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Corruption in Montenegro:

BRIBERY AS EXPERIENCED
BY THE POPULATION

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UNITED NATIONS OFFICE ON DRUGS AND CRIME
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Montenegrin 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 the majority (70%) of bribes in Montenegro, and although this type of corruption is petty, the sums paid are far from trivial: the average bribe paid being 233 Euro¹.

Such cash payments are substantial, bearing in mind the per capita incomes of many Montenegrins, but it would be wrong to assume that people are always coerced into paying them. Some 41 per cent of bribes paid are actually offered by citizens themselves, while in some 37 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 Montenegrin 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 almost a third of citizens (32%) who participate in a bribery act do so to speed up a procedure, while almost one in five (18%) does so to receive better treatment.

Such a need for better treatment no doubt explains why the public officials paid most kickbacks in Montenegro are doctors. More than a half (54%) of citizens who pay bribes pay them to doctors, almost a half pay them to police officers (47%), while 40 per cent pay nurses².

The picture painted in this survey is sometimes a troubling one, but data indicate that there is some resistance to bribery and Montenegrin citizens do not always consent to the payment of bribes in order to facilitate or benefit from a particular administrative procedure: for every four citizens who pay a bribe to a public official during the course of the year, there is one who turns down the request made by a public official. On the other hand, only a negligible amount of bribe-payers (a mere 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 (14%) and also, when constituting an expression of gratitude for services rendered, actually a positive practice (13%). Citizens also fail to report bribery events because bribe payment can, of course, be of direct benefit to the bribe-payer (22%), and because they believe reporting to be a futile exercise as nothing would be done, nor would anyone care (33%).

Interestingly, for almost one in three bribe-payers (30%) 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 Montenegro and its associated job security and accompanying benefits are highly coveted. Some 25 per cent of Montenegrin 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 10 per cent admit to paying 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 10 per cent believe that the selection was made on merit.

¹ 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, 233 Euro in Montenegro are equivalent to approximately 480 EUR-PPP.

² The sum is higher than 100 per cent since bribe-payers have often made payments to more than one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Certain malpractices may also have played some kind of role in the most recent elections held in Montenegro. Data show that an average of 11 per cent of citizens at the last local elections and 12 per cent at the last national elections were asked to vote for a certain candidate or political party in exchange for a concrete offer of money, goods or a favour.

When looking at payments made to selected types of public officials, the prevalence of bribery is higher among citizens with a high household income, in comparison to Montenegrins with a low household income. It is also considerably higher among the male and urban populations in comparison to the female and rural populations. Other socio-economic variables such as education or age do not show clear patterns, but no social group is exempt from bribery.

Nor is any social group is exempt from the possibility of falling victim to the other five crime types examined in this survey, yet the prevalence rates for personal theft, assault/threat, burglary, car theft and robbery in Montenegro are considerably lower than for bribery (3.2%, 1.6%, 1.2%, 0.8% and 0.7%, respectively). These are quite low levels, on a par with those evidenced in other European countries, which probably explains why Montenegrin citizens feel rather safe in relation to crime. Eight out of ten feel safe when walking alone after dark and nine out of ten feel fairly secure in their homes.

But perceptions about corruption in Montenegro are not so positive. More than a half of the population believe that corrupt practices occur often or very often in the police. One third of Montenegrin citizens believe that corruption is actually on the rise in their country, while half of them believe it to be stable and a further 15 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 Montenegro, both now and in the years to come.



KEY FINDINGS

- Montenegrin citizens rank corruption as the second most important problem facing their country today, after poverty and low standard of living.
- Almost eight out of ten Montenegrin citizens interact with the public administration at some point during the course of the year.
- In the 12 months prior to this survey, 11.8 per cent of Montenegrin citizens have been exposed - either directly or through a household member - to a bribery experience with a public official.
- The bribery prevalence rate – the percentage of citizens paying a bribe among those who had contact with public officials in the 12 months prior to the survey - is 9.7 per cent.
- There are significant differences in the prevalence of bribery in urban (10.8%) and rural (7.8%) areas of Montenegro.
- The highest prevalence of bribery is observed in the North and South regions, while in the Centre and East it is below the national average.
- The bribery prevalence rate is 9 per cent for Montenegrin women, as opposed to 10.4 per cent for Montenegrin men.
- Bribe-payers, i.e. those who have reported payments of bribes in the 12 months prior to this survey, have on average paid six bribes or the equivalent of one bribe every two months.
- More than two thirds (70%) of bribes are paid in cash, only some 17 per cent as food and drink.
- The average cash bribe paid in Montenegro is 233 Euro.
- In more than 40 per cent of bribery incidents, Montenegrin citizens initiate the payment, whereas one in seven (14%) is explicitly requested to pay a bribe.
- The main purposes of paying bribes in Montenegro are to speed up a procedure (32%), to receive better treatment (18%) or to finalize a procedure (18%).

- Montenegrin citizens tend to use bribes to accelerate or finalize an otherwise lengthy or complex procedure. Police officers mostly receive bribes to avoid or reduce payments of fines.
- More than a half of all bribe-payers in Montenegro pay kickbacks to doctors (54%), almost a half to police officers (47%) and some 40 per cent to nurses³.
- Of those citizens who refuse to pay bribes, almost one in three (30%) refuses to pay police officers.
- Only 1 per cent of citizens with bribery experience report the incident. Citizens do not report bribery experiences because they receive a benefit from it (22%), because it is a common practice (14%) or because they give bribes voluntarily as a sign of gratitude (13%).
- Montenegrin citizens lack reasons for reporting bribery. One in three thinks that nothing constructive will come of reporting it.
- Perceptions of widespread corruption in the public sector are backed up by the experience of the 9 per cent of those who, in the three years prior to this survey, secured a job in the public administration 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: 11 per cent of citizens were approached at local elections and 12 per cent at the last national elections.
- Bribery has a higher prevalence rate than other crimes such as personal theft, burglary, robbery and assault. This is in line with the rather low crime rate in Montenegro, where citizens feel safe at home after dark and seldom use advanced security systems to protect their homes.

³ The sum is higher than 100 per cent since bribe-payers have often made payments to more than one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey



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 Montenegro. Indeed, the citizens of Montenegro 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 the performance of the Government and building a functioning public administration.

International legal instruments and national policies

In the last decade, awareness of corruption has increased in Montenegro and it has become an important priority in the political agenda of the country. Successive Montenegrin 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*.

Important instruments in the upgrading of the legislative framework for the fight against corruption are represented by the ratification of two Council of Europe conventions – the Criminal Law Convention against Corruption (2002) and the Civil Law Convention against Corruption (2008). In 2006, Montenegro 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 Montenegro will be reviewed in the second wave (2011-2012).

Furthermore, the legal framework of national legislation for combating corruption has been incorporated into the existing criminal legislation; for example, provisions against bribery are included in articles 423 and 424 of Montenegro's Criminal Code. The fight against corruption and other crimes was strengthened in 2008 through the establishment of specialized departments in the high courts for organized crime, corruption, war crimes and terrorism.

In 2005, the Government approved the Strategy Against Corruption and Organized Crime, and, in 2006, it established an Action Plan for this strategy. The Action Plan combines several anti-corruption measures to be implemented by respective Montenegrin state institutions in order to reduce corruption in their area of responsibility. A high level National Commission to monitor achievement of the goals defined in the Action Plan was established in 2007. Montenegro also created an Agency for Anti-corruption, which became the Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative (DACI) in 2004, and whose authority was significantly increased at the end of 2007.

In 2010 the Government adopted the new Strategy for the fight against corruption (2010-2014) and the pertaining Action Plan (2010-2012). Importantly, such new documents were developed by a newly created working group, which consisted of representatives of competent state bodies and NGOs active in this field. The goal of this Strategy is to create conditions for the prevention and sanctioning of corruption at all levels through further development of institutional framework, efficient criminal prosecution and final adjudication, prevention, education, and a monitoring system in place for the implementation of the Strategy and its Action Plan.

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 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 Montenegro and the western Balkan region, thus proving the feasibility and relevance of this approach.

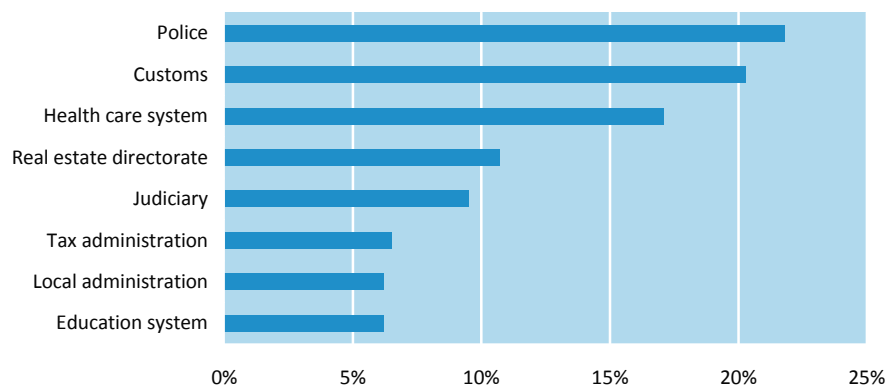
Previous studies conducted in Montenegro

Various surveys and studies have been conducted in Montenegro in an attempt to provide data and analyses on the extent and nature of corruption. A recent example is the study carried out by DACI and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2010 (Survey of the capacity and integrity of the state administration sector in Montenegro¹). This survey mostly explored opinions and attitudes of citizens about the public administration: for example, an interesting finding is that an important share of the population (42%) believes that corruption in the state administration is either widespread or very widespread, while only 20 per cent of citizens think that corruption is not widespread. Another noteworthy finding is that many citizens reported being prepared to pay bribes in order to get better services or jobs: for example, 55 per cent of the population would be prepared to pay kickbacks to receive better medical services, while 42 per cent indicated that they would be prepared to pay in order to get a job. Such findings most probably show that certain practices, although far from being acceptable to citizens, are nevertheless tolerated because of a lack of alternatives.

A survey (Integrity and Capacity Assessments of the Local Governments in Montenegro) conducted in 2009 by DACI and UNDP found that 8.9 per cent of respondents reported that they had been requested to pay a bribe to a local government employee, while 4.5 per cent of respondents admitted they had offered a bribe themselves⁴.

In the same year, the monitoring centre CEMI⁵ conducted another household survey on corruption, which found that corruption was ranked by citizens as the second most important problem facing Montenegro. Moreover, according to data based on citizens' direct experience of bribery, the sectors where requests of bribes were more frequent were the police, customs and health care (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Prevalence of bribery by institutions in the public sector, Montenegro 2009



Source: CEMI Montenegro: www.cemi.org.me, Results of the research Corruption in Montenegro CEMI Department for development of public policies, Survey, November/December 2009.

The scope and methodology of this study

Following a bilateral agreement between the European Commission and the Montenegrin Government, UNODC provided its support in conducting this large-scale survey on corruption⁶. The main objective of this survey was to examine actual experience of administrative corruption in Montenegro: the research probed the prevailing types and

¹ Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative, Survey of the capacity and integrity of the state administration sector in Montenegro, Podgorica, December 2010

⁴ Directorate for Anti-Corruption Initiative, Integrity and Capacity Assessments of the Local Governments in Montenegro, Podgorica, May 2009.

