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Corruption in Serbia:

BRIBERY AS EXPERIENCED
BY THE POPULATION



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UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME
Vienna

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Corruption is often reported in the international community to be an area of vulnerability for the countries of the western Balkans and it appears that the people of Serbia would tend to agree. Results presented in this report show that Serbian citizens rank corruption as the most important problem facing their country after unemployment and poverty/low standard of living.

Corruption comes in many guises and, in contrast to other surveys that look at people's perceptions, this survey focuses on the actual experience of administrative corruption and provides information on the nature of bribery and its procedures. This is the kind of petty corruption that affects the daily lives of ordinary people in their dealings with the public administration, the service provider which plays such a huge a role in contemporary society that a remarkable nine out of ten adult Serbians interact with it at some point during the course of the year.

Such dealings may be for anything from a medical visit or school enrolment to the issue of a new passport or driving licence but, according to the results of this survey, a significant amount of them are of a dubious variety. Although there are notable variations between the Serbian regions, on average, 13.7 per cent of Serbian citizens aged 18 to 64 have either direct or indirect exposure to a bribery experience with a public official on a yearly basis. But when focusing on bribes actually paid, the percentage of Serbian citizens who pay at least one bribe in that period –among those who have contacts with the public administration– is 9.3 per cent, and those who pay at least one bribe in that period actually do so once every ten weeks. The highest prevalence of bribery is observed in Belgrade, while in Sumadija and Western Serbia it is below the national average.

The face of corruption is all too familiar but the one seen in Serbia has slightly different features to those in other parts of the globe. While, as to be expected, more Serbian men pay bribes than Serbian women, despite established gender roles that assign more home-based activities to women, the difference between the sexes is not that marked (10% and 8.5%, respectively).

Serbian women are evidently no strangers to corruption but they go about the bribery business in a slightly different manner to their male counterparts. They are more likely to pay a bribe in kind –in the shape of food and drink, for example– while men are more likely to use

money. Cash accounts for more than half (52%) of all bribes in Serbia and, although this type of corruption is petty, the sums paid are far from trivial: the average bribe paid being 15,530 RSD, or the equivalent of approximately 165 Euro ¹.

Such cash payments are substantial, bearing in mind the per capita incomes in Serbia, but it would be wrong to assume that people are always coerced into paying them. More than half of bribes paid (56%) are actually offered by citizens themselves, while in more than 40 per cent of cases they are paid in response to a direct or indirect request by a public official. This shows the lack of faith some Serbian citizens have in the ability of the public administration to function without the payment of some kind of kickback for facilitating bureaucratic procedures. And the existence of deficiencies and bottlenecks in the public sector is confirmed by the fact that one third of citizens who participate in a bribery act do so to speed up a procedure, while almost one in five (18%) does so to make the finalization of a procedure possible or to receive better treatment.

Such a need for better treatment no doubt explains why the public officials paid most kickbacks in Serbia are doctors. More than half (55%) of citizens who pay bribes pay them to doctors, more than a quarter to nurses (26%) while 39 per cent pay police officers.

The picture painted in this survey is sometimes a troubling one, but data indicate that there is some resistance to bribery and Serbian citizens do not always consent to the payment of bribes in order to facilitate or benefit from a particular administrative procedure: for every three who do so there is one who refuses, turning down the request made by a public official. On the other hand, only a negligible amount of bribe-payers (less than 1%) report their experience to the authorities. There are numerous reasons for this: some citizens do not deem bribery to be of the same gravity as “real” crimes, in part because there is a sense of acceptance that bribery is simply a common practice (12%) and also, when constituting an expression of gratitude for services rendered, actually a positive practice (28%). Citizens also fail to report bribery events because bribe payment can, of course, be of direct benefit to the bribe-payer (20%), and because they believe reporting to be a futile exercise as nothing would be done, nor would anyone care (36%).

Interestingly, for more than one in three bribe-payers (37%) this survey interview was the first time they had admitted to the payment of a bribe, having never previously shared the experience with anybody, even close friends or relatives. It seems that when it comes to bribery a well-established and selective code of silence still exists in many cases.

Bribery not only affects the services provided to citizens by public officials. The public administration is the largest employer in Serbia and its associated job security and accompanying benefits are highly coveted. Some 16 per cent of Serbian citizens, or members of their households, applied for a job in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey, but of those whose application was successful some 6 per cent admit to paying some money, giving a gift or doing a favour to help secure their position. Among those who failed, there is a widespread perception that factors such as cronyism, nepotism or bribery played a decisive role in the recruitment process, while only 8 per cent believe that the selection was made on merit.

Certain malpractices may also have played some kind of role in the most recent elections held in Serbia. Data show that an average of 7 per cent of citizens at the last local elections and another 7 per cent at the last parliamentary or presidential elections were asked to vote for a certain candidate or political party in exchange for a concrete offer of money, goods or a favour.

¹ Amounts in Serbian Dinars are converted into Euro by using the annual average exchange rate published by Eurostat. For international comparisons, amounts in national currency should be converted by using Purchasing Power Parities (PPP): when using conversion rates in PPP, as published by Eurostat, 15,530 RSD are equivalent to approximately 349 EUR-PPP.

While Serbian men in their thirties are those most exposed to bribery, characteristics such as income, education level or employment status do not appear to have a clear effect on the probability of experiencing bribery. For instance, although the prevalence of bribery increases slightly with income level, its frequency does exactly the opposite and the average number of bribes paid is actually higher among lower income groups than wealthier citizens, with no social group being exempt from bribery.

Nor, of course, is any social group exempt from the possibility of falling victim to the other five crime types examined in this survey. While the one-year prevalence rates for personal theft, assault/threat, burglary, robbery and car theft in Serbia are considerably lower than for bribery (5.9%, 4.2%, 3.4%, 1.1% and 0.7%, respectively), the data show that a sizeable percentage of Serbian citizens fell victim to one of these crimes in the year prior to the survey. Nevertheless, seven out of ten feel safe when walking alone after dark in their neighbourhoods, and an even larger majority of citizens feel fairly secure in their homes.

But perceptions about corruption in Serbia are not so positive. More than half of the population believe that corrupt practices occur often or very often in a number of important public institutions, including political parties, local government, public hospitals, the police, the judiciary and customs office. Furthermore, 45 per cent of Serbian citizens believe that corruption is actually on the rise in their country, while 44 per cent believe it to be stable and a further 10 per cent think it is decreasing. Perceptions, it should be underlined, are nothing more than opinions and are not to be confused with the actual experience of corruption that provides the main focus of this report. Nevertheless, such a perception can be interpreted as an expression of citizens' awareness of one of the principal challenges facing Serbia, both now and in the years to come.



KEY FINDINGS

- Serbian citizens rank corruption as the third most important problem facing their country today, after unemployment and poverty/low standard of living.
- Nine out of ten Serbian citizens interact with the public administration at some point during the course of the year.
- In the 12 months prior to this survey, 13.7 per cent of Serbian citizens had either direct or indirect exposure to a bribery experience with a public official.
- The bribery prevalence rate among citizens who had contact with public officials in that period is 9.3 per cent.
- There are no significant differences in the prevalence of bribery in urban and rural areas or in the regions of Serbia, with only Sumadija and Western Serbia having a prevalence rate below the national average.
- 8.5 per cent of Serbian women participate in bribery, as opposed to 10 per cent of Serbian men.
- Everyone who reports the payment of at least one bribe, on average, actually pays five bribes or the equivalent of one bribe every ten weeks or so.
- More than half (52%) of bribes are paid in cash, one third (34%) as food and drink.
- The average cash bribe paid in Serbia is 15,530 RSD, or the equivalent of approximately 165 Euro.
- In more than half (56%) of bribery incidents Serbian citizens initiate the payment; in 14 per cent of cases the bribe is explicitly requested.
- The main purposes of paying bribes in Serbia are to speed up a procedure (34%) or to receive better treatment (18%) and to finalize a procedure (18%).
- More than half of all bribe-payers in Serbia pay kickbacks to doctors (55%), more than a third to police officers (39%) and one in four to nurses (26%).

- Of those citizens who refuse to pay bribes, one in three refuses to pay doctors and 29 per cent refuse to pay police officers.
- Less than 1 per cent of Serbian citizens who experience bribery actually report the incident. Citizens do not report bribery because they receive a benefit from it (20%) or because they give bribes voluntarily as a sign of gratitude (28%).
- Perceptions of widespread corruption in the public sector are backed up by the experience of those 6 per cent of newly recruited public officials who, in the three years prior to this survey, secured their job with the help of a bribe.
- The offer of goods, favours and money to attract voters was evidenced during the last local and national elections: 7 per cent of citizens were approached at local elections and another 7 per cent at the last parliamentary or presidential elections.
- Corruption has a higher prevalence rate than other crimes such as personal theft, burglary, robbery and assault. And while a sizeable percentage of citizens fell victim to such crimes in the year prior to the survey, the majority feel safe after dark and do not use advanced security systems to protect their homes.



INTRODUCTION

Corruption remains an issue for countries all over the world. Socio-economic development, the institutional and political setting or the prevailing social and cultural norms are all elements that can shape it in very different manners, but corruption is still a scourge from which no country is truly exempt and it is often reported to be an area of vulnerability for the countries of the western Balkans, including Serbia. Indeed, the citizens of Serbia perceive corruption to be a major problem: the results presented in this report show that they rank corruption as the most important problem facing their country after unemployment and poverty/low standard of living.

International legal instruments and national policies

In the last decade, awareness of corruption has increased in Serbia and it has become an important priority in the political agenda of the country. Successive Serbian governments have committed themselves to fighting corruption and key steps have been taken to address the issue, in part because of commitments deriving from the European Union accession process and the subsequent need to adapt national legislation to the *acquis communautaire*.

The upgrading of the legislative framework for the fight against corruption in Serbia was manifested in the ratification of two Council of Europe conventions –the Criminal Law Convention against Corruption (2000) and the Civil Law Convention against Corruption (2008). In 2005, Serbia also became party to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), a consequence of which is the Implementation Review Mechanism, established in 2009 to enable all parties to review their implementation of UNCAC provisions through a peer review process. One of the objectives of this mechanism is to encourage a participatory and nationally driven process towards anti-corruption reform and it is noteworthy that Serbia will be reviewed in the second wave (2011-2012).

Serbia introduced important anti-corruption legislation by adopting the Law on Prevention of Conflict of Interests in performing Public Functions (2004), the Law on Corporate Liability for Criminal Acts (2008) and the last Law on the Agency for the Fight against Corruption (2010). Important anti-corruption measures were included in the National Anti-corruption Strategy, adopted by the Serbian Government in 2005, and in the subsequent Action Plan presented in December 2006. The Commission for the Implementation of the National Anti-

corruption Strategy and the Recommendations of the Group of States against Corruption of the Council of Europe (Groupe d'Etats contre la corruption –GRECO) was also created.

The Anti-Corruption Agency, created after the 2010 law, is an autonomous and independent governmental body with wide-ranging authority in the field of corruption prevention. It also supervises the implementation of the Strategy and the Action Plan, resolves conflicts of interest, keeps a register of officials, performs activities regulating the financing of political parties and implements anti-corruption programmes.

The complexity of corruption

Corruption can occur at different levels. A distinction is usually drawn between grand and administrative (petty) corruption, with the former referring to corrupt practices affecting the legislative process and policymakers, and the latter referring to dealings between civil servants and the public. In either case, it has a devastating impact on the rule of law, hinders equal access to public services, affects public trust in state institutions and is a hurdle to economic and social development, especially in young democracies.

Corruption is a complex crime with blurred boundaries making it often difficult to distinguish between culprit and victim. It is not necessarily a one-dimensional transaction in which an active perpetrator coerces a passive party: both sides may benefit, and the victim might be a third party or the community at large. Moreover, there are cultural and social factors that can further cloud the issue. The giving of gifts, for example, whether as a “thank you” or bureaucratic lubricant, may be considered acceptable in one culture yet unethical in another.

The importance of studying direct experience

In this context, comprehensive assessments of corruption can greatly assist governments in better tailoring policies and enhancing the capabilities of anti-corruption bodies. At the same time, it is widely accepted that the collection of empirical data in this area represents a real challenge because of the complex and covert nature of corruption. These difficulties are sometimes circumvented by focusing on perceptions about corruption, rather than on actual experience of it. Perception-based indicators, while useful for raising awareness about the issue of corruption and helping to advocate policy measures for addressing it, fail to provide clear indications as to the extent of corruption and vulnerable areas. Increasing concerns are also expressed about the validity of methods used to build perception-based indicators.

In recent years, tools for collecting information on direct experiences of corruption have been developed: sample surveys can produce important indicators about the extent and nature of corrupt practices. More importantly, the wealth of information gathered can shed light on the modalities of corruption and the sectors, positions and administrative procedures more at risk. Promoted by a variety of international organizations, national institutions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development agencies, a number of such surveys have been conducted in several countries around the world, including Serbia and the western Balkan region, thus proving the feasibility and relevance of this approach.

Previous studies conducted in Serbia

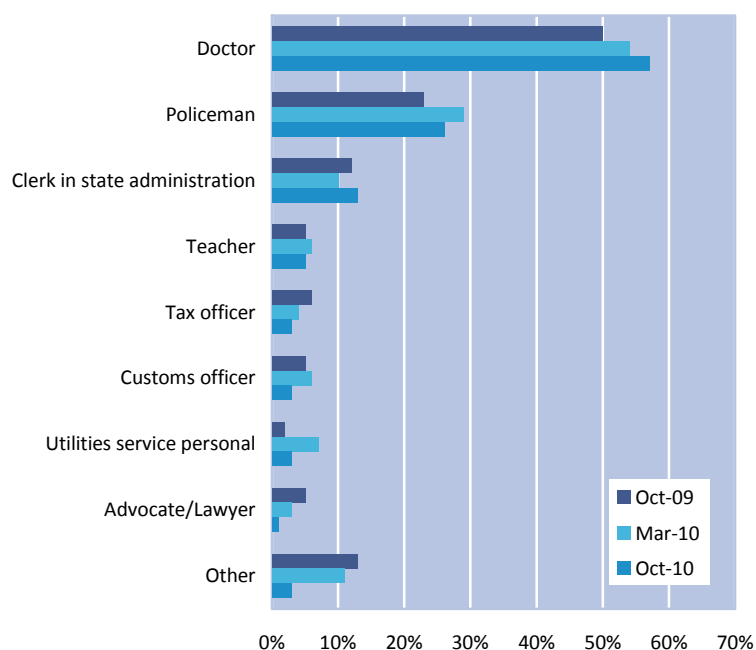
Various surveys and studies have been conducted in Serbia in an attempt to provide data and analyses on the extent and nature of corruption. For example, according to repeated UNDP corruption benchmarking surveys carried out by TNS Medium Gallup in recent years (October 2009, March 2010 and October 2010)², it appears that the percentage of citizens directly exposed to the payment of bribes has remained quite constant throughout the surveyed periods: the percentage of respondents admitting to having paid a bribe in the three

² UNDP and TNS Medium Gallup, *Serbia Corruption Benchmarking Survey, October 2010*

months prior to those surveys was 15 per cent in October 2009, 16 per cent in March 2010 and 13 per cent in October 2010.

