

## OPINIONS ON BRIBES

### SURVEY REPORT

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**Poland**

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- The majority of the surveyed (68%) heard about offering bribes in order to settle or to accelerate settling of a matter, but only somewhat less than one fifth (19%) declare personal experience in this respect. Proportion of persons offering bribes remains on the level of the year '97.
- Those inquired, who admitted offering bribes, most often settled in this way issues related to treatment in state health service (52%), whereas considerably less often matters related to administration of justice (8%), official matters (8%) or related to employment (7%). Over the past two years number of persons who offered bribes for settling matters related to health care and issues within province of court, public prosecutor's office and police has increased.
- Poles' attitude towards the bribery can be described as incoherent. Significant majority of the surveyed agree with a statement that the bribe in every area of life, anywhere and anytime is immoral (83% indications) and also that those who accept as well as those who offer bribes are to be condemned (73%). At the same time, majority of respondents is of the opinion that the current situation forces people to offer bribes (64%), and a gift from somebody for a favour done to him is only a token of his respect and goodwill (55%). Probably such opinions are the reason why almost half (49%) of surveyed assumes moderately rigorous attitude towards corruption. At the same time, the majority (61%) declares weak tolerance to the existence of this pathology in the public life, and one fifth (22%) believes there is no excuse for this pathology.

In one of the last surveys<sup>1</sup> we asked the inquired about their attitude towards corruption and towards persons offering and accepting bribes. We were interested in topics such as:

- perceived scope of this social pathology,
- type of the matters settled by means of bribes, and
- first of all an ethical appraisal of the very phenomenon.

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<sup>1</sup> Survey "Current problems and events" (110), 7-13 July '99, standard random address sample of adult residents of Poland (N=1055).

## ATTITUDES TOWARDS BRIBERY

In the public opinion the phenomenon of bribery has unequivocally negative connotations:

More than four in every five surveyed consider that *the bribe in every area of life, anywhere and anytime is immoral* (83%) and almost three out of four inquired is of the opinion that *those who accept as well as those who offer bribes are to be condemned* (73%). The majority of respondents also believe, that persons who accept bribes are generally dishonest people. However, in other matters the inquired are not that consistent. It is possible, that their opinions are influenced by a quite widespread conviction, that *the current situation forces people to offer bribes* (63%). Respondents assume a less unequivocal attitude towards the statement: *offering of bribes is justified in some situations*. Proportion of persons, who do not agree with this opinion and who share the opinion are almost exactly balanced (43% and 46% respectively)

**Table 1**

Various statements are presented below. Please indicate	Agree	Do not agree	Difficult to say
	In %		
A bribe in every area of life, anywhere and anytime is immoral	83	8	9
Both those who accept and those who offer bribes are condemnable	73	17	10
Those, who accept bribes are thoroughly dishonest people	64	23	13
The current situation forces people to offer bribes	63	26	11
A gift from somebody for a favour done to him is only a token of respect and goodwill	55	27	18
Only those do not accept bribes, who are not offered any.	54	31	14
Bribes should be vary severely punished by imprisonment	53	31	16
Offering a bribe is justified in certain circumstances	46	43	11
The bribes ensure fair remuneration and are an addition to low salaries	39	47	15
I will nor offer a bribe even if forced by the situation.	36	41	23
Only money bribes are condemnable	32	54	14
Those who offer bribes are to blame, nor those who accept them	27	54	20

Bribes are unequivocally appraised as unethical, but opinions about various situations and behaviours related to them depend on whether, in the past, persons participating in the survey offered bribes themselves or not. Persons, who did not offer bribes, judged those, who offered them as well as those, who accepted them more critically than others. They also more often thought that bribes should be severely punished, and more often declared, that no situation would force them to take such action, and much less often are willing to justify bribery by a situational context.