⁵ Published by CEMI on http://www.cemi.org.me/images/dokumenti/corruption_mne.pdf

⁶ Prism Research implemented the survey and conducted data analysis and research, while the Statistical Office of Montenegro (MONSTAT) provided important technical assistance for sample design and sample frame.

modalities of corruption that affect citizens' daily lives, with particular focus on bribery⁷, 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 sample of 5,000 Montenegrin citizens aged 18 to 64, selected randomly in each municipality of the country (23), divided into four geographical regions.

Map 1: Regional coverage of the Survey



This report contains the analysis of the data collected in that survey. Its goal is not to rank Montenegro and its different regions, nor 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 Montenegro 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.

⁷ 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.

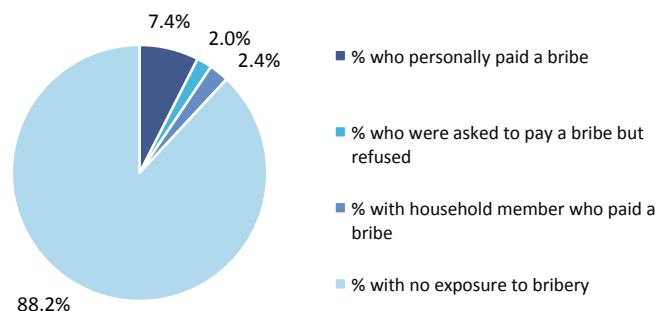


1. PREVALENCE OF BRIBERY

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 eight out of ten adult Montenegrins 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 Montenegrin citizens (47,100, equivalent to 11.8% of the 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 Montenegro to bribery in the 12 months prior to the survey, (2010)

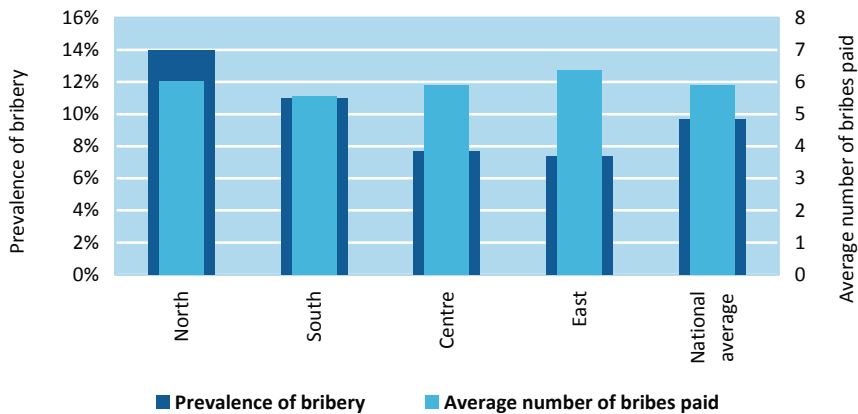


The data in figure 2 show that bribery is still a significant issue in the lives of many citizens of Montenegro. At the same time, it is encouraging to note that there is a significant portion of Montenegrins capable of saying “no”, thus refusing to pay the kickback requested by a public

official. Data show that for every four 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 Montenegro is 9.7 per cent at a national level, though there is quite considerable fluctuation in the prevalence rate throughout the different Montenegrin regions (figure 3).

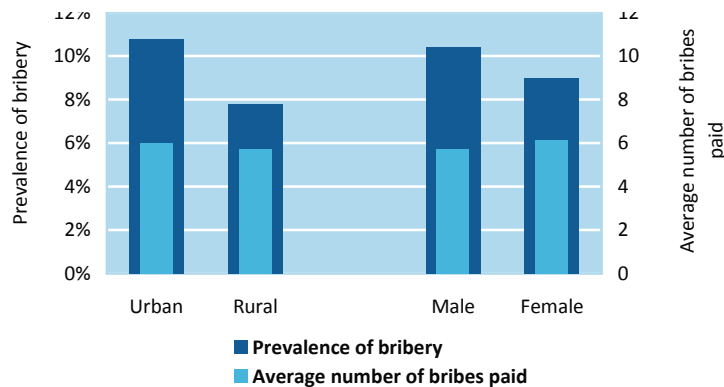
Figure 3: Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid by region, Montenegro (2010)



Note: 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 the 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 higher than the national average in the North (14%) and South (11%), whereas it is lower in the Centre (7.7 %) and East (7.4%) (figure 3). There are also significant differences in the prevalence of bribery in urban (10.8%) and rural (7.8%) sub-populations on a national level (figure 4), while some variations on a regional level can also be delineated. Only in the Centre is the prevalence rate somewhat higher in rural areas than in urban areas (8.1% vs. 7.6%), whereas all the other regions have prevalence rates that exceed the national average in urban areas.

Figure 4: Prevalence of bribery and average number of bribes paid, by sex and urban/rural areas, Montenegro (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 the 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.

On a national level, 10.4 per cent of the adult male population participates in bribery, as opposed to 9 per cent of females (figure 4). The 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, women undertake administrative procedures to a similar extent and are no strangers to bribery. The only Montenegrin region not following this trend is the North, where the percentage of women with experience of bribery acts is higher than the percentage of men (14.7 % and 13.3 %, respectively).

It would, however, be 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 15 per cent of bribe-payers in Montenegro give bribes on only one occasion, 85 per cent of them do so on multiple occasions. In total, a quarter of bribe-payers give more than eight bribes during one year, or one bribe every six weeks. On average, bribe-payers in Montenegro pay two and a half public officials on almost two and a half different occasions, thus everyone who reported the payment of at least one bribe had to pay six bribes, or the equivalent of one bribe every two months. As figure 3 also shows, the highest frequency is in the East of Montenegro, whereas the lowest is in the South. Overall, the average number of bribes paid in Montenegro is almost the same for urban and rural areas, as well as for the male and female population (figure 4).

Montenegrins clearly have to pay bribes on a fairly regular basis. Not only does the public administration play a significant role in their lives, bribery does too.



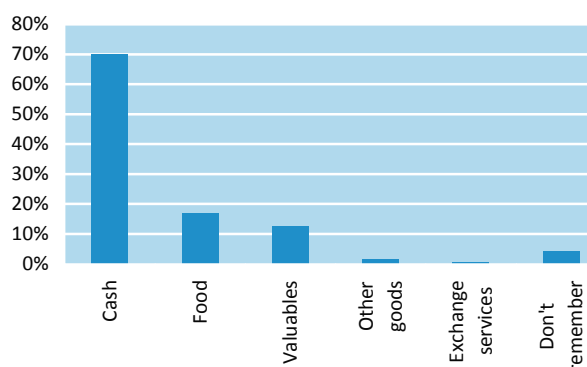
2. NATURE OF BRIBES

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 Montenegro, 70 per cent of bribes are paid in cash (figure 5), while 17 per cent are given in the shape of food and drink and 13 per cent are given as valuables. Considerably lower down the scale come other goods (1%) and the exchange of another service (1%). 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, Montenegro (2010)

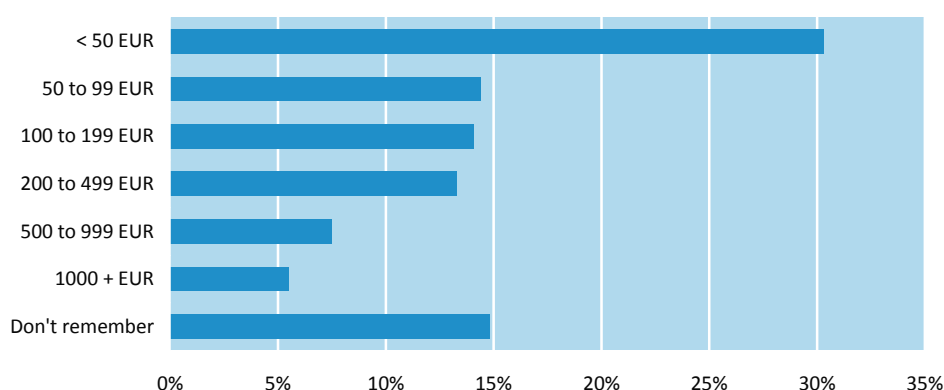


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables)

There are only minor fluctuations in these rates throughout the different Montenegrin regions. While cash payments are slightly less prevalent in the South (62%), cash is a common form of bribe payment in every region of the country, whereas the giving of food is somewhat more prevalent among residents of the East (21%).

When focusing on bribes paid in cash (figure 6), the results of this survey show that about 30 per cent of all bribes are for amounts smaller than 50 EUR. One in seven cash bribes is in the 50 to 99 EUR range and the same amount is in the 100 to 199 EUR range. Some 13 per cent are between 200 and 499 EUR and less than 8 per cent are between 500 and 999 EUR, while some 6 per cent are for more than 1000 EUR. 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 Euro), Montenegro (2010)



Taking into account all bribes paid in cash, the average bribe amounts to 233 Euro; a figure that corresponds to half the average Montenegrin monthly salary in 2009. There is only a slight difference between average amounts paid by men (256 Euro) and women (202 Euro), but when comparing urban and rural areas the difference is considerably larger (259 Euro vs. 171 Euro). As table 1 shows, however, there is virtually no difference between average bribes paid in the four regions of Montenegro.

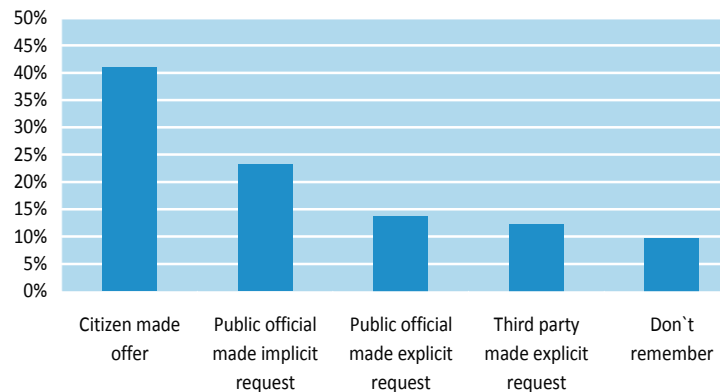
Table 1: Average amount of bribes paid in cash (Euro and EUR-PPP) by region, Montenegro (2010)

Average bribe	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Euro	223	238	233	240	233
EUR-PPP	459	490	480	493	480

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 40 per cent of cases payment is offered by citizens themselves, whereas almost 40 per cent of payments are actually made following a request. However, in only 14 per cent of cases that request is made explicitly by the public official, while in almost 25 per cent of cases the public official makes the citizen understand implicitly that a kickback is necessary. Add to this the other 12 per cent of cases who receive the request through a third party intermediary (figure 7) and the complexity of corruptive practices can be seen.