As figure 1 shows, the results of those surveys indicate that most bribes were paid to doctors (57% of the bribes paid), followed by police officers (26%) and state administration employees (13%).

Figure 1: Percentage of bribe-payers who paid to selected types of officials, Serbia; October 2009, March 2010, October 2010



Source: UNDP and TNS Medium Gallup, Serbia Corruption Benchmarking Survey, October 2010

In addition to the experience of bribery, additional insights can be derived from investigating citizens' perception about corruption: for example according to Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer Report 2010³, a large share of Serbian citizens (49%) feel that the level of corruption has increased in the last 3 years.

The scope and methodology of this study

Following a bilateral agreement between the European Commission and the Serbian Government, UNODC provided its support in conducting this large-scale survey on corruption, with the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia acting as the national partner for implementing the survey and research activities. The main objective of this survey was to examine actual experience of administrative corruption in Serbia: the research probed the prevailing types and modalities of corruption that affect citizens' daily lives, with particular focus on bribery⁴, a practice that, in accordance with the United Nations Convention against Corruption, is a criminal offence. Additional topics covered in the surveys include reporting of corruption to the authorities, citizens' opinions about corruption and integrity, and the experience, as victims, of other forms of crime. In order to collect this information, in 2010, a sample survey was conducted via face to face interviews with a nationally representative

³ Transparency International, Global Corruption Barometer 2010

⁴ Bribery is defined as (a) the promise, offering or giving to a public official, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties and (b) as the solicitation or acceptance by a public official, directly or indirectly of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties.

sample of 3000 Serbian citizens aged 18 to 64, selected randomly in each region of the country.

This report contains the analysis of the data collected in that survey. Its goal is not to rank the different regions of the country or any selected sector or ministry on a corruption scale, but rather to provide analytical knowledge about a complex phenomenon, both at a national and sub-national level. To fight corruption effectively it is necessary to understand its many facets since there is no simple “one-size-fits-all” solution to the problem. It is believed that the evidence-based information presented in this report will provide the authorities of Serbia with an additional tool for developing well-targeted anti-corruption policies. Information that can also be made use of in the peer review process of the UNCAC Implementation Review Mechanism, as well as represent a benchmark for measuring future progress in the fight against corruption.

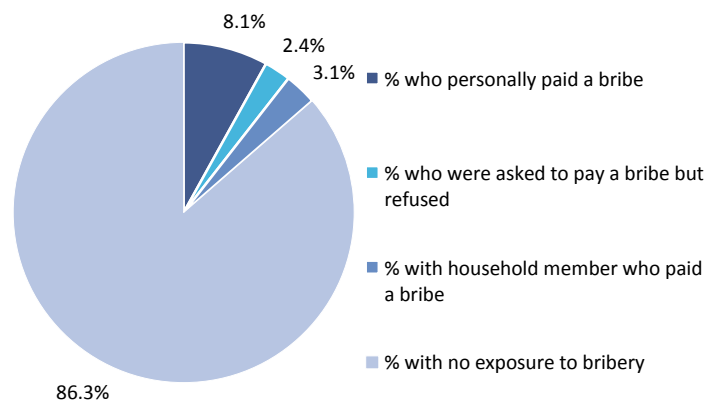


1. PREVALENCE OF BRIBERY

The public sector plays a major role in contemporary society. Whether for a medical visit, school and university enrolment or the issue of an ID card, to name but a few examples, citizens and households depend on its services for a huge variety of reasons. The fact that nine out of ten adult Serbians reported having at least one contact with a public official in the 12 months prior to this survey shows just how substantial that role actually is.

The demand made on the system is clear but when it comes to integrity in the provision and use of its services the picture that emerges is a somewhat cloudy one. One important finding of this survey is that a considerable number of Serbian citizens (642,000, equivalent to 13.7% of adult population aged 18 to 64) had either direct or indirect exposure to a bribery experience with a public official in the 12-month period in question. As figure 2 shows, this number represents the sum of three different groups: the percentage of citizens who actually paid money, gave a gift or counter favour to a public official; the percentage of those requested to pay a bribe by a public official but refused to do so; and the percentage of those who shared a household with someone who did pay a bribe.

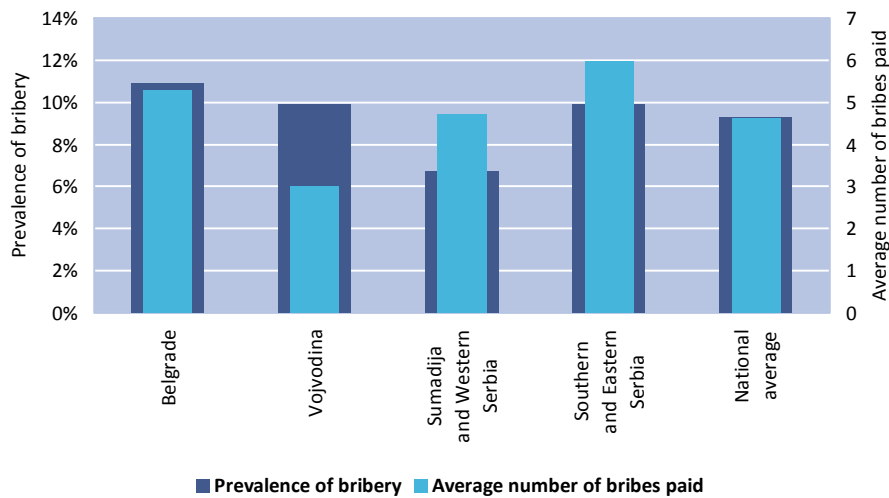
Figure 2: Direct and indirect exposure of adult population in Serbia to bribery in the 12 months prior to the survey, (2010)



The data in figure 2 show that bribery is still a significant issue in the lives of many citizens of Serbia. At the same time, it is encouraging to note that there is a significant portion of Serbians capable of saying “no”, thus refusing to pay the kickback requested by a public official. Data show that for every three citizens who pay a bribe to a public official during the course of the year, there is one who turns down such a request.

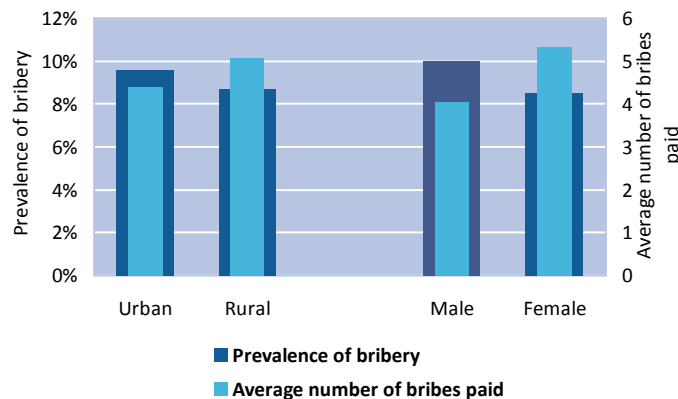
When focusing on bribes actually paid, the prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of citizens who, in the 12 months prior to the survey, gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion, as a percentage of citizens who had at least one contact with a public official. As such, the average prevalence of bribery in Serbia is 9.3 per cent at a national level, though there is some fluctuation in the prevalence rate throughout the different Serbian regions (figure 3).

Figure 3: Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid by region, Serbia (2010)



Note: Prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult citizens (aged 18-64) who gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the same period. The average number of bribes refers to average number of bribes given by all bribe-payers, i.e. those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Figure 4: Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid, by sex and urban/rural areas, Serbia (2010)



Note: Prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult citizens (age 18-64) who gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the same period. The average number of bribes refers to average number of bribes given by all bribe-payers, i.e. those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

For example, the prevalence rate is somewhat higher than the national average in Belgrade (10.9%), whereas it is considerably lower in Sumadija and Western Serbia (6.7%) (figure 3). Although there are differences in the prevalence of bribery in urban (9.6%) and rural (8.7%) sub-populations on a national level (figure 3), some variations can be delineated on a regional level. Thus, in Vojvodina, the prevalence of bribery in urban areas (13.0%) is significantly higher than in rural areas (5.4%), while the reverse can be observed in Belgrade and Southern and Eastern Serbia.

In Belgrade and Vojvodina, the prevalence of bribery is considerably higher among men than among women (13.9% and 11.4% vs. 8.1% and 8.7%), while on a national level 10.0 per cent of the adult male population participates in bribery, as opposed to 8.5 per cent of females (figure 4). This difference is not that remarkable, showing that in spite of perceived gender roles, which assign men greater responsibility for dealing with the public administration and activities outside the home in general, Serbian women undertake administrative procedures to a similar extent and are no strangers to bribery. Indeed, in Sumadija and Western Serbia fewer men participate in bribery than women (6.3% vs. 7.2%, respectively).

However, it is misleading to consider the prevalence rate alone when evaluating the extent of bribery in any given country. To get a fairer impression, the frequency of bribe paying should also be taken into consideration since, while more than one third of bribe-payers in Serbia give bribes on only one occasion, two thirds of them do so on multiple occasions. Effectively, on average, bribe-payers in Serbia pay two public officials on two and a half different occasions, thus everyone who reported the payment of at least one bribe had to pay five bribes or the equivalent of one bribe every ten weeks. As figure 3 shows, the highest frequency is in Southern and Eastern Serbia, while the lowest is in Vojvodina. Overall, as figure 4 shows, the average number of bribes paid is higher among the rural and the female bribe-payers.



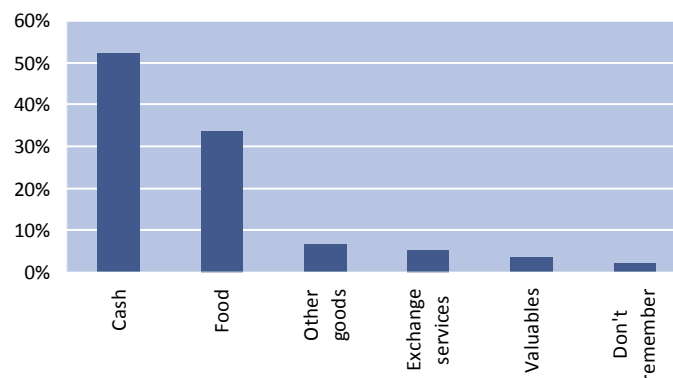
2. NATURE OF BRIBES

Payments to public officials come in several shapes and sizes and are made for different reasons in diverse contexts. Money or gifts, for example, may be explicitly requested by public officials for the completion of a procedure or offered by a citizen to facilitate a service or simply express gratitude for a service rendered. In this chapter, a number of payment characteristics are presented in order to shed some light on what is clearly a complex question.

Forms of payment

In Serbia, more than 50 per cent of bribes are paid in cash (figure 5), while one third are given in the shape of food and drink. Considerably lower down the scale come other goods (7%), the exchange of another service (5%) and valuables (4%). A large proportion of bribes take a form that can be interpreted as a barter –either explicit or implicit– between two parties in which each one of them both gives and receives something in the exchange. But it should be stressed that in most cases the two parties are not on an equal footing, with one of them (the public official) usually being in a position of strength from a negotiating perspective.

Figure 5: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by type of payment, Serbia (2010)

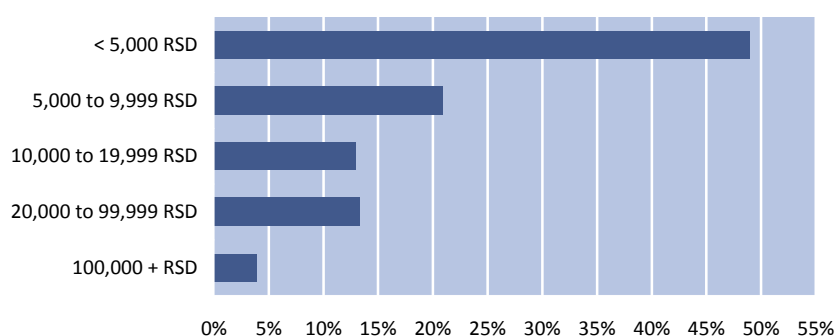


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables)

There are, however, some noteworthy fluctuations in these rates throughout the different Serbian regions. A higher percentage of residents of Sumadija and Western Serbia (62%), Vojvodina (57%) and Belgrade (57%), for example, pay money, whereas the giving of food is more prevalent among residents of Southern and Eastern Serbia (49%). In Vojvodina, the giving of food is less prevalent than in all other Serbian regions but the giving of other goods as a bribe (11%) is more prevalent than elsewhere in Serbia. On a national level, the giving of food is also more prevalent in rural areas (41%) than in urban areas (29%), while women (43%) are more likely to give food than men (26%), who use money to pay bribes (58%) more readily than women (46%).

When focusing on bribes paid in cash (figure 6), the results of this survey show that almost 50 per cent of all bribes are for amounts smaller than 5,000 RSD (approximately 55 Euro⁵), one fifth of all bribes paid are in the 5,000-10,000 RSD range, almost 30 per cent are higher than 10,000 RSD (approximately 105 Euro) and, interestingly, 4 per cent of bribes paid in cash are for amounts larger than 100,000 RSD (more than 1,000 Euro). While not quite “grand corruption” these are certainly very considerable amounts for the households involved.

Figure 6: Percentage distribution of bribes paid in cash by amount paid (in RSD), Serbia (2010)



Taking into account the last bribes paid in cash, the average bribe amounts to 15,500 RSD (approximately 165 Euro); a figure that corresponds to more than one third of the average Serbian monthly salary in 2009. As table 1 shows, by far the largest average amount is paid in Belgrade (33,600 RSD), while the smallest is paid in Sumadija and Western Serbia (5,560 RSD).