**Table 2**

Various statements are presented below. Please indicate whether you agree with them or not	Proportion of affirmative answers		
	Total	Offering bribes	Not offering bribes
A bribe in each area of life anywhere and anytime is immoral	83	81	85
Both those who accept and those who offer bribes are condemnable	73	65	76
Those, who accept bribes are thoroughly dishonest people	64	52	69
The current situation forces people to offer bribes	63	77	58
A gift from somebody for a favour done to him is only a token of his respect and goodwill	55	59	55
Only those do not accept bribes, who are nor offered any	54	62	53
Bribes should be very severely punished by imprisonment	53	45	57
Offering of bribes in some situations is justified	46	63	40
The bribes ensure fair remuneration and are an addition to low salaries	39	55	36
I will not offer a bribe even if forced by the situation	36	13	44
Only money bribes are condemnable	32	29	33
Those who offer bribes are to blame, not those who accept the	27	25	28

Statements presented to the surveyed for appraisal are arranged into more general categories, describing attitudes towards bribes and persons offering and accepting bribes. Hence we are able to distinguish three kinds of attitudes towards bribery.

**I. Moral condemnation.** This attitude is depicted by identifying oneself with an opinion formulated in at least one of the following five statements: 1) bribe in every area of life, anywhere and anytime is immoral; 2) Bribes should be very severely punished by imprisonment; 3) Those, who accept bribes are thoroughly dishonest people; 4) I will not offer a bribe even if forced by the situation; 5) Both those, who accept and those, who offer bribes are condemnable.

**II. Tolerance because of social context reasons.** This attitude is depicted by identifying oneself with an opinion formulated in at least one of the following four statements: 1) The current situation forces people to offer bribes; 2) Those who offer bribes are to blame, not those who accept them; 3) Only money bribes are condemnable; 4) Only those do not accept bribes who are not offered any.

**III. Acceptance of a bribe in form of compensation for a favour.** This kind of the attitude towards bribery is defined by acceptance of at least one of the following three statements: 1) Offering of bribes is just yield in some situations; 2) A gift from somebody for a favour done to him is only a token of his respect and goodwill 3) Bribes ensure fair remuneration and are an addition to low wages.

Such attitudes towards bribery are not mutually exclusive. Those, who regard bribes as unethical, may believe that the situation forced them to resort to such form of resolving their personal problems. In other words, moral disapproval declared does not exclude tolerance of existence of bribes (Pearson  $r = 0,1955$ ), although is negatively correlated with its acceptance (Pearson  $r = -0,1496$ ). Whereas tolerance of bribes clearly promotes justification of persons offering bribes and accepting them (Pearson  $r = 0,3641$ ).

### FIG. 1 INTENSITY OF MORAL CONDEMNATION OF BRIBERY

N= 1055

Total condemnation	approval of the all five statements of which this index is composed	18%
Moderate condemnation	approval of three or four of the five statements of which this index is composed	49%
Weak condemnation	approval of one or two of the five statements of which this index is composed	28%
Total lack of condemnation	disapproval of all five statements of which this index is composed	5%

The index composed of all the opinions within this range, assumes value from 0 to 5.

Distribution of the values of the index: 0 — 5%, 1 — 10%, 2 — 18%. 3 — 24%, 4 — 25%, 5 — 18%

It turns out, that in spite of almost common acceptance of the statement, that *bribe in every area of life, anywhere and at all times is immoral*, almost half of the surveyed (49%) adopts a moderately rigorous attitude towards this phenomenon, and further 28% - a weakly rigorous attitude. Strongly rigorous attitude towards bribery is shown by less than every fifth inquired (18%), whereas only every twentieth (5%) assumes a totally non-rigorous attitude,

However, it should be emphasised, that in the Polish society, **total condemnation** of bribery (18%) is observed somewhat more often than **total acceptance** of the phenomenon (15%) or its **total tolerance** (7%) in public life.

