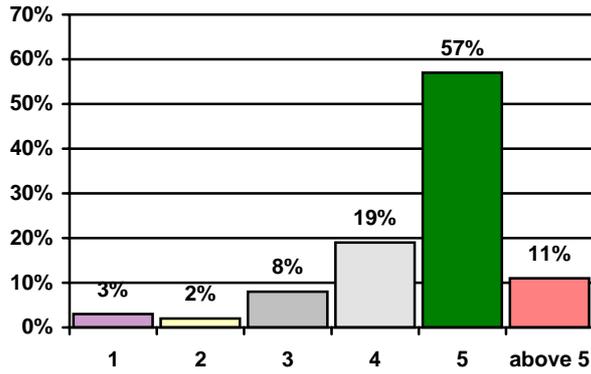
3. Resignation by a policeman from writing out a ticket for breaking regulations, when it turned out the driver was a teacher of the policeman's child



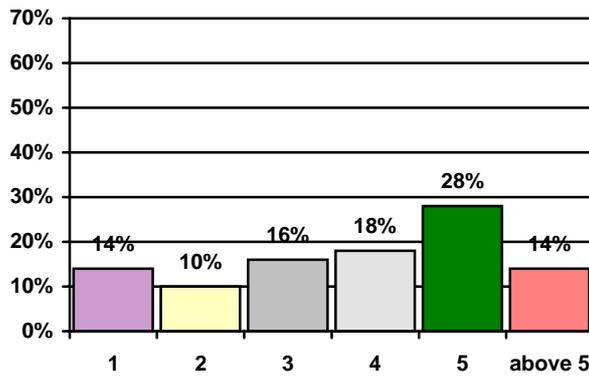
4. Accepting by a teacher a gift worth several hundred zlotys from the whole class after the end of the school year



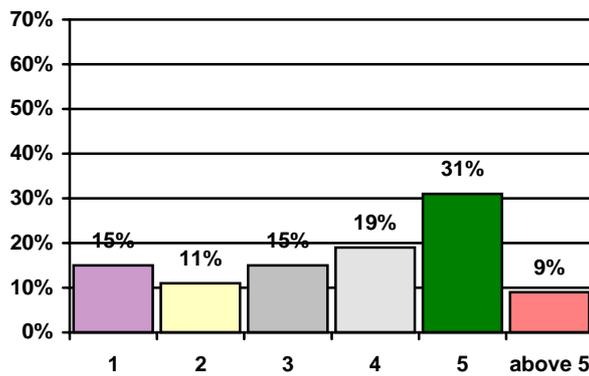
5. Staffing posts in private firms by colleagues, in exchange for transferring money of these firms for political parties



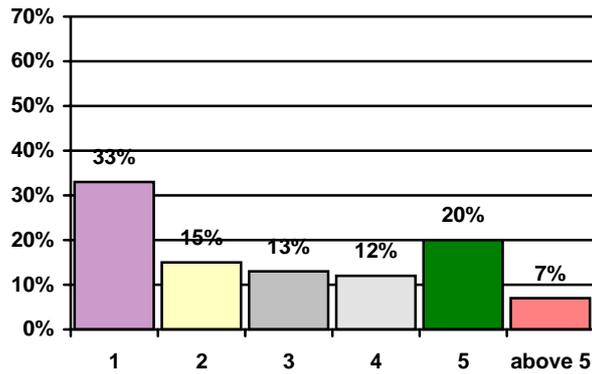
6. A reporter using a car of a company about which he then writes an article



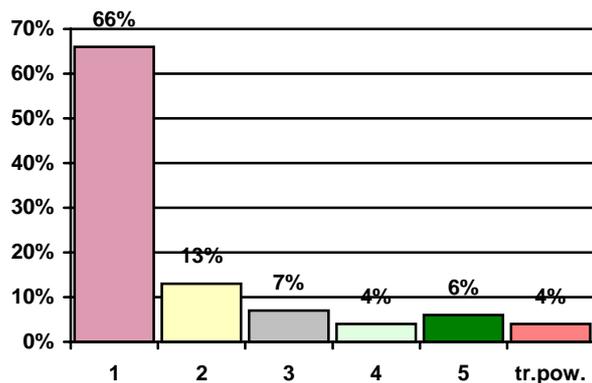
7. A teacher declaring at a PTA meeting that children will not manage without private tutoring, which can be provided either by him/herself or friends



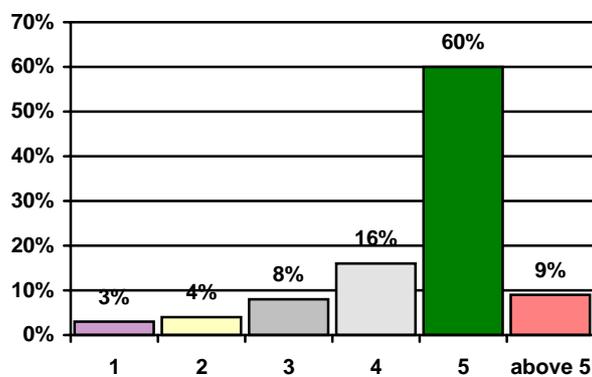
8. Offering beer to participants of fairs and pre-election meetings



9. A doctor accepting flowers, cognac or sweets after ending treatment



10. Awarding by officials public contracts financed from public money to family or friends running private firms



The arrangement of responses on a scale shows distinct differences in the definition of behavior described in the individual examples as corruption behavior. However, these common perceptions clearly refer to the definitions given by specialists. Wherever behavior related to the official public sphere is described – i.e. public offices, the activity of politicians, political parties, administering public goods – the decided majority of

respondents considered this to be corrupted (4 and 5 points on the scale). However, when there is reference to gratitude, small services, gifts, and potentially bribed persons (teacher, doctor) are treated not as state functionaries, but as persons providing services in specific circumstances – in "warmer" informal relations – then this behavior is much less frequently seen as strongly corrupted. A significant example is a gift for a doctor. For years in public opinion the health services have been described as an area where very frequently the basic element of corruption, bribery, occurs [A. Kubiak, 2000], but the respondents make a clear distinction between gratitude, acknowledgements for physicians and corruption. It is also possible to apply the interpretation that although the respondents consider such behavior to be a sign of corruption, they are more often ready to exculpate it.

The descriptions of behavior presented to the respondents concerned various aspects and types of corruption. On summing up the simultaneously coexisting responses that were most categorical² - i.e. descriptions of behavior that nearly or over half of the respondents considered to be decidedly corrupted – it turned out that only 16% of respondents consistently defined corruption in this way. A very small number, only 4 persons (0.4%) showed full compliance of responses on the other side of the scale – i.e. did not consider any of these practices as an example of corruption. The greater majority (84%) consisted of responses dispersed in the scale – i.e. the respondents themselves treat the examples of the individual behavior types as more or less corrupted. What other features, then, have an impact on the definition of the presented examples as being examples of corruption or not?

Representatives of various social groups differ in their emphasis of the various aspects of corruption. These were regarded as decidedly corrupted by respondents of the highest and lowest social status (in terms of educational attainment, income, occupational activity) – occupational and life experiences make their opinions more acute. Persons with the highest status are better informed, and usually more frequently personally encounter corruption (which is discussed further in this report). Persons of low social status have a stronger sense of alienation – the political and public office sphere may be perceived by them more intensely in the categories of "us-them."

For the individual types of behavior this looks as follows:

- protectionist acceptance for work (statement 1) – altogether 40%
 - * self-employed persons – 46%
 - * housewives – 46%
 - * persons with lowest income – 46%
 - * persons aged 55-64 – 46%

- acceptance of money by a politician for an election campaign (statement 2) – altogether 57%
 - * persons with higher education – 65%
 - * self-employed persons – 67%
 - * management staff – 64%
 - * persons with highest income (over zł.800 per person) – 64%
 - * housewives and unemployed persons – 65%
 - * persons aged 55-64 – 65%
 - * persons declaring a high interest in politics – 76%
 - * persons declaring a rightist political attitude – 77%
 - * persons reading newspapers every day – 66%

- protectionist awarding of contracts and procurement from public funds (statement 10) – altogether 60%
 - * persons with higher education – 72%
 - * intellectual workers – 70%
 - * persons aged 45-54 – 71%
 - * persons with highest income (over zł.800 per person) – 67%
 - * persons declaring a high interest in politics – 67%
 - * persons reading newspapers every day – 64%

- resignation from ticket by a policeman (statement 3) – altogether 51%
 - * persons with higher education – 60%
 - * management staff – 60%

² These were: * nepotism or protectionism when accepting for work, acceptance of money by politicians for election campaigns, * staffing posts in exchange for future benefits, * awarding contracts through connections, * resignation from a ticket by a policeman.

- * self-employed persons – 59%
- * persons aged 35-44 – 60%
- * unemployed persons – 56%
- * unskilled workers – 74%

The socio-demographic features vary more among respondents who consider as corrupted behavior types that extend beyond politics and public offices, into everyday life. In statements describing these behavior types, there was a generally smaller proportion of respondents who considered these to be decidedly corrupted than in the case of public-office and political corruption. A teacher accepting a gift (statement 4) was considered to be corrupted by only 14% of respondents, his/her "offer you can't refuse" of the need for private tutoring for students (statement 7) as decidedly corrupted behavior by 31% of respondents; somewhat more often these were considered as corrupted by: persons with higher education (43%), representatives of management staff (41%), persons with the highest income (36%), self-employed persons (36%), and finally, school and university students (36%) – in other words, presumably, respondents who more often than others pay for private tutoring or provide such themselves. Such a situation is therefore known to them from their own experience and they pay the consequences of it.

Lack of own experience or information could affect the responses concerning the use of a company car by a reporter who is going to write an article about the company (statement 6). This behavior was considered to be decidedly corrupted by only 28% of respondents. This could be because for most respondents reporters are mainly known for supplying information about corruption existing in other groups and not for surrendering to it themselves. Possibly the lack of public debate about conflict of interests – described as an example in this statement – leads to its corrupted character not being commonly recognized. The proportion of people who considered such behavior to be decidedly corrupted was significantly greater among persons with higher education (42%), representatives of management staff (42%), persons with the highest income (36%), persons declaring a strong interest in politics (37%), i.e. persons who more easily perceive the possibility of corruption existing also among representatives of the "fourth power."

Collective corruption, when an attempt is made to corrupt many persons at the same time, is referred to in statement 8 – with drinks offered to participants of fairs and pre-election meetings. This is thought of as decidedly corrupted more often than others (20% in the whole group) by persons with primary and basic vocational education (24%), rural inhabitants (25%), farmers (25%), old age pensioners (26%), persons with the lowest income (25%). These are social categories with the lowest sense of identity and highest political alienation. Such political measures and ways of seeking support may be treated as an attempt at instrumental treatment of these people by politicians who are seeking support only for elections.

* * *

The definitions of corruption formulated by the respondents in free statements are usually very laconic, but also in the great majority aptly pointing to many aspects of this phenomenon. The overwhelming majority (76%) identifies corruption with bribery – giving or taking bribes. However, there is quite a large proportion of responses that shows either a misinterpretation of this notion (5%), or difficulties with defining it (7%).

When, however, the respondents were given various examples of behavior, they considered behavior within the public, official sphere to be corrupted decidedly much more often, i.e. the activity of public offices, politicians, political parties, administering public goods. On the other hand, behavior involving small services, gifts, showing gratitude was considered as definitely corrupted by only a few respondents.