Table 1: Average amount of bribes paid in cash (in RSD, Euro and EUR-PPP) by region, Serbia (2010)

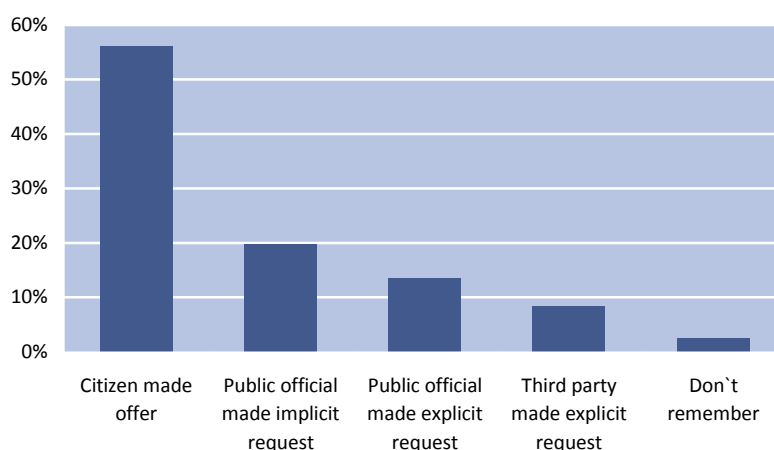
Average bribe	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
RSD	33,656	9,714	5,560	9,423	15,530
Euro	358	103	59	100	165
EUR-PPP	757	218	125	212	349

⁵ Serbian national currency is Serbian Dinar (RSD). Euro/RSD average exchange rate in 2009: 1 Euro = 93.95 RSD

Bribe-seeking modality and timing

In contacts with public officials resulting in a payment of money or gifts, it is noteworthy that in more than half of cases (56%) payment is offered by citizens themselves, whereas in slightly more than 40 per cent of cases payment is actually made following a request. However, in 14 per cent of cases that request is made explicitly by the public official, while in almost 20 per cent of cases the public official makes the citizen understand implicitly that a kickback is necessary. (figure 7).

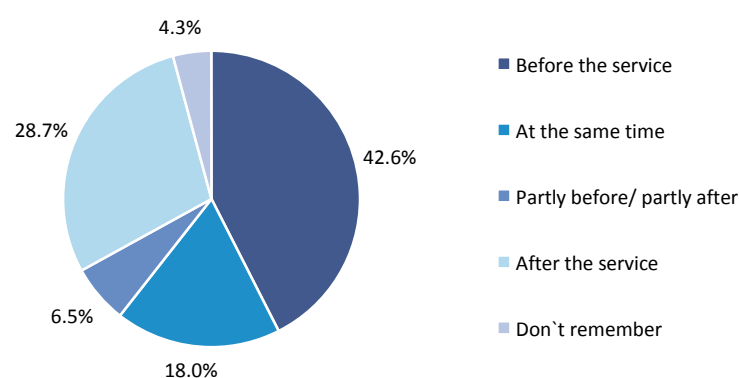
Figure 7: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by modality of bribe request/offer, Serbia (2010)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

The timing of a bribe payment can also shed light on the motivation behind it, in particular as to whether it is made to facilitate a specific service or as a “thank you” for the successful completion of a procedure. Data show that almost 30 per cent of bribes are paid after the service, virtually every fifth bribe is paid at the same time that the service is provided (18%) and almost half of all bribes (43%) are given before the service is actually carried out (figure 8).

Figure 8: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by timing of payment in relation to service delivery, Serbia (2010)



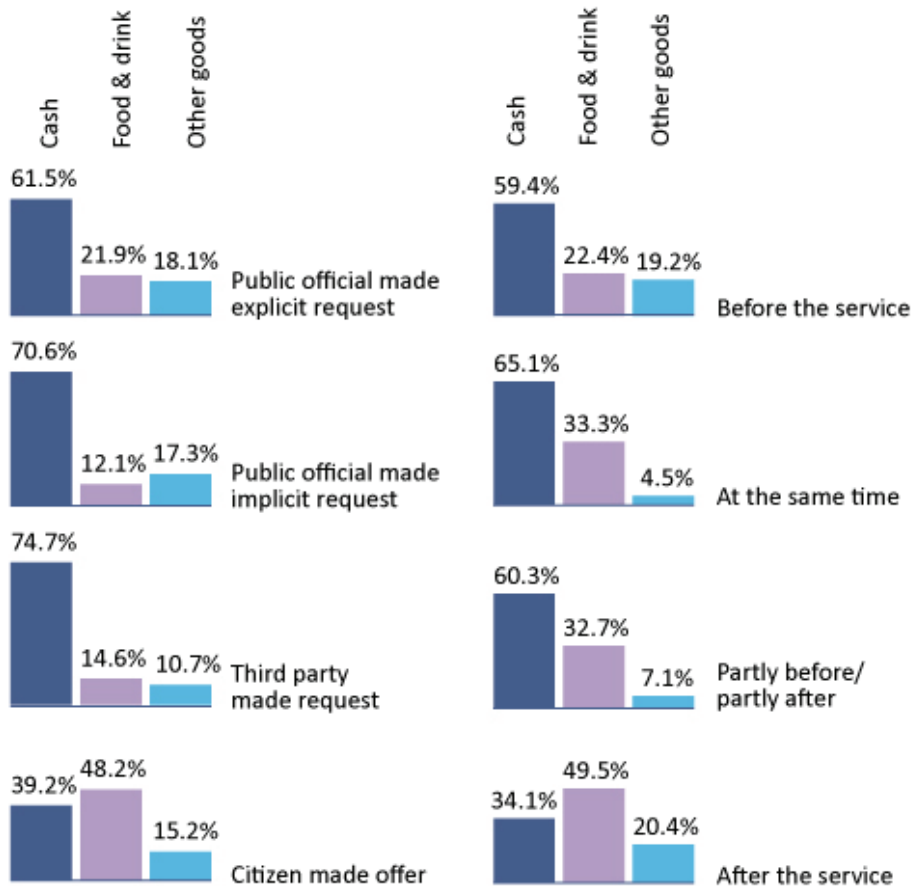
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

As shown in figure 9, cash is more often used than food when payment is made before the service is delivered (59%), when it is made at the same time as the service is provided (65%),

or partly before and partly after the service (60%), while the giving of food and drink is more prevalent when the “transaction” is made after the service (50%).

Figure 9 also shows that cash is most often used when bribes are paid to a public official in response to a request from a third party (75%). Money is also a very common form of kickback when citizens are made to understand implicitly that a bribe is expected (71%), or when an explicit request has been made (62%). On the other hand, when a citizen makes an offer without being previously requested to do so, food is the most common form of payment (48%), while cash is still given in slightly less than 40 per cent of such cases.

Figure 9: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by type of payment and respectively, by modality of bribe request/offer and by timing of bribe payment in relation to service delivery, Serbia (2010)



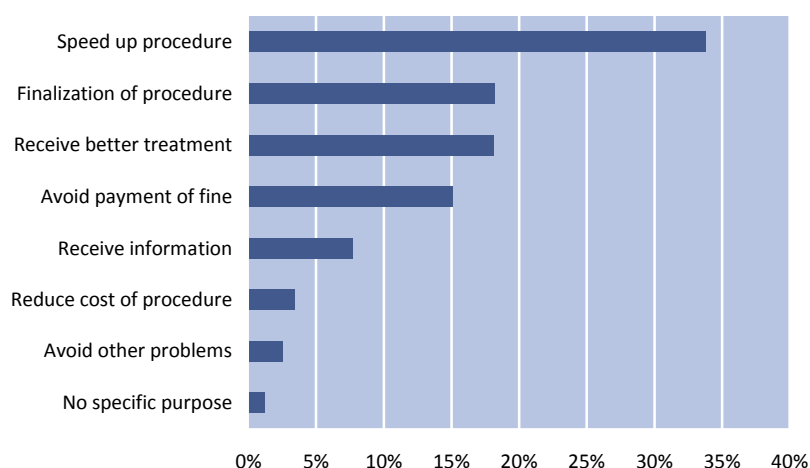
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables)

The data seem to point to the fact that, in certain cases (when the offer is made by citizens and when the bribe is given after the service), citizens prefer to provide public officials with food items. Bribes paid in cash before a procedure are, on average, considerably larger (22,800 RSD or 240 Euros) than those paid after the service (11,150 RSD or 118 Euros). Also, the average amount paid is lower in those cases when a bribe is voluntarily offered by a citizen (8,700 RSD or 90 Euros) than in cases where the request is made by an official or a third party (20,000 RSD or 225 Euro).

Purposes of bribes

In every procedure bribes may be used for different purposes. People may, for example, give bribes in relation to the identity card or passport issuing procedure in order to speed up the procedure, reduce the official fee, receive information or get better treatment. Different purposes of bribes given, irrespective of the procedure for which they apply, are shown in figure 10.

Figure 10: Percentage distribution of bribes paid, by purpose of payment, Serbia (2010)



Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

About a third of Serbian citizens who get involved in a bribery act do so to speed up a procedure (34%), while almost one in five does so to receive better treatment (18%) or to make the finalization of a procedure possible (18%). Together with bribes paid to receive information (8%), these data indicate that, when used, bribery is mostly used to overcome deficiencies and weaknesses in public service delivery.

Large bribes

Large amounts (more than 20,000 RSD) paid by Serbian citizens are mostly related to medical visits (63%). The majority of large bribes are paid before the service (65%) and to speed up the procedure to which they are related (50%). More than one third of them are paid because the citizen is made to understand a payment is desired and nearly a quarter are requested by a third party. One fifth are paid voluntarily, while another fifth are explicitly requested by the public officials who receive the bribe.

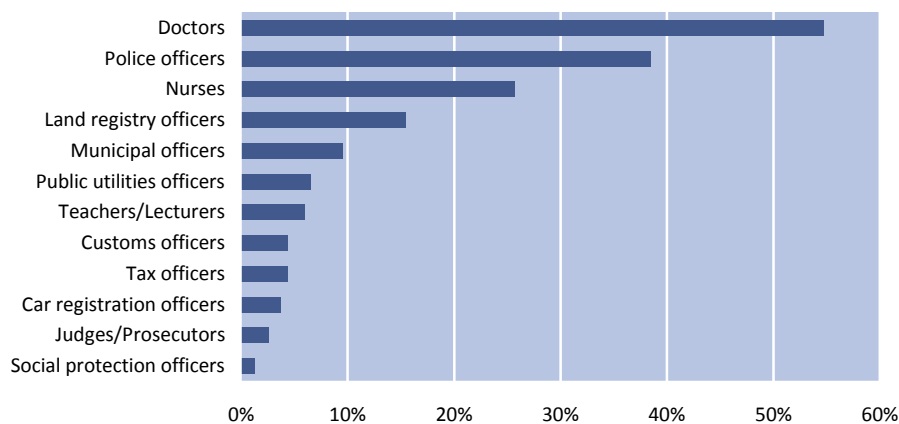


3. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND BRIBERY

Just as bribery may be employed for diverse purposes in varying guises and different contexts, not all sectors of the public administration in Serbia are affected by corruption to the same extent. There are certain types of public official that seek bribes more frequently than others, while there are certain procedures and situations in which beneficiaries of public services are more prone to making offers to public officials in order to reduce red tape and finalize proceedings.

According to the experience of citizens who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey, the public officials who receive most kickbacks in Serbia are doctors (55% of citizens with recent corruption experience give bribes to doctors), police officers (39%), nurses (26%) and land registry officers (16%) (figure 11). Other types of public officials receive a smaller percentage of bribes, ranging from social protection officers (1%) to municipal officers (10%).

Figure 11: Percentage distribution of bribe-payers who paid to selected types of public officials, Serbia (2010)

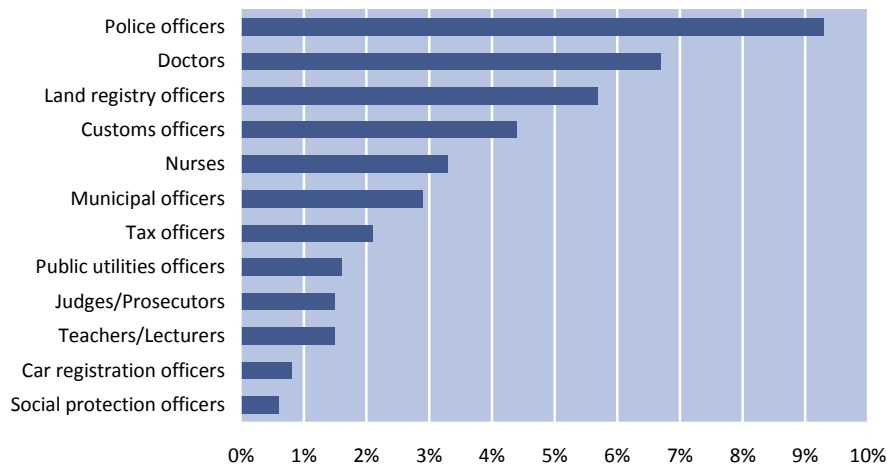


Note: The sum is higher than 100 per cent since bribe-payers could have made payments to more than one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Type of settlement can also have an impact on the type of official involved in acts of bribery. Doctors and nurses, for example, receive kickbacks or gifts more often from citizens in rural areas than from citizens in urban areas: 73 per cent and 34 per cent of bribe-payers in rural areas make at least one such payment to doctors and nurses, respectively, in comparison with 44 per cent and 21 per cent in urban areas. Meanwhile, more citizens from urban than from rural areas pay bribes to police officers (44% vs. 29%), land registry officers (21% vs. 7%), teachers (9% vs. 2%) and public utilities officers (9% vs. 2%).