A **weak tolerance** of bribery caused by pressure of circumstances is a dominating attitude (61%), but the number of the inquired who do not tolerate bribes (14%) is twice as high as the number of those who assume the attitude conventionally called **total tolerance** (7%). Also the **total acceptance** of offering and accepting bribes is more rare than the **total lack of acceptance** (15% and 22% respectively).

### FIG. 2 INTENSITY OF THE TOLERANCE OF BRIBERY

N - 1055

Total tolerance	approval of the all four statements of which this index is composed	7%
Moderate tolerance	approval of three of the four statements of which this index is composed	19%
Weak tolerance	approval of one or two of the four statements of which this index is composed	61%
Total lack of tolerance	disapproval of all the four statements of which this index is composed	14%

The index, composed of all the opinions within this range, assumes values from 0 to 4.

The distribution of the values of the index: 0 — 14%, 1 — 28%, 2 — 33%, 3 — 19%. 4 — 7%.

**FIG. 3 INTENSITY OF ACCEPTANCE OF BRIBERY**

N= 1055

Total acceptance	approval of all three statements of which this index is composed	15%
Moderate acceptance	approval of two of the three statements of which this index is composed	31%
A weak acceptance	approval of one of the three statements of which this index is composed	32%
The total lack of acceptance	disapproval of all the three statements of which this index is composed	22%

The index, composed of all the opinions within this range, assumes values from 0 to 3.  
 The distribution of the values of the index: 0 — 22%, 1 — 32%, 2 — 31%, 3 — 15%.

In general, one could say, that Poles are quite rigorous in the moral appraisal of bribery, although to some extent they tolerate its existence and approve this social pathology. It is expressed in declared acceptance of respective statements relating to bribes as well as in intensity of previously discussed attitudes towards this phenomenon.

**WHAT CAN BE SETTLED BY MEANS OF BRIBES?**

In spite of a nearly common opinion, that a bribe is unethical, and offering or accepting it are condemnable, according to the opinion of the inquired, bribery in Poland is a problem of a considerable scope and extent.

**FIG. 4.**

**Now and then one hears, that the most effective way to settle even simple, not doubtful matters is to offer a bribe. Have you heard for instance from acquaintances, friends, or family members about settling matters in this way?**

- YES - 68%
- NO - 26%
- IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY - 26%

Over two thirds of the general number of the inquired (68%) heard about offering bribes for settling or acceleration of settling of even simple matters, and only slightly over one fourth (26%) never encountered this problem.

Opinions in this matter are not significantly socially differentiated. It means, that the rule “he goes forward who greases his way” is widespread in different social circles and concerns various domains of the public life. It is indicated by a large range of matters, of which the inquired have heard as having been settled by money or gifts, spontaneously mentioned in answer to the open question. Among those respondents, who have heard about offering of bribes 8% is of the opinion, that at present in Poland everything, any matter, can be settled this way.

**Please name the matters that according to what you heard can be settled by way of bribe**

N = 715

Treatment	health service, health, surgery, hospital, bed in a hospital, medical service, sanatorium	43%
Job	getting a job in general, promotion, job abroad	23%
Educational system	enrolment in college, secondary school, exams, secondary school certification, passing to the next grade	16%
Judiciary system	courts, public prosecutor’s office, avoidance of penalty, favourable verdict	11%
Police	finances, return of arrested driving license, smuggling	11%
Housing	construction permit, building sites, allocation of municipal quarters, housing issues, repairs	11%
Office, administration	acceleration of issuing of a document, allocations, permits, land tenure, allocation of premises for commercial activity, installation of a telephone line	9%
Business	licenses, auctions, contracts, orders, distribution of breeding material	8%
Driving license	examination	8%
Disability pension		5%
Army	release, postponement,	4%
Sick leave (L-4)		3%
Credits, loan.		2%
Everything can be settled by means of bribe		8%
Others		2%

Sum of proportions does not make 100 because the inquired answering this open question could mention more than one example known to them of settling a matter by means of a bribe.