III. RESPONDENTS' OWN CORRUPTION EXPERIENCE

In recent months one can observe a rapid increase of information concerning corruption. Television as well as the press present hundreds of examples of corruption in various areas, reporters conduct investigations on indications of higher level corruption of high officials. In discussions one can hear the voices of politicians who more or less concur that this phenomenon must be combated without compromise. People representing various academic disciplines and organizations as well as international organizations are disturbed about the growth of this phenomenon in Poland. Whereas in most of these statements (especially professional ones) it is said that corruption is not new in Poland, these are very often occasional mentions, while the public opinion seems to be fed with the message that our not quite healthy organism has suddenly been struck with a heavy epidemic. Such a message distorts the picture and, furthermore, hampers its full identification and regular, arduous counteraction. Naturally, many currently existing cases of corruption are linked with the creation of the new economic and political order, but most – particularly those concerning social conduct, the strategy of attaining success, the attitude towards the State and its institutions, respect (or disrespect) for the law, individual ethics

and honesty – originated in the previous system [A.Z. Kamiński, 1997]. Corruption was a structural element in the real socialism system. In the political sphere, or rather in its basic assumptions, the distinction between the general and private interests was superficial. Building socialism was to develop both, and by the same eliminate conflict of interests. Such a "revolutionary-charismatic" system is from the very beginning susceptible to corruption [A.Z. Kamiński, 1987]. The main ideological goal, the construction of a perfect society, was not attained, while efforts of the vanguard of the system to assume the fullest possible control of not only the State, but society as well, created a vast field for abuse.

Another cause of the structural character of corruption in the system of real socialism was the fact that economies in the countries of this system are economies of scarcity [J. Kornai 1985]. The political and economic system became an "arena of total struggling for lacking means." With such challenges, having connections, patronage, influences and various ways of "greasing palms" became the best strategy for survival [J. Tarkowski, 1994]. In such a system attempts to gain resources could assume the form of pure corruption, when deficit resources are provided for givers of bribes, or obtained thanks to bribes. There were also collective bribes, for workforces of enterprises – the producers of deficit goods. There were also horizontal exchanges, when two or more factories or local communities established contacts to exchange goods, with evasion of the official distribution channels. A very important form in corruption practices was the patron-client relation. In the centralized system having a benevolent person at a strategic, higher rung of the power ladder was extremely important in the struggle for deficit goods and services. There was also, as Tarkowski called it, legalized corruption – these were the numerous privileges of the ruling elite, including access to deficit goods. Finally, in a deficit economy, the everyday life of ordinary citizens is out of necessity permeated with corruption. For an ordinary person participation in corruption was a kind of strategy for survival and a defense mechanism [J. Tarkowski: 36-38].

This state of things was also signaled by sociological polls carried out in the seventies and eighties. However, their findings were rarely made available to the public opinion, hence their echo was small. Considering the sensitive nature of the topic and the anxieties that could be raised among respondents to such questions, the responses clearly showed the commonplace nature of corruption in the perception of respondents. In polls carried out by OBOP (public opinion polling center) and SP in the 1960s and 1970s, 56% to 74% of respondents believed that to successfully deal with a matter, one should "give something" and every fifth person admitted – despite the sensitive nature of the question – that he/she had given or taken a bribe.³

In the 1980s, in more elaborate research on bribery (carried out on a sample of residents of Łódź), giving a bribe over the last year was declared by 21% of respondents, and 50% said that it had happened in their lives that they gave one. The aggregate findings of this research led to the hypothesis of the natural social character of bribes – in common public awareness bribery was regarded to be a really existing, constant feature of everyday life, for the most part accepted, or at least fully explainable by the conditions of existence [A. Kubiak, 1992].

Declarations on personal participation in giving bribes in the 1990s have undergone certain, although small changes, which perhaps is the result of the somewhat different formulations of questions in the individual surveys. As can be seen in the table below, declarations on giving bribes in the 1990s were quite stable and in the individual years ranged from 16% to 20%.

Statement 2.

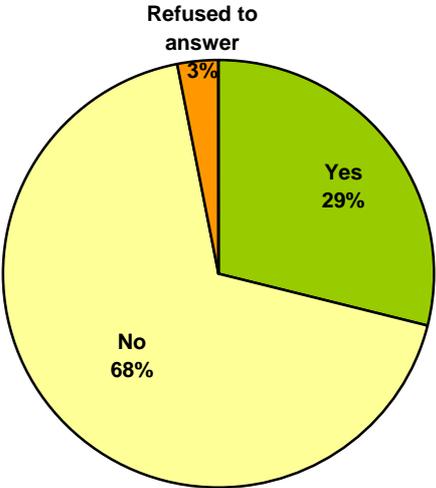
Date of CBOS survey and content matter of question	Responses in %		
	Yes	No	I would rather not talk about it
October 1993 In the last four years were you ever in a situation where you had to give a bribe?	16	77	7
April 1997 In the last 4 years were you ever in a situation where you had to give someone a gift or money to settle or speed up some matter?	20	74	6
July 1999 In the last 4 years were you ever in a situation where you had to give someone a gift or money to settle or speed up some matter?	19	73	8

³ Unpublished material cited after: A. Kojder *Korupcja – mechanizmy i strategie przeciwdziałania* (Corruption – mechanisms and strategies of counteraction) in: *W poszukiwaniu strategii zmian* (In search of changes), J. Kubin and Z. Żekoński (ed.), Warsaw, Publ. Upowszechnianie Nauki "UN-O" Sp. z o.o., p.284.

In the polls presented here the percentage of people who declared that over the last 3-4 years they have given bribes is lower, being at 14%, while only 1% of respondents refused to answer the question; in all, 15% were inclined to admit to having actively participated in bribery. These declarations, more cautious than in past years, may be the result of the frequent appearance of the topic of corruption in the mass media, or the declarations of the government on combating corruption.

In bribery there have to be two participating parties – the giver and the taker. Inasmuch as the giver may feel justified by custom, necessity or even coercion, there are no excuses for the taker. The number of people who know bribe takers should be greater than of those who admit to giving bribes. This is in fact the case, but the responses disclose that these are not widespread acquaintances. To the question whether the respondent personally knows anyone who takes bribes, 29% replied in the affirmative, 68% denied that they did and 3% refused to answer.

Figure 1.
Do you personally know anyone who takes bribes?



The proportion of respondents who personally know people who take bribes is much higher among:

- management staff – 50% (in the group of occupationally active, 37% knew takers of bribes);
- school and university students – 29% (in the group of occupationally inactive 21% knew bribe takers);
- those who rate well their own financial standing – 36%;
- persons with high income (over zł.800 per household member) – 34%;
- persons with higher education – 43%;
- persons aged 25-34 - 42%.

The categories referred to overlap with the categories of respondents who significantly more often than others declared that they had given bribes themselves. Moreover, the proportion of those who knew personally people who took bribes vary significantly between those who declared that they themselves had given bribes and those who did not admit to giving bribes.

Statement 3.

Personally knew bribe takers	Proportion of respondents who		Total
	gave bribes	did not give bribes	
Respondents who personally knew bribe takers	66	23	29
Respondents who personally did not know bribe takers	29	75	68
Refused to answer	5	2	3

Respondents usually knew many people who in their opinion take bribes:

- 1 person – 10% of respondents;
- 2 persons – 21% of respondents;
- 3-4 persons – 27% of respondents;
- 5 to 7 persons – 23% of respondents;
- 10 and more persons – 19% of respondents.

Specifying more than 10 persons is most probably an approximation, informing us rather that the respondents are convinced of a high frequency of bribery and that many people from environments familiar to them are inclined to take bribes. The experience of a bribe giver does not differ too much in the declared number of persons who are said to take bribes.

Statement 4.

Personally knew bribe takers	Proportion of respondents who		Total
	gave bribes	did not give bribes	
1 person	10	10	10
2 persons	19	22	21
3-4 persons	19	30	27
5 to 7 persons	30	19	23
10 and more persons	20	19	19

When the questions turn to sensitive topics – infringing the sense of privacy of a respondent, when a certain variant of the response may place the respondent in a bad light – the findings, the spread of responses should be approached with caution, particularly when the questions concern facts from the life of the respondent, and in the case of questions on giving bribes punishable behavior linked with breaking the law (although not all respondents have to know this). Therefore, the method applied was one described in textbooks, but rarely used in research, of estimating the reliability of these declarations. At the end of the interview, the respondents were presented with two questions, of which one was on a sensitive topic, the other a neutral one. The respondent was asked to call one of these questions "heads" and the other "tails." The respondent did not inform the pollster which question he called heads and which tails. Then a coin was tossed – and in accordance with the result the respondent was asked to reply to the question "heads" or to the question "tails." The respondent could only answer "YES" or "NO."

The sensitive question was: *In the last three, four years have you ever given a bribe?*
 The neutral question was: *Were you born in January?*

Calculation of responses to a sensitive question is based on the proportion of persons known from statistics of the general census who were born in January (8%) and the known likelihood of throwing heads or tails (50%). The exact model and a description of the method can be found in textbooks [S. Kaczmarczyk, 1995: p. 32-34]. Our calculations have shown that an affirmative reply to the question on giving bribes was given by 56% of respondents. Naturally, this is not a result that we recognize as certain – the method is applied quite rarely, there are no frequent empirical affirmations, and also some of the respondents (as reaffirmed by the pollsters) may have misunderstood the essence of the task – nevertheless it shows a potentially high scale of understatement of responses on one's own participation in bribery. In the light of this finding, 14% of those who declared they gave bribes is probably an understated level.

Since the whole group of respondents who declared they had participated in bribery consists of only 145 persons, and together with persons who refused to answer the question 158, more complex statistical analyses are more difficult. However, the percentage differences in the responses to this question of the individual categories of respondents point to the existence of certain trends.

Those who admitted they had given bribes are more active occupationally, in life and socially.

- Whereas among occupationally active persons – currently working – 19% said they had given bribes, among occupationally inactive persons (old age and disability pensioners, school and university students, unemployed persons, housewives) – only 9% said this. Among the latter, this occurred relatively more often among school and university students or unemployed persons – 16% in each. Among occupationally active persons, those who admitted they had given bribes were first of all self-employed persons (30%), management staff (23%) and physical-intellectual workers (23%).

- The frequency of declarations on giving bribes clearly rises with the educational attainment – only 9% of respondents with primary education admitted this, while among persons with higher education - 19%.
- Greater occupational activity is also linked with more frequent declarations on giving bribes – among persons who regularly perform additional jobs this proportion accounted for 30%, while among persons not taking up such work only 12%.
- The proportion of declarations on giving bribes also rises along with a rise of income – whereas in the lowest income group (up to zł.275 per household member) this accounts for 9%, in the highest income group this is 19%.
- Interest in politics is also linked with increased declaration of participation in bribery – among persons evaluating their own interest in politics as "none" this is at 11%, and as "high" – 17%. If one takes the reading rate of daily newspapers as an indicator of interest in public issues, then its connection with declarations on giving bribes is even more distinct – among respondents who read newspapers every day persons who give bribes account for 18%, while among those who do not read them at all only 9%. On the other hand, there are no differences that depend on political views – the proportion of persons who declare they give bribes is the same among supporters of the leftist as well as rightist orientations, at 16% each.
- The attitude to religion should affect declarations on giving bribes, as this is dishonest behavior, and the Church in Poland clearly evaluates corruption in a negative way (cf. interview with Bishop Pieronek – *Gazeta Wyborcza* No. 287, 9/10 December 2000], but in the light of research findings this is not so obvious. Among persons who declared they had given bribes, 6% were deeply religious and among those who had not given bribes 10%. The number of persons rather not religious or not religious at all is so small in the sample that it is difficult to compare this in a reasonable way. The case is similar with religious practices – among those who give bribes, 46% practice religion regularly, and those who do not give bribes - 54% do so, while in the entire group those who practice regularly account for 53%. There is also a very small difference among persons not practicing religion at all (10% of respondents). Among those who give bribes they account for 12%, and among those who do not give – 10%.

Respondents who admitted they had given bribes, classified descriptions of various types of behavior presented to them earlier as decidedly corrupted more often than the rest (cf. p. 14-17 of report). This could mean that one's own participation in corruption also provides more knowledge about its various forms. These differences were particularly distinct in the definition of behavior in the area of public offices and politics as decidedly corrupted, which is illustrated below.