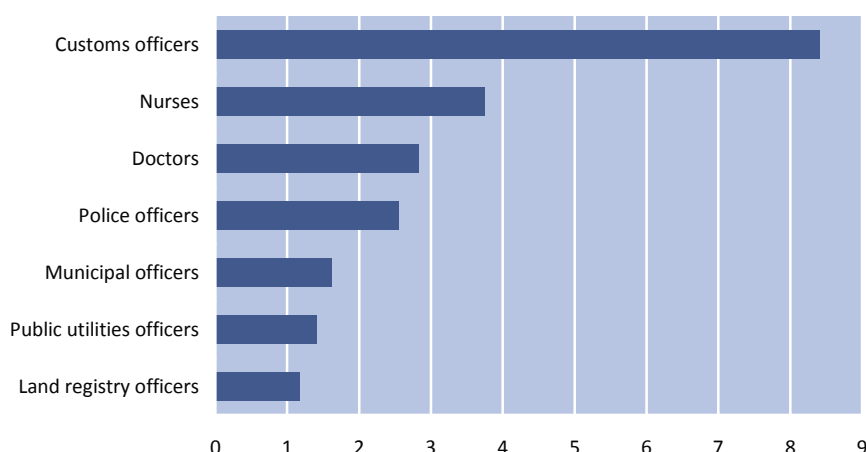
To some extent, it is unsurprising that public officials with a high level of interaction with the public also receive the highest number of bribes. However, there are some positions in the public administration, such as in the judiciary or customs service, where the frequency of interaction with citizens is certainly more limited but where bribery experiences are still a recurrent problem. For this reason, it is useful to analyse not only which types of officials account for the greatest numbers of bribe receipts but also the probability of a particular type of official receiving a bribe when he or she is contacted – independently from the frequency of interactions. To measure this, the number of citizens who paid a bribe to a selected type of public official is compared with the number of citizens who had contacts with that type of official in the 12 months prior to the survey. Figure 12 shows bribery prevalence rates calculated as the percentage of people who paid a bribe to a selected type of public official over those who had a contact with the same type of public official.

Figure 12: Prevalence of bribery for selected types of public officials receiving the bribe, Serbia (2010)



Note: Prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult citizens (aged 18-64) who gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the same period. In this chart prevalence of bribery is computed separately for each type of public official.

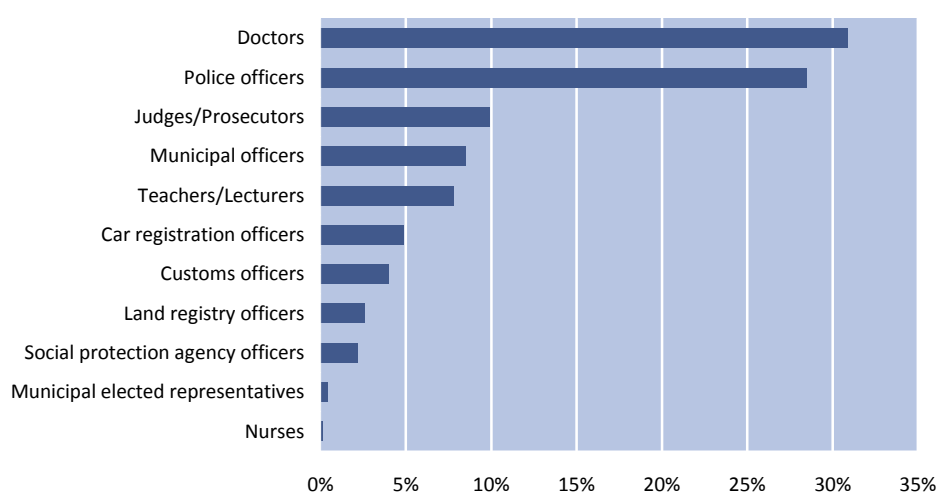
This indicator shows that the highest average prevalence rates are recorded for police officers (9%), doctors (7%) and land registry officers (6%). Moreover, a relatively high value is registered for customs officers (4%), indicating that they also request the payment of bribes with a certain frequency from the citizens with whom they deal. The values presented in figure 12 are also particularly relevant for identifying occupations where the risk of bribery is higher.

Figure 13: Average number of bribes paid to selected public officials, Serbia (2010)

Note: The average number of bribes refers to average number of bribes given by all bribe-payers, i.e. those who paid at least one bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Another important indicator of the extent of bribery among selected public officials is the frequency of payments. Figure 13 shows the average number of bribes given by bribe-payers to selected public officials, with land registry officers, for example, receiving one bribe from each bribe-payer and customs officers receiving eight bribes from each bribe-payer.

It should be noted, however, that Serbian citizens do not always agree to the payment of bribes in order to facilitate or benefit from a particular administrative procedure. As shown in chapter 1, for every three citizens who pay a bribe there is one who refuses to do so and turns down the request made by a public official. Figure 14 shows that doctors and police officers are two types of civil servant whose bribery requests are often declined: among those citizens who turn down bribe requests, 31 per cent have been personally asked to pay a bribe by a doctor, 29 per cent by a police officer and 10 per cent by a judge/prosecutor.

Figure 14: Percentage distribution of adult population refusing payment of bribe in the 12 months prior to the survey by type of public official requesting the bribe, Serbia (2010)

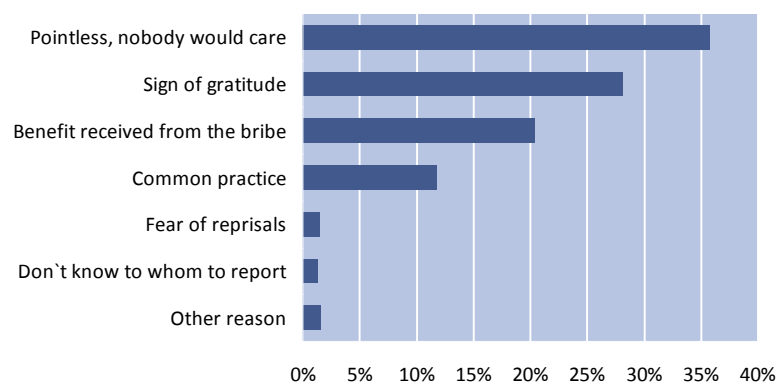


4. REPORTING OF BRIBERY

In general terms, the extent to which a crime is reported to the authorities by its victims is directly proportional to the combined effect of three factors: the perceived gravity of the crime experienced; faith in the authorities' resolve to identify the culprits; and the immediate benefit the victim can draw from reporting the crime (events covered by insurance, for example).

According to the results of this survey, less than 1 per cent of bribe-payers report their experience to the authorities, thus indicating that none of the above factors is currently playing a role in shaping reporting patterns on bribery.

Figure 15: Percentage distribution of bribe-payers not reporting their personal bribery experience to authorities according to the most important reason for not reporting, Serbia (2010)



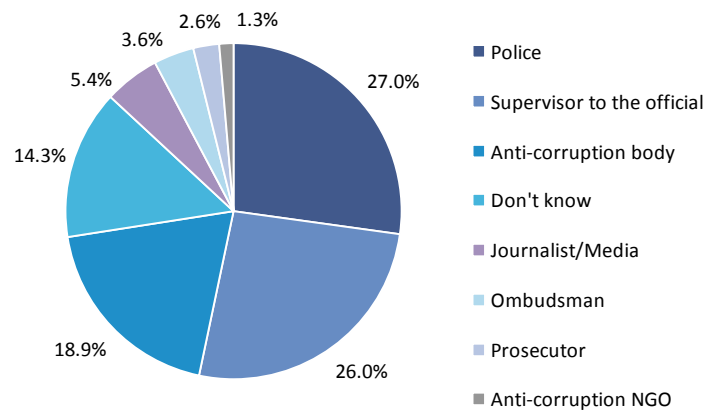
Note: Data refer to bribe-payers who did not report their last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey to authorities/institutions.

An important share of those who pay a bribe perceive it as sign of gratitude (28%) or simply as a common practice (12%); another fifth say that they actually receive a direct benefit from paying the bribe so there would be no point in reporting it. Most bribe-payers (36%) think that

reporting would be pointless as nobody would do anything about it. Furthermore, data show that factors such as the fear of reprisals or insufficient knowledge and awareness of the authorities responsible for processing citizens' complaints cannot be considered important motivations for explaining the low reporting rate (figure 15).

Bribery experience may not usually be reported to the authorities but bribe-payers do share their experiences with people they know. About 60 per cent of citizens with bribery experience discuss it with friends or family but such talk does not go beyond the group of immediate acquaintances and only fractional numbers of bribe-payers discuss the bribe with others. And for a considerable proportion of bribe-payers (37%) this survey interview was the very first time they had admitted to the payment of a bribe, meaning that they had never previously shared the experience with anybody, not even close friends or relatives. When it comes to bribery, a well-established and selective code of silence evidently still exists in many cases.

Figure 16: Percentage distribution of adult population according to institutions indicated for future reports of bribery incidents, Serbia (2010)



As stated above, very few citizens resort to the authorities to disclose their experience. Figure 16 shows the picture obtained when citizens were asked which agency/official they would address in the future if they had to report a bribery experience. More than a quarter (27%) would approach the police and another quarter would turn to the supervisor of the official involved (26%), while 19 per cent would report the episode to an anti-corruption body. Other reporting options, such as the media, an ombudsman, a prosecutor or an anti-corruption NGO, would be taken by considerably fewer citizens. Fourteen per cent would not know to whom to report.



5. OTHER FORMS OF CORRUPTION

In addition to bribery related to public service delivery, Serbian citizens were asked about certain behaviours and practices in public sector recruitment and vote-buying before elections.

Public sector recruitment

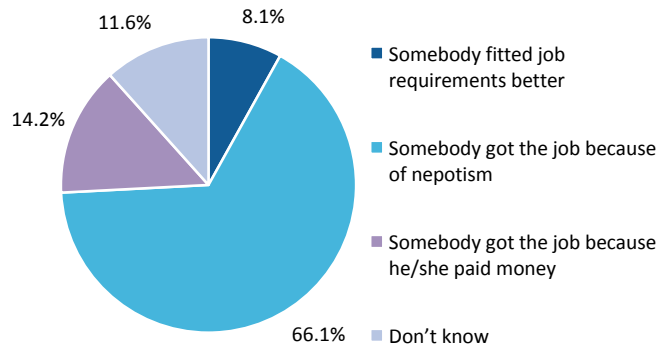
As well as being providers of myriad vital services to the population, public sector institutions jointly make up the largest single employer in any given country. Although decreasing significantly in recent years, the share of the workforce employed in the public sector in Serbia is around 20 per cent according to recent ILO estimates⁶. Due to the sheer size and importance of the public administration, departments/agencies need to hire new staff on a regular basis. The recruitment process is usually regulated in order to ensure transparency, and new staff is normally selected on the basis of criteria such as competence and experience. But, according to survey results, it appears that other factors also come into play, such as nepotism, cronyism or even bribery.

In all countries job opportunities in the public sector are usually attractive to job seekers, not only for the nature of the work itself but also for the advantages typical of employment in the public administration, such as job security, associated social status and fair remuneration. In this sense, Serbia is no exception and, according to the results of this survey, some 16 per cent of citizens or members of their households applied for a job in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey, of whom 23 per cent actually secured a job. Of those who were successful, 6 per cent admit paying money, giving a gift or doing a favour in order to be hired.

Data show that recruitment procedures in Serbia's public sector suffer from some lack of transparency, at least in the opinion of applicants who were not recruited: as shown in figure 17, two thirds of those who did not get a job think that somebody else was employed due to cronyism or nepotism, while an additional 14 per cent believe that somebody else was hired due to bribery. Only 8 per cent believe that somebody else better fitted the job requirements (figure 17).

⁶ According to recent ILO estimates, the share of workforce in the public sector is 20 per cent in Serbia (2008)

Figure 17: Percentage distribution of adult population who applied for a job in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey and were not hired according to perceived reason for not being recruited, Serbia (2010)



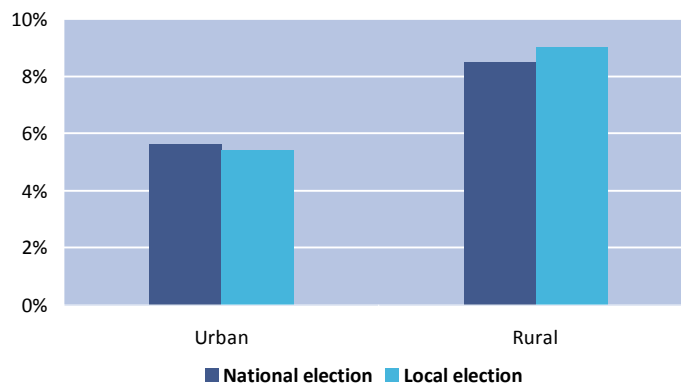
Note: Data refer to adult population (aged 18-64) who applied for a job in the public service in the 3 years prior to the survey and who were not recruited.

Vote-buying at recent elections

A key development in any democracy is manifested in the modalities, rules and regulations of the electoral process, including electoral campaign regulations, funding of parties and access to the media. These are all extremely important and sensitive topics for which countries implement thorough legislation in order to ensure fair and transparent elections.