Scope of the bribery phenomenon is positively less, when we ask about behaviour patterns relating directly to the inquired.

Somewhat less than one fifth (19%) of Poles admit, that during last four years they have personally offered gift or money in order to accelerate settling of a matter, and further 8% refused to give an unequivocal answer to question about handing over bribes. It gives us grounds to believe that respondents from this category have also offered bribes in that time. Such assumption means, that

more or less every fourth inquired during last four years settled various matters by offering money or gifts. Proportion of the person offering bribes remains on the level from year '97.

**FIG. 5**

**During past four years, have you ever encountered a situation, where you were forced to offer money, gift and the like, in order to settle or accelerate settling of any matter?**

IV '97

NO - 74%  
 YES - 20%  
 I'D RATHER NOT TELL - 6%

VII '99

NO - 73%  
 YES - 19%  
 I'D RATHER NOT TELL - 8%

Among those inquired, who admitted offering bribes, a considerable proportion (16%) did not reveal, what sort of matter had been settled in this way. The others definitely most often mentioned various situations related to treatment by state medical service.

**What were you able to settle in this way? What was the matter, that was facilitated by handing somebody money, gift and such?**

	<u>IV '97</u>	<u>VII '99</u>
	(N233)	(N=199)
<b>Treatment, health</b> also in general: medical service - getting into a hospital, surgery, childbirth, treatment, medical care, nurse care, precipitation of medical examinations, settling of sick leave, getting a certification, pension, prescription	45%	52%
<b>Matters relating to courts, prosecution, police-</b> cancellation of a case, cancellation of decision about temporary detention, avoidance of severe sentence and <b>jail</b> , reduced sentence, desistance of prosecutor from detaining an exhibit in the case, personal protection and preservation of property and life, car registration, return of cancelled driving license, decrease or annulment of a fine, also divorce cases, real-estate registers and such	3%	8%
<b>Official matters</b> for instance in the bank, local administration - loans, credits, also acceleration of settling of a matter, increase of a disability pension. issue of a permit, a document, or a driving license	14%	8%
<b>Job</b> - getting a permanent job, getting a holiday job, getting a desired position, job abroad, loan in the place of employment	8%	7%
<b>Education, educational system</b> - enrolling in secondary school, college, credit of exams in colleges, leaving school with positive result	2%	3%
<b>House</b> – housing, earlier term for renovation, getting an apartment or house	5%	3%
<b>Business</b> - tenders, contracts, commissions, orders, transactions, avoiding customs charges, sale of the farm products, acceptance of service performed		

<b>Others</b> - for instance, I did not offer, did not settle matter, since they were expecting bribe	8%	3%
<b>Refusal or answer</b> - I will not say, it is my own business, personal business, secret, , I would rather do not tell and so like	-	2%

Sum of proportions does not make 100 because inquired answering this open question could mention more than one example known to them of settling a matter by means of a bribe.

At present, more often than two years ago, the surveyed indicated informal costs of treatment in the state medical service. Therefore, according to the public opinion, the reform which was supposed to heal this situation, did not bring expected results, at least in this area. Results of our earlier surveys show, that Polish society was rather sceptical in assessment of possibility of sanitising relations between the personnel of state medical service and patients after introducing clear rules of payment for medical treatment. In '96 only one third of surveyed (36%) believed, that after the reform of medical service there would be no more need to give gifts and money to personnel, and 45% expected, that it would still be necessary.<sup>2</sup>

However, relatively largest changes regard the scope of bribery in the judiciary system. Since '97, declared number of cases settled in this manner in courts, prosecution office and police increased almost threefold. The question remains open, whether in this specific case we see growth of corruption in the judiciary, or has bribery, as a method of getting rid of personal problems, become so commonplace, that now people more often than in the past are willing to admit handing over bribes, regardless of a sort of matters settled.

Smaller proportion of surveyed than two years ago mentioned informal settling of various kinds of official matters or matters related to business activity.

