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Perception of Corruption as a Socio-Economic Phenomenon by the Population of a Region: the Structural Aspect



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Abstract. The article presents an experience of a structured study of a special socio-economic phenomenon corruption — in the aspect of its perception by different groups of population of a region. The study was conducted by Kostroma regional branch of the Russian Society of Sociologists in several stages: civil servants of the Kostroma Oblast Administration were interviewed in 2015, an online survey of university graduates of the city of Kostroma was conducted in November 2016, and finally, surveys of representatives of the business community¹ of the Kostroma Oblast were conducted in 2017. The goal of the survey was to assess the perception of corruption as a socio-economic phenomenon; the assessment was carried out through analyzing and interpreting the data obtained in the course of the surveys on the following topics: assessment of the level of corruption in general, perception of the level and dynamics of corruption, and possible ways to overcome corruption, according to respondents. Having interpreted the results of the survey we reveal the attitude of different target audiences toward the understanding of the phenomenon of corruption, its causes, and ways to combat it. In the context of the decree of Russian President Vladimir Putin "On the national anti-corruption plan for 2018–2020" signed June 29, 2018, the data we have obtained become particularly relevant for the development of sociological research techniques to assess the level of corruption in constituent entities of the Russian Federation (Section I, Paragraph 1, Letter "a") and to conduct scientific interdisciplinary studies, the results of which can be used to prepare proposals aimed to enhance anti-corruption measures and increase the efficiency of such measures in the business sector (Section V, Paragraph 21, Letter "b").

Key words: perception of the level of corruption, combating corruption, structural analysis, prevalence of corruption manifestations.

Relevance of the research topic

Recently, corruption as a challenge to state and public development and an issue persistently raised in the research community [1, 2, 3] becomes particularly relevant in all spheres of social life, which is confirmed, in particular, by the strengthening of the Russian anti-corruption legislation. Being a multidimensional social, economic, legal and moral phenomenon, corruption is the subject of various studies [4, 5] carried out in various disciplines, including related ones².

The issues of corruption are covered in the works of domestic researchers: S.V. Alekseev³,

V.V. Astanin⁴, P.A. Kabanov [7], G.A. Satarov [4], M.V. Shediy⁵ etc. Foreign researchers (O. Armantier, A. Boly [8], A. Barr, D. Serra [9], L. Cameron [10], M. Drugov, J. Hamman, D. Serra [11], B. Frank, G. Schulze [12], M. Granovetter [13], J.G.G. Lambsdorff [14]) consider corruption as an activity for personal enrichment with the characteristics of intention and ulterior motives. The concept of corruption as a socio-legal phenomenon is covered by the following Russian researchers: Y.I. Gilinskii, A.I. Dolgova [15], I.N. Klyukovskaya [16], V.V. Luneev [17], N.V. Selikhov⁶, E.N. Trikoz, V.S. Ustinov, V.I. Shul'ga [18], and V.E. Eminov.

¹ Grant support by the all-Russian non-governmental and state educational organization "Russian Society "Znanie" (2017).

² Dzodzieva Z.B. Corruption as a social and economic phenomenon: sociological analysis: Candidate of Sciences (Sociology) dissertation. Vladikavkaz, 2006; Izotov M.O. Corruption in contemporary Russia: forms and socio-cultural grounds: Candidate of Sciences (Philosophy) dissertation. Orvol. 2012.

³ Alekseev S.V. Corruption in a transitional society: a sociological analysis: Doctor of Sociology dissertation. Novocherkassk, 2008.

⁴ Astanin V.V. Anti-corruption policy of Russia: criminological aspects: Doctor of Law dissertation. Moscow, 2009.

⁵ Shedii M.V. Corruption as a social phenomenon: Doctor of Sociology dissertation. Moscow, 2014.

Corruption is extremely difficult to measure because of its latent and shadow nature, yet there are attempts to do it [1]. According to the research of the Indem Fund, corruption in Russia reaches 80% of legal output of products in the entire Russian economy [4]. However, it is quite possible to measure the perception of corruption as one of the feedback mechanisms and aspects of social well-being of citizens in the society.

The number of multi-aspect studies of perception of corruption is extremely insufficient; federal research centers (VTsIOM, FOM, Levada-Center) collect snap measure-ments in the whole country, which do not reflect regional specific features, so the attitude to the phenomenon under study is reduced to 2–3 key questions in a questionnaire.