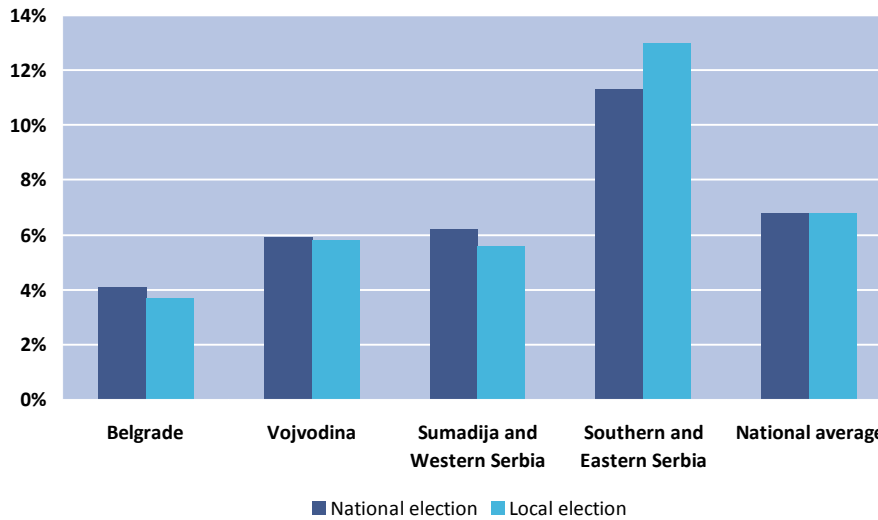
In this regard, the United Nations Convention against Corruption invites countries to identify criteria concerning candidatures for election to public offices and to enhance transparency in the funding of candidatures and, where applicable, of political parties. In this framework, the survey explored one specific aspect related to the electoral process, with citizens being asked whether they were exposed to vote-buying. The findings show that on the occasion of the last national elections (presidential or parliamentary) held in Serbia, 7 per cent of citizens were asked to vote for a certain candidate or political party in exchange for a concrete offer, such as money, goods or a favour. In the case of local elections the same percentage of the adult population stated they received some sort of offer (figure 18)

Figure 18: Percentage of adult population asked to vote for a candidate at last national and local elections in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by urban/rural, Serbia (2010)



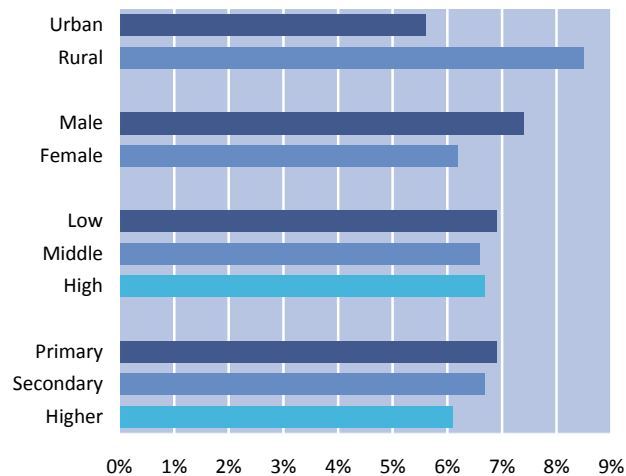
Most vote requests to individuals during the last national elections and last local elections were reported in Southern and Eastern Serbia (11% and 13%, respectively). In other parts of the country the share of respondents being approached at national or local elections is lower (figure 19).

Figure 19: Percentage of adult population asked to vote for a candidate at last national and local elections in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by regions, Serbia (2010)



The greatest number of offers was made in rural areas, more frequently to men than to women, and more often to individuals with low levels of education and to citizens with a low income (figure 20).

Figure 20: Percentage of adult citizens asked to vote for a candidate at last general elections in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by selected variables (urban/rural, sex, income and educational attainment), Serbia (2010)



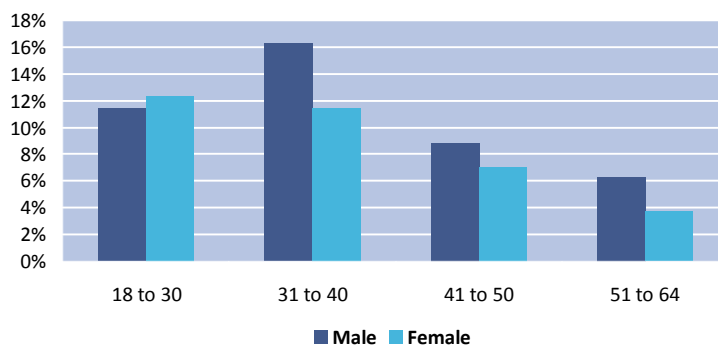


6. VULNERABILITIES TO BRIBERY

By definition, two parties play a role in an act of bribery, one giving and the other receiving a payment, gift or counter favour, though, as seen in previous chapters, on occasion a third person may act as an intermediary. Less clear is the identity of the victim: sometimes it is the bribe-payer, particularly when left with no choice but to pay in order to access a service, but in other cases the agreement between the two parties, whether explicit or implicit, is made at the expense of a third party, be it a specific individual, group or the community at large. Such blurred boundaries mean that any light, however faint, that can be shed on the features and characteristics of bribe-payers may be of assistance in developing anti-corruption policies and in assessing the impact of bribery.

In general terms, the demographic and socio-economic features of the bribe-paying population of Serbia closely match those of the population as a whole, though some distinctive characteristics can be noted. For example, the prevalence of bribery is higher among male citizens than female citizens (10% vs. 8.5%), men in their thirties are those most exposed to bribery and the probability of being confronted with bribe requests decreases with age (figure 21).

Figure 21: Prevalence of bribery in Serbia, by age groups and sex (2010)



Note: Prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult citizens (aged 18-64) who gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the same period.

There are, however, noteworthy differences in vulnerability between men and women in Serbia when looking at the type of official receiving a bribe. For example, the prevalence rate in relation to police officers is 12.2 per cent for men but 5.3 per cent for women and in relation to doctors it is 7.3 per cent for women but only 5.9 per cent for men.

The prevalence rate in relation to police officers is higher in urban areas than in rural areas (10.6% vs. 7.1%), while the opposite can be observed for doctors (5.5% urban vs. 8.5% rural). And when analyzing payments to certain types of official by age groups of bribe-payers, the likelihood of paying a police officer is highest in the youngest age group (18 to 30) surveyed and decreases with age. The prevalence rate in relation to police officers also increases with the level of household income, but when looking at characteristics such as education level or activity status no clear patterns emerge.

In terms of the reasons why Serbian citizens pay kickbacks, female citizens do so more often for personal/family reasons in comparison with men (95% vs. 79%), while male citizens do so more often for work/business related reasons (15% vs. 3%). However, in general, administrative bribery appears to affect the different social strata without establishing a clear pattern. It is a pragmatic practice employed when a problem needs solving or a bureaucratic bottleneck needs clearing and the better off can afford the payment of larger bribes in order to do so, but no social group appears to be exempt from such activities.



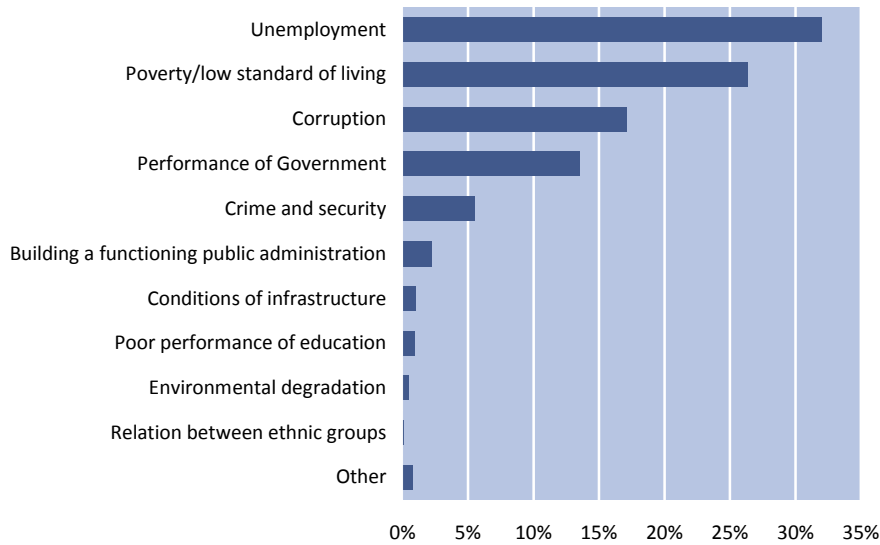
7. PERCEPTIONS AND OPINIONS ABOUT CORRUPTION

The perception of a certain phenomenon can be seen as the result of a process in which a piece of information, be it based on a direct or indirect experience, is processed and evaluated by any given person. Citizens' opinions about corruption are, therefore, the final outcome of a complex process and the type of information available to them is the first factor influencing their opinion. The media usually plays a major role in shaping public perceptions when, for instance, it focuses on specific episodes of corruption while neglecting others. And the same information can be interpreted in different ways by different people, depending on their culture, values, socio-economic status, occupation and other variables.

Perceptions of corruption, then, do not measure corruption per se, but instead measure the psychological impact of corruption on the population. This survey focuses on actual experiences of petty corruption but understanding how corruption is perceived by citizens is important in assessing the likelihood of corrupt practices occurring: the greater the perception of corruption, the greater the probability that certain practices will persist and develop further. If it is anticipated that the payment of a bribe is required to get something done, it is more likely that the bribe will be either requested or offered. Corrupt practices, including bribery, foster perceptions about corruption and those perceptions, in turn, foster corruption.

As already stated, according to the findings of this survey, the citizens of Serbia believe that corruption is one of the biggest problems facing their countries today: they rank it the third most important issue to be addressed at national level after unemployment and poverty or low standard of living (figure 22).

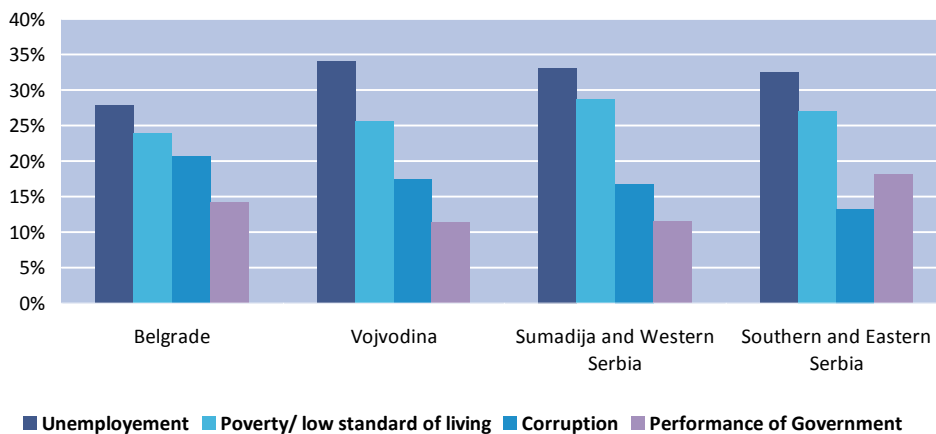
Figure 22: Percentage distribution of adult population considering selected issues as the most important in Serbia (2010)



Unemployment is understandably rated the most important issue but corruption is actually ranked higher than issues such as the performance of the Government or even crime and security. The conditions of the infrastructure, poor performance of education, environmental degradation and the relations between ethnic groups are hardly considered issues at all.

On a sub-national level, corruption is perceived to be a higher priority in Belgrade (21% state it is the most important problem). In Southern and Eastern Serbia, corruption is perceived to be of less importance and is ranked the fourth most important problem (13%). (figure 23).

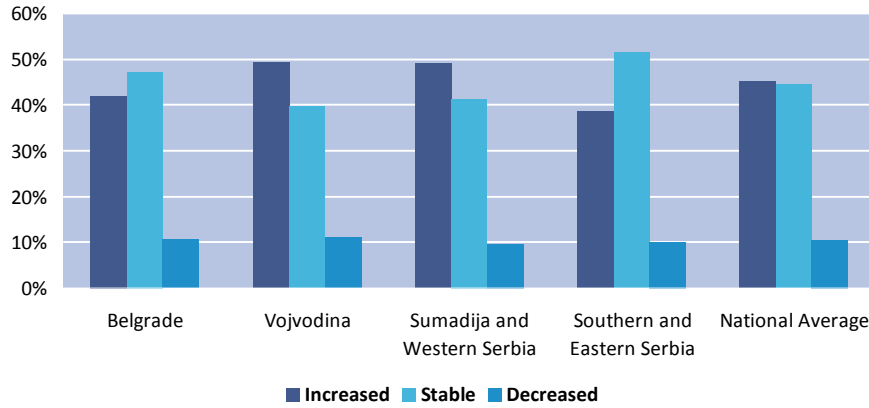
Figure 23: Percentage of adult population considering selected issues as the most important in Serbia, by region (2010)



Another perspective to take into consideration when evaluating perceptions is whether corruption is perceived to be decreasing or increasing over time. As figure 24 shows, 45 per cent of Serbian citizens believe corruption to be on the rise in their country (although it must be reiterated that perceptions about time trends are different from actual bribery experience – as evidenced in previous chapters – and are also different from opinions about corruption compared with other topics). Variations between regions are quite limited in relation to this question: in Southern and Eastern Serbia (39%) and in Belgrade (42%) the share of citizens

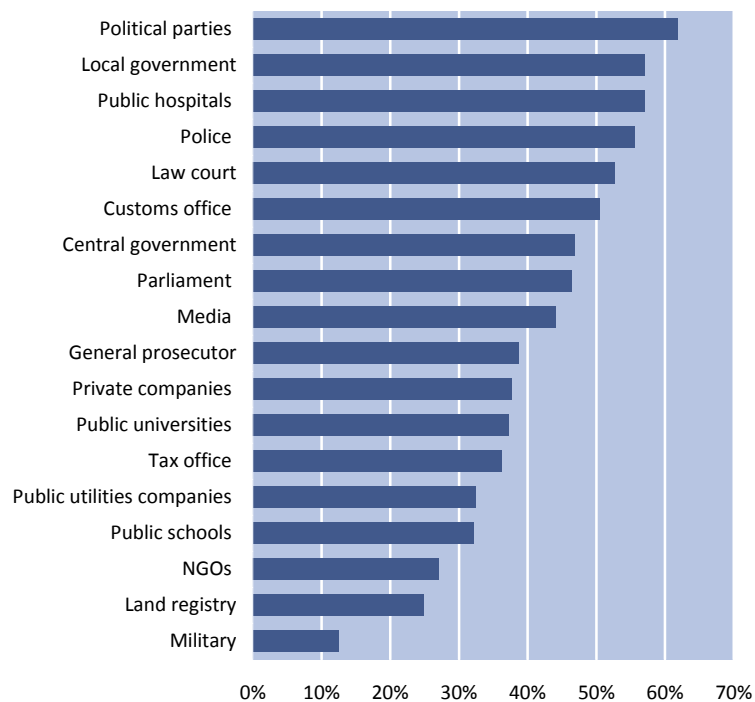
perceiving corruption to have increased in the three years prior to the survey is somewhat smaller than in Vojvodina and Sumadija and Western Serbia (both 49%).