Declared attitudes towards bribery and towards persons offering bribes and accepting them can be described as incoherent. On one hand the surveyed have unequivocally appraised the phenomenon as condemnable and unethical, with no excuse in any situation, deserving of condemnation and punishment, whereas on the other hand, majority of the respondents are now inclined to accept the existence of bribes in current situation and more than half are even ready to accept them as an expression of gratitude for a favour done, which significantly changes the very act and its moral meaning.

Majority of the surveyed are convinced of wide scope of this form of pathology in public life in Poland, but less than one in five respondents have personal experience related to offering bribes.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf report of CBOS "Functioning of the health care system in public opinion", May 96



**ANNEX**Table I. Offering bribes is justified in some situations. Do you agree with this statement or not?  
(%)

	Agree	Do Not Agree	Difficult to say	Sample size
Total	46	43	11	1055
Men	48	43	9	500
Women	44	43	14	555
Age				
15-24	49	42	9	151
25-34	52	39	9	186
35-44	53	37	10	192
45-54	45	46	10	227
55-64	42	43	15	127
65 and more	32	51	12	172
Place of residence				
Village	41	42	16	396
Town up to 20 thousand	54	38	8	134
20—100 thousand	47	45	8	210
101—500 thousand	45	49	7	184
501 th. inhabitants and more	48	40	12	129
Education				
Elementary	37	46	16	306
Basic technical	51	39	10	286
Secondary	47	43	9	368
University	49	42	9	95
Social group — working				
Managerial staff, intellectual	53	40	7	76
Intellectuals workers of lower grade	43	46	11	96
Manual — intellectual workers	44	38	18	78
Qualified workers	56	42	2	124
Nonqualified workers	41	52	8	45
Farmers	48	35	13	48
Self-employed	55	34	11	48
Not working				
Disability pension	38	45	16	130
Retired	36	49	15	184
Pupils and students	48	46	5	56
Unemployed	53	36	11	114
Housewives and others	45	42	13	53
Working in				
Budget sector	46	46	8	102
Public, state sector	41	51	8	106
Private/ state companies	57	35	8	111

Private sector (aside from farming)	50	40	10	173
Private farm	47	39	14	56
Income per person				
Less than 275 zl	42	47	10	168
276—399	42	50	8	133
400—549	46	38	15	230
550—799	42	47	11	160
over700zl	51	44	4	144
Assessment of own financial conditions				
Good	55	38	8	203
Medium	43	46	11	498
Sad	44	43	13	351
Participation in religious practice				
Several times A week	39	47	14	168
Once a week	42	44	14	568
I —2 times a month	49	39	12	139
Several times a year	56	40	4	190
No participation at all	48	45	7	90
Political view				
The Left	52	40	7	265
The Centre	48	43	9	278
The Right	38	53	9	263
Difficult to say	43	36	21	250

Table 2. Bribes ensure fair remuneration and are an addition to low wages. Do you agree with this statement or not? (%)

	Agree	Do not agree	Difficult to say	Sample size
Total	39	47	15	1054
Sex				
Men	43	43	14	499
Women	44	50	16	555
Age				
18—24	40	42	8	151
25—34	43	39	18	186
35—44	44	37	10	192
45—54	39	46	13	227
55—64	30	43	20	125
65 and more	32	51	21	172
Place of residence				
village	36	45	19	395
Town up to 20 thousand	41	48	11	134
20—100 thousand	39	48	13	210
101—500 thousand	37	45	18	184