At the same time, in our opinion, the issue of structural and comprehensive assessment of this phenomenon lacks attention from a wide range of target audiences: the population, business representatives and officials of individual regions.

In this regard, the article presents the results of a large-scale research carried out without any support from government or commercial structures, domestic or foreign funds.

About the research

The research was conducted in several stages among different population groups (*Tab. 1*).

According to the table, in 2015 civil the administration staff of the Kostroma Oblast were interviewed through a formalized questionnaire (self-report). In November 2016, an online survey of university graduates of Kostroma was carried out by sending a questionnaire via social networks (Vkontakte). Finally, in 2017 two surveys were conducted: among the representatives of the business community (personal interview at work) and the population of the Kostroma Oblast (telephone survey based on a quota sex and age sample, taking into account the type of settlement).

The level of corruption and its perception is largely determined by the socio-economic situation in a territory, traditions, citizens' mentality and other features that are collectively defined as non-formal institutions.

The research object is the Kostroma Oblast – a region with the population of about 700,000 people, 350 km northeast of Moscow. The region's profile is textile, machine building,

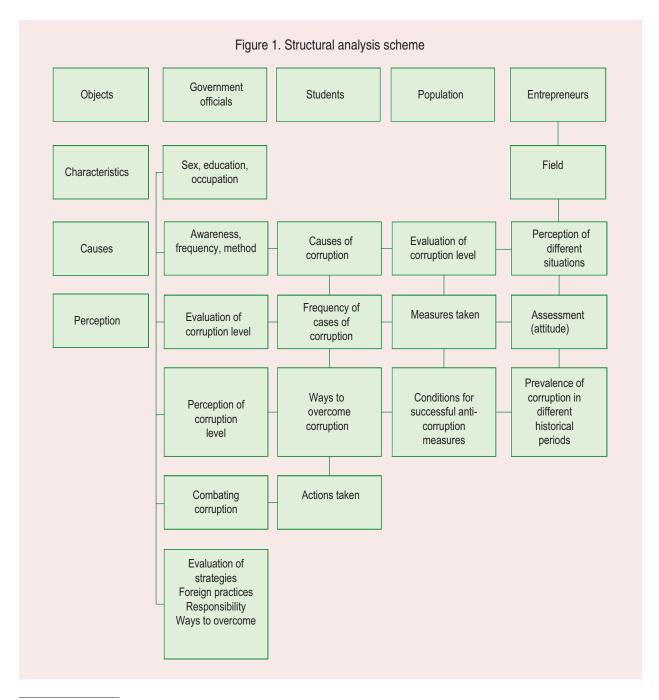
Survey period	Survey method	Respondents	
		Characteristics	Number of people, people
September–October, 2015	Anonymous survey (self-report formalized questionnaire)	Administration staff of the Kostroma Oblast	152
November, 2016	Social media survey	University graduates in Kostroma	200
March, 2017	Phone survey	Population of the Kostroma Oblast	700
November, 2017	Face-2-face survey	Entrepreneurs	250
Total			1302

Table 1. Target audiences of sociological research

⁶ Selikhov N.V. Corruption in the state mechanism of modern Russia (theoretical aspects): Candidate of Sciences (Law) dissertation. Yekaterinburg, 2001.

woodwork and jewelry production, as well as trade and public catering. As for the most important indicator of regional economy – the standard of living – it is low among all regions of the Central Federal District⁷, while the citizens' socio-political preferences are to some extent "patriarchal".

Kostroma is traditionally considered a "Red Belt": here left parties (including the Communist Party) have had more support in local and federal election than the average in Russia since the 1990s. Kostroma is considered a typical provincial town ("a quiet remote settlement").



⁷ Russian regions ranked by quality of life – 2017. RIA ranking. Moscow, 2018. Available at: http://vid1.rian.ru/ig/ratings/life 2017.pdf

It is noteworthy that the following analysis was conducted according to the scheme presented in *Figure 1*. The general scheme of structural analysis includes four groups of respondents.

Data analysis and interpretation Survey of Kostroma government officials

According to the stereotype of the ordinary people, government officials represent those potentially most corrupt, despite the fact that the activities of government officials are diverse. Their duties are to ensure the efficiency of public administration, which is based on the laws of the Russian Federation. They are prohibited from doing business and, as non-producers of products, they provide services for their efficient distribution.

73.8% of interviewed officials are women. 96.7% of the surveyed officials have higher education, most often in Economics, Engineering and Law. Half of respondents are heads of departments or their deputies (53%), a third – executives and department specialists. Such a structure of bureaucracy is expected and corresponds to the Russian trends among regional officials: the predominance of women and older employees [19].

