
CONTENTS

List of Tables	ix
List of Figures	xv
Preface and Acknowledgements	xvii
1. COPING WITH GOVERNMENT: DEMOCRATIC IDEALS AND STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS	1
The Democratic Ideal: A 'Complete Democracy'	4
Should Public-Sector Corruption Be Condemned?	8
Does Street-Level Corruption Matter?	12
Do History and Culture Exclude the Possibility of Reform?	17
Why Surveys?	22
What Surveys?	26
Plan of the Book	28
Appendix: The Study Design	33
Notes	35
2. CONTEXT: AN UNFINISHED TRANSITION	39
The Democratisation of Local Government	40
Privatisation and Restitution	41
Economic and Moral Chaos	44
The Political Context	48
Public Perspectives on the Unfinished Transition	50
Conclusion: Victims of a Necessary Transition	58
Notes	58
3. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND PUBLIC EXPERIENCE OF OFFICIALS	61
Public Perceptions of Politicians and Top Government Officials	62
Public Perceptions of Street-Level Officials	66
Public Perceptions of Comparative Corruption	70
Public Perceptions of the Need to Use Contacts and Bribes	72

	Public Perceptions of Officials' Motives and Feelings	75
	Public Experience of Dealing with Officials	78
	Experience of Being Treated with Respect	79
	Experience of Favourable Treatment	80
	Experience of Fair (or Unfair) Treatment	82
	Experience of Extortion	83
	The Most Frequent or Most Annoying Problems When Dealing with Street-Level Officials	85
	Public Satisfaction with Street-Level Officials	88
	Conclusion: Extremely Negative Perceptions, Moderately Negative Experiences	91
	Notes	91
4.	CITIZEN STRATEGIES FOR DEALING WITH OFFICIALS	93
	How Citizens in Focus-Groups Discussed Strategies for Dealing With Officials	95
	Different Strategies for Different Objectives: Fair Treat- ment or Favours	102
	Different Strategies in Gossip and Personal Experience	103
	Public Perceptions of the Strategies Needed to Deal with Officials: Gossip and Hearsay	107
	Personal Experience of Using Different Strategies: Reported Behaviour	110
	Combinations of Strategies	114
	Influences on Citizens' Choice of Strategies	115
	All Strategies Correlate with Citizen Dissatisfaction	129
	Conclusion: Increased Argument, Not Bribery, Is the Main Response to Ill-Treatment	130
	Notes	132
5.	WILLING GIVERS?	133
	A Moral Imperative to Obey the Law?	134
	Public Condemnation of the Use of Contacts, Presents and Bribes	136
	A Permanent Part of Our Country's History and Culture?	140
	Would Citizens Give Bribes If Asked, or Accept Them If Offered?	145
	Feelings about Giving Bribes: Happy, Angry, Worried, or Ashamed?	147

Public Experience of Actually Giving Presents and Bribes to Officials	149
A Difference between Presents and Bribes? The Significance of Size, Timing and Motivation	149
Did 'Values and Norms' Affect Behaviour?	157
The Impact of Attempted Extortion	159
The Independent Effects of Values and Extortion: A Regression Analysis	163
Conclusion: Extortion Always Works, but Values Sometimes Moderate Its Impact	165
Notes	166
 6. 'TRY HARDER' OR 'GIVE UP': THE CHOICE FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES?	169
A General Curvilinear Model of Response to Stress	171
Eight Diverse Minorities	174
Negative Attitudes towards Ethnic Minorities: Cross-Country and Cross-Minority Comparisons	181
Suspensions of Ethnic Discrimination	184
Actual Experience of Biased Treatment	186
Comparative International Perspectives	190
Ethnic Values and Norms	191
Ethnic Behaviour	192
The 'Ecological Effect': The Impact of Context	196
Conclusion: Most Ethnic Minorities Are Located in the 'Try Harder' Zone, but Gypsies in the 'Give Up' Zone, and Turks on the Boundary	200
Appendix: The Ethnic Samples	203
Notes	203
 7. STREET-LEVEL BUREAUCRATS: CAUGHT BETWEEN STATE AND CITIZEN	205
Officials 'As Citizens'—in Relation to Other Officials	207
Officials 'As Employees'—in Relation to the State	210
Officials 'As Officials'—in Relation to Their Clients	213
How Did Their Experience 'As Employees' Affect Officials' Relationships with Clients?	224
Conclusion: Benign and Pernicious Institutional Cultures	235
Notes	238

8.	WILLING TAKERS?	239
	Temptations, Excuses and Justifications	241
	Doubts, Fears and Inhibitions	245
	Confessions	248
	Opportunity and Motivation	252
	Why Did Some Officials Accept while Others Did Not?	254
	A Causal Model	266
	Conclusion: Bargaining Power Rather Than Poverty Leads to Bribe Taking	275
	Notes	278
9.	A CULTURE OF CORRUPTION? SUPPORT, PRIORITIES AND PROSPECTS FOR REFORM	279
	Is Reform Possible?	281
	Perceptions of Government Commitment to Reform	283
	Expert Opinion: Six Prescriptions	289
	Public Opinion on Reform—As Expressed in Focus-Group Discussions	299
	A Ten-Item Menu of Reform: Public Opinion and the Reactions of Street-Level Officials	304
	Priorities: The Single Most Effective Reform	305
	Reform Packages	308
	Resistance to Reform	312
	Alternative Ways of Encouraging Officials	315
	Downsizing the State	317
	Training and Guidance	320
	Reform Itself As the Problem?	322
	Public Support for International Pressure	322
	Why Do People Within the Same Country Have Different Views About Reform?	325
	Diagnosis and Prescription	333
	Analytic Perspectives: Focusing Reforms on Situations Rather Than Participants	335
	Could 'Glorious Summer' Follow the 'Winter of Discontent'?	340
	Notes	343
	Bibliography	347
	Index	359