501 th. Inhabitants and more	44	50	6	129
Education				
Elementary	36	45	19	306
Basic technical	42	45	14	286
Secondary	41	45	14	367
University	27	63	9	95
Social group — working				
Managerial staff, intellectual	41	50	9	76
Intellectuals worker, of lower grade	41	52	7	96
Manual — intellectual workers	49	42	9	77
Qualified workers	49	34	17	124
Nonqualified worker,	37	50	13	45
Farmers	49	34	17	45
	42	51	7	48
Not working				
Disability pension	27	47	25	130
Retired	32	52	16	184
Pupils and students	34	61	5	56
Unemployed	37	45	18	114
Housewives and others	40	40	20	53
Working in				
Budget sector	44	46	1	102
Public, state sector	47	43	11	106
Private, state companies	40	50	10	109
Private sector (aside from farming)	41	46	13	173
Private farm	46	37	17	56
Income per person				
to 275 zł	33	49	17	168
276—399	47	37	16	133
400—549	34	50	16	228
550—799	41	46	13	160
over 799 zł	46	49	10	144
Assessment of own financial conditions				
Good	36	53	11	202
Medium	42	43	15	498
Bad	35	48	17	351
Participation In religious practice				
Several times a week	34	54	12	68
Once a week	38	45	17	567
1—2 times a month	43	44	14	132
Several times a year	36	51	13	190
No Participation at all	46	44	10	90
Political views				
The Left	41	46	13	264
The Centre	43	47	10	278
The Right	33	49	13	263
Difficult to say	31	44	25	250

Table 3. I will not offer a bribe even if forced by the situation. Do you agree with this statement or nor? (%)

	Agree	Do not agree	Difficult to say	Sample size
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	41	23	1055
Sex Men	35	43	22	500
Women	37	43	25	555
Age				
18—24	31	48	22	151
25—34	27	50	24	186
35—44	35	44	21	192
45—54	34	44	22	227
55—64	45	28	26	127
65 and more	46	27	27	172
Place of residence				
village	36	37	27	396
Town up to 20 thousand	28	46	26	134
20—100 thousand	34	47	19	210
101—500 thousand	47	31	22	184
501 th. Inhabitants and more	31	51	18	29
Education				
Elementary	42	29	29	306
Basic technical	33	46	21	286
Secondary	33	45	22	368
University	36	48	16	95
Social group — working				
Managerial staff, intellectuals	43	42	15	76
Intellectuals workers of lower grade	37	46	17	96
Manual—intellectual workers	30	48	22	78
Qualified workers	27	50	23	124
Non-qualified workers	29	50	22	45
Farmers	39	30	21	48
Self Employed	7	66	27	48
Not working				
Disability Pension	43	29	28	130
Retired	45	30	25	184
Pupils and students	29	40	30	56
Unemployed	31	44	25	114
Housewives and others	48	31	21	53
Working in				
Budget sector	47	33	20	102
Public, state sector	24	50	25	106
Private, state companies	28	59	12	111

Private sector (aside from farming)	25	50	25	173
Private farm	39	43	18	56
income per person				
to275 zl	38	39	24	168
276—399	46	38	15	133
400—549	31	43	26	230
550—799	30	34	27	160
over799zl	36	47	18	44
Assessment of own financial conditions				
Good	32	48	21	203
Medium	37	39	24	498
Bad	37	39	24	351
Participation in religious practice				
Several times a week	46	31	23	68
Once a week	37	36	27	568
1-2 times in a month	26	52	22	138
Several times a year	34	50	16	190
No Participation at all	39	42	19	90
Political views				
The left	36	45	20	265
The Centre	30	41	10	278
The Rights	34	41	25	263
Difficult to say	34	36	35	250

Table 4. Current situation forces people to offer bribes. Do you agree with this statement or not? (%)

	Agree	Do not agree	Difficult to say	Sample size
Total	63	26	11	1055
Sex Men	63	27	10	500
Women	62	25	13	555
Age				
18—24	68	24	8	151
25—34	70	23	7	186
35—44	62	22	10	192
45—54	61	26	13	227
55—64	62	26	12	127
65 and more	47	35	18	172
Place of residence				
Village	63	23	14	396
Town up to 20 thousand	59	34	7	134
20—100 thousand	69	22	9	210
101—500 thousand	58	29	13	184
501 th. Inhabitants and more	62	28	11	129
Education				