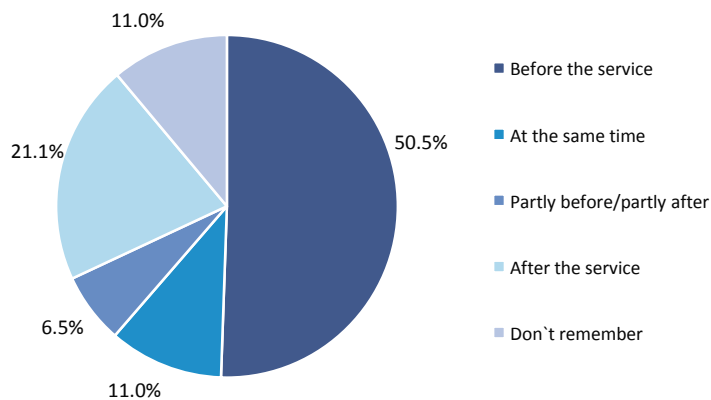
Figure 7: Percentage distribution of bribes paid by modality of bribe request/offer, Montenegro (2010)



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 the procedure. Data show that every fifth bribe is paid after the service (21%), more than one bribe out of ten is paid at the same time that the service is provided (11%) and half of all bribes 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, Montenegro (2010)



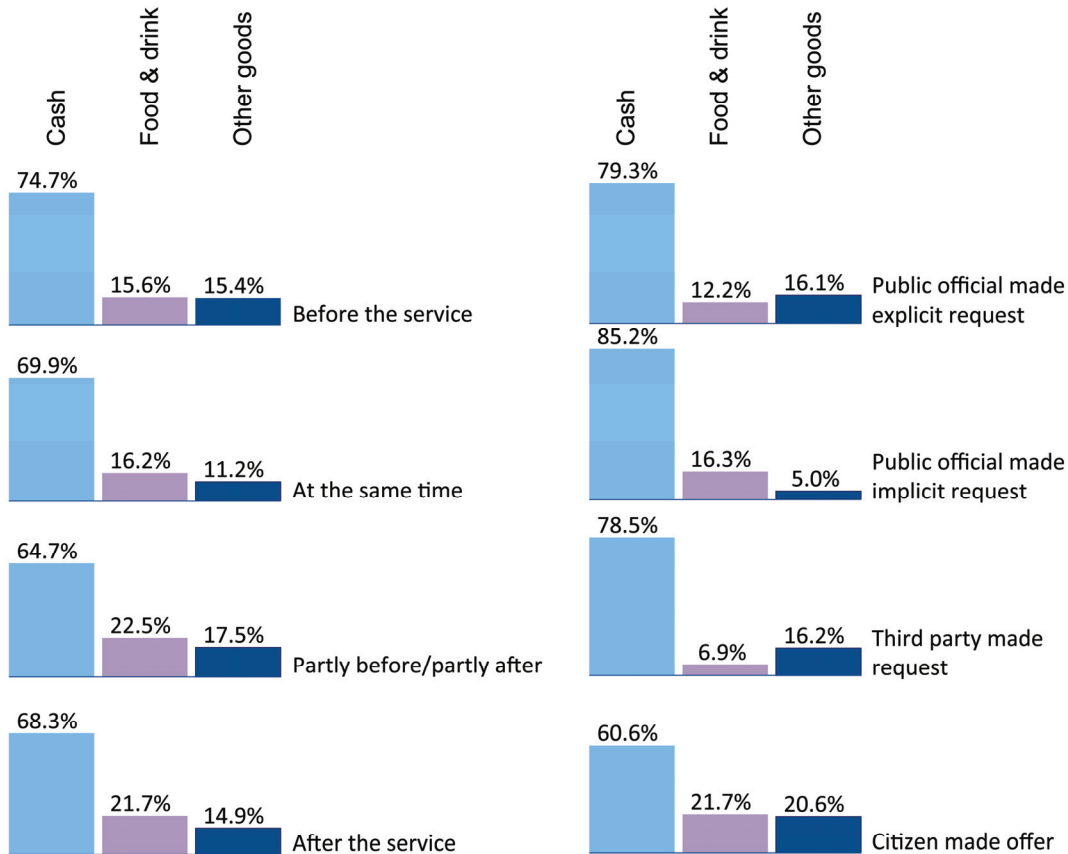
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

As shown in figure 9, cash is most often used as a type of payment, irrespective of modality of request and timing of payment. But there are differences in the extent of the use of other types of payments such as food and drink, and other goods. For bribes given partly before and partly after the procedure, the percentage of payments given as food and drink (23%) and other goods (18%) is highest while the percentage of cash payments (65%) is lowest. Also for bribes given exclusively after the procedure is finalised payment in food and drink (22%) plays an important role.

Figure 9 also shows that cash is most often used when bribes are paid to a public official in response to an implicit request (85%). Money is also the most common form of kickback when an explicit request has been made (79%) or when a request comes from a third party (78%). In general, the giving of food and drink and other goods as a bribe seems to be

uncommon throughout Montenegro, although giving in kind is used more commonly when the kickback is given as an unsolicited gift by the citizen. But the majority of bribes given without a request are still paid in cash (61%), and, in comparison to requested bribes, this share of cash payments is lower.

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, Montenegro (2010)



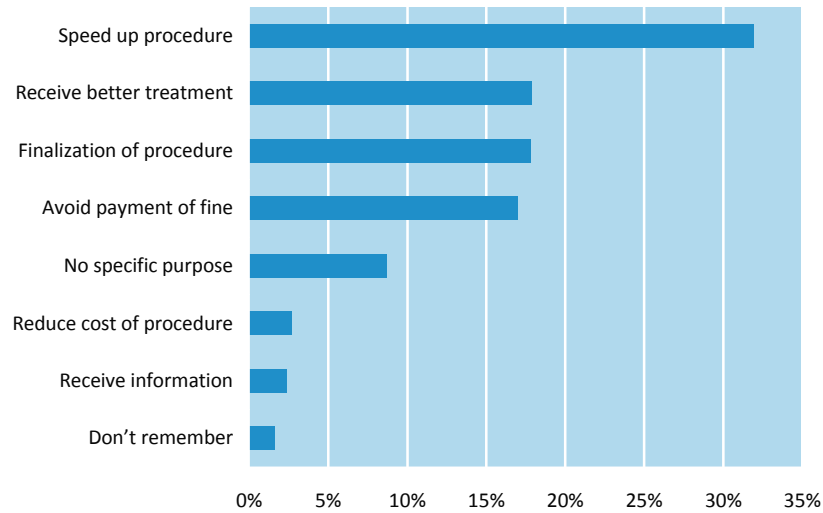
Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey. The sum is higher than 100 per cent since, in some cases, bribes are paid in more than one form (for example, cash and valuables)

The data seem to point to the fact that in most cases citizens provide public officials with cash for services rendered. But the picture is never as clear as it first appears: when looking at the size of bribes paid in cash, the average bribe is more than 240 Euro in those cases where it is voluntarily offered by a citizen, compared to an average payment of 150 Euro when the request is explicitly made by an official. Given their high monetary value, spontaneous offers should not be seen as a mere sign of gratitude, but rather as having a specific goal, often related to special treatment. Furthermore, bribes paid in cash after the service are, on average, larger (310 Euro) than those paid before a procedure (212 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, Montenegro (2010)



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

About one third of Montenegrin citizens who get involved in a bribery act do so to speed up a procedure (32%), while almost one in five does so to receive better treatment (18%) or to finalize a procedure that could otherwise not be finalized (18%). These data indicate that bribery is often used to overcome deficiencies and weaknesses in public service delivery.

Large bribes

Large amounts (more than 500 Euro) paid by Montenegrin citizens are mostly related to medical visits (52%). The majority of large bribes are paid before the service is initiated (55%) and to speed up the procedure (40%). Thirty one per cent of large bribes are paid without a request, whereas in 30 per cent of cases the citizen is made to understand that a bribe is necessary.

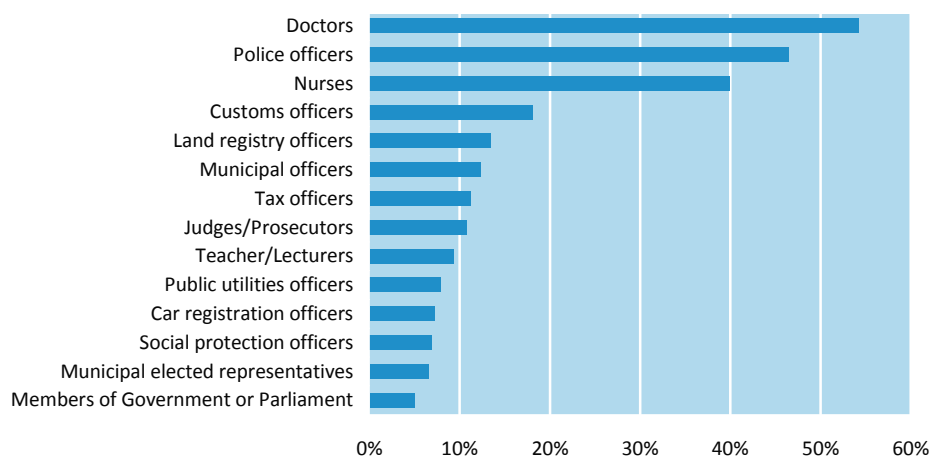


3. PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND BRIBERY

Just as bribery may be employed for diverse purposes in varying guises and different contexts, not all sectors of the public administration in Montenegro 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 Montenegro are doctors (54% of citizens with recent corruption experience give bribes to doctors), police officers (47%), nurses (40%) and customs officers (18%) (figure 11). Other types of public officials receive a smaller percentage of bribes, ranging from members of the Government or Parliament⁶ (5%) to land registry officers (14%).

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



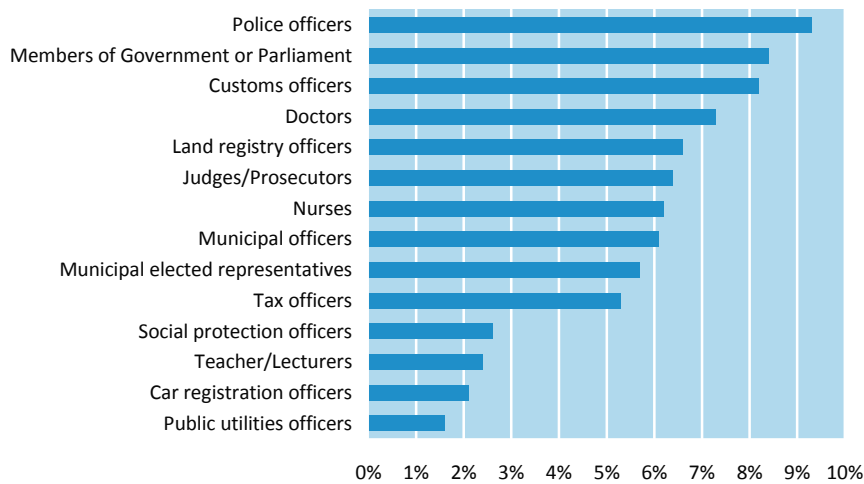
Note: The sum is higher than 100 per cent since bribe-payers could have made payments to more than one public official in the 12 months prior to the survey.