Statement 5.
Proportion of responses regarding described behavior as decidedly corrupted

	in entire group	among those who admitted they had given bribes	among those who did not admit they had given bribes
- Accepting for work someone from family or friends when another person was better qualified	40	49	39
- Accepting money by a politician for an election campaign from a firm without disclosing this fact	57	68	55
- Staffing posts in state owned firms by colleagues, in exchange for transferring money of these firms for political parties	57	64	56
- Awarding contracts financed from public money by officials to family or friends who run a private business	60	64	60
- Resignation by a policeman from administering a ticket for breaking traffic regulations, when the driver turns out to be a teacher of the policeman's child	51	64	48
- Using the car of a company by a reporter who			

then writes an article about this firm	28	32	27
- Accepting a gift worth several hundred zlotys by a teacher from the whole class at the end of the school year	14	17	14

When classifying the remaining behavior types, presented to the respondents, as decidedly corrupted,⁴ the differences between the responses of persons who declared they had given bribes and those who did not declare they had given bribes were minimal. Only in one case – offering beer to participants of pre-election fairs and meetings – persons who did not declare they had given bribes slightly more often (a difference of 3 percentage points) considered this to be decidedly corrupted.

One's own experience with bribery seems to lead to a more decided and explicit classification of various forms as corruption – particularly when these are in the public-political sphere.

⁴ Concerning accepting a gift by a doctor, a teacher declaring it is necessary to have private tutoring, and treating to beer at pre-election meetings.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF BRIBERY INTERACTION

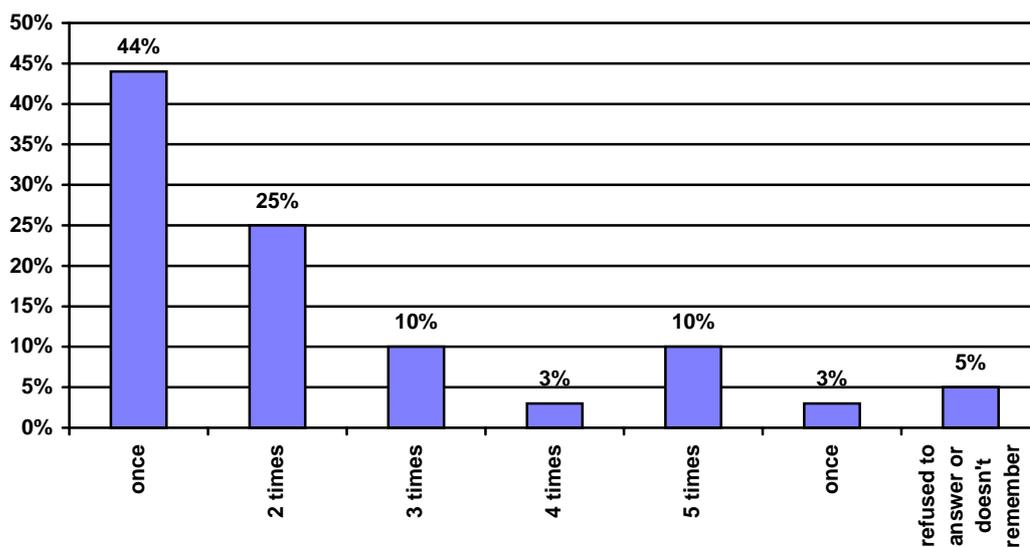
When describing and defining bribes, often the words "give something in exchange," "give to someone" are used. In legal definitions there is reference to awarding benefits and accepting benefits. We are thus dealing with mutual exchange, mutual interaction between the receiver and the donor – there is typical interaction one can describe as "bribery interaction." In this kind of interaction there are always several elements: the giver and taker of a bribe – the partners of the interaction, an understanding concerning giving the bribe, as well as the object itself or the value, the exchange of benefits, violation of a standard or violation of some value (violation of a legal standard, a good name, public property, or violation of a value, e.g. integrity or reliability and so on) [A. Kubiak, 1992].

In the research of the Institute of Public Affairs and the Anticorruption Program, attempts were made to obtain detailed descriptions of such situations of giving bribes - "bribery interaction" – while not infringing too much the sense of privacy of the respondents. Persons who declared that they had given bribes, were asked about: the reasons for giving them, the places where this took place, the moment of giving them, indication of the object being given and its worth. The respondent was to describe in this way two cases of giving bribes (if before he had described his own frequent experiences of this type, he was asked to describe two cases that were the most important to him, that he remembered best).

Among persons who declared that within the last three-four years they had given a bribe (there were 145 in the whole group, i.e. 14% of all those polled), the majority (51%) had done this several times. The diagram below illustrates the number of cases of giving bribes.

Statement 6. Frequency of giving bribes (data in %).

N = 224



Less than half of respondents consists of persons who had given bribes only once, but "routine" participants prevail – persons who had participated in bribery interaction more than once. Record participants (although these were only a few cases) described eight, ten and even twenty cases of giving bribes.

On adding cases describing giving one and two bribes, we obtained descriptions of 224 bribery interactions (145 persons – cases describing giving one bribe and 79 persons – cases describing giving a second bribe).

Reasons for giving bribes

The most frequent reason for giving bribes, according to the respondents (42%) is the sense of coercion – in their opinion this was the only way of taking care of a matter. For more than half of the respondents (51%) "practical" considerations were decisive – raising the efficiency of their action. Thus: for 20% time was the most important – thanks to a bribe the matter could be settled more quickly. Greater accuracy, reliability in handling a matter was referred to in 17% of cases, in 14% a bribe made it possible to take care of something at a smaller cost. Other reasons – apart from "efficiency-related" or "practical" considerations – that were decisive in giving a bribe, such as: the desire to show gratitude, saving health, avoiding a more expensive fine or ticket, appeared in

4% of the cases. In 3% of the cases respondents refused to give the reasons why they had decided to give a bribe. Bribes are obviously treated as a strategy for making life easier.

The addressees of bribes

The lone leader among institutions in which our respondents gave bribes, which has unchangeably appeared in polls for many years now, is the health services, or more specifically – doctors. Bribes for doctors account for nearly 48% of all corruption cases mentioned in the survey. In second place (26% of the cases) comes the police – and above all traffic police. The remaining institutions are indicated in only single cases: various public offices (7%) – including gmina, urban, voivodship offices, one's own workplace or the workplace of a family member (4%), a school, a higher education institution (3%), controllers in public transportation (2%). The Revenue Office was specified by two persons, and one person each cited the following: automobile checking station, bank, driver's license examiner, insurance company, priest. These are institutions and occupations where the occurrence of bribery has been widely known for years, and therefore people have become accustomed to it and consider it as natural. Other, perhaps more sensitive institutions where bribes were given were concealed by the respondents – in 17% of the cases respondents refused to specify the institution or office where they had given a bribe. Thus bribes from everyday life, less frequently classified as corruption, were predominant.

The place of giving bribes

This describes more concealed, camouflaged behavior or more open conduct in such situations. It turns out that usually giving a bribe took place in an institution, a public office, the workplace of the bribe taker (53% of cases). In second order public places were described: the street, a road, a train (27% of cases) – which concerns bribes for the police and controllers in public transportation. In only 3% of the cases a bribe was given at the home of the receiving person. The number of cases when the specific place of giving a bribe was not stated, or when respondents refused to answer this question is substantial – at 15%. This shows there is a certain "ostentation" in giving bribes – it usually takes place at the place of work of the bribe taker.

Knowledge of the need to give bribes

Popularization of bribery is very much enhanced by the public atmosphere around this issue – group patterns that regulate behavior, knowledge of the appropriate or the most effective conduct. Knowledge that in certain situations one can or even should give a bribe appears to be obvious in the light of our studies. The question on how the respondents knew that a bribe should be given, in 50% of the cases the answer was: "because it's generally known that this is how similar matters are taken care of." Fewer people (27% of cases) guessed that a bribe should be given, saying that this was hinted to them. Resorting to the knowledge of others – when a family member or an acquaintance suggests that this would be the best way to take care of the matter – occurred in 8% of the cases. In 12% of the cases a bribe was given in response to an initiative of the other party, because it was stated outright. In only 3% of the cases a reply was refused.

Knowledge that a bribe should be given is accompanied by openness in communicating this event to others. In more than half (57%) of cases respondents said that earlier, before the interview, they had already talked with someone about the described situation of giving a bribe. Perhaps it should be emphasized that in 41% of cases the respondents declared that earlier they had not talked about this, the event was concealed by them, kept in secret.

The bribe itself and its worth

Bribes were above all given in the form of money (77% of cases). Given objects (17%) included above all alcohol – the commonplace "cognac for the doctor" – but there were also automobile covers and tennis rackets. The declared worth of bribes given shows we are dealing with corruption of modest financial dimensions. This is illustrated by the list of delivered bribes by their worth, as shown below.

Value of bribe	Number of cases	Proportion in group of cases of giving bribes (N=224)
* under zł.100	51	23
* zł.100	33	15
* over zł.100, under zł.500	37	16
* zł.500	20	9
* over zł.500	24	11
* replies <i>hard to say</i> , <i>I don't remember</i>	18	8
* refused to answer	42	18

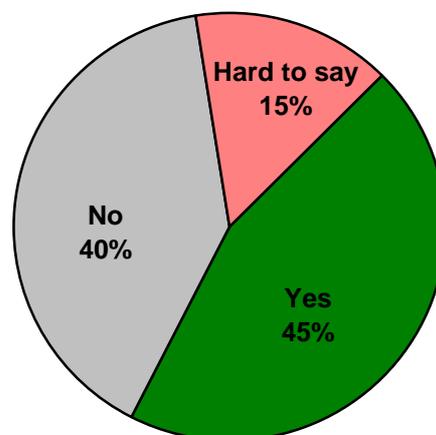
Nearly one quarter of all cases consists of bribes worth less than zł.100 – in this 20% consists of bribes not over zł.50. Nearly 9% consists of bribes from zł.1,000 upwards, in this 5 cases – zł.2,000, 6 cases – zł.2,500 to 5,000, 3 cases – zł.10,000 and more. There is also a large number of evading responses (refusal to answer or *hard to say, I don't remember* – over 25% of all cases); we don't know how much the bribes are worth in such cases. This picture portrays quite crude and poor corruption, divested of spectacular dimensions – the corruption of ordinary people and not of those from the top of the social pyramid. The highest bribes – of over zł.500 (only 24 cases in the entire group) – were mainly given in the health services (15 cases), and also in gmina, urban, voivodship offices or in customs offices. The greater majority (75%) of these high bribes was given at the place of work of the taker. The lowest bribes – of less than zł.100 – were usually (57% of cases) given in a public place: in the street, on the road, on a train, most probably as bribes for the police, controllers etc. This constitutes a 40% share among the lowest bribes – given to take care of a matter in a less expensive way. The highest bribes were given mainly because in the opinion of respondents this was the only way to take care of something (40%), or because thanks to the bribe the matter could be taken care of in a better way.

Most bribes are of lower value, the highest are given in the health services and in various public offices.

The value of a "gift" as a criterion of being considered a bribe

The value of a "gift" as a criterion distinguishing a bribe from a present or an expression of gratitude divided the respondents into two groups of similar size. The majority of respondents (45%) feels that the value is the decisive criterion in being classified as a bribe. At the same time, 40% do not share this view, and 15% are unable to give an explicit answer.

Figure 2.
Does the value of an offered gift, money or service determine whether this is a bribe or not?