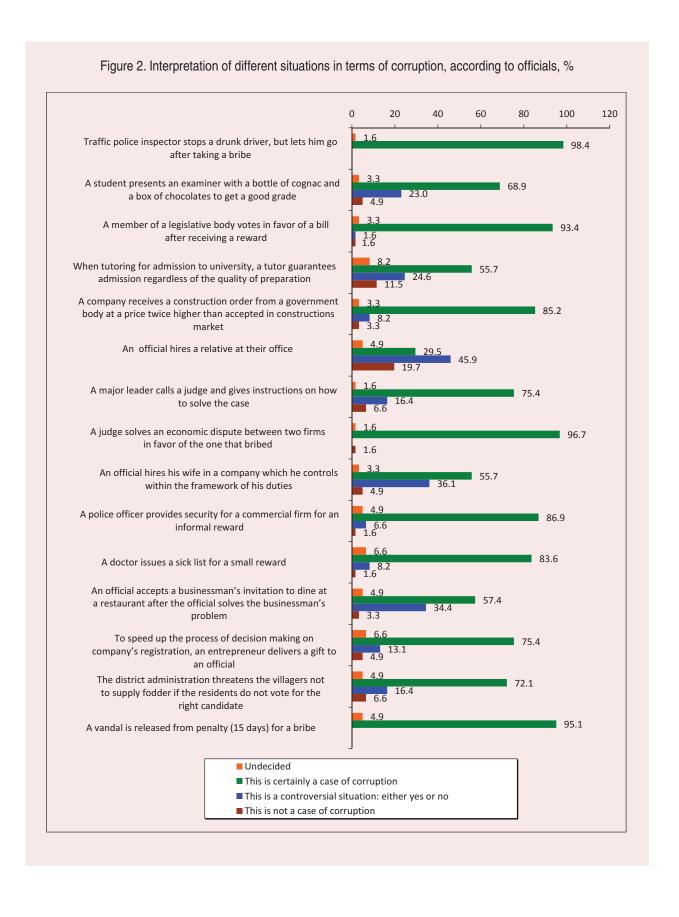
The research objective is to analyze and interpret the data obtained from the answers to the following question pools (*Tab. 2*).

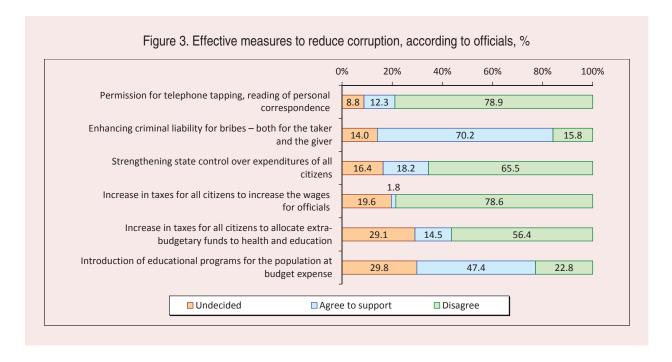
Government officials estimated the situations offered in the questionnaire regarding their corruption component in different ways (*Fig. 2*). A little more than half of respondents (57%) note cases of corruption when it comes to solving the problems of a businessman after dinner with an official in a restaurant. At the same time, less than a third (29.5%) consider the situation when an official hires a relative as corruption. The respondents' opinions are the same in relation to the situation of bribing a traffic police inspector or a judge to escape punishment.

Based on the analysis, we summarize that corruption is interpreted by Kostroma officials not in its broad sense (abuse of authority), but as "bribery" [19]. According to officials, the governing motive of bribery is a personal desire of an official to become enriched, rather than external circumstances. However, the main reasons for corruption development in Russia, in their opinion, are: the contradiction of laws and power and business coming together. Culture, mentality and traditions that trigger corruption are much less common.

Table 2. Questions for structural analysis of government officials

No.	Unit of thematic analysis (for respondents)	Thematic pool	
1.	Awareness of bribery	Assessment of corruption level	
2.	Frequency of bribery		
3.	Methods of bribery		
4.	Initiator of bribe		
5.	Level of perception of corruption	Perception of corruption level and performance	
6.	Performance of corruption level in the region (country)		
7.	Measures taken by federal authorities to overcome corruption		
8.	Ways to overcome corruption	Overcoming corruption	
9.	Perception of cases of corruption in terms of corruption components		
10.	Evaluation of anti-corruption strategies		
11.	Appropriateness of applying international practices		
12.	Responsibility for corruption		
13.	Causes of corruption		
14.	Share of monthly turnover for "stimulating" officials		
15.	Ways to overcome red tape among officials		





The respondents were also to assess the effectiveness of measures taken to reduce corruption. In their responses, they called for increased liability (both for the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker) and for the introduction of educational programs for the population. Telephone wiretapping and reading personal correspondence are the least supported aspects (*Fig. 3*).