⁶ This category has been formed by aggregating two separate categories (Members of Parliament and Members of Government)

The size of Montenegrin communities can also have an impact on the type of official involved in acts of bribery. For example, more citizens from urban than from rural areas pay bribes to doctors (56% vs. 50%) and nurses (42% vs. 35%), while, contrary to expectation, the percentage of bribes paid to police officers, in order to avoid the loss of a driving licence or penalty points, is almost the same in rural (47%) and in urban areas (46%)

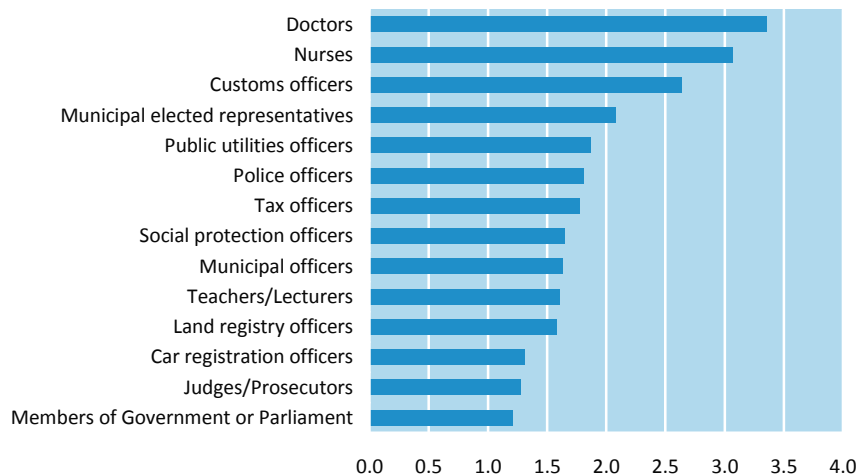
To some extent, it is unsurprising that public officials with a high level of interaction with the public also receive the highest number of bribes. However, there are some positions in the public administration, such as in the judiciary or customs service, where the frequency of interaction with citizens 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 official 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, Montenegro (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 in relation to police officers (9%), members of the Government or Parliament (8%), customs officers (8%) and doctors (7%). Moreover, relatively high values are registered for land registry officers, judges/prosecutors, nurses, municipal officers, municipal elected representatives and tax officers, 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, Montenegro (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 members of the Government or Parliament and judges and prosecutors, for example, receiving about one bribe from each bribe-payer. Doctors and nurses, on the other hand, receive more than three bribes from each bribe-payer.

The analysis of data relating to the last incident when a citizen paid a bribe reveals that different types of public official are paid kickbacks for quite different reasons (see figure 14). For example, police officers are given bribes to avoid or reduce payments of fines, while doctors, nurses, tax officers and judges or prosecutors are given money or gifts to reduce waiting times or to receive better treatment – both crucial aspects in the use of health services and in dealings with the courts and tax authorities. Most officials are, on the whole, paid to accelerate or finalize an otherwise lengthy or complex procedure. This shows that not only do the numerous administrative procedures and services carried out in the public sector have different features, they also have weaknesses for which bribery is often used as a remedy. The precise analysis and resolution of any such deficiencies and failings would no doubt represent a powerful preventative measure against corruption.

Figure 14: Percentage of bribes paid to selected types of public officials by purpose of payment, Montenegro (2010)

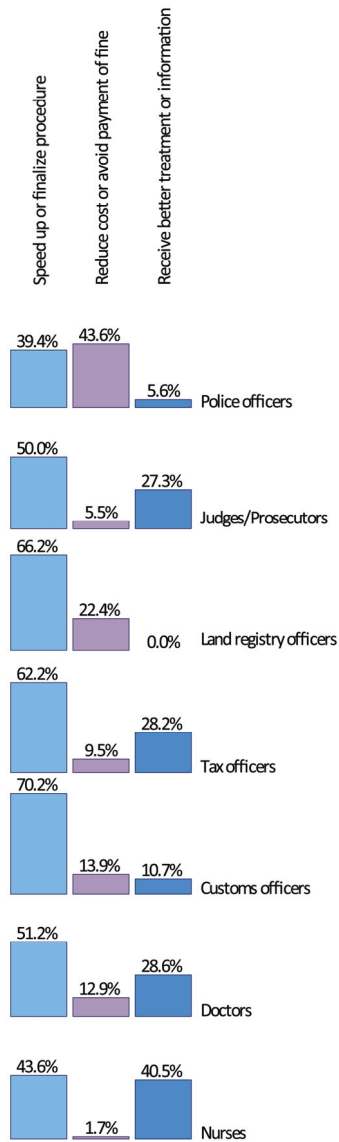
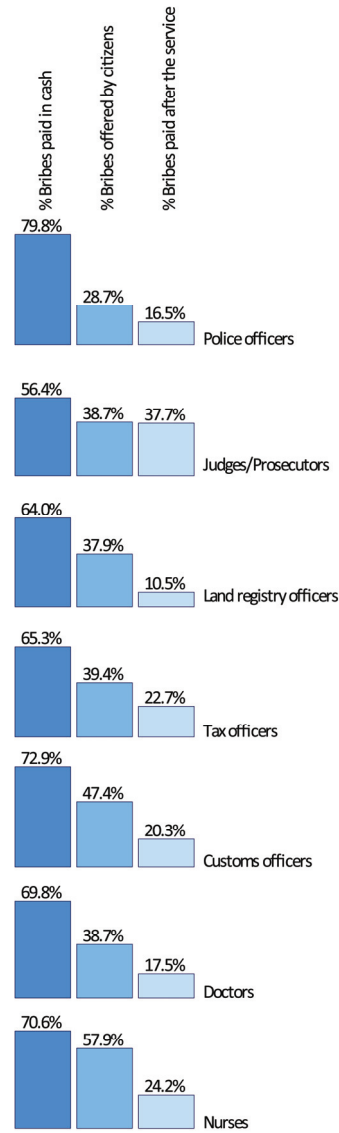


Figure 15: Three indicators for bribes paid to selected types of public officials: percentage of bribes paid in cash, of bribes offered by citizens; and of bribes paid after service delivery, Montenegro (2010)

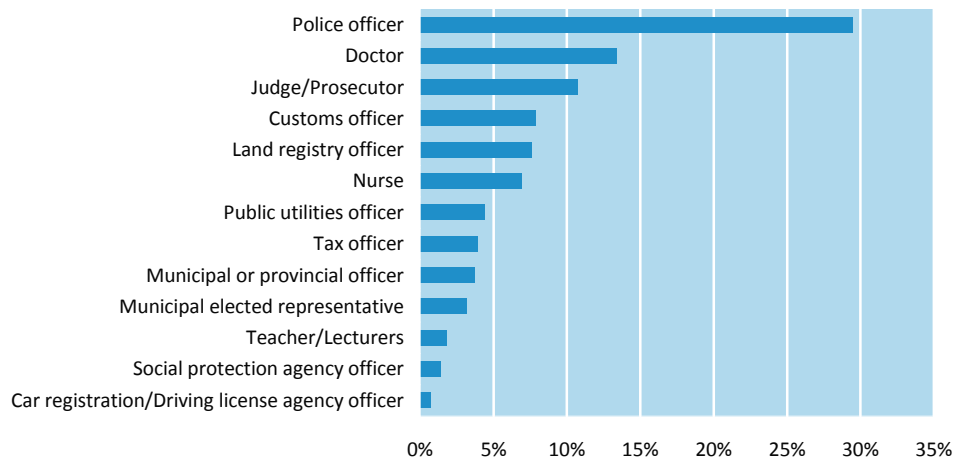


Note: Data refer to the last bribe paid by each bribe-payer in the 12 months prior to the survey.

Modalities of bribe-paying to different types of public official also show the diverse nature of payments made to them (see figure 15). All selected officials receive the majority of their bribes as cash payments, and in most cases bribes are explicitly or implicitly requested by the public official or a third party, not offered by the citizen. Only nurses receive most of their bribes as unsolicited payments and, although these offers could be interpreted as a sign of gratitude, when looking at the timing of payment it becomes clear that most are not paid after a service is rendered. Indeed, most Montenegrin public officials receive the majority of their kickbacks before the procedure has even started.

It should be noted, however, that Montenegrin 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 four citizens who pay a bribe there is one who refuses to do so and turns down the request made by a public official. Figure 16 shows that police officers and, to a lesser extent, doctors are two types of civil servant whose bribery requests are often declined: among those citizens who turn down bribe requests, 30 per cent have been personally asked to pay a bribe by a police officer, 13 per cent by a doctor and 11 per cent by a judge or prosecutor

Figure 16: 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, Montenegro (2010)



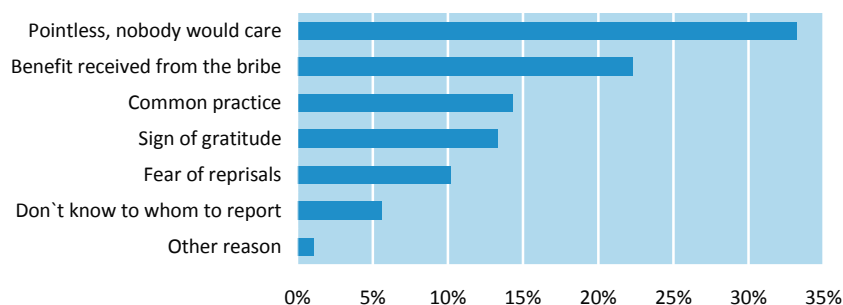


4. REPORTING OF BRIBERY

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).

In the case of bribery, it appears that none of the above factors is currently playing a role in Montenegro. According to the results of this survey, a mere 1 per cent of bribe-payers report their experience to the authorities. An important share of those who pay a bribe perceive it as a positive practice (13% say it is only a sign of gratitude) or simply as a common practice (14%); almost a quarter say that they actually receive a direct benefit from paying the bribe so there would be no point in reporting it. An important proportion of bribe-payers candidly admit that reporting would be pointless as nobody would do anything about it (33%). The fear of reprisals (10%) plays only a minor role in citizens motives for not reporting bribery incidents but is still evident. Insufficient knowledge of the authorities responsible for processing citizens' complaints (6%) cannot be considered an important motivation for explaining the low reporting rate (figure 17).

Figure 17: Percentage distribution of bribe-payers not reporting their personal bribery experience to authorities according to the most important reason for not reporting, Montenegro (2010)

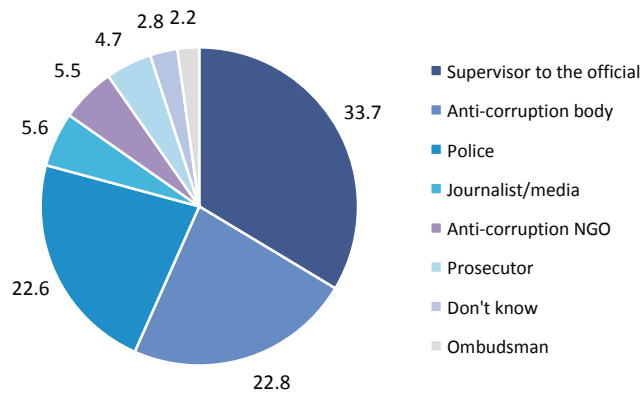


Note: Data refer to bribe-payers who did not report their last bribe paid in the 12 months prior to the survey to authorities/institutions.

Bribery experience may not usually be reported to the authorities but bribe-payers do share their experiences with people they know. About almost 70 per cent of Montenegrin 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 paid with individuals or groups who may subsequently spread the word, such as journalists (5%) or NGOs (1%).