The value of a gift, money or service is the decisive criterion on whether it is regarded as a bribe mainly for:

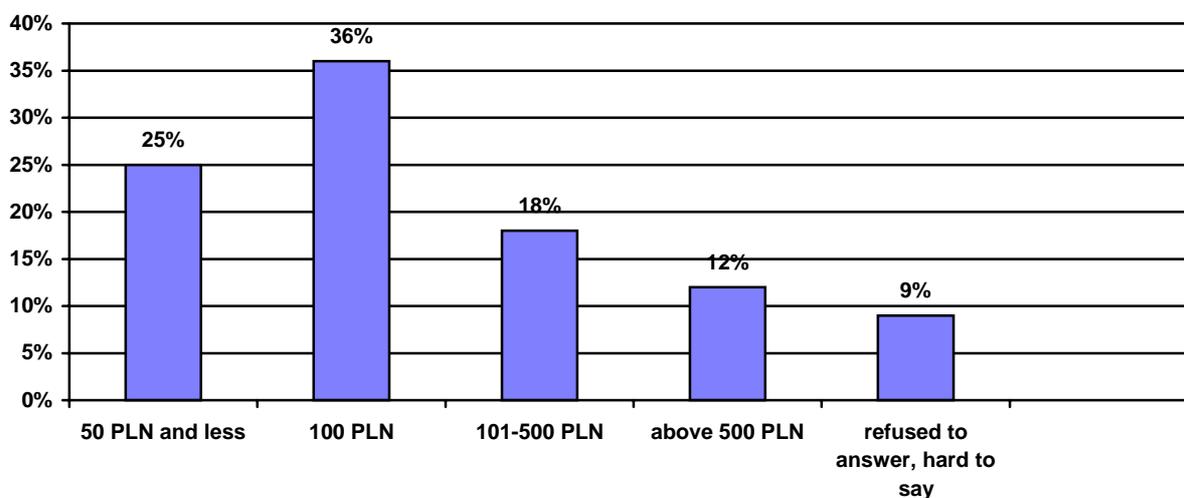
- persons with higher education (51% of these think that value is the decisive factor, while only 38% of persons with primary education think so);
- residents of cities (57% of them think so, and the smaller the locality, the smaller the proportion of persons who consider only something of high value to be a bribe – in rural areas 38% have this view).

The value of an object is less frequently considered to be decisive in evaluating a bribe by:

- persons living in rural areas – 38% (45% in entire group);
- farmers – 32%;
- persons with lowest income – 42%;
- those who show no interest in politics – 38%;
- those who take part in religious practices intensively (several times a week) – 35%.

One can therefore assume that people who are less active in various social situations, less involved in taking care of various matters, feel that giving something (or the necessity of giving something) – regardless of the value – is decisive in regarding this as a bribe. Persons more active in many social situations (residents of cities, persons with higher education), and by the same more exposed to participation in corruption, consider an object above a certain value to be a bribe. We can probably assume this group contains givers of modest bribes who have not admitted in the survey that they had given them, having acknowledged that what they had given was not a bribe because of its low value. Respondents who felt that the value of something determines whether it is a bribe or not were then asked what value of money, gift or service they would absolutely consider to be a bribe.

Figure 3.
Value above which respondents unquestionably consider money, a gift or a service to be a bribe



The majority consists of very modest descriptions – for 25% of respondents these are amounts up to zł.50 (for example: zł.10 – 3% of respondents, zł.20 – 3%, zł.50 – 17%), for 36% of respondents such a threshold amount is zł.100, for 6% - zł.200, for 8% - zł.1,000, for 2% - zł.2,000, and amounts in between were also stated. Only one person considered something worth over zł.10,000 to be a bribe. As much as 80% considered amounts below the current minimum wage as definitely a bribe.

The moment of giving a bribe

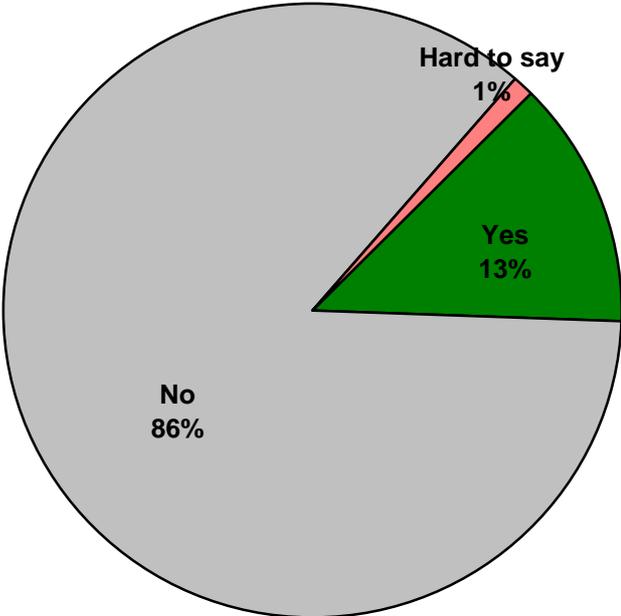
In most cases bribes are given before taking care of a matter (57% of cases). After the matter was taken care of bribes were given in 30% of cases. In 9% of cases, where it is difficult to determine the moment of giving, a bribe is given in the course of taking care of the matter – this mostly concerns traffic tickets; in 4% of cases respondents refused to reply. Clearly more often bribes in the form of money are given before taking care of something (87% of cases); when the bribe consisted of an object – in 65% of cases it was given before taking

care of the matter. This shows that the respondents believed that a bribe not only serves as security, but is even the necessary requisite of successful settlement of a matter.

"Passive" and "potential" bribery

Potential participation in bribery was also examined. All respondents were asked – those who admitted to having given bribes, as well as those who did not admit this – whether they had tried to give a gift or money, but acceptance was refused – 5% of respondents admitted that in the last 3 years such a situation took place. Among respondents who admitted that they had given a bribe, this proportion rose to 14%, while among those who did not admit to having given a bribe, it was at 3%. Even fewer respondents gave a bribe, but despite this the matter was settled in a favorable way – these account for only 2% of all respondents, and only two thirds of them are persons who had earlier admitted to having given bribes. The most direct question concerning accepting bribes by respondents, i.e. passive bribery, was the question whether anyone had ever attempted to give the respondent a bribe.

Figure 4.
Has anyone ever attempted to give you a bribe or not?



The greater majority of respondents (86%) have not been offered a bribe. The proportion of those who admitted this had taken place (13%) is very similar to the proportion of respondents who admitted that they themselves had given bribes. These are not the same persons, however.

Statement 7.

Have attempts ever been made to give the respondent a bribe	Proportion of respondents who		Total
	gave bribes	did not give bribes	
Yes	30	10	13
No	68	89	86
Refused to answer	2	1	1

The proportion of respondents who had been offered a bribe rose in the group of donors three-fold – thus donors more often than those who did not admit to having given bribes are or may be potential takers of bribes.

The proportion of respondents who admitted that they had been offered a bribe is significantly greater also among:

- representatives of management staff (37%), intellectual workers (28%), self-employed persons (24%);
- persons with secondary education (22%) and higher education (31%);
- persons with high income (over zł.800 per household member) – 22%;
- persons rating their financial standing as good – 20%;
- persons declaring high interest in politics – 21%;
- rarely taking part in religious practices – 26%.

These detailed analyses and cited data lead to the conclusion that respondents admitting to having given bribes, knowing the persons taking the bribes and potential bribe takers have very similar features – usually these are people of higher social status, who are active: better educated, holding higher positions, with high income, interested in politics, tending to be less religious.

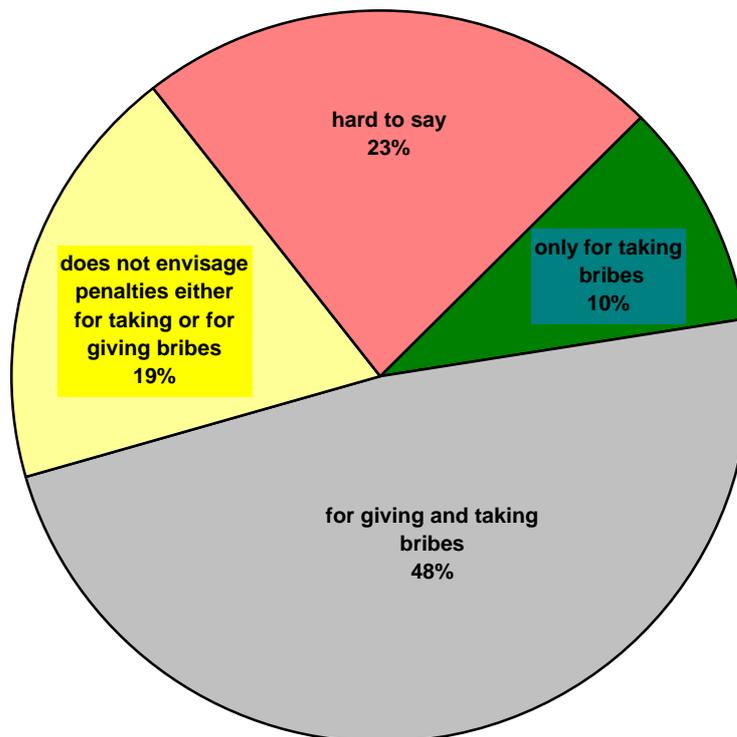
Although only 14% of respondents directly admitted they had given bribes, the replies to other questions lead to the conclusion that the range of persons with direct corruption experiences is broader. Nearly 30% of respondents said they personally knew bribe takers. The experimental method of determining the number of bribe givers provides grounds to estimate that over half of the respondents consists of persons who had their own corruption experiences.

V. EVALUATION OF CORRUPTION, ITS PUNISHMENT AND CAUSES

Punishment of corruption

In Polish penal law (in the Penal Codes of 1932, 1969 and 1997) it is stipulated that it is an offense to give as well as take bribes [P. Palka, M. Reut, 1999]. How far is awareness of this fact common among public opinion?

Figure 5.
In your opinion, does our legislation envisage penalties:



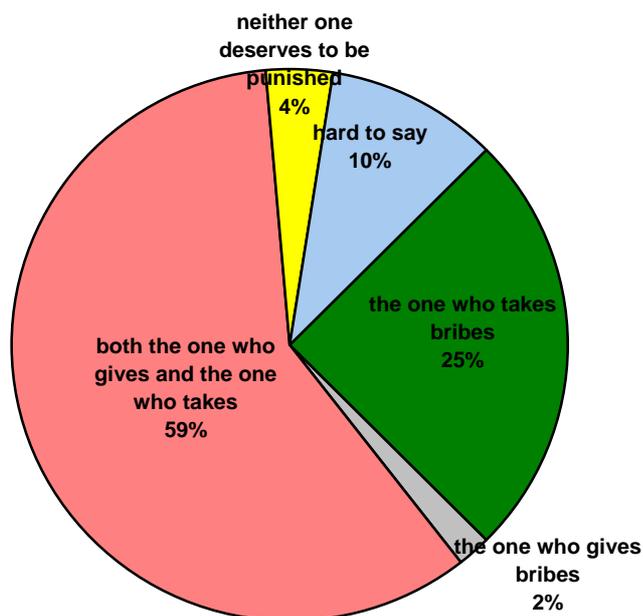
Only 48% of respondents gave a correct answer. One quarter of respondents were unable to give an answer, nearly 10% acknowledged that only taking bribes is liable to a penalty, and 19% did not think there are any penalties for taking or giving bribes. Knowledge about the legal status of bribery is not deeply rooted, but linked with the social status. Awareness of liability of punishment for givers as well as takers of bribes is strongest among:

- self-employed persons – 75% and representatives of management staff and intelligentsia – 66%;
- school and university students – 60%;
- persons with higher education – 66% (among persons with primary education a correct answer was given by only 35% of respondents);
- persons with the highest income (over zł.800 per household member) – 57%;
- persons declaring a high interest in politics – 67%;
- persons who read the newspapers regularly – 65%.

There is no essential difference in the level of knowledge on the punishment of bribery among those who declared they had given bribes and persons who said that they had not given them, i.e. knowledge about penal liability for bribery does not stop people from giving bribes.

A much larger portion of respondents (59%) expressed the view that both takers and givers of bribes should be punished

Figure 6.
And how should it be? Who, in your opinion, deserves to be punished?