A survey of university graduates in Kostroma

Characteristics of students as a special socioeconomic group. The term "student" translated from Latin means "dedicate oneself to study". Russian and foreign authors approach the characteristics of this group by highlighting different aspects (such as mastering a set of social roles, especially professional and labor), but most agree that this group that what they have in common is stubbornness, the desire for independence and, most importantly for our analysis — a keen sense of justice [20]. Moreover, their initiative, interest in moral issues — goals, lifestyle, love, loyalty, etc. is increased. Young people certainly have innovative potential for the development of the economy and social sphere, and at the same time can act as a powerful potential for protest moods. Moreover, young people, including future managers, are tomorrow's human potential of the country. From this point of view, it is important to know how young people feel about corruption, whether they are concerned about the scale of the problem, whether they can break the law, whether they understand how to fight corruption. All this should be taken into account when analyzing the perception of various phenomena in modern Russia by this socio-age group.

66.8 % of surveyed graduates of Kostroma universities have not heard about the cases of bribery in universities, yet a third know about such cases.

The majority of respondents (73.5%) believe that corruption is unacceptable and therefore should be avoided; 23.3% believe that corruption should be avoided, but in some cases it is acceptable as it helps solve some life situations. For 3.2% of respondents, corruption is a necessary part of education and a normal process.

As for the subject of initiation of corruption, 45.2% of graduates who participated in the survey said that the initiators of corruption are students; according to 19.6%, both sides equally take the initiative; 13.1% say that university staff force students to give bribes.

More than half of the surveyed university students (59.8 %) found it difficult to answer how often they are forced to bribe lecturers: 25.1% of respondents say that this happens 1-2 times during the entire period of study, 7.5% - 3-5 times for the entire period of study, and 6% - 1-2 times per term.

The most common reason that motivates to bribe is getting high grades for tests, exams, theses or trying to avoid unsatisfactory grades (49% of respondents), the second most common — getting high grades for state examinations and theses (24.7%). The following motives of corruption were also mentioned: transfer of students from paid to free education (12.6%), transfer from faculty to faculty (5.6%), obtaining social benefits (4.5%).

The most common methods are: delivery of money (44.7%), delivery of valuable gifts (37.6%), delivery of flowers and sweets (24.4%), arranging a stand-up buffet (19.8%), provision of services to the lecturer, the department (12.7%).

Thus, most often initiative comes from students with the main motive — getting high grades for term exams, state exams and theses. The most common forms of bribes are money, valuable gifts, flowers and sweets, as well as activity in social networks (likes on lecturer's pages).

Note that students do not inform the university management about the cases of bribery mainly because of the fear of negative consequences from the administration and staff, unwillingness to pass for "a snitch", as well as the unwillingness to change the existing order.

Survey of the population of the Kostroma Oblast

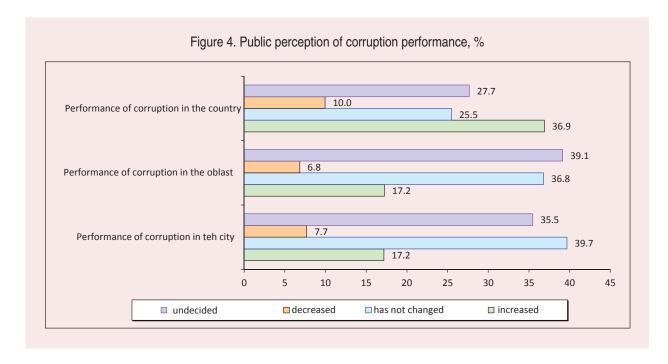
A little more than a third of respondents (39.7%) believe that in the place (city) where they live, the level of corruption has not changed over the past 5 years; 35.5% of respondents found it difficult to answer the question: 17.2% — think that corruption has increased, and only 7.7% said that it has reduced.

A similar distribution of respondents' opinions was obtained when assessing the changes in the region. 39.1% of respondents were undecided; 36.8 % reported that "the level of corruption has not changed", 17.2 % — "corruption has increased", and 6.8 % — "corruption has decreased".