Figure 24: Percentage distribution of adult population according to perceived trends of corruption in Serbia in the three years prior to the survey, at regional level (2010)



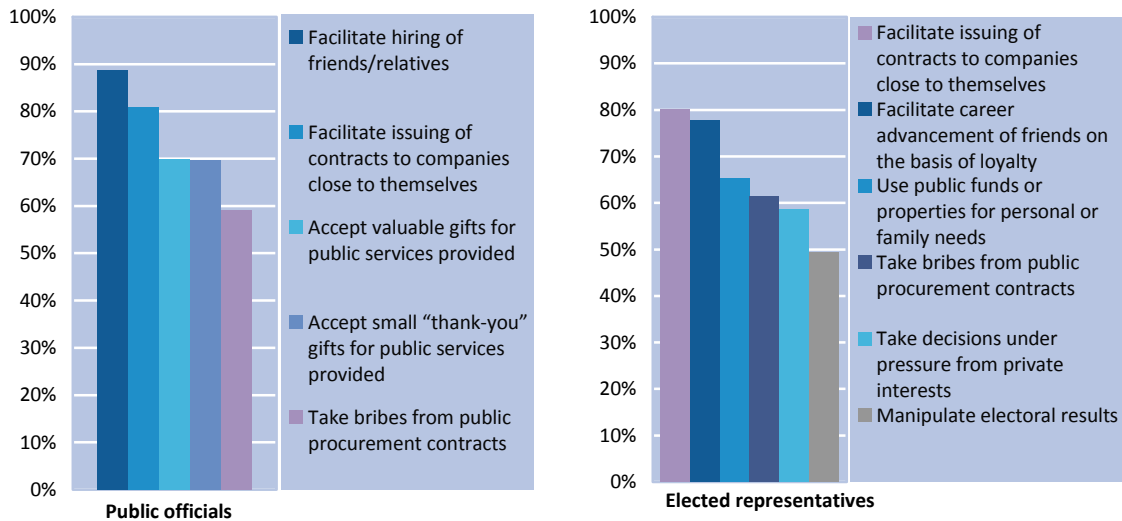
Several institutions or sectors are perceived to be permeated by corruption to a significant extent. Figure 25 shows that a significant, though variable, share of the population believes that corrupt practices occur often or very often in those institutions selected, with the military, NGOs and land registry offices among the organizations perceived to be more immune to corruption. In the case of the latter, this perception differs greatly from experience-based values in the survey, since land registry officers have one of the highest prevalence rates of bribery in Serbia and receive bribes from a significant share of all those who admit to paying bribes.

Figure 25: Percentage of adult population who consider that corrupt practices occur often or very often in selected sectors/institutions in Serbia (2010)



These evaluations of the perception of corruption play an important role in helping stakeholders to learn about citizens' trust in institutions and their perceptions about the integrity of various crucial bodies in the public service. Apart from the findings about the sectors perceived to be corrupt, it is highly relevant to see which practices are perceived to be corrupt and to which procedures they relate (figure 26).

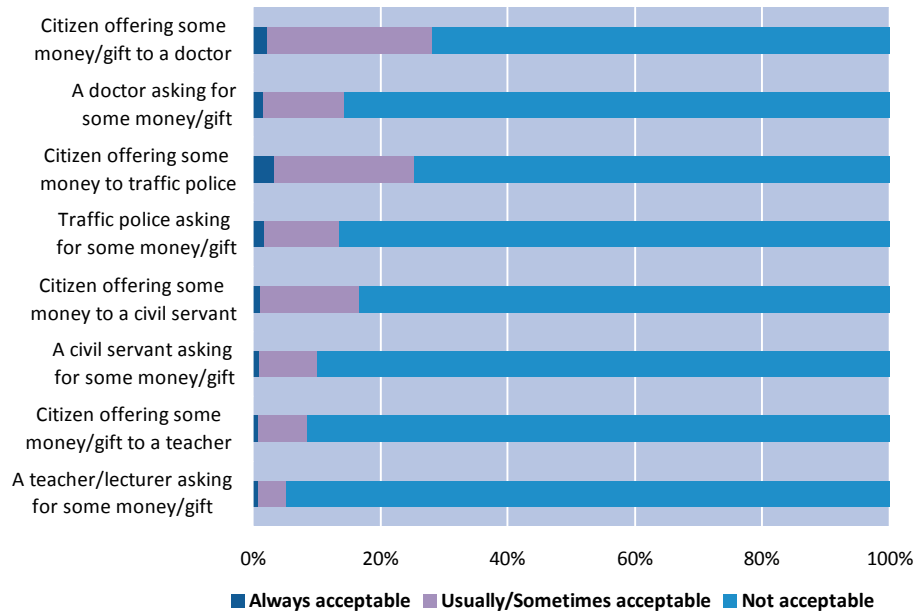
Figure 26: Percentage of adult population who perceive that selected malpractices occur often or very often, respectively among public officials and elected representatives in Serbia (2010)



Certain malpractices, such as the hiring of friends and relatives and the awarding of contracts to private companies, are perceived to happen on a frequent basis among elected representatives and unelected public officials in equal shares. A large share of the adult population of Serbia perceives that all these malpractices occur on a regular basis. The manipulation of electoral results is perceived to happen often or very often by almost 50 per cent of citizens. While remembering that such data only refer to perceptions, it is still remarkable that such a significant share of the population believes certain practices to be so widespread considering that experience-based indicators in the survey show significantly lower values.

In addition to the perception of the extent of some behaviours, it is also important to understand to what point such practices are considered acceptable by the population as it is possible that the frequency of certain practices has the effect of making people consider such behaviours to be acceptable. Data presented in figure 27 indicate that for most citizens the various acts listed are not considered acceptable, though some nuances do exist and it appears that some behaviours are more acceptable than others. Moreover, the act of a citizen offering some money or a gift to a public official is usually more tolerated than the request actually made by a public official.

Figure 27: Percentage distribution of adult population in Serbia according to acceptability of certain practices among selected public officials (2010)



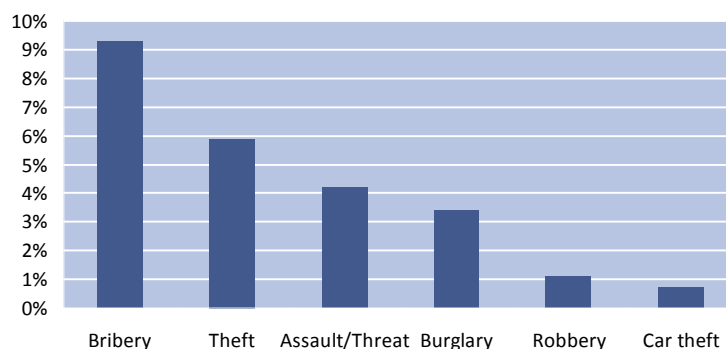


8. PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF OTHER FORMS OF CRIME

Besides corruption, the survey also addressed the victimization experience of respondents in relation to various other types of crime. Although bribery, car theft, personal theft, burglary and robbery are all criminal acts, their respective impacts are not easily comparable due to the substantive differences in material, psychological and socio-economic damages incurred. While bribery is liable to erode public integrity and the social fabric as a whole, other crime types such as assault, robbery and theft often have significant psychological effects on the victims, in addition to their material consequences.

In most countries, crime trends and patterns are usually evaluated through data on reported crime as collected by the police, prosecutors or courts. The collection of data about victims of crime can provide valuable information for at least two reasons: it provides an assessment of the so-called “dark figure” of crime, which represents all those criminal events that for various reasons are not reported by victims to the authorities; secondly, it supplies a whole range of important information about victims and modalities of crime episodes.

Figure 28: Annual prevalence rates for different types of crime, Serbia (2010)

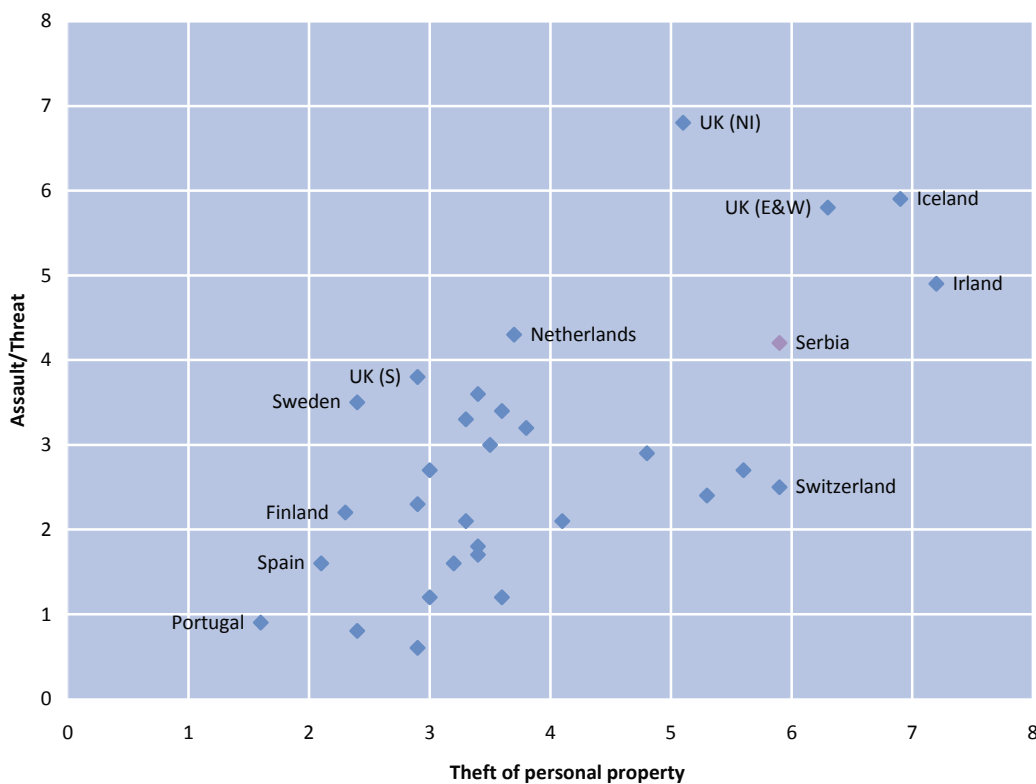


Note: Prevalence of bribery is calculated as the number of adult citizens (aged 18-64) who gave a public official some money, a gift or counter favour on at least one occasion in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of adult citizens who had at least one contact with a public official in the same period; annual prevalence rates for personal theft, assault/threat, robbery and burglary are respectively calculated as the number of adult citizens experiencing each of these crimes, as a percentage of the total adult population (age 18-64); the annual prevalence rate for car theft is calculated as the number of households who experienced one car, van or truck theft in the 12 months prior to the survey, as a percentage of households owning a car, van or truck.

As shown in figure 28, the annual prevalence rates for personal theft (5.9%), assaults/threats (4.2%), burglary (3.4%), robbery (1.1%) and car theft (0.7%) are generally lower than for corruption (9.3%). There are significant differences in one year victimization rates between urban and rural areas, with annual prevalence rates in urban areas substantially higher than in rural areas for all crime types included in the survey.

When considering these figures in an international perspective, it is evident that the victimization experience of the citizens of Serbia is not different from the one recorded in other European countries. This is visualized in figure 29, where prevalence rates of assault and theft recorded in Serbia and other countries of the western Balkan region are shown jointly with the most recent data available in a number of other European countries.

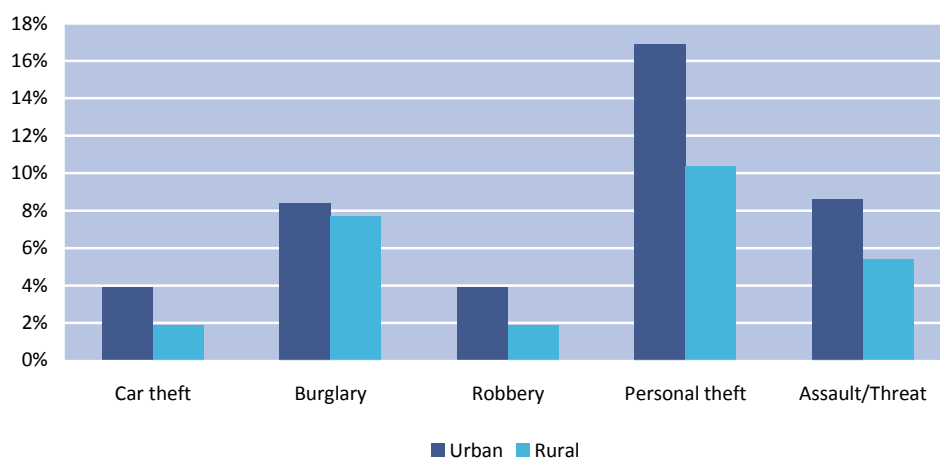
Figure 29: Annual prevalence rates of theft and assault/threat in western Balkan countries/areas and selected other European countries (2010 and most recent year)



Note: Figures for other European countries are taken from the European Survey on Crime and Safety (EU-ICS) and the International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS) and refer to the year before survey conducted in 2004/2005. Source: WODC (2007), Criminal Victimization in International Perspective.

A similar pattern is apparent when considering the share of the population that experienced at least one incident of a particular crime in the five years prior to the survey⁷: personal theft remains the most common crime experienced by Serbian citizens (14.3%), followed by burglary (8.2%), assault/threat (7.3%), robbery (3.3%) and car theft (3.1%). As in the case of one-year prevalence rates, there is a marked difference between citizens of urban and rural areas in terms of their experience of being victim to such crimes, though burglary is almost as frequent in rural areas as is in urban areas (figure 30).

⁷ This indicator (i.e. five year prevalence rates) yields larger sub-samples which can produce statistically significant estimates for further breakdowns of data, such as by region, urban/rural settlement, sex, etc.

Figure 30: Five-year prevalence rates for selected types of crime in urban/rural areas, Serbia (2010)

Note Prevalence rates for personal theft, assault/threat, robbery and burglary are respectively calculated as the number of adult citizens experiencing each of these crimes in the five years prior to the survey, as a percentage of the total adult population (age 18-64); the prevalence rate for car theft is calculated as the number of households who experienced one car, van or truck theft in the 5 years prior to the survey, as a percentage of households owning a car, van or truck.

By looking at five-year prevalence rates for various crime types (i.e. the share of the population that experienced at least one incident of a certain crime since 2005) the burden of crime for various sub-groups of the population can be further explored. (table 2). Although not directly comparable to annual prevalence rates, five-year prevalence rates yield a somewhat different order in which various crime types affect the population in Serbia.