Punishing only takers, which is often postulated as a way to overcome the solidarity ties between the giver and taker of a bribe, is supported by only one quarter of respondents. Support for punishment of only givers or refraining from punishment altogether is very small.

Usually punishing both givers and takers, i.e. preservation of the existing state of things, is thought to be correct by people who in the majority have knowledge about the existing legislation, namely:

- representatives of management staff and intelligentsia and intellectual workers – 66%; what is characteristic is that this is postulated least often by self-employed persons – 44%; the latter decidedly more often than representatives of other occupational categories postulate punishment of only those who take bribes (44%) – these persons are exposed to contacts with corruption in their occupational activity;
- school and university students – 78%;
- persons with higher education – 64%;
- persons with lowest income (up to zł.275 per family member) – 64% and low income (up to zł.400 per family member) – 65%;
- persons declaring medium interest in politics – 62%;
- persons who regularly read daily newspapers – 65%;

- persons who declared that they had not given bribes – 62%; among those who had given bribes this proportion accounted for only 43% – however, these people were more often than others in favor of punishing only bribe takers, which is understandable from the psychological point of view.

Although the awareness of penal liability of both takers and givers of bribes is not widespread, most respondents were in favor of maintaining the currently effective legislation.

Evaluation of corruption

In view of the widespread belief that bribery – the most common type of corruption – deserves to be punished, it was important to obtain opinions of respondents indicating the force of disapproval, acquiescence or even acceptance of bribes. For this purpose, the respondents were asked to express their opinions on ten statements describing bribery. The detailed spreads of responses evaluating bribes in the individual statements are included in the Annex.

Declaration of one's own participation in corruption clearly mitigates the strictness of evaluation of bribery. Respondents who admitted to having given bribes were less critical than others in regarding bribes as always unethical, are less inclined to disapprove of both the takers and the givers, to acknowledge that for bribes penalties of imprisonment should be meted out only to those who give bribes, and of course once in a while (9%) declared that they would not give a bribe in any situation. More often than others, however, they considered bribes to be a supplement to low salaries, believing that giving them in certain situations is justified.

Table 1.

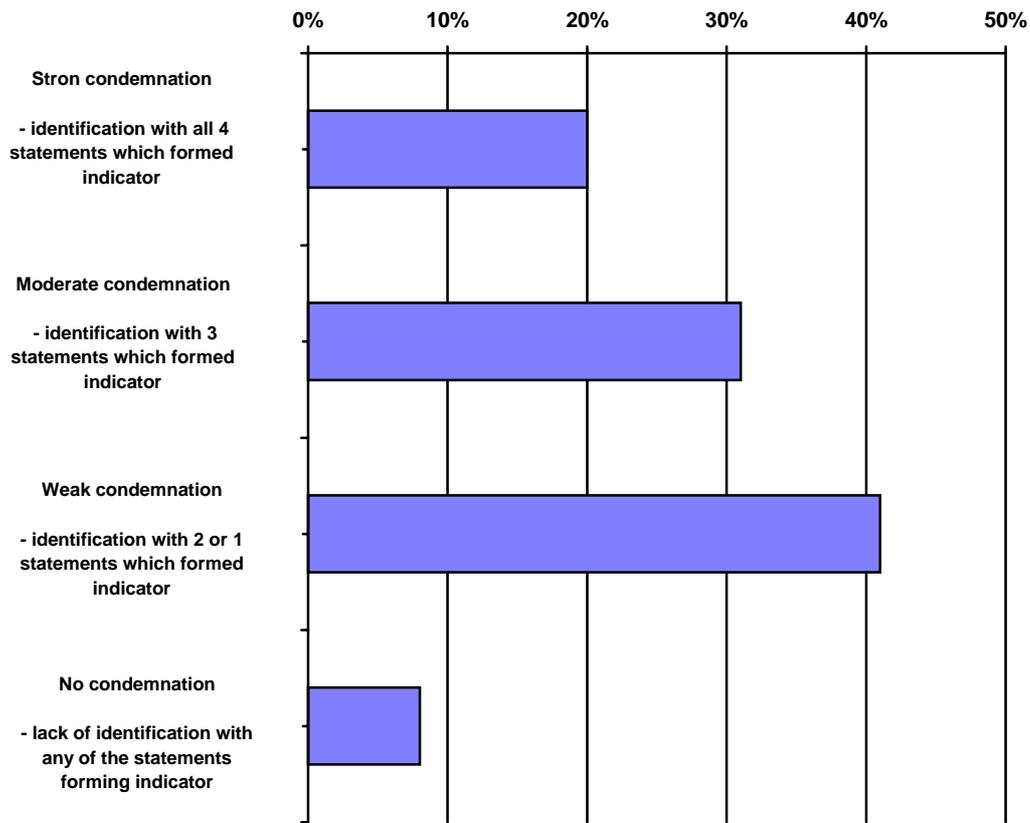
Below are various statements concerning bribes. Please say about each one whether you agree with it or not	Proportion of affirmative replies		
	Total	Those who give bribes	Those who do not give bribes
1. In each area of life, everywhere and always a bribe is unethical	80	77	81
2. A gift from someone for a favor is only evidence of his esteem and kindness	73	73	73
3. Those who take as well as those who give bribes should be condemned	70	61	72
4. The current situation forces one to give bribes	55	74	52
5. Very high penalties of imprisonment should be measured out for bribes	51	39	53
6. In certain situations giving bribes is justified	42	65	38
7. Even if I were forced by the situation, I would not give a bribe	40	9	45
8. Bribes are a supplement to low salaries	29	40	28
9. Only cash bribes deserve to be condemned	27	26	27
10. Those who give bribes are to blame for everything and not those who take	27	21	29

Grouping statements evaluating bribery made it possible to establish the three most general attitudes of respondents to corruption.

- * **moral condemnation** – this attitude was measured by the identification or its absence with the following statements: 1) in each area of life, everywhere and always a bribe is unethical; 2) very high penalties of imprisonment should be measured out for bribes; 3) even if I were forced by the situation, I would not give a bribe; 4) those who take as well as those who give bribes should be condemned;
- * **acquiescence, toleration of bribery** – this was measured by the acceptance or its absence for the following statements: 1) the current situation forces one to give bribes; 2) those who give bribes are to blame for everything and not those who take; 3) only cash bribes deserve to be condemned;
- * **acceptance of a bribe as a form of compensation** – this was measured by approval or its absence for the following statements: 1) in certain situations giving bribes is justified; 2) a gift from someone for a favor is only evidence of his esteem and kindness; 3) bribes are a supplement to low salaries.

The attitudes distinguished here do not have to be separate; condemnation of bribery may be accompanied by its toleration as an effect of a sense of coercion.

Figure 7.
The intensity of moral condemnation of bribery:



A strong rigorous attitude is shown by only one fifth of respondents, although a bribe is considered to be unethical always and everywhere by 80% of respondents. Weak (41%) and moderate condemnation (31%) is predominant, while an attitude without ethical rigor is very rare (8%).

Even lower (5%) is the level of strong tolerance, acquiescence for bribery. Little tolerance and acquiescence (48%) or its total absence (23%) are predominant.

Figure 8.
Intensity of acquiescence, tolerance for bribery:

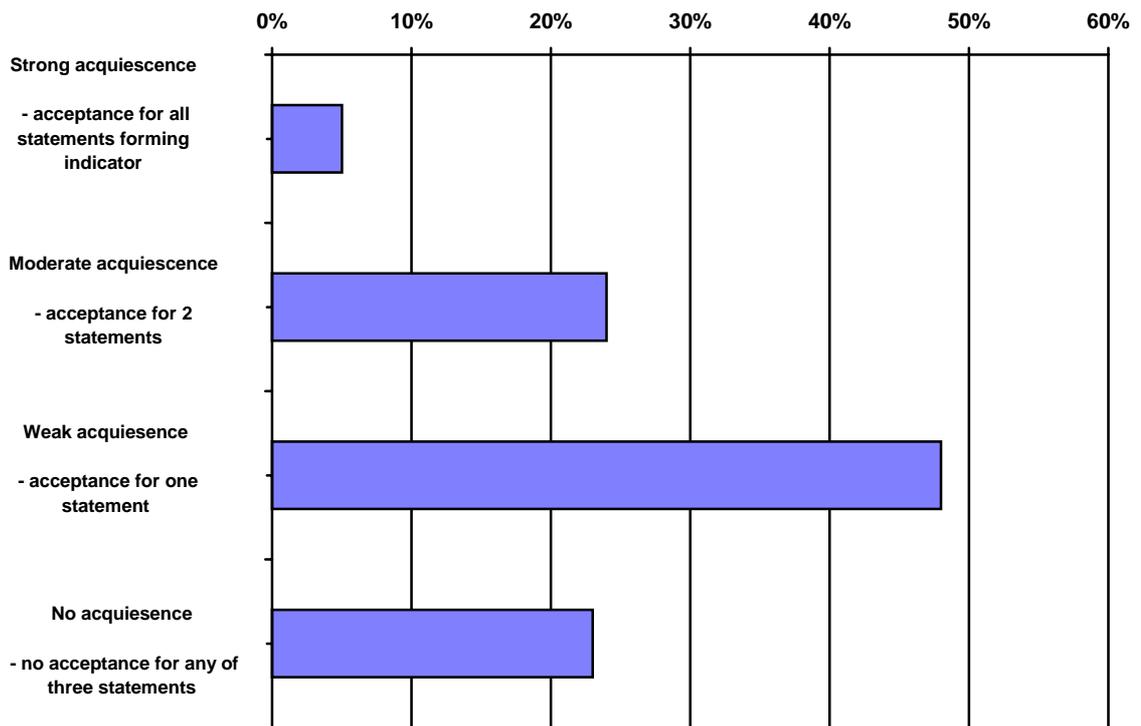
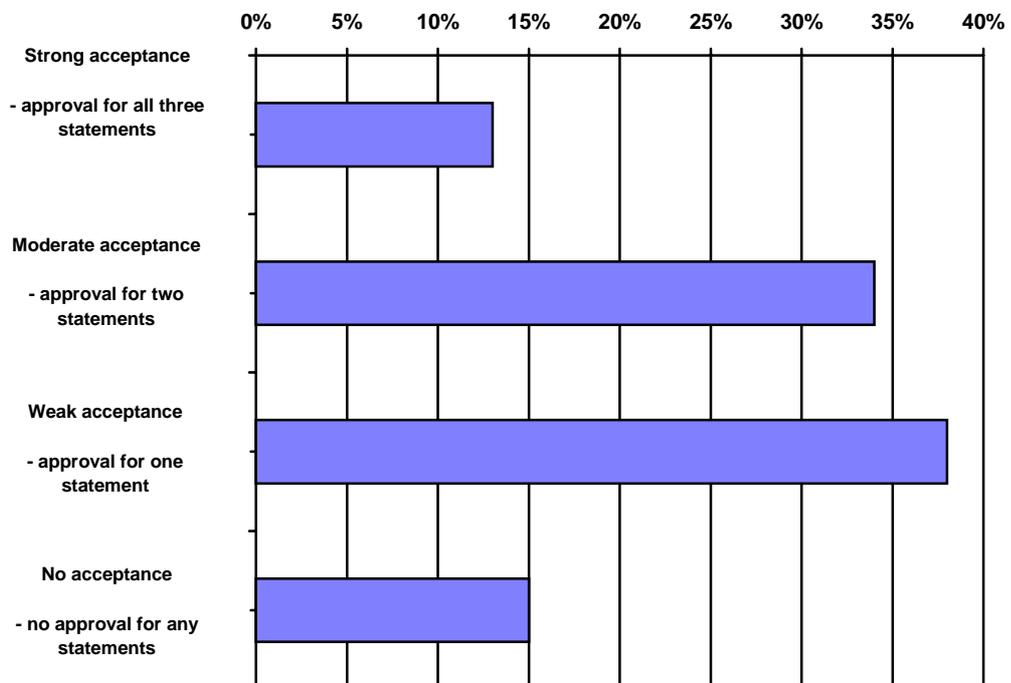


Figure 9.
Intensity of accepting bribes



In the examined group, strong acceptance (13%) is accompanied by a proportion (15%) of respondents totally not accepting bribes. Intermediate values are definitely predominant – weak (38%) and moderate (34%)

acceptance for bribery. This picture is clearly changed when we take into account the behavior of respondents – giving bribes by them:

Statement 8.