However, for a considerable proportion of bribe-payers (30%) 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 18: Percentage distribution of adult population according to institutions indicated for future reports of bribery incidents, Montenegro (2010)



As stated above, very few citizens resort to the authorities to disclose their experience, but when asked which agency/official they would address in future if they had to report a bribery experience, one third (34%) see the supervisor of the official as the most likely recipient of a report. Almost a quarter (23%) would report to an anti-corruption body, while another 23 per cent would report to the police (figure 18).



5. OTHER FORMS OF CORRUPTION

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

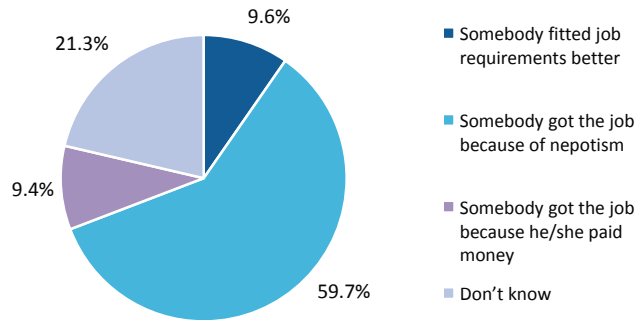
Public sector recruitment

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. 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, while usually regulated in order to ensure transparency, leaves a varying degree of discretion to those officials selecting the new workforce. In accordance with national principles, regulations and best practice, new staff should be selected on the basis of criteria such as competence and experience, but it is often reported that other decisive factors can come into play, such as nepotism, cronyism or even bribery.

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, Montenegro is no exception and, according to the results of this survey, a quarter of citizens or members of their households (25%) applied for a job in the public sector in the three years prior to the survey, of whom 41 per cent actually secured a job. Of those who were successful, 9 per cent admit paying money, giving a gift or doing a favour in order to be hired.

Data clearly show that recruitment procedures in Montenegro's public sector suffer from a lack of transparency, which is confirmed by the perceptions expressed by applicants who were not recruited. Almost 70 per cent of those who did not get a job think that somebody else was employed due to cronyism, nepotism or bribery (60%) or the payment of money (9%). Only 10 per cent believe that somebody else better fitted the job requirements (figure 19).

Figure 19: 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, Montenegro (2010)



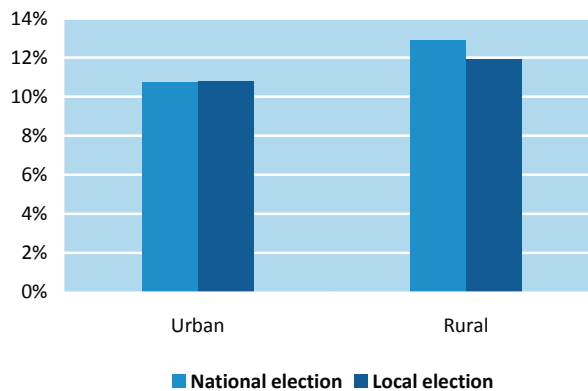
Note: Data refer to adult population (aged 18-64) who applied for a job in the public service in the 3 years prior to the survey and who were not recruited.

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 Montenegro 11.6 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, about 11.2 per cent report receiving an offer. In rural areas, citizens are slightly more likely to state that they were offered a gift in exchange for their votes (figure 20).

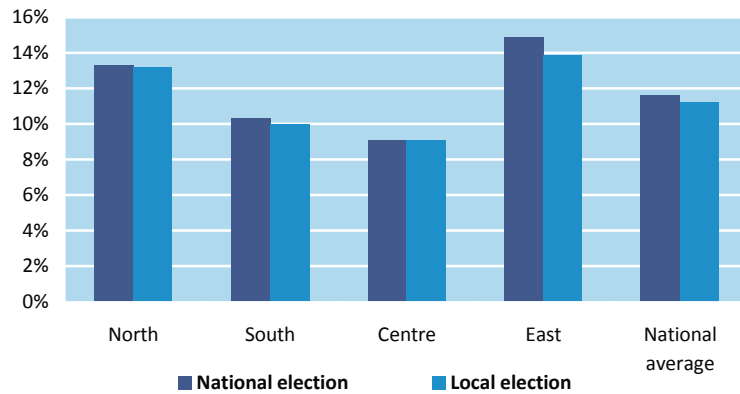
Figure 20: Percentage of adult population asked to vote for a candidate at last national and local elections in exchange for money, goods or a favour, by urban/rural, Montenegro (2010)



Most vote requests to individuals during national elections were reported in the East of the country (15%) and in the North (13%), where the percentage of requests exceeds the national average. The same observations, though on a slightly lower level, can be made regarding local

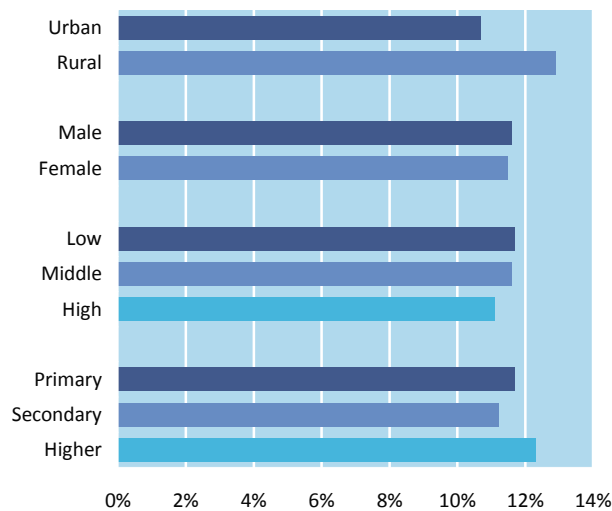
elections: most cases were reported in the East (14%) and in the North (13%). In the South and Centre, the share of citizens was equal for both types of election (10% and 9%, respectively), as shown in figure 21.

Figure 21: 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, Montenegro (2010)



A slightly higher number of offers was made in rural areas and to citizens with a low household income. Offers were made irrespective of the citizens' sex, and not even citizens' educational attainment reveals a clear pattern of vulnerability (figure 22).

Figure 22: 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), Montenegro (2010)



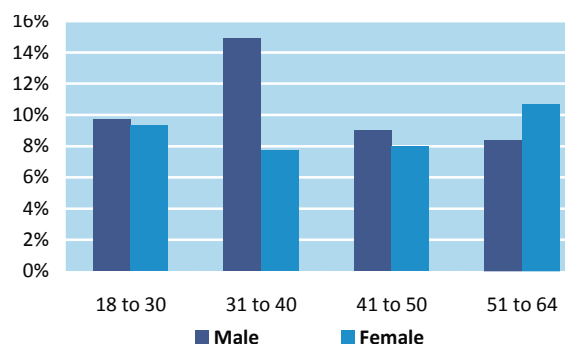


6. VULNERABILITIES TO BRIBERY

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 party 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 Montenegro closely match those of the population as a whole, though some distinctive characteristics can be noted. For example, the prevalence of bribery is slightly higher among male citizens than female citizens (10% vs. 9%), but the difference is not remarkable. However, the picture changes when the age of bribe-payers is taken into account: men in their thirties are those most exposed to bribery, and their probability of being confronted with bribe requests decreases with age, which is not the case for women, whose prevalence rate peaks in their fifties (figure 23).

Figure 23: Prevalence of bribery in Montenegro, 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.

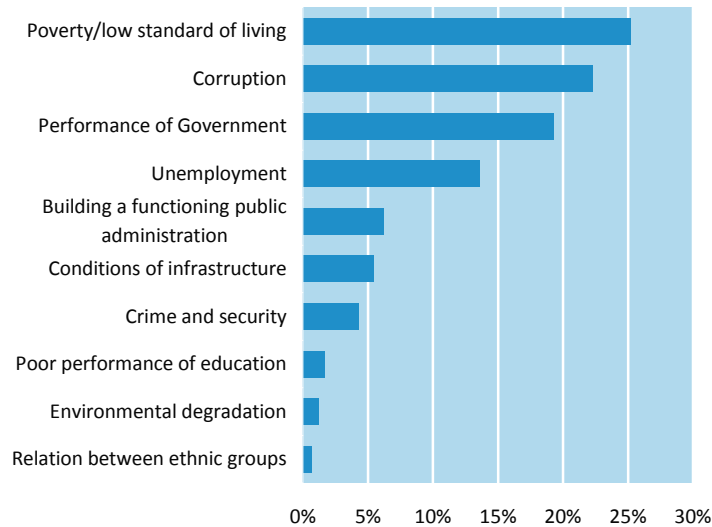
There are, however, noteworthy differences in vulnerability between men and women in Montenegro when looking at the type of official receiving bribe. For example, the prevalence rate in relation to tax officers is 7 per cent for men but 3 per cent for women, while in relation to judges and prosecutors and municipal elected representatives the highest rates are registered for women (8% and 7%, respectively) and the lowest for men (6% and 5%, respectively).

The same can be said when analyzing payments to certain types of official by type of settlement. For most public officials the prevalence rate is considerably higher in urban than in rural areas. The greatest differences can be seen in the prevalence of bribery among members of the Government or Parliament (13% urban vs. 3% rural), land registry officers (9% urban vs. 4% rural) and judges or prosecutors (9% urban vs. 3% rural).

The analysis of citizens' household income also reveals an interesting pattern in relation to certain types of public official. For example, the number of payments to customs officials, municipal officers, tax officers and nurses increases with household income. However, no clear pattern could be established regarding the likelihood of paying bribes to particular types of public official increasing or decreasing with the age.

In terms of the reasons why citizens pay kickbacks, female citizens do so more often for personal/family reasons in comparison to men (69% vs. 59%), while male citizens do so more often for work/business-related reasons (23% vs. 11%). More low-income earners get involved in acts of bribery purely for personal/family reasons (70%), while among households with a high income work-related bribes make up a higher share of all bribes paid (21%). But, 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.

Figure 24: Percentage distribution of adult population considering selected issues as the most important in Montenegro (2010)



Poverty and low standard of living is understandably rated the most important issue but corruption is actually ranked higher than issues such as the performance of the Government, crime or even unemployment.

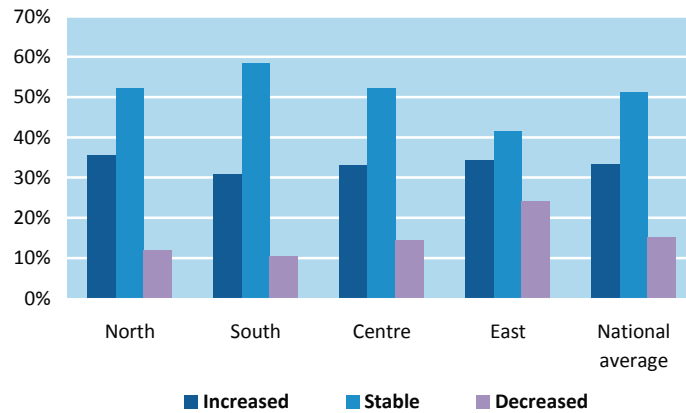
On a sub-national level, corruption is perceived to be a higher or lower priority depending on how other socio-economic issues are perceived by the population. In fact, corruption is actually rated the most important problem in the North of Montenegro and the second most important in all the other regions. (figure 25).