Table 2: Five-year prevalence rates for different types of crime by region, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Personal theft	15.7	22.9	7.8	10.5	14.3
Burglary	8.4	12.3	5.3	6.4	8.2
Assault/threat (personal)	9.0	9.2	5.8	4.9	7.3
Robbery (personal)	4.9	4.1	1.9	2.5	3.3
Car theft	7.3	2.7	2.7	0.4	3.1

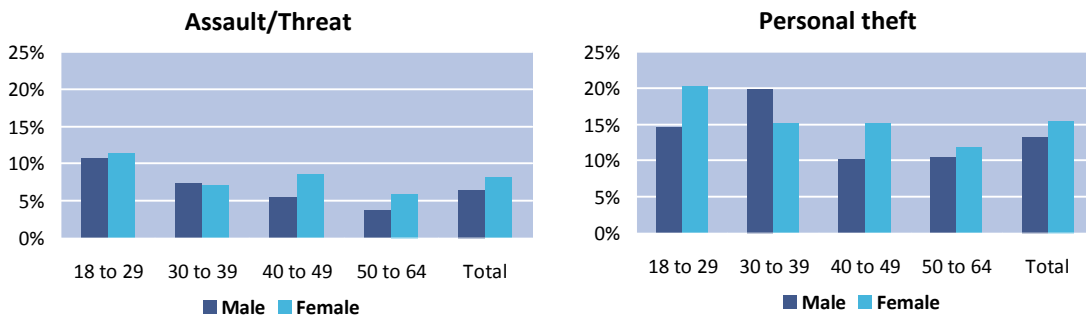
Note Prevalence rates for personal theft, assault/threat, robbery and burglary are respectively calculated as the number of adult citizens experiencing each of these crimes in the five years prior to the survey, as a percentage of the total adult population (age 18-64); the prevalence rate for car theft is calculated as the number of households who experienced one car, van or truck theft in the 5 years prior to the survey, as a percentage of households owning a car, van or truck.

When looking at regional distribution in Serbia some differences emerge. The inhabitants of Vojvodina, for example, appear to be affected by higher levels of crime victimization, with the exception of car theft. Personal theft and burglary are most prevalent in Vojvodina, while the same phenomena occur quite rarely in Sumadija and Western Serbia. Robbery is most common in Belgrade, while it is relatively uncommon in Sumadija and Western Serbia. It is interesting to note that car theft in Belgrade is much more prevalent than in other regions of Serbia, so that 7.3 per cent of households who owned a car in the five years prior to the

survey were victims of car theft (table 2), while in Southern and Eastern Serbia the figure was negligible (0.4%).

Women are more likely than men to be victims of personal theft as well as assault/threat but have the same chance of being robbed. And there are quite distinct patterns among the different age groups in Serbia (figure 31): citizens belonging to younger age groups generally face a greater risk of robbery and theft as well as assault/threat than those belonging to older age groups. The risk of being victim to assault/threat for 18 to 29 year olds is more than twice the risk for 50 to 64 year olds. Women face higher risks of theft and assault/threat than men in all age groups, except 30 to 39 year olds for personal theft. For women between the ages of 40 and 49 the prevalence rate for assault/threat as well as for personal theft is significantly higher than for men. The victimization rates for threat/assault and personal theft for women peak in the 18 to 29 age group (11.4% and 20.3%, respectively), an age when women appear to be particularly vulnerable.

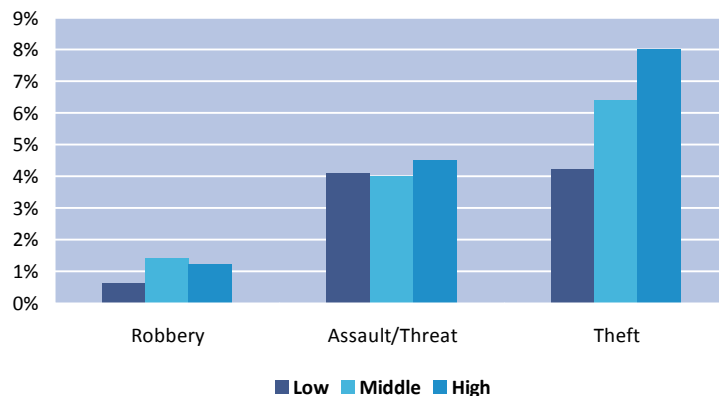
Figure 31: Five-year prevalence rates of assault/threat and personal theft by age groups and sex, Serbia (2010)



Note Prevalence rates for personal theft and assault/threat are calculated as the number of adult citizens experiencing each of these crimes in the five years prior to the survey, as a percentage of the total adult population (age 18-64)

When considering other characteristics of crime victims, it appears that higher income levels are associated with a greater risk of falling victim to theft, while the economic status of citizens does not appear to be directly related to the likelihood of falling victim to robbery and assault (figure 32).

Figure 32: Five-year prevalence rates for selected crimes by income group, Serbia (2010)



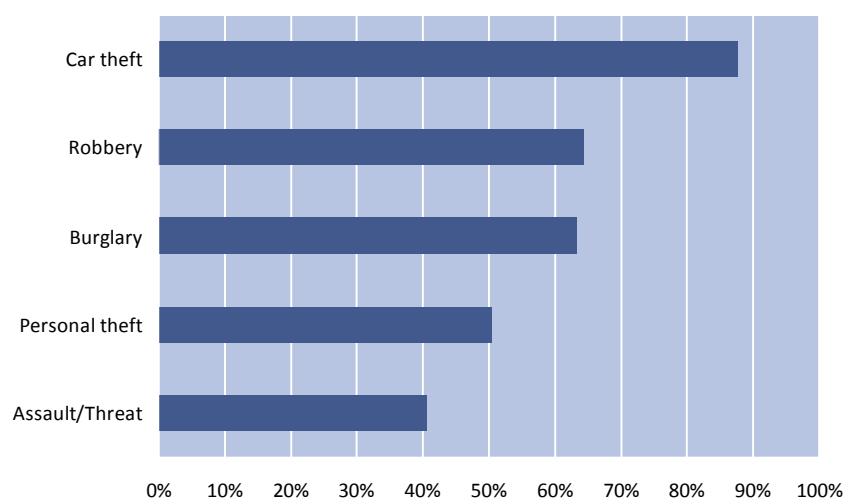
Note Prevalence rates for robbery, personal theft and assault/threat are calculated as the number of adult citizens experiencing each of these crimes in the five years prior to the survey, as a percentage of the total adult population (age 18-64)

An important feature of crimes and of their impact on victims is their level of violence, and the use of weapons by offenders represents a direct indication of that level. Prevalence rates for violent crimes such as assault and robbery are moderate in Serbia and in most cases they are conducted without any weapon (62% for robbery and 82% for assault). Only in a minority of cases are they perpetrated under the threat of arms such as knives (16% for robbery and 5% for assault) or guns (some 9% for robbery and 5% for assault).

Reporting of crime

Various factors, including the level of violence, have an impact on the willingness of victims to report crimes to the police (figure 33). Car theft is almost always reported to the police, for reasons of insurance and de-registration. In addition, crimes are more frequently reported the greater the amount of damage or psychological trauma suffered. Robbery is reported to the police, on average, in 64 per cent of cases, with a greater tendency to be reported when significant damage occurs and when a gun, a knife or something used as a weapon is employed in the incident. Burglary is reported in about 63 per cent of all cases, with a somewhat higher reporting rate when something is actually stolen. About 50 per cent of all incidents of personal theft have been reported to the police. Assault/threat is reported in only around 40 per cent of cases, again with a greater tendency to be reported when a gun, knife or something used as a weapon is employed. And an interesting finding of the survey is that male victims of theft and robbery are significantly more likely to report the incident to the police than female victims (their reporting rates are 22 (robbery) and 6 (theft) percentage points higher than those of women), while women report a higher share of assault/threat (45%) to the police than their male counterparts (36%).

Figure 33: Percentage of victims of selected types of crime who reported their experience to authorities by type of crime, Serbia (2010)



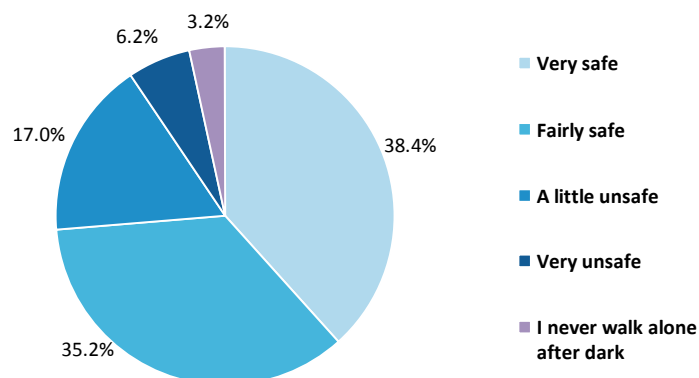
Note: Reporting rates refer to the latest case reported to the police in the 5 years prior to the survey.

Perceptions of safety from crime

In addition to victimization experiences, the survey also provides insights into citizens' fear of crime. One-year and five-year prevalence rates indicate that the risk of falling victim to a crime such as robbery, theft or personal assault in Serbia is high and the incidence of assault and robbery might affect feelings of safety or fear in public spaces. In total, around 74 per cent of citizens feel safe while walking alone at night. On the other hand, 23 per cent feel unsafe in the same situation and 3 per cent never walk alone after dark (figure 34). In Belgrade (27%) and Vojvodina (25%), more than a quarter of inhabitants feel unsafe walking after dark in their neighbourhood or village. As expected, men are less afraid than women (87% and 61%, respectively, feel safe). Interestingly, the youngest age groups in the survey

(18 to 24 and 25 to 29 year olds) feel less safe than older age groups, which may be related to their increased risk of falling victim to personal crime than other age groups.

Figure 34: Percentage distribution of adult population according to feeling of safety, Serbia (2010)

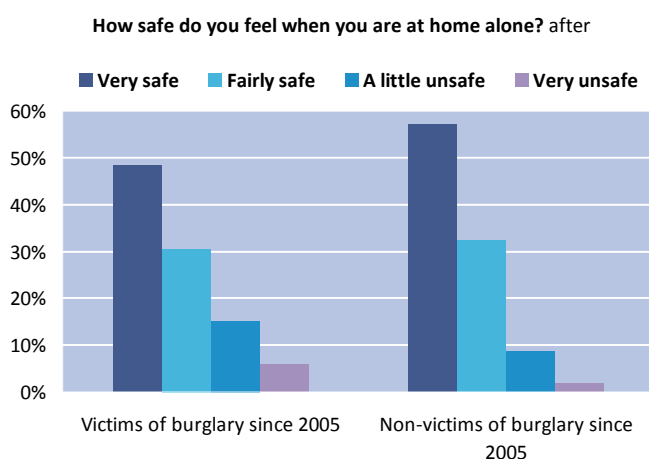


How safe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?

In total, 89 per cent of Serbian citizens, irrespective of age, feel safe at home alone after dark. This notion is slightly more pronounced among the male population and middle-aged people. In Vojvodina, 14 per cent of inhabitants feel unsafe, 12 per cent do so in Sumadija and Western Serbia, 11 per cent in Belgrade and 9 per cent in Southern and Eastern Serbia. It is interesting to note that these subjective perceptions of safety do not coincide with variations in the five-year prevalence of burglary in the same regions, whereby Vojvodina has the highest regional prevalence rate for burglary, while Sumadija and Western Serbia has the lowest.

For obvious reasons, respondents who fell victim to burglary in the five years prior to the survey are considerably more concerned about their safety than those who did not have such an experience (figure 35).

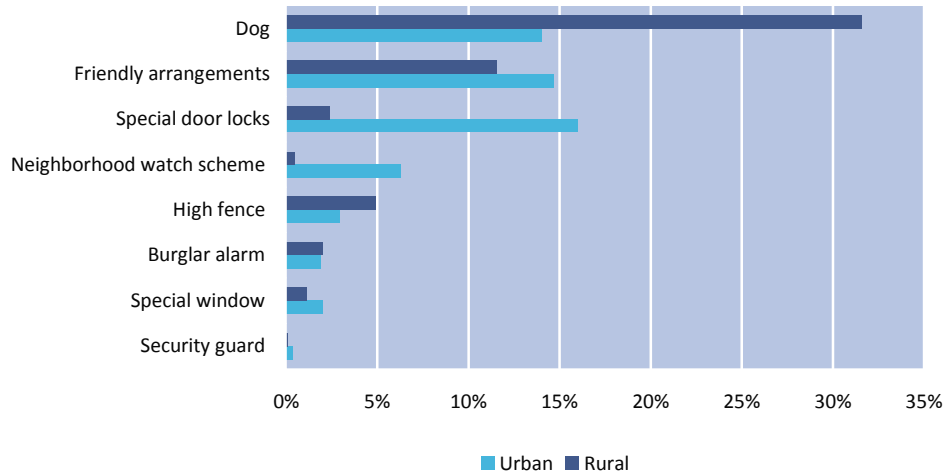
Figure 35: Percentage distribution of adult population according to feeling of safety, respectively for victims and non-victims of burglary, Serbia (2010)



Despite the fact that – depending on the region – between 5 and 12 per cent of households were victims of burglary at least once in the five years prior to the survey, more than half of citizens (56.6%) do not have any kind of home protection system, while existing home protection systems can also be considered fairly superficial. In fact, the most common home

protection system in Serbian households is a dog (21%), while 13.5 per cent of households rely on friendly arrangements with their neighbours and only 10.6 per cent have installed special door locks. (figure 36). More effective systems such as special windows or alarms are only used by a fractional share of citizens and security guards are hardly ever used by private households.

Figure 36: Types of home protection used in rural and urban areas, Serbia(2010)





9. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Corruption means different things to different people but for many it is a kind of spectre whose pernicious presence can be felt while its structure remains both intangible and impossible to delineate. Yet this report shows that, thanks to the analysis of the direct experience of bribery undertaken in the corresponding background surveys, it is possible to draw at least a partial profile of this particular phantom.