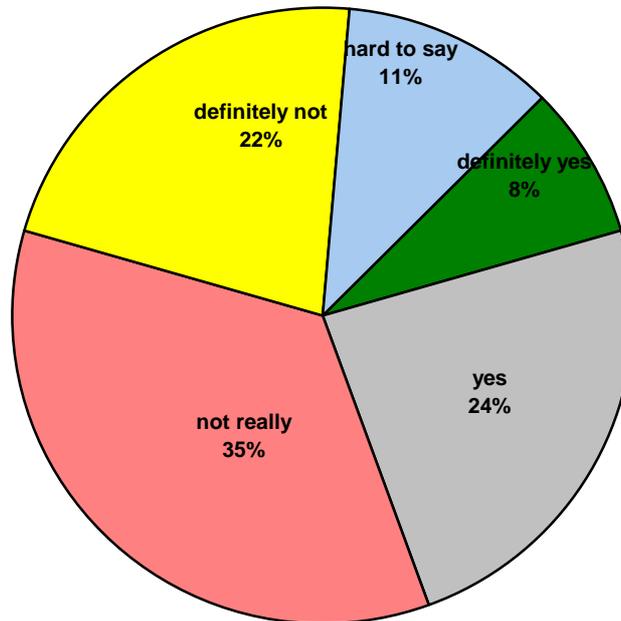
Attitude to bribery	Percentage of respondents who		Total
	gave bribes	did not give bribes	
Moral condemnation			
Strong	5	23	20
Moderate	20	33	31
Weak	61	37	41
No acquiescence	13	7	8
Acquiescence, toleration of bribes			
Strong	3	5	5
Moderate	31	23	24
Weak	51	47	48
No acquiescence	15	25	23
Acceptance of bribes			
Strong	25	11	13
Moderate	36	33	34
Weak	33	39	38
No acceptance	6	17	15

Persons who admitted to having given bribes evaluate this phenomenon in a much more lenient way – decidedly less frequently (5% compared to 23%) is there strong moral condemnation among them, or no acceptance for bribes (6% compared to 17%). Usually they are inclined to tolerate bribes in a moderate way (31%) or to a small extent (51%). Such attitudes no doubt make it possible to decrease the disparity between one’s own values, opinions, and behavior.

Perceived causes and advantages of corruption

On trying to examine how far moral condemnation, strictness towards bribes are accompanied by recognition of bribes as an effective strategy of conduct, the question was asked whether bribes are a guarantee of better, more reliable performance of work or a service.

Figure 7.
In your opinion, does giving a bribe guarantee reliable performance of work, better service or not?



It turns out that according to most respondents, a bribe not only is unethical, deserves punishment, it does not provide the anticipated guarantee. However, it raises the effectiveness of action – this can be seen in the responses that list the advantages, any good sides of corruption. The decided majority of respondents (76%) said that corruption has no good sides or advantages, 14% had no opinion in this matter, whereas 10% felt that corruption has some advantages.

The mentioned advantages of corruption mainly consist of:

- the possibility (at times the only one) of taking care of difficult, hopeless matters that the respondents feel it is vitally necessary to settle – 39% of responses;
- a guarantee of better, more reliable performance of duties by the bribe taker – 23% of responses;
- speeding up the course of things, saving time – 18% of responses;
- mutual material benefits, both for the taker and the giver, when taking care of the matter thanks to the bribe is less costly – 11% of responses;
- saving life, health – 5% of responses;
- expressing appreciation for those who are taking, expressing gratitude, recognition for good work – 4% of responses;
- forcing out appropriate solutions from authorities, such as better legislation, additional financing of the police – 3% of responses.

(the responses do not add up to 100%, since the respondent could give more than one reply)

In thoughts about the causes of corruption one can observe quite diverse views. Essentially there are one-factor (monofactor) and multifactor interpretations [T. Chrustowski, 1985]. Monofactor interpretation links the occurrence of bribery with only one cause – e.g. with low salaries of officials, improper moral attitude of political leaders, rigidity of penal regulations. According to the multifactor interpretation, bribery is the consequence of mutual interaction of many factors.

In our research, the respondents were presented with a list of seven factors of which they could choose not more than three, acknowledging that indicating only one, the most important one, would be oversimplification, since we believe it is hard to pinpoint only one cause.

Table 2. Specification of causes of bribery by frequency of selection

Causes of existence of bribery	% of responses
- desire to gain money, to become richer	66
- absence of moral principles, dishonesty of many people	58
- badly functioning, inefficient administration	46
- excessive quantity of unclear legislation	43
- being accustomed to bribery from previous system	28
- bribery exists in all societies and in all time periods	25
- scarcity of certain goods and services	5
- hard to say	4

(responses do not add up to 100%, as the respondent could choose 3 options)

It can be seen that usually respondents see the causes of bribery in traits people have: their immorality, lack of principles, ruthlessness in their pursuit of their own goals. Somewhat less frequently the causes of bribery are seen in faulty institutional arrangements. After scarcities were eliminated in the economy, inadequacy of goods and services are of marginal significance for the respondents; in the previous system this had been the most frequently indicated cause.

The belief that the causes of bribery are mainly linked with people's traits, their immorality, is more often expressed by people of lower social rank. Respondents who are better off, holding higher positions – usually perceive them in institutional solutions.

* *

There is no widespread knowledge of the legislation concerning bribes. Nearly half of respondents know that both the taker and giver of bribes are liable to punishment, but almost 60% think that this is how it should be. Opinions on corruption are accompanied by moderate strictness. Whereas the greater majority of respondents (80%) feel that a bribe is unethical always and everywhere, aggregate indicators show that among the respondents there is usually weak (41%) and moderate (31%) moral condemnation of bribery, weak (48%) and moderate (24%) acquiescence and finally weak (38%) and moderate (34%) acceptance of bribery. The strictness level is even lower than among those who admitted to having given bribes.

VI. SUMMING UP

The detailed research findings lead to several conclusions:

- The spontaneous definitions of corruption presented by respondents, although usually laconic, render the meaning of this very complex and multidimensional concept. In free responses corruption is usually identified with bribery, graft. Commonly these two words are usually used as synonyms. This gives an empirical justification of using the word bribery as more familiar to respondents in further questions – evaluating corruption and the individual experiences of respondents. There is a relatively large number of persons (over 20%) who do not understand the word, are unable to define it or are unable to verbalize their response.
- An attempt to distinguish behavior types that could be regarded as "black" corruption on the basis of the responses – i.e. ones that the group agrees are corruption – shows that our respondents are quite cautious in their diagnoses. Usually definite corruption consists of behavior in which representatives of authorities participate – officials, politicians, the police. Yet only a few respondents (16%) are consistent in their diagnoses and treat all cases of behavior with the participation of representatives of authorities as corruption. This kind of corruption in politics and public offices is more often treated as "black" corruption by persons from the opposite ends of social hierarchy, or persons of the highest or the lowest social status.
- A very important part of the research was when the respondents described their own corruption experiences. Giving bribes was declared by nearly 14% of respondents, somewhat less than over the past years, which could be the result of the currently constant talk about the problem of corruption as a clearly negative phenomenon. Such declarations in polls should always be treated with great caution, as these are unusually sensitive issues.
- The circle of persons who directly experienced corruption is nevertheless much broader, however. Nearly 30% of respondents declared that they personally know bribe takers, and experimental estimates of the number of persons giving bribes show that there may be over 50% of them in the examined group. Thus there is a vast social expanse of corruption in the lives of respondents.
- One's own participation in corruption causes a greater inclination to treat various behavior types (e.g. protectionism, financing political campaigns) as decidedly corrupted.
- One's own corruption experiences also show that this is quite crude and modest corruption. People give bribes, often considering them to be enforced, although at the same time only 12% conceded that they had been directly coerced into this; knowledge that a bribe should be given because it is the only way in a given situation is regarded to be nothing unusual. However, such conduct is often concealed (41% of respondents said that they had not talked to anyone before about giving a bribe as described in the interview).
- Most bribes are of modest financial value: 23% consist of bribes under zł.100. Only 11% of bribes exceed zł.500 – these are bribes given mainly to doctors, and also in local administration offices and in customs offices.
- Among bribe givers, repetitive offenders are prevalent; 51% conceded that they had given a bribe 2 and more times, but only a small portion (3%) can be called "routine givers" – as they had given bribes more than 5 times.
- Bribes are unethical everywhere and always according to 80% of respondents, while 51% accept high penalties of imprisonment, and 42% consider giving bribes as justified in certain situations. Attitudes of moderate and weak moral condemnation, acquiescence as well as acceptance of bribery are predominant.
- In the opinion of most respondents (76%) corruption has no positive features. Those who perceive them (only 10%) point out their practical dimension. It is a chance to settle difficult but necessary matters, a guarantee or reliability, speeding up action, lower costs.
- The causes of corruption, according to respondents, usually lie in the people themselves – in their lack of principles, dishonesty, ruthlessness in striving towards a goal – less often in institutional-legislative schemes or tradition, and therefore are difficult to overcome.

As in many other areas, in attitudes towards corruption as well there are inconsistencies. It is regarded as unethical, but in certain situations it is justifiable and at times it is practiced.

ANNEXES

(I)

Description of examined group in the aspect of its social-demographic traits

(data in absolute numbers and percentage):

*	Gender		
	– Men	500	47%
	– Women	<u>555</u>	53%
		1055	
*	Age		
	– 18-24 years	151	14%
	– 25-34 years	186	18%
	– 35-44 years	185	17%
	– 45-54 years	227	22%
	– 55-64 years	134	13%
	– 65 years and over	<u>172</u>	16%
		1055	
*	Education		
	– primary	319	28%
	– basic vocational	275	26%
	– secondary	349	34%
	– higher	112	12%
*	membership in social-occupational group:		
	living off work		
	- directors, chairpersons, management staff, creative occupations, independent specialists with higher education	93	18%
	– lower rank intellectual workers	101	20%
	– physical-intellectual workers	77	15%
	– skilled workers	110	21%
	– unskilled workers	44	9%
	– farmers	57	11%
	– self-employed	<u>33</u>	6%
		515	
	living off other sources		
	– school and university students	78	14%
	– old age pensioners	127	24%
	– disability pensioners	195	36%
	– unemployed	94	17%
	– housewives	<u>46</u>	9%
		540	
*	Place of residence:		
	– rural areas	391	37%
	– urban area with over 20,000 inhabitants	138	13%
	– 20,000-50,000 inhabitants	95	9%
	– 50,000-100,000 inhabitants	99	9%
	– 100,000-500,000 inhabitants	196	19%
	– over 500,000 inhabitants	134	13%

* Income per household member:		
– up to zł.275	140	17%
– 276-399	92	11%
– 400-549	223	28%
– 550-799	175	22%
– over 799	<u>181</u>	22%
	812*	

**the remaining respondents do not have income, are unable to specify it, or refuse to answer*

* Evaluation of material conditions of own household:		
– bad	223	21%
– rather bad	129	12%
– neither good nor bad	491	47%
– rather good	126	12%
– good	86	8%
* Interest in politics:		
– very high	23	2%
– high	99	9%
– medium	383	37%
– low	284	27%
– none	262	25%
* Participation in religious practices:		
– several times a week	52	5%
– once a week	557	53%
– on average once or twice a month	145	14%
– several times a year	193	18%
– no participation at all	106	10%
* Attitude to religion:		
– deeply religious	98	9%
– religious	901	86%
– rather not religious	35	3%
– not religious at all	17	2%
* Political views:		
– leftist	285	27%
– centrist	311	30%
– rightist	187	18%
– hard to say	272	25%
* Reading daily press:		
– every day or almost every day	208	20%
– 2-3 times a week	136	11%
– only Saturday-Sunday edition	175	17%
– rarely, once in a while	189	18%
– not at all	360	34%