Figure 25: Percentage of adult population considering selected issues as the most important in Montenegro, by region (2010)



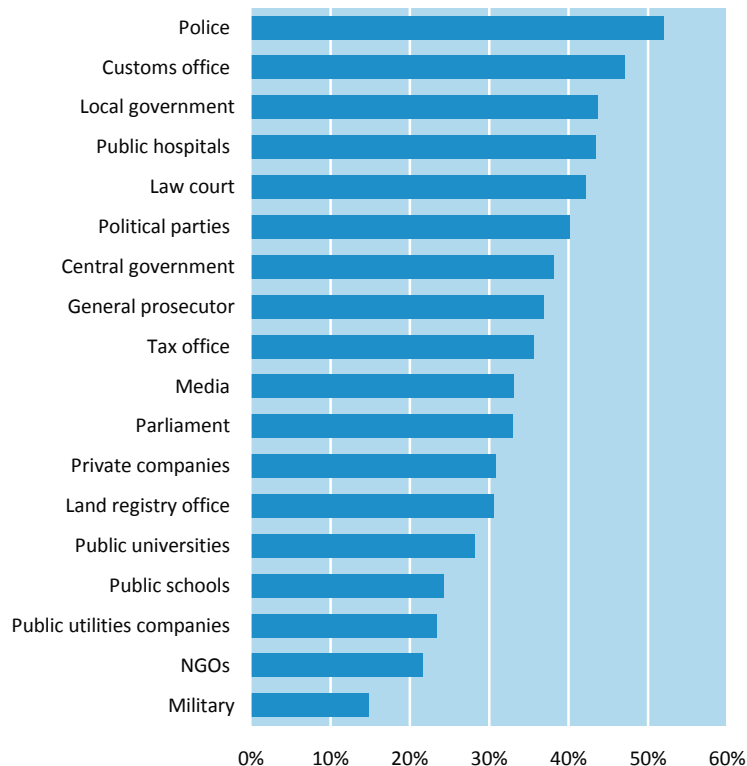
Another perspective to take into consideration when evaluating perceptions is whether corruption is perceived to be decreasing or increasing over time. As figure 26 shows, some 30 per cent of Montenegrins believe corruption to be on the rise in their country (although it must be reiterated that perceptions about time trends are different from actual bribery experience – as evidenced in previous chapters – and are also different from opinions about corruption in comparison to other topics). Variations between regions are quite limited and all follow the national pattern, but in the East the percentage of the population perceiving corruption to have decreased (24%) is twice as high as in other regions (11% in the South and 12% in the North).

Figure 26: Percentage distribution of adult population according to perceived trends of corruption in Montenegro in the three years prior to the survey, at regional level (2010)



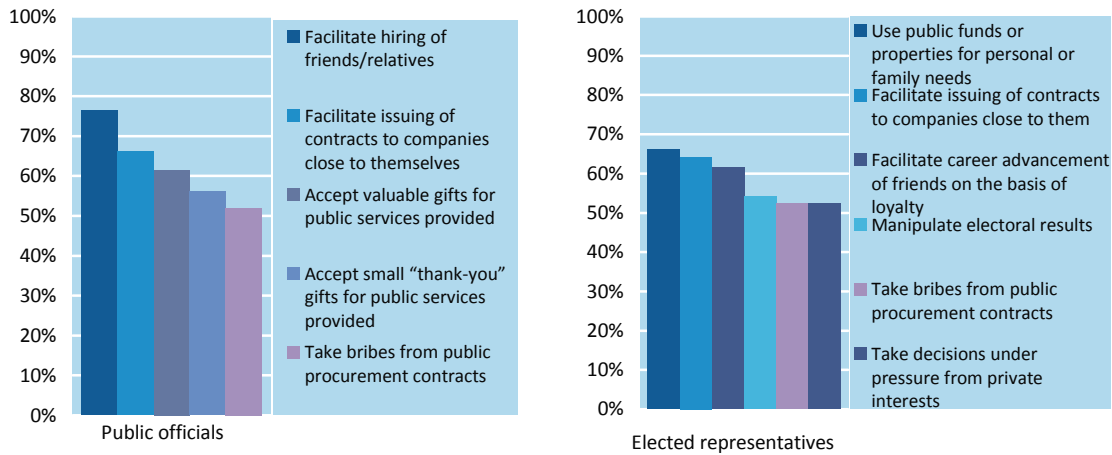
Several institutions or sectors are perceived to be permeated by corruption to a significant extent. Figure 27 shows that a significant, though variable, share of the population believes that corrupt practices occur often or very often in those institutions selected, with the military and NGOs among the organizations perceived to be more immune to corruption.

Figure 27: Percentage of adult population who consider that corrupt practices occur often or very often in selected sectors/institutions in Montenegro (2010)



These evaluations of the perception of corruption play an important role in helping stake holders 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 28).

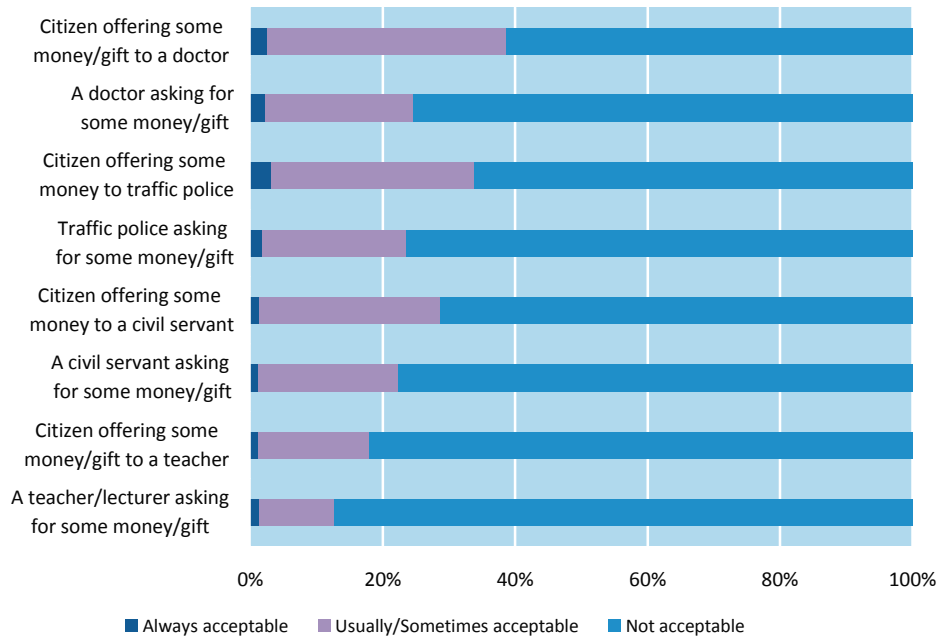
Figure 28: Percentage of adult population who perceive that selected malpractices occur often or very often, respectively among public officials and elected representatives in Montenegro (2010)



Certain malpractices, such as the hiring of friends and relatives (76% and 62%, respectively, perceive it to happen often or very often) and the awarding of contracts to private companies with a close business relationship to them (66% and 64%, respectively), 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 Montenegro perceives that all these malpractices happen on a regular basis. The use of public funds or properties for private purposes is perceived to be the most common form of misconduct among elected representatives (66%). Also, the manipulation of electoral results is perceived to happen often or very often by 54 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.

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 29 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 29: Percentage distribution of adult population in Montenegro according to acceptability of certain practices among selected public officials (2010)



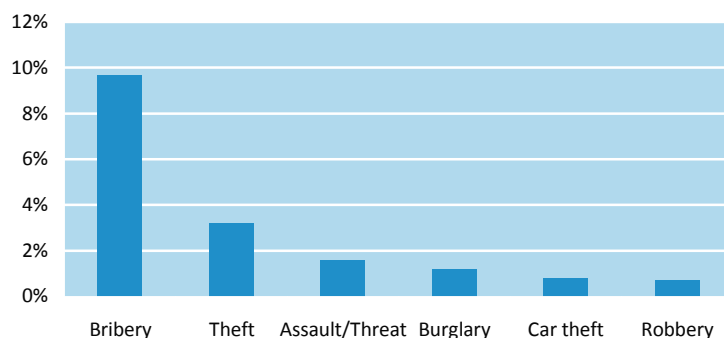


8. PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF OTHER FORMS OF CRIME

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 and, secondly, it supplies a whole range of information about victims and modalities of crime episodes, which are not usually well represented in statistics produced by law enforcement and judiciary bodies.

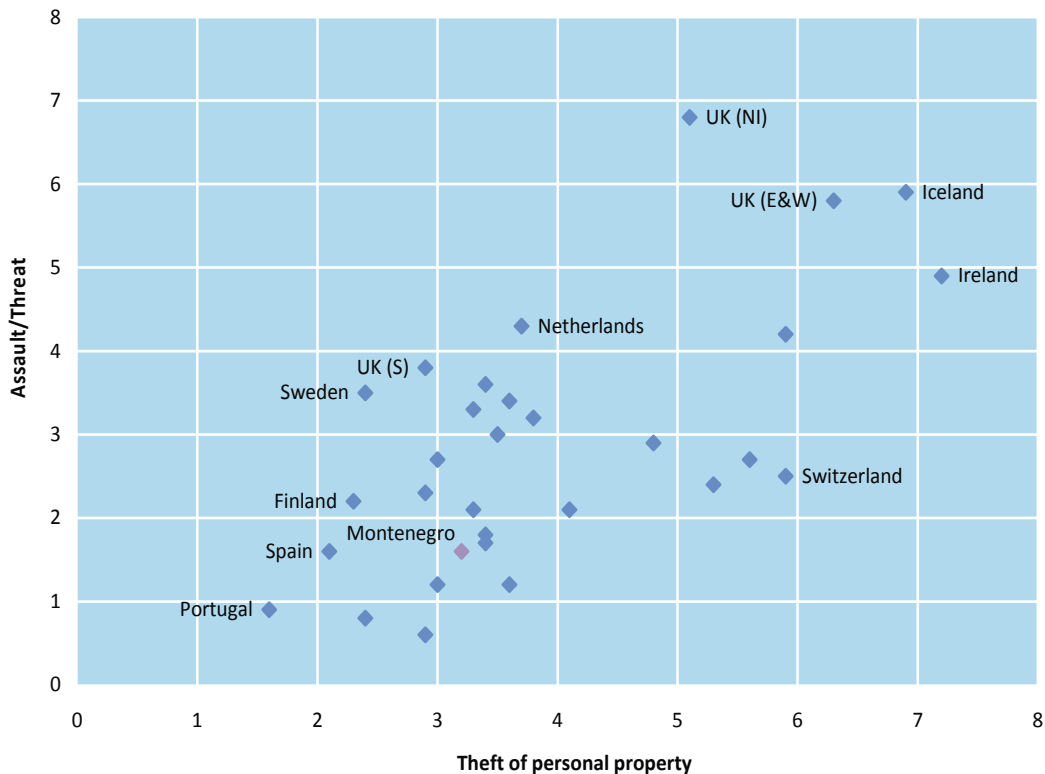
Figure 30: Annual prevalence rates for different types of crime, Montenegro (2010)



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 30, the annual prevalence rates of personal theft (3.2%), personal assault/threat (1.6%), burglary (1.2%), car theft (0.8%) and robbery (0.7%) are substantially lower than for bribery (9.7%). When considering these figures in an international perspective, it is evident that the victimization experience of the citizens of Montenegro is not markedly different to those recorded in other European countries. This is visualized in figure 31, where prevalence rates of assault and theft recorded in Montenegro and other countries of the western Balkan region are shown jointly with the most recent data available in a number of other European countries. Data indicate that the risk of victimization is comparatively moderate in terms of the share of the population being victim to two typical crimes, one against property (theft) and the other against the person (assault).