Elementary	54	31	15	306
Basic technical	69	22	8	286
Secondary	66	23	12	368
University	62	31	6	95
Social group — working				
Managerial staff Intellectuals	54	32	13	76
Intellectuals workers of lower grade	72	21	7	96
Manual — intellectual workers	70	19	10	78
Qualified workers	69	25	6	124
Nonqualified workers	56	39	5	45
Farmers	66	21	13	48
Self-employed	74	19	2	48
Not working				
Disability pension	53	31	15	130
Retired	54	29	17	184
Pupils and students	58	30	13	56
Unemployed	70	22	9	114
Housewives and others	71	18	11	53
Working in				
Budget sector	63	27	10	102
Public. state sector	67	30	3	106
Private state companies	69	19	13	111
Private sector (aside from farming)	67	25	8	173
Private farm	66	18	16	56
Income per person				
to275 zl	65	27	8	168
276—399	61	29	10	133
400—549	61	29	10	230
550—799	67	20	12	160
ovcr799z~	65	26	0	144
Assessment of own financial condition				2
Good	67	23	10	03
Medium	60	29	11	498
Bad	65	24	12	351
Participation in religious practices				
Several times a week	53	38	9	62
Once a week	61	27	13	568
1-2 times a month	68	20	11	138
Several times a year	71	21	8	190
No participation at all	57	31	12	90
Political views				
The Left	71	21	1	265
The Centre	61	28	11	278
The Rights	60	32	8	263
Difficult to say	59	23	8	250

Table 5. During past four years, have you ever encountered a situation, where you were forced so offer money, gift and the like, in order so settle or accelerate settling of any matter?

	Yes	No	I'd rather not to tell	Sample size
Total	19	73	8	1055
Sex: Men	21	72	7	500
Women	17	75	8	555
Age				
18-24	22	70	8	151
25-34	26	69	5	186
35-44	27	65	8	192
45-54	17	74	9	227
55-64	13	82	5	27
65 and more	7	85	9	172
Place of residence				
Village	16	76	8	396
Town upto20 thousand	13	51	6	134
20—100 thousand	22	69	20	210
101—500 thousand	17	77	6	184
501 th. inhabitants and more	31	61	8	129
Education				
Elementary	10	83	7	306
Basic technical	22	72	7	286
Secondary	24	67	9	368
University	21	72	7	95
Social group — working				
Managerial staff, intellectuals	31	66	3	76
Intellectuals workers of lower grade	22	71	7	96
Manual — intellectual workers	30	66	5	78
Qualified workers	26	63	12	124
Nonqualified workers	24	73	3	45
Farmer	17	81	2	48
Self-employed	27	59	14	48
Not working				
Disability pension	10	82	7	130
Retired	8	82	9	184
Pupils and students	20	75	5	56
Unemployed	18	71	11	114
Housewives and others	13	83	4	53
Working in				
Budget sector	16	78	6	102
Public, state sector	28	67	6	106
Private, state companies	36	54	10	111
Private sector (aside from fanning)	23	68	9	173
Private farm	15	83	2	56
Income per person				

9<sup>th</sup> International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC), 10-15 October, 1999, Durban, South Africa

to27Szt	21	70	9	168
276—390	19	74	6	33
400—549	16	75	9	230
550—799	20	77	3	160
over799zl	24	69	8	144
Assessment of own financial conditions				
Good	24	72	4	203
Medium	15	70	6	498
Bad	22	67	1	351
Participation in religious practices				
Several times a week	19	79	1	62
Once a week	15	77	8	568
1-2 times a month	27	65	9	132
Several times a year	25	68	7	i90
No participation at all	18	72	10	90
Political views				
The Left	22	69	9	265
The Centre	24	68	8	278
The Rights	19	78	3	263
Difficult to say	10	79	11	250