(II)

Statement 1 – Difficulties with defining corruption among various social categories

	% of responses indicating misinterpretation of the word <i>corruption</i>	% of responses <i>hard to say,</i> <i>I don't know</i>
Total	5	17
* women	3	20
* men	8	13
Education:		
* primary	5	34
* basic vocational	6	14
* secondary	4	8
* higher	5	3
Place of residence:		
* rural area	5	26
* town up to 20,000 inhabitants	3	13
* town over 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants	7	11
* town over 100,000 to 500,000 inhabitants	4	15
* town over 500,000 inhabitants	6	6
Social-occupational group:		
* management staff, intelligentsia	3	5
* intellectual workers	2	4
* physical-intellectual workers	5	15
* skilled workers	8	7
* unskilled workers	5	23
* farmers	6	36
* self-employed	0	3
* old age pensioners	4	25
* disability pensioners	8	25
* school and university students	3	6
* unemployed	8	24
* housewives	3	17
Age:		
* 18-24 years	3	16
* 25-34 years	2	10
* 35-44 years	6	11
* 45-54 years	6	16
* 55-64 years	4	19
* 65 years and over	7	32
Monthly income per household member:		
* up to zł.275	7	25
* zł.276-399	2	24
* zł.400-549	6	14
* zł.500-799	4	13
* zł.800 and over	6	5
Reading daily press:		
* every day or almost every day	6	6
* 2-3 times a week	6	6
* only Saturday-Sunday edition	5	12
* rarely, once in a while	5	20
* respondent reads no daily newspapers	5	26
Interest in politics:		
* high	5	7
* medium	7	9

* low
* none

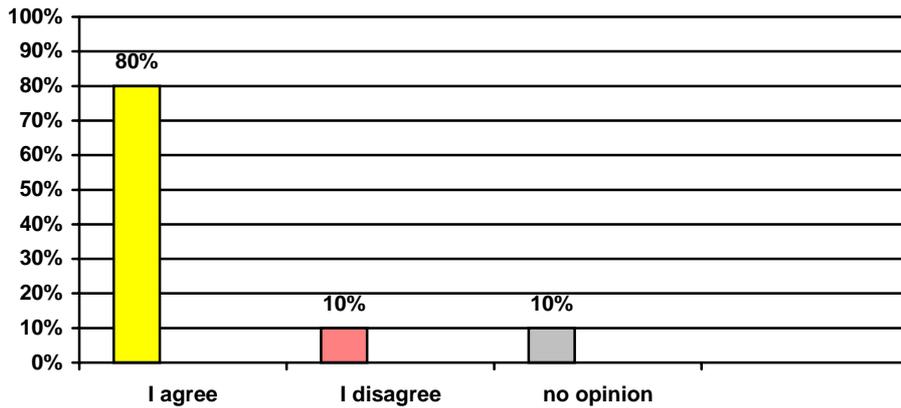
4
3

13
37

(III)

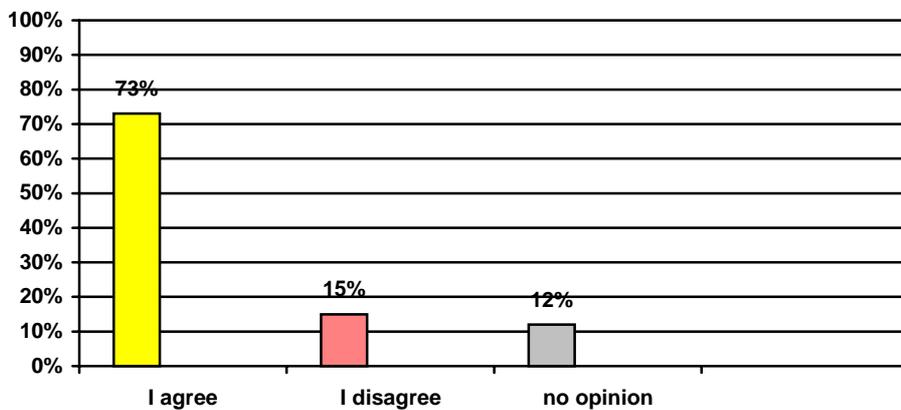
Evaluation of bribes – the differences in individual social groups

I. A bribe is unethical in every area, everywhere and always.



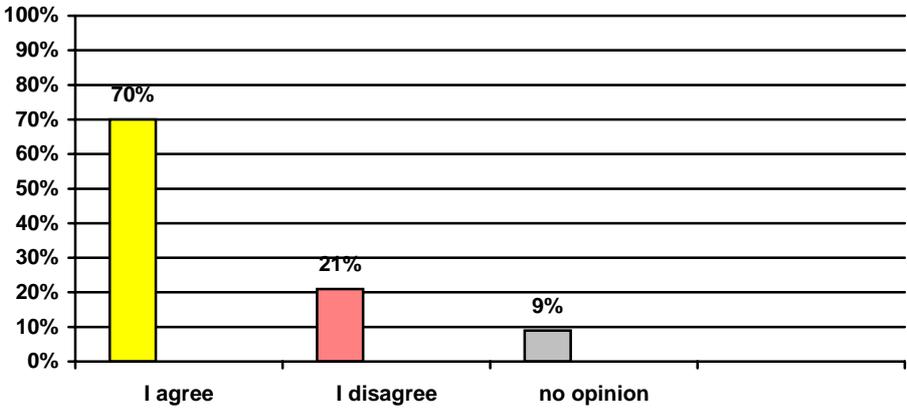
Considering bribes to be unethical is quite common, slightly conditioned on various social-demographic features and views.

II. A gift from someone for a favor is only evidence of his/her esteem and benevolence.



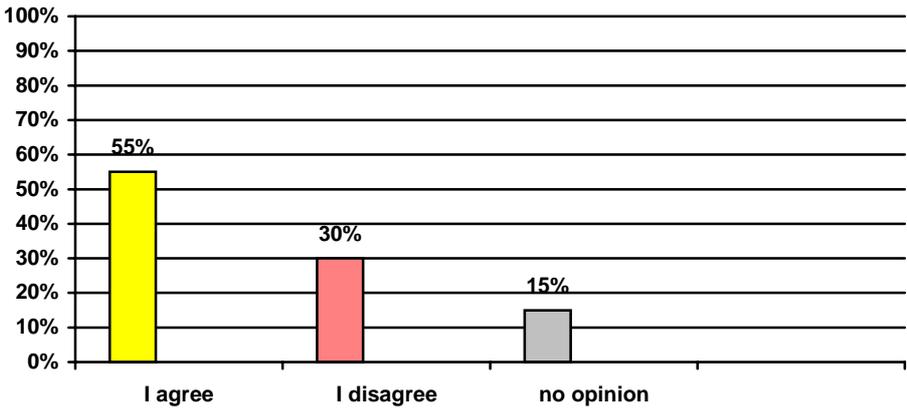
The statement was formulated in quite a euphemistic way, suggesting that we are dealing with accepting a bribe – perhaps this suggestion was not very clear, since the majority agreed that a gift for a favor is merely evidence of esteem and benevolence. Least often approval was expressed by: representatives of management staff and intelligentsia (59%), self-employed (56%), respondents with higher education (64%), those not participating in religious practices at all (61%) and not religious at all (60%).

III. Both those who take and those who give bribes should be condemned.



The following agreed with this less frequently than others: representatives of management staff and intelligentsia (61%), self-employed (62%), persons with higher education (62%), persons with high income (65%), persons declaring a high interest in politics (65%), not religious at all (52%).

IV. The existing situation forces one to give bribes.

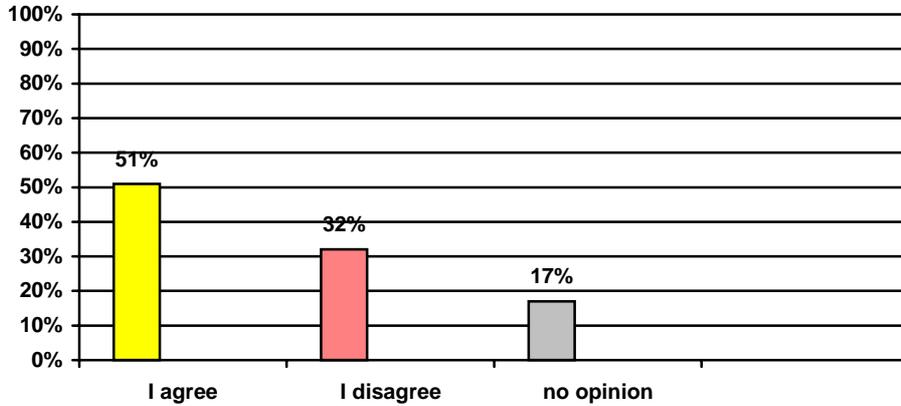


This statement was accepted much more often by persons who declared that they themselves had given bribes (74%); the "existing situation" is treated as an excuse for one's own conduct, but also suggests a sense of coercion. This statement was also accepted more often by the following persons:

- * less educated – with basic vocational education (61%);
- * unemployed (63%);
- * skilled workers (66%) – whereas for management staff this proportion is the lowest (49%);
- * persons with very low income (60%);
- * rating their financial standing as bad (60%);

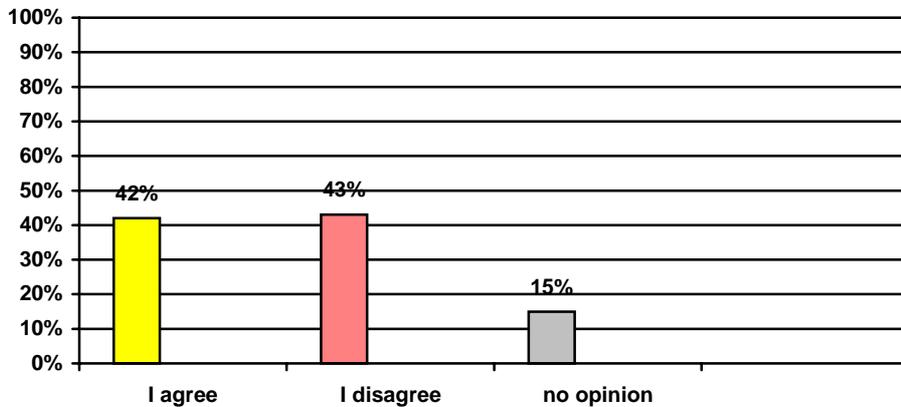
- * with little interest in politics (60%) – what is interesting is that persons who declare no interest in politics tend to agree with this statement least often (48%), as in the case of persons intensively taking part in religious practices (45%), and deeply religious persons (36%).

V. Very high penalties of imprisonment should be measured out for bribes.



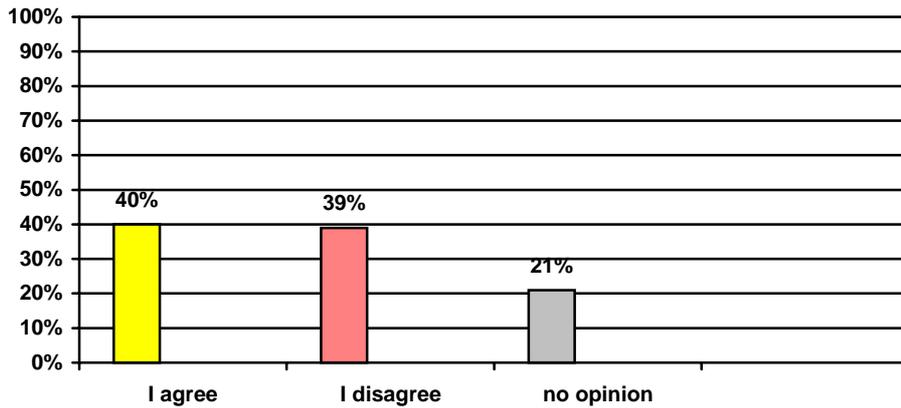
The tendency to favor strict penal repressions for bribery is definitely weaker among: persons who have given a bribe (39%), representatives of management staff (31%), school and university students (33%), persons with higher education (40%), with high income (44%), not interested in politics at all (47%), intensively participating in religious practices (38%), describing themselves as deeply religious (36%). Conversely, stronger approval for the penalty of imprisonment is expressed by persons with leftist political views (58%).