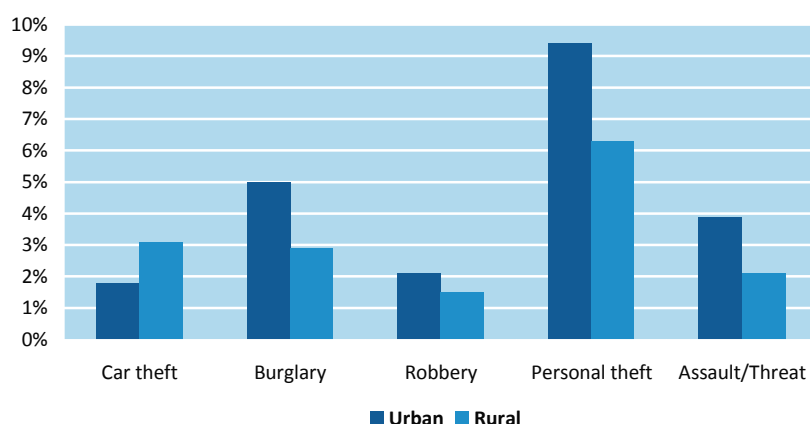
Figure 31: Annual prevalence rates of theft and assault/threat in western Balkan countries/areas and selected other European countries (2010 and most recent year)



Note: Western Balkan countries/areas shown in red. Figures for other European countries shown in blue 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 surveys conducted in 2004/2005. Source: WODC (2007), *Criminal Victimization in International Perspective*.

The same 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 Montenegrin citizens (8.2%), followed by burglary (4.2%), assault/threat (3.2%), car theft (2.3%) and robbery (1.9%). There are significant differences between urban and rural areas, in terms of their experience of being victim to such crimes, with five-year prevalence rates in urban areas being substantially higher than in rural areas for all crime types included in the survey, except for car theft, which is markedly higher in rural areas (figure 32).

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 32: Five-year prevalence rates for selected types of crime in urban/rural areas, Montenegro (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 (aged 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.

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

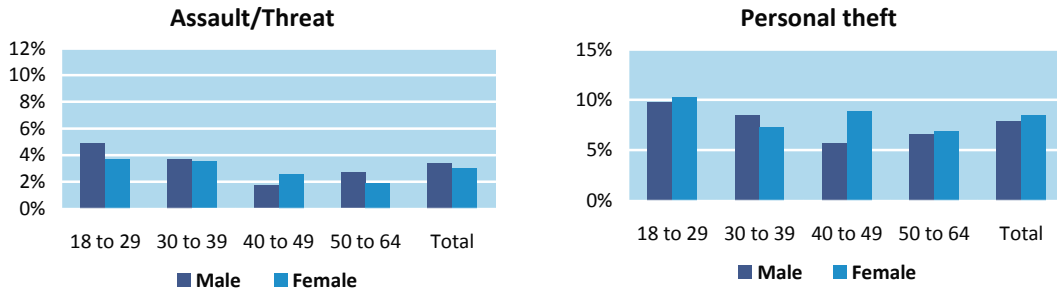
	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Personal theft	0.9%	3.1%	2.4%	0.6%	1.9%
Burglary	5.8%	10.6%	9.4%	6.1%	8.2%
Assault/threat (personal)	2.8%	4.0%	3.5%	2.4%	3.2%
Robbery (personal)	2.4%	2.9%	1.5%	3.2%	4.2%
Car theft	4.2%	4.9%	4.9%	2.4%	2.3%

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 (aged 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 Montenegro, some differences emerge and citizens of the South and Centre regions appear to be affected by higher levels of crime victimization, with the exception of car theft. For car theft, inhabitants of the East of Montenegro seem to be most affected, while they face the lowest risk of victimization for all other crime types. (table 2).

Over a five-year period, men have a higher risk of robbery (2.1% vs. 1.6 %) as well as of assault/threat (3.4% vs. 3.0%), but women face a higher risk of personal theft (8.5% vs. 7.9% for men) Beside these average rates, there are quite distinct patterns among the different age groups (figure 33): in Montenegro, people belonging to younger age groups generally face higher risks of victimization than those belonging to older age groups. The risk of falling victim to assault/threat for 18 to 29-year-old men is about three times the risk for 40 to 49-year-old men. Women face lower risks of assault/threat than men in all age groups, other than from 40 to 49 when it is significantly higher for women; a phenomenon that warrants further attention and study.

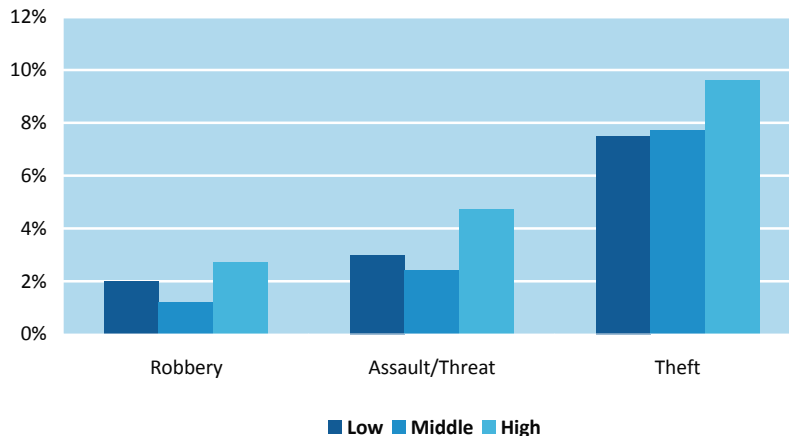
Figure 33: Five-year prevalence rates of assault/threat and personal theft by age groups and sex, Montenegro (2010)



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 (aged 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, robbery and personal theft than either lower or middle income groups in Montenegro. However, the risk differentials between income groups do not seem to be very large (figure 34).

Figure 34: Five-year prevalence rates for selected crimes by income group, Montenegro (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 (aged 18-64)

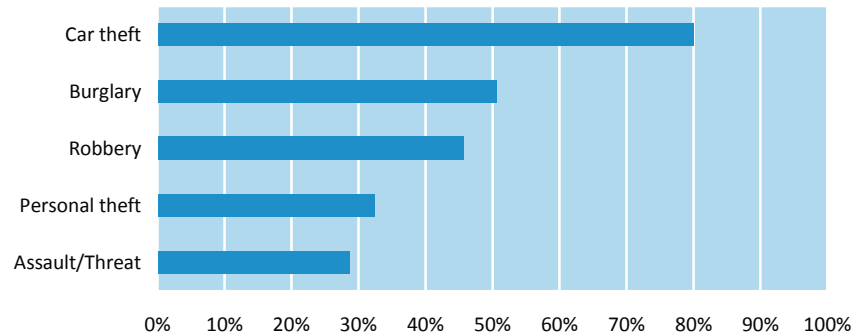
An important feature of crimes and of their impact on victims is their level of violence, and the use of weapons by offenders represents a direct indication of that level. Prevalence rates for violent crimes such as assaults and robberies are moderate in Montenegro and in most cases they are conducted without guns or knives. Only in a minority of cases are they perpetrated under the threat of arms such as knives (some 13% for robbery and 8% for assault) or guns (some 4% for robbery, 6% 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 35). Car theft is reported to the police in about 80 per cent of cases, for reasons of insurance and de-registration. In addition, crimes are more frequently reported the greater the amount of damage or psychological trauma suffered. Burglary is reported in about 50 per cent of all cases, with a somewhat higher reporting rate

when something is actually stolen. Robbery is reported to the police, on average, in some 46 per cent of cases, with a greater tendency to be reported when significant damage occurs and when a gun or a knife is used in the robbery. Less than one third (32%) of all incidents of personal theft are reported to the police and assault/threat is reported in only around 29 per cent of cases, with a greater tendency to be reported when a gun is used in the assault or threat. It is also interesting to note that for all three personal crimes (robbery, personal theft and assault/threat) women have a higher tendency to report the incident to the police than men.

Figure 35: Percentage of victims of selected types of crime who reported their experience to authorities by type of crime, Montenegro (2010)

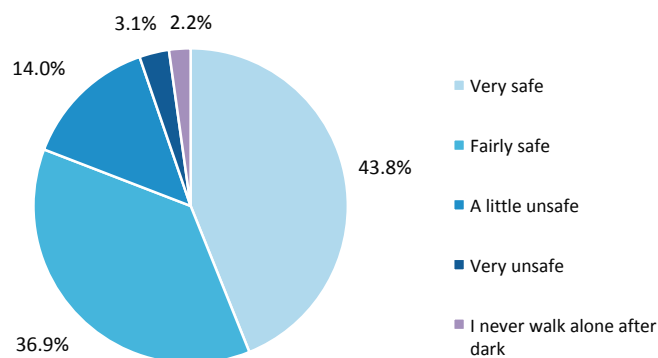


Note: Reporting rates refer to the latest case reported to the police in the 5 years prior to the survey.

Perceptions of safety from crime

The incidence of assault and robbery might affect feelings of safety or fear in public spaces. 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 Montenegro is moderate. Consequently, the vast majority of the population (over 80 per cent of citizens) feel very or fairly safe walking alone after dark, with few differences between urban and rural areas (figure 36).

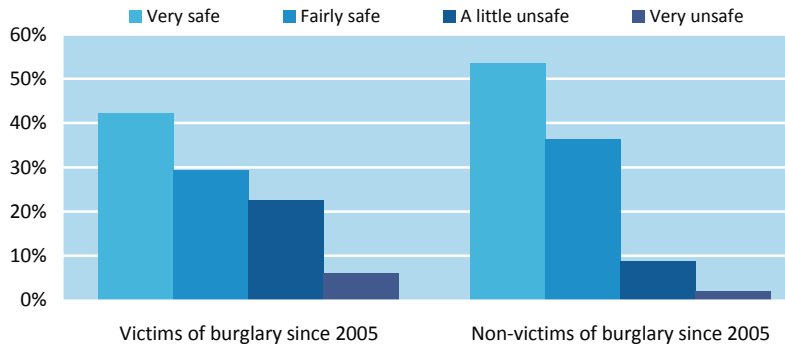
Figure 36: Percentage distribution of adult population according to feeling of safety, Montenegro (2010)



The inhabitants of the South and Centre feel slightly safer than citizens living in the North and East when walking after dark in their neighbourhood or village. As expected, men are less afraid than women (19.1% of women feel a little and 4.3% very unsafe vs. only 8.8% and 1.8%, respectively, of men). Both younger men and younger women feel slightly safer than older age groups of the same sex.