As in many other fields, both on the economic and social front, the data and analyses provided in this report are not to be used to score or rank the different regions of the country, or any selected sector or ministry, on a corruption scale but rather to help understand a complex issue and to assist policymaking in developing appropriate measures against it. To this end, the following elements could be retained for further consideration with a view to developing effective anti-corruption measures at national level:

- There is no single modus operandi for bribery and any particular one in force may vary depending on the specific purpose of the payment, the public official and the administrative procedure involved. Data indicate that established practices exist, and policies for fighting bribery, including preventive measures, need to take this into account. A full understanding of the mechanism of bribery will assist the Serbian authorities in developing a combined set of preventive and criminalization measures for fighting bribery in its various guises.
- Malpractice occurs on a regular basis in the performance and duties of public officials in Serbia but some sectors appear to be more vulnerable to bribery than others. This obviously depends on the nature of the services provided but it also appears that certain practices are more established in certain sectors than in others. A better understanding of the reasons why bribes are paid and the identification of specific issues, such as the quality of services – for example, the reduction of health service waiting times or streamlining in the fining procedure – could assist in the implementation of specific measures. And sectors shown to be more vulnerable to bribery could undergo specific assessments in order to identify priority areas in need of specific support.
- An area of concern is the very low share of bribe-payers who file a complaint with the authorities. A thorough analysis of existing reporting channels could be considered in order to make them more easily accessible, better known and, where necessary, more

confidential. The information collected in this survey provides invaluable insights on how to improve such mechanisms.

- In general, corruption is not accepted by Serbian citizens –they voiced great concern about it in the survey– yet bribery appears to be tolerated as a tool for getting things done and receiving better treatment. A further assessment of public awareness about corruption could be considered and further initiatives might be developed to inform those who do not deem bribery to be on a par with “real” crimes, as well as to increase understanding about the pernicious effect that kickbacks have on the fair delivery of public services.
- Though still embryonic in nature, some of this survey’s findings touch on areas, such as public sector recruitment and vote-buying, which relate to the general provisions of the United Nations Convention against Corruption. Further analysis of the vulnerabilities that have emerged could thus be undertaken forthwith.

This survey has been conducted in the framework of a regional programme to assess the actual experience of bribery in the western Balkan region. As such, it provides the possibility of having a comparative perspective on the extent, modality and nature of bribery in Serbia and the other countries/areas of the region, thus giving added value in understanding this phenomenon. This is particularly true if such exercises can be repeated over time in order to monitor changes at national and regional level.

A monitoring system of corruption at national level should include a variety of tools for collecting evidence about its various manifestations and assisting policy-making:

- General assessments of the experience of bribery and other forms of corruption (both for the population at large and the business sector), for the purpose of providing benchmarks and measuring progress.
- Sectoral assessments of the working conditions and integrity of public officials by sector (health sector, judiciary, police, customs, etc.) for the purpose of providing more in-depth and specific information as well as assisting in identifying targeted policy measures.
- A system for monitoring the state response to corruption –both repressive and preventive measures– in order to identify successful and unsuccessful practices.

In Serbia, various exercises have been conducted in these areas but further involvement of government agencies responsible for producing statistical data, relevant ministries and experienced research centres, with the support of international and regional organizations, will enable Serbia to produce high quality and relevant information for fighting corruption more and more effectively.

As the data pertaining to the perception of corruption in this report reveal, public opinion about corruption in Serbia shows a considerable level of concern about the issue. A window of opportunity is, therefore, open and it is likely that the citizens of Serbia would warmly welcome the further implementation of anti-corruption policies.



10. METHODOLOGICAL ANNEX

Data presented in this report were collected in a sample survey representative of the resident population of Serbia. This survey was part of a regional project in which independently administered surveys were conducted in the countries/areas of the western Balkan region. For Serbia, the survey was conducted by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS). The anonymity of respondents was protected in all stages of the survey, all questionnaires were treated confidentially and were not made available to any third party.

A core questionnaire and other survey tools were jointly developed by UNODC and its national partners to ensure common methodological standards and comparability of results. After translation into Serbian, the questionnaire was tested in a pilot survey in June 2010 and then finalized.

The survey was conducted in June/July 2010 through face-to-face interviews with randomly selected respondents. The target population was the resident population of Serbia aged 18 to 64. A stratified two-stage with probability proportional to size sampling method was used: in the first stage the total population was stratified by territory (25 districts) and two types of settlement (urban and rural). Within each stratum enumeration areas were selected using probability proportional to size sampling (with number of households as auxiliary variable). In the second stage, households were selected via random sampling in sampled enumeration areas. Within selected households the person (aged 18 to 64) with the next birthday was selected as the survey respondent. The response rate for all contacts made during fieldwork was 70.1 per cent, resulting in a net sample size of 3,000 respondents.

Quality control measures were put in place both during and after the conduct of the interviews:

- fieldwork coordinators checked each questionnaire for errors and completeness
- back-checking by fieldwork coordinators was implemented for 10 per cent of interviews, either by phone or face to face
- logic checks were conducted on the final dataset

Serbia	
Responsible agency	Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS)
Survey period	June – July 2010
Target population	Resident population of Serbia, aged 18 to 64
Sample design	Stratified two-stage with probability proportional to size sampling Stratified by territory (25 districts) and settlement type (urban/rural) Enumeration areas within each stratum selected using probability proportional to size sampling (with number of households as auxiliary variable) Households selected using simple random sampling Over-sampling for possible non-response
Respondent selection	Person (aged 18 to 64) with next birthday within selected household
Quality control measures	Fieldwork coordinators' check of each questionnaire Fieldwork coordinators back-checking by phone or face-to-face (10% of interviews) Logic checks conducted on final dataset
Net sample size	3,000
Response rate	70.1 per cent



11. STATISTICAL ANNEX

Table 1: Bribery indicators by region, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Percentage of population having contacts to public administration	85.0%	90.9%	87.5%	87.0%	87.7%
Prevalence of bribery	10.9%	9.9%	6.7%	9.9%	9.3%
Average number of bribes	5.28	3.01	4.72	5.97	4.64
Average bribe RSD	33656	9714	5560	9423	15530
Average bribe Euro	358	103	59	100	165
Average bribe Euro-PPP	757	218	125	212	349

Table 2: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by type of payment, by region, Serbia (2010)

Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and food)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Cash	56.8%	57.4%	61.9%	32.0%	52.2%
Food and drink	31.6%	25.7%	30.0%	49.1%	33.6%
Other goods	15.1%	20.6%	3.8%	18.8%	15.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by timing of payment in relation to service delivery, by urban/rural, sex and age, Serbia (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex		Age			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 64
Before the service	46.3%	36.4%	49.9%	34.3%	39.0%	41.9%	48.5%	44.2%
After the service	26.2%	32.9%	22.6%	35.6%	21.1%	36.9%	27.6%	28.0%
At the same time	18.5%	17.0%	15.5%	20.7%	22.2%	14.1%	14.7%	20.8%
Partly before/ partly after	6.3%	7.0%	7.5%	5.4%	10.9%	3.7%	5.5%	5.0%
Don't remember	2.7%	6.8%	4.5%	4.0%	6.7%	3.5%	3.7%	2.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 4: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by modality of bribe request/offer, by urban/rural, sex and age, Serbia (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex		Age			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 64
Public official made explicit request	13.4%	13.6%	13.3%	13.7%	13.6%	17.9%	10.4%	8.1%
Public official made implicit request	19.7%	19.7%	27.5%	10.8%	19.9%	15.7%	27.3%	18.8%
Third party made explicit request	10.9%	4.3%	7.2%	9.7%	9.9%	15.2%	0.0%	1.7%
Citizen made offer	52.5%	62.0%	48.2%	65.0%	56.6%	50.2%	58.5%	63.4%
Don't remember	3.5%	0.5%	3.8%	0.9%	0.0%	0.9%	3.7%	8.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 5: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by purpose of bribe request/offer, by urban/rural, sex and age, Serbia (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex		Age			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 64
Speed up procedure	35.5%	30.9%	33.6%	34.1%	34.2%	31.6%	41.3%	29.7%
Avoid payment of fine	18.3%	18.1%	17.8%	18.7%	19.8%	23.1%	13.1%	11.6%
Receive better treatment	2.6%	4.7%	6.3%	0.0%	5.6%	3.2%	2.6%	0.6%
Receive information	18.1%	9.9%	18.1%	11.6%	17.0%	18.5%	9.7%	10.8%
Finalization of procedure	15.6%	22.3%	13.7%	23.1%	14.1%	16.5%	14.3%	32.0%
Reduce cost of procedure	2.9%	1.7%	2.6%	2.3%	2.6%	1.4%	6.7%	0.0%
Avoid other problems	5.0%	12.4%	7.1%	8.5%	4.2%	5.0%	11.6%	15.2%
No specific purpose	2.0%	0.0%	0.8%	1.7%	2.5%	0.9%	0.7%	0.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 6: Percentage distribution of bribe-payers who paid to selected types of public officials, by urban/rural and sex, Serbia (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex	
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Police officers	44.2%	28.9%	54.7%	20.2%
Judges/Prosecutors	4.0%	0.3%	0.6%	4.8%
Land registry officers	20.5%	6.9%	15.6%	15.3%
Tax officers	5.0%	3.4%	5.2%	3.5%
Customs officers	3.2%	6.4%	8.2%	0.1%
Public utilities officers	9.2%	2.2%	8.4%	4.5%
Municipal officers	10.0%	8.9%	11.6%	7.4%
Doctors	43.9%	73.2%	40.7%	70.8%
Nurses	21.0%	33.6%	20.3%	31.8%
Teachers	8.5%	1.8%	5.6%	6.5%
Social protection officers	0.6%	2.5%	0.8%	1.9%
Car registration officers	4.9%	1.6%	6.2%	0.8%
Municipal elected representatives	0.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note: The sum is higher than 100 per cent since bribe-payers could have made payments to more than one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Table 7: Percentage distribution of bribe-payers not reporting their personal bribery experience to authorities according to the most important reason for not reporting, by urban/rural and sex, Serbia (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex	
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Common practice	13.0%	9.5%	13.0%	10.2%
Pointless, nobody would care	39.2%	30.0%	35.2%	36.4%
Don't know to whom to report	1.2%	1.3%	1.4%	1.1%
Fear of reprisals	2.2%	0.0%	2.3%	0.4%
Benefit received from the bribe	23.7%	14.8%	23.7%	16.5%
Sign of gratitude	18.9%	43.4%	21.9%	35.1%
Other reason	1.8%	1.0%	2.5%	0.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 8: Percentage distribution of adult population asked to vote for a candidate at last national election in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by regions, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Yes	4.1%	5.9%	6.2%	11.3%	6.8%
No	95.2%	92.8%	91.7%	88.1%	92.0%
Don't know	0.7%	1.4%	2.1%	0.6%	1.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 9: Percentage distribution of adult population asked to vote for a candidate at last local election in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by regions, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Yes	3.7%	5.8%	5.6%	13.0%	6.8%
No	95.4%	93.0%	92.0%	86.5%	91.9%
Don't know	0.9%	1.2%	2.4%	0.5%	1.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 10: Percentage distribution of adult population recruited in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey who paid money, gave gifts or did favours to facilitate their recruitment, by regions, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Yes	14.1%	9.4%	2.6%	0.0%	6.2%
No	85.9%	90.6%	94.1%	100.0 %	92.6%
Don't know	0.0%	0.0%	3.3%	0.0%	1.1%
No answer	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 11: Percentage of adult population who consider that corrupt practices occur often or very often in selected sectors/institutions, by regions, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Parliament	46.6%	47.1%	49.1%	42.0%	46.4%
Central government	46.8%	46.9%	50.4%	42.0%	46.8%
Local government	58.9%	55.5%	55.6%	58.7%	57.0%
Law courts	57.8%	47.5%	54.0%	52.4%	52.7%
General prosecutor	37.0%	37.8%	42.1%	37.7%	38.8%
Police	61.1%	58.9%	52.0%	49.8%	55.5%
Military	14.0%	12.4%	11.6%	12.4%	12.5%
Tax office	40.2%	38.4%	35.2%	30.4%	36.2%
Custom office	51.3%	55.4%	47.7%	47.3%	50.5%
Public utilities companies	34.1%	33.5%	34.3%	26.9%	32.4%
Public hospitals	60.7%	57.1%	56.4%	53.8%	57.0%
Public schools	29.8%	30.6%	31.7%	36.9%	32.1%
Public universities	36.3%	37.0%	35.1%	41.6%	37.3%
Land registry office	30.8%	23.1%	25.1%	20.2%	24.8%
Private companies	39.8%	42.5%	35.3%	31.8%	37.5%
NGOs	30.2%	27.4%	28.4%	21.7%	27.1%
Political parties	65.6%	61.6%	61.0%	58.8%	61.7%
Media	46.6%	44.5%	46.5%	37.5%	44.0%

Table 12: Five-year prevalence rates for selected types of crime, by region, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Robbery	4.9%	4.1%	1.9%	2.5%	3.3%
Personal theft	15.7%	22.9%	7.8%	10.5%	14.3%
Threat/Assault	9.0%	9.2%	5.8%	4.9%	7.3%
Car theft	7.3%	2.7%	2.7%	0.4%	8.2%
Burglary	8.4%	12.3%	5.3%	6.4%	3.1%

Table 13: Percentage of victims of selected crimes who reported their experience to authorities by type of crime, by regions, Serbia (2010)

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Robbery	56.7%	62.7%	75.2%	73.3%	64.4%
Personal theft	41.0%	55.4%	35.3%	66.0%	50.4%
Threat/Assault	31.8%	52.1%	31.2%	44.9%	40.6%
Car theft	90.3%	65.7%	100.0%	100.0%	87.7%
Burglary	56.3%	64.9%	62.6%	69.6%	63.2%

Table 14: Percentage distribution of adult population according to perceptions of safety, walking alone in neighbourhood after dark, by regions, Serbia (2010)

How safe do you feel walking alone in your area (i.e. neighborhood or village) after dark?

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Very safe	27.7%	32.7%	49.6%	42.5%	38.4%
Fairly safe	43.2%	38.0%	27.6%	32.9%	35.2%
A little unsafe	19.7%	18.0%	14.3%	16.5%	17.0%
Very unsafe	7.3%	7.2%	5.0%	5.3%	6.2%
I never walk alone after dark	2.0%	4.1%	3.6%	2.7%	3.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 15: Percentage distribution of adult population according to perceptions of safety, home alone after dark, by regions, Serbia (2010)

How safe do you feel when you are home alone after dark?

	Regions				National average
	Belgrade	Vojvodina	Sumadija and Western Serbia	Southern and Eastern Serbia	
Very safe	50.9%	49.5%	63.0%	62.2%	56.4%
Fairly safe	38.6%	36.7%	24.9%	29.3%	32.2%
A little unsafe	8.4%	11.0%	9.4%	7.6%	9.2%
Very unsafe	2.1%	2.8%	2.7%	0.9%	2.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%