VI. In certain situations giving bribes is justified.



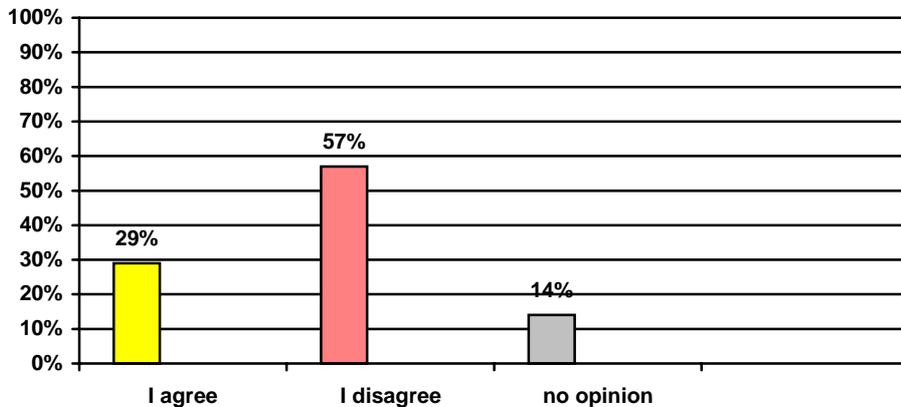
Giving bribes is more often considered as justified in certain situations by persons who themselves have given bribes.

VII. Even if I were forced by the situation, I would not give a bribe.



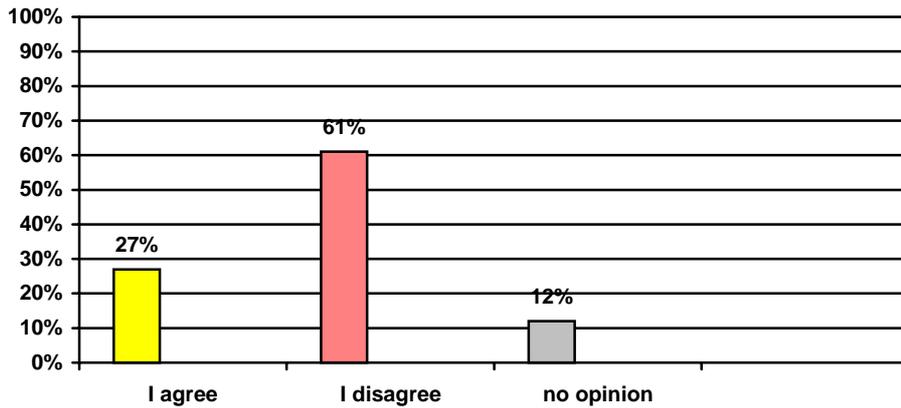
Declarations that they will never give a bribe are least often made by persons who have given a bribe (9%), self-employed (24%), representatives of management staff and intelligentsia (24%), school and university students (25%), persons with secondary education (29%) and higher education (29%), persons with high income (30%), persons declaring a high interest in politics (36%), and also deeply religious persons (33%).

VIII. Bribes are a supplement to low salaries.



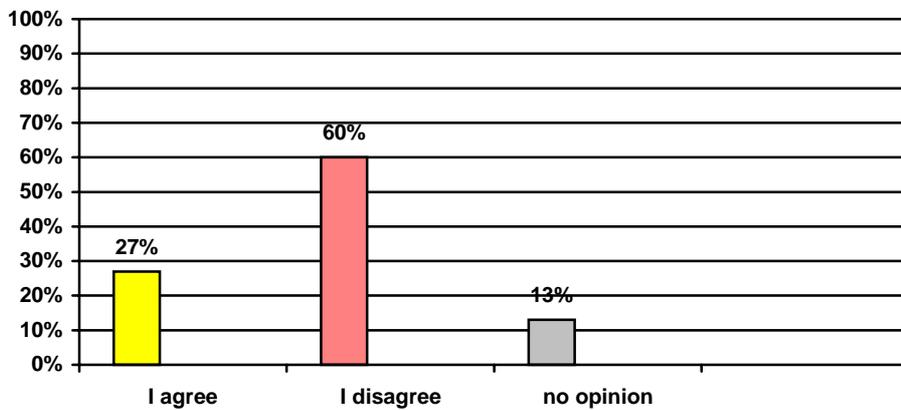
Usually this statement – in a way serving as an excuse for accepting bribes – is rejected by: self-employed persons (75%), persons with higher education (64%), rural residents (61%), persons with high income (63%), persons with rightist views (66%).

IX. Only cash bribes deserve to be condemned.



The following agree with this statement less frequently than other categories of respondents: self-employed persons (24%), and representatives of management staff and intelligentsia (24%), school and university students (10%), persons with higher education (18%), persons with high income (20%), persons declaring a high interest in politics (23%), persons not participating in religious practices (23%).

X. Those who give bribes are to blame for everything and not those who take.



Those who give bribes are less frequently blamed, which is understandable, by persons who themselves have given bribes (21%), but also by representatives of management staff and intelligentsia (16%), self-employed (16%), school and university students (20%), persons with higher education (14%), with high income (20%), with centrist political views (22%).

(IV)

Causes of corruption – the differences in individual social groups

- * The desire to gain money, to become richer, is a cause of bribery more often mentioned by the following:
 - self-employed 77% of responses;
 - persons with low income 74% of responses;
 - persons who themselves have given bribes 73% of responses.

- * Lack of moral principles and dishonesty of many people is a cause of bribery more often mentioned by the following:
 - farmers 65% of responses;
 - old age pensioners 66% of responses;
 - housewives 73% of responses;
 - persons with lowest income 68% of responses;
 - persons who very often (several times a week) take part in religious practices 64% of responses;
 - persons with rightist views 66% of responses.

- * Badly functioning, inefficient administration is a cause of bribery more often mentioned by the following:
 - representatives of management staff and intelligentsia 55% of responses;
 - self-employed 73% of respondents;
 - skilled workers 63% of respondents;
 - persons with higher education 55% of responses;
 - persons not taking part in religious practices 55% of responses;
 - persons who are not religious 66% of responses.

- * Too many unclear regulations is a cause of bribery more often mentioned by the following:
 - self-employed 50% of responses;
 - unemployed 51% of responses;
 - persons with higher education 52% of responses;
 - persons with high income 50% of responses;
 - persons with leftist views 50% of responses;
 - persons who have given a bribe 50% of responses.

- * Being accustomed to bribery from the times of the previous system is a cause of bribery more often mentioned by the following:
 - unskilled workers 35% of responses;
 - school and university students 47% of responses;
 - persons with low income 37% of responses;
 - persons with rightist political views 38% of responses.

Bibliography

- Babiuch-Luxmoore J., *Międzynarodowe instrumenty walki z korupcją – wybrane problemy* (International Instruments to combat corruption – selected problems), [in:] *Dobro wspólne, władza, korupcja. Konflikt interesów w życiu publicznym* (The common good, power, corruption. Conflict of interest in public life), Popławska E. (ed.), Warsaw 1997, Institute of Public Affairs.
- CBOS (public polling center), *Aktualne problemy i wydarzenia* (Current problems and events), communiqué on research, October, 1993.
- CBOS, *O społecznym postrzeganiu korupcji* (On social perception of corruption), communiqué on research, April, 1997.
- CBOS, *Opinie o łapówkach* (Opinions on bribes), communiqué on research, September, 1999.
- Chrustowski T., *Prawne, kryminologiczne i kryminalistyczne aspekty łapówkarstwa* (The legal, criminological and criminal aspects of bribery), Warsaw 1985, Wydawnictwo Prawnicze.
- Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 1942.
- Grzech w kopercie* (Sin in an envelope), *Gazeta Wyborcza* No. 287, December 9-10 2000.
- Hankiss E., *Pułapki społeczne* (Social traps), Warsaw 1986, Wiedza Powszechna.
- Homans G.C., *Zachowania społeczne jako wymiana dóbr* (Social behavior as exchange of goods), [in:] *Elementy teorii socjologicznych* (Elements of sociological theories), Derczyński W., Jasińska-Kania A., Szacki J. (sel.). Warsaw 1975, PWN.
- Kaczmarczyk S., *Badania marketingowe. Metody i techniki* (Marketing research. Methods and techniques), Warsaw 1995, PWE.
- Kamiński A.Z., *Uprywatnienie państwa – o problemie korupcji w systemach postrewolucyjnych* (Privatizing the State – on the problem of corruption in postrevolutionary systems), [in:] *Rzeczywistość polska, sposoby radzenia sobie z nią* (Polish reality, ways of coping with it), Marody M., Sułek A. (ed.), Warsaw 1987, Institute of Sociology of the University of Warsaw.
- Kamiński A.Z., *Korupcja jako symptom instytucjonalnej niewydolności państwa i zagrożenie dla rozwoju polityczno-gospodarczego Polski* (Corruption as a symptom of institutional incapacity of the State and a threat to political-economic development of Poland), Fascicles of the Adam Smith Center No. 29, 1997.
- Kojder A., *Korupcja – mechanizmy i strategie przeciwdziałania* (Corruption – mechanisms and strategies of counteraction), [in:] *W poszukiwaniu strategii zmian* (In search of a strategy of change), Kubin J., Żekoński Z. (ed.), Warsaw 1992, Publ. Upowszechnienie Nauki "UN-O" Sp. z o.o.
- Kojder A., *Mechanizmy korupcji u progu transformacji systemowej* (Mechanisms of corruption at the threshold of system transformation), [in:] *Godność i siła prawa. Szkice socjologiczno-prawne* (The dignity and power of law. Sociological-legal sketches), Warsaw 1995, Oficyna Naukowa.
- Kornai J., *Niedobór w gospodarce* (Scarcity in the Economy), Warsaw 1985, PWE.
- Kubiak A., *Łapownictwo w świadomości mieszkańców Łodzi* (Bribery in the awareness of Łódź residents), Łódź 1992, Institute of Sociology of the University of Łódź.
- Kubiak A., *Postrzeganie zmian zakresu i natężenia łapownictwa przed i po przelomie ustrojowym w Polsce* (Perception of changes in the scope and intensity of bribery before and after system transformation in Poland). *Przegląd Socjologiczny* XLIX/1, Łódź 2000, ŁTN.
- Łętowska E., *Korupcja: między moralnością a prawem* (Corruption: between morality and the law) [in:] *Dobro wspólne, władza, korupcja. Konflikt interesów w życiu publicznym* (The common good, power,

corruption. Conflict of interest in public life), Popławska E. (ed.), Warsaw 1997, Institute of Public Affairs.

Merton R., *Teoria socjologiczna i struktura społeczna* (Sociological theory and social structure), Warsaw 1982, PWN.

Palka P., Reut M., *Korupcja w nowym kodeksie karnym* (Corruption in the new Penal Code), Kraków 1999, Zakamycze.

Podgórecki A., *Patologia życia społecznego* (Pathology of public life), Warsaw 1969, PWN.

Słownik Języka Polskiego (Polish Language Dictionary), Warsaw 1978, PWN.

Tarkowski J., *Socjologia świata polityki* (Sociology of the world of politics), T.I.: *Władza i społeczeństwo w systemie autorytatywnym* (Power and society in an authoritarian system), Warsaw 1994, Publ. Institute of Political Studies.