The distribution of answers to the question about the level of corruption in Russia as a whole is somewhat different. The majority (36.9%) finds that "corruption in the country increased over 5 years", 25.5% — "corruption level has not changed", 27.7% were undecided, 10.0% of respondents said that it has decreased (*Fig. 4*).

10.6% of respondents constantly monitor the measures taken by the federal authorities to fight corruption; another 16% answered "I known about them but do not specifically follow the federal agenda for fighting corruption"; about 40% "heard something about it, but do not constantly monitor it"; about a third of respondents (30.9%) do not know anything about them, and 1.9% were undecided.

7.7% of respondents could not name what anti-corruption measures are taken by the federal authorities in Russia (the answer is "difficult to answer"); while 13.8 % of respondents believe that federal authorities "do a lot to fight corruption", and almost half (48.7%) said that "there are few measures taken to fight corruption"; another 19.7 % believe that federal authorities do nothing to fight corruption in Russia.



The respondents think that success in fighting corruption is only possible through joint actions of authorities and citizens, only if "each and everyone" takes the initiative — so say 2/3 of the respondents (66.8 %). Another 12.1 % believe that corruption will be reduces if President wants to reduce it; 16.1 % are skeptical and believe that corruption cannot be rooted out — "they used to steal, they steal and they will steal"; only 5% of respondents were undecided.

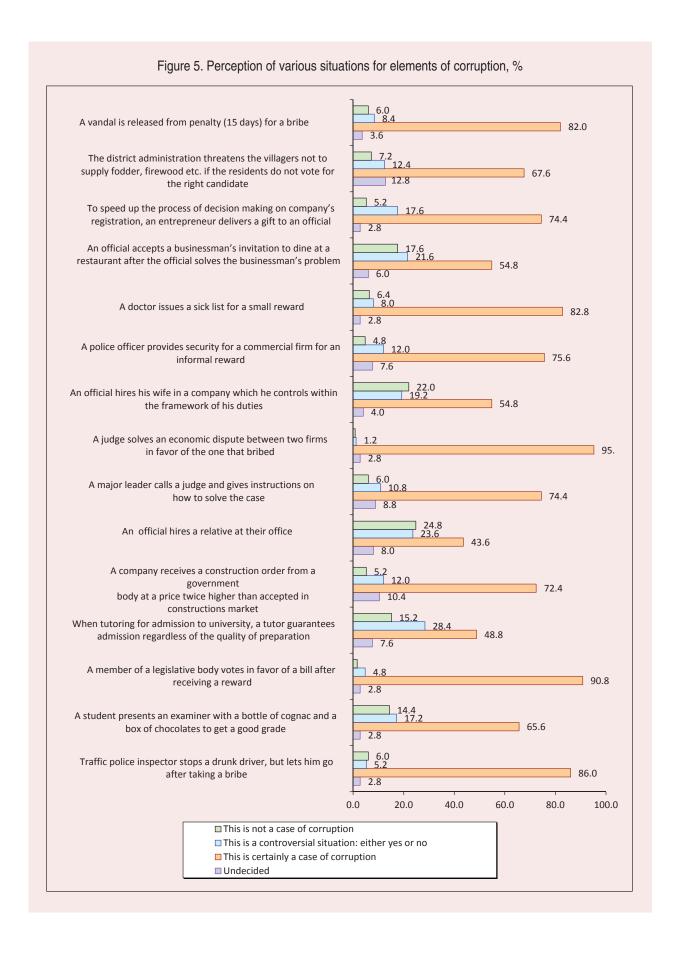
Further, the respondents were offered situations in which actions can be regarded to some extent as a manifestation of corruption. Four cases are singled out, where the vast majority revealed a case of corruption. These are situations when "a traffic police inspector lets a drunk driver go after taking a bribe" (89.9%), "a judge solves an economic dispute in favor of the party that bribed" (89.2%); "the district administration threaten the villagers not to bring fodder if the residents do not vote for the right candidate" (86.4%); and "a member of a legislative body votes in favor of a bill after receiving a reward" (82.5%). Moreover, there

are several situations that people often assessed as controversial. These are the cases when an official hires his wife to work in a company which he controls, and when an official hires a relative.

According to the respondents, the controversial cases are also those where a bribe is taken not in the form of money, but in the form of a gift. This indicates that the phenomenon of corruption is interpreted by respondents not in its broad sense enshrined in the law as "abuse of authority", but much more as "bribery".