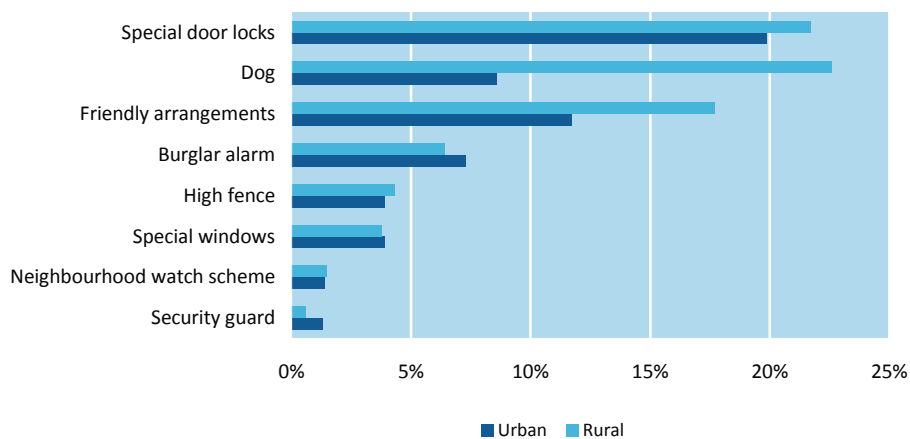
In total, 89 per cent of Montenegrin citizens, irrespective of age, feel safe at home alone after dark while 9 per cent feel a little unsafe and fewer than 2 per cent feel very unsafe. This notion is slightly more pronounced among the male population, residents of urban areas and in the Centre region (figure 38). 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 37).

Figure 37: Percentage distribution of adult population according to feeling of safety, respectively for victims and non victims of burglary, Montenegro (2010)



Given these high levels of perception of safety, it is no surprise that almost a half of citizens (48.2%) do not have specific measures for protecting their homes against burglary. Of those who have at least some kind of minimal protection for their homes, having special door locks (20.6%), keeping a dog (14.1%) and having friendly arrangements for watching a neighbour's home (14%) are the most frequently used types of home protection. All these protection measures are used more frequently in rural areas of Montenegro than in urban areas (figure 38). In total, only about 7 per cent of citizens have a burglar alarm, while around 4 per cent have a high fence and the same amount have special windows. Formal neighbourhood watch schemes and security guards are virtually never used by private households in Montenegro.

Figure 38: Types of home protection used in rural and urban areas, Montenegro(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 Montenegrin 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 Montenegro 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 Montenegrin 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. 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 Montenegro 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 policymaking:

- 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 Montenegro, 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 Montenegro 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 Montenegro shows a considerable level of concern about the issue. A window of opportunity is, therefore, open and it is likely that the citizens of Montenegro would warmly welcome the further implementation of anti-corruption policies.

Montenegro	
Responsible agency	Prism Research, Podgorica Office
Survey period	September – October 2010
Target population	Resident population of Montenegro, aged 18-64
Sample design	Stratified two-stage random Stratified by major geographical regions, municipality and type of settlement (villages/municipal centres and urban areas) Households selected by random walk during fieldwork
Respondent selection	Person (aged 18-64) with next birthday within selected household
Quality control measures	Fieldwork coordinators' check of each questionnaire Fieldwork coordinators back-checking by phone (sample of interviews) Logic checks conducted on final dataset
Net sample size	5,000
Response rate	72 per cent



11. STATISTICAL ANNEX

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Percentage of population having contacts to public administration	73.6%	87.6%	70.9%	76.7%	76.7%
Prevalence of bribery	14.0%	11.0%	7.7%	7.4%	9.7%
Average number of bribes	6.02	5.58	5.90	6.37	5.92
Average bribe Euro	223	238	233	240	233
Average bribe Euro-PPP	459	490	480	493	480

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Cash	73.1%	62.4%	73.0%	73.2%	69.9%
Food and drink	16.7%	17.3%	13.5%	21.3%	16.9%
Other goods	10.7%	17.4%	16.2%	12.9%	14.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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)

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

	Urban/Rural		Sex		Age			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 64
Before the service	54.1%	41.9%	51.7%	49.2%	52.9%	44.4%	53.4%	51.8%
After the service	20.4%	22.7%	20.9%	21.2%	20.4%	17.8%	26.4%	21.2%
At the same time	9.5%	14.4%	10.8%	11.1%	10.4%	13.4%	9.6%	10.2%
Partly before/ partly after	6.1%	7.4%	7.1%	5.8%	6.7%	10.0%	4.6%	4.2%
Don't remember	9.9%	13.6%	9.5%	12.7%	9.6%	14.4%	6.0%	12.6%
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, Montenegro (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	15.0%	11.0%	15.5%	11.9%	13.4%	15.6%	12.1%	13.8%
Public official made implicit request	25.3%	17.9%	21.3%	25.3%	23.8%	22.2%	23.4%	23.2%
Third party made explicit request	10.7%	16.0%	14.4%	9.9%	14.4%	12.3%	12.2%	10.0%
Citizen made offer	41.2%	40.6%	39.3%	43.0%	38.9%	37.8%	44.9%	43.5%
Don't remember	7.8%	14.5%	9.6%	9.9%	9.5%	12.2%	7.3%	9.4%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex		Age			
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 64
Speed up procedure	33.3%	28.5%	30.4%	33.5%	30.4%	27.7%	36.5%	34.2%
Avoid payment of fine	17.7%	18.0%	20.9%	14.2%	16.8%	20.0%	24.4%	11.8%
Receive better treatment	2.5%	3.1%	3.2%	2.2%	3.6%	3.4%	0.0%	3.1%
Receive information	16.3%	18.6%	19.8%	13.8%	23.9%	13.4%	14.0%	15.2%
Finalization of procedure	18.4%	16.7%	14.3%	22.1%	13.4%	22.2%	20.4%	16.9%
Reduce cost of procedure	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Avoid other problems	2.9%	1.2%	1.8%	3.2%	2.5%	1.1%	1.6%	4.2%
No specific purpose	6.9%	13.0%	8.0%	9.5%	6.8%	10.0%	1.6%	14.6%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex	
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Doctors	55.9%	50.3%	46.6%	63.1%
Police officers	46.1%	47.4%	53.3%	38.7%
Nurses	41.9%	35.2%	33.2%	47.6%
Customs officers	18.1%	18.2%	22.4%	13.2%
Land registry officers	14.8%	10.3%	15.2%	11.4%
Municipal officers	11.7%	13.7%	12.6%	12.0%
Tax officers	10.7%	12.4%	15.5%	6.2%
Judges/Prosecutors	12.4%	6.9%	10.9%	10.7%
Teachers	7.9%	12.6%	10.7%	7.7%
Public utilities officers	9.2%	4.8%	9.8%	5.7%
Car registration officers	5.9%	10.4%	8.7%	5.5%
Social protection officers	5.5%	10.4%	5.8%	8.2%
Municipal elected representatives	7.2%	4.7%	5.7%	7.3%
Members of Government or Parliament	5.8%	2.9%	5.8%	4.1%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Urban/Rural		Sex	
	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Common practice	14.0%	15.1%	15.1%	13.4%
Pointless, nobody would care	31.6%	37.2%	32.7%	33.8%
Don't know to whom to report	6.8%	2.8%	4.9%	6.5%
Fear of reprisals	10.0%	10.4%	11.0%	9.2%
Benefit received from the bribe	22.5%	21.7%	21.3%	23.4%
Sign of gratitude	14.0%	11.6%	14.0%	12.4%
Other reason	1.1%	1.1%	1.0%	1.2%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Yes	13.3%	10.3%	9.1%	14.9%	11.6%
No	81.8%	85.7%	88.2%	83.0%	85.1%
Don't know	4.9%	4.0%	2.7%	2.2%	3.3%
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, Montenegro(2010)

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Yes	13.2%	10.0%	9.1%	13.9%	11.2%
No	80.9%	84.1%	88.2%	82.9%	84.6%
Don't know	5.9%	5.9%	2.7%	3.1%	4.2%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Yes	13.0%	6.7%	11.2%	7.5%	8.9%
No	72.6%	90.1%	76.8%	83.9%	82.6%
Don't know	14.3%	3.2%	12.0%	8.5%	8.5%
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, Montenegro (2010)

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Police	53.6%	48.9%	57.4%	45.7%	51.9%
Customs office	54.4%	35.2%	50.9%	47.6%	47.1%
Local government	52.4%	44.1%	41.7%	39.1%	43.7%
Public hospitals	55.0%	37.6%	49.4%	31.1%	43.4%
Law courts	45.2%	37.1%	49.3%	34.0%	42.0%
Political parties	47.7%	34.3%	39.0%	41.0%	40.1%
Central government	41.8%	42.1%	35.0%	35.3%	38.1%
General prosecutor	36.1%	36.6%	43.9%	28.1%	36.9%
Tax office	45.2%	28.7%	40.6%	27.1%	35.5%
Media	40.6%	27.2%	33.1%	32.9%	33.1%
Parliament	34.7%	42.7%	28.7%	27.6%	32.9%
Private companies	35.8%	26.0%	31.3%	30.6%	30.8%
Land registry office	31.4%	38.0%	31.8%	20.9%	30.6%
Public universities	38.2%	25.7%	29.0%	21.1%	28.2%
Public schools	31.6%	20.9%	25.8%	19.6%	24.3%
Public utilities companies	26.0%	20.6%	26.4%	19.9%	23.4%
NGOs	30.0%	13.9%	22.9%	20.4%	21.6%
Military	20.0%	12.8%	14.4%	13.0%	14.8%

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Robbery	0.9%	3.1%	2.4%	0.6%	1.9%
Personal theft	5.8%	10.6%	9.4%	6.1%	8.2%
Threat/Assault	2.8%	4.0%	3.5%	2.4%	3.2%
Car theft	2.4%	2.9%	1.5%	3.2%	4.2%
Burglary	4.2%	4.9%	4.9%	2.4%	2.3%

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Robbery	46.6%	38.5%	53.1%	41.4%	45.7%
Personal theft	28.4%	26.5%	41.8%	25.5%	32.4%
Threat/Assault	23.8%	24.2%	31.0%	36.4%	28.7%
Car theft	84.3%	78.6%	69.4%	89.2%	80.1%
Burglary	39.5%	47.6%	57.7%	53.0%	50.7%

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

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Very safe	45.1%	35.1%	48.6%	44.7%	43.8%
Fairly safe	32.3%	49.4%	33.1%	33.6%	36.9%
A little unsafe	14.4%	11.6%	12.9%	17.7%	14.0%
Very unsafe	5.7%	1.6%	3.5%	1.8%	3.1%
I never walk alone after dark	2.6%	2.3%	1.9%	2.2%	2.2%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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

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

	Regions				National average
	North	South	Centre	East	
Very safe	54.0%	37.6%	62.7%	54.1%	53.1%
Fairly safe	34.3%	49.6%	30.0%	32.3%	36.0%
A little unsafe	8.9%	11.9%	5.5%	11.9%	9.2%
Very unsafe	2.8%	0.9%	1.7%	1.7%	1.7%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