The study shows that the residents of the Kostroma Oblast have different perception of the performance of corruption. They believe that corruption in the city and the region has not changed over the past 5 years (the largest share of respondents), and even increased in the country as a whole.

This is confirmed by the data of the annual report of the all-Russian anti-corruption public reception center "Clean Hands", which analyzed the number of appeals in 2014–2015 and noted a significant increase in corruption



in Russia in the mid-2010s compared to the early 2010s. In particular, according to the observations of experts, in 2015 alone a rapid increase in corruption is recorded, this increase beat "the record" in 2012, when corruption reached its maximum and demonstrated a downward trend.

Survey of entrepreneurs of the Kostroma Oblast

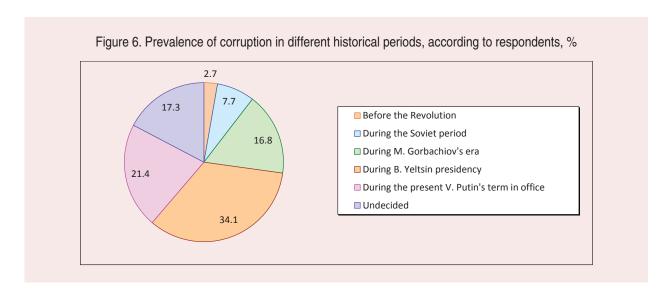
The perception of corruption by the most active part of the population — entrepreneurs — was studied in detail. A survey of entrepreneurs of the Kostroma Oblast demonstrates that the service sector is the leading among the three main types of their activities (47.2 %), followed by trade (36.0%). Production sector, construction and transport rank third (16.8%). The vast majority of surveyed entrepreneurs refer to their company as small business (90%), while only 10% — medium business.

The respondents were asked to express their attitude to the fact that Russians often have to give bribes to have their problems solved. The respondents were given three statements to select from. Opinions were divided the following way: the vast majority (68.8 %) of respondents

believe that bribery should be avoided since corruption is the path towards degradation of the society and the authorities; 14.4% relate to corruption as an undesirable phenomenon, which, however, makes life easier; 8.8% believe that corruption has become a necessary part of our lives; 8.0% of respondents were undecided.

The respondents were asked to assess 15 situations to determine the presence of corruption (*Fig. 5*). Thus, 43.6% of respondents consider the situation when an official hires a relative corruption; a little more than a half (54.8%) — when an official hires his wife to work in a company which he controls; the same number of respondents — when an official accepts a of businessman's invitation to dinner at a restaurant after the official solves the businessman's problem.

In our opinion, an important point in assessing the perception of corruption is to assess the prevalence of corruption in Russia at different historical stages over the past 100 years (*Fig.* 6). Thus, a third of respondents (34.1%) believe that corruption and all its components were most common during the presidency of Boris Yeltsin; 21.4% — consider corruption peaked during the period of Putin's presidency;



17.3% — were undecided; 16.8% — believe it was "the Gorbachev's era"; 7.7% — the Soviet period; and only 2.7% consider the peak of corruption was before the Revolution.

The public evaluation of a phenomenon widespread in foreign practice such as "anonymous reports of corruption cases" is of great interest. Opinions were divided almost evenly: 24.0% of respondents believe that such a system is ineffective as it is difficult to stay anonymous; 20.8% believe that if someone has information about cases of corruption they should anonymously report it to the relevant authorities; 18.4% – believe that this practice can discredit honest people; 15.2% - believe that such a system is not necessary in Russia; 15.2% – consider such a system ineffective as corruption naturally helps people solve problems; 6.4% of respondents were undecided.

Answering the question of who is responsible for corruption in Russia the respondents were divided into two groups: 39.6% believe that fighting against corruption is necessary first of all to the government; 31.6% are skeptical about fighting against corruption, saying that it cannot be rooted out: "they us3d to steal, they steal and they will steal"; the remaining 26.8% of respondents think the responsibility for fighting corruption lies on the society as a whole — both on the government and on citizens; they believe that it is only possible to solve the problem together.

Further, we identify the possible causes (out of 28) of corruption in Russia, and the degree of their impact on corruption (*Fig. 7*).

The most significant causes of corruption, according to respondents, include: the vagueness of laws, which provides an opportunity for their broad interpretation (87.4%); corrupt authorities at the highest level

(85.8%); contradicting laws (83.3%); freedom of action at the discretion of the official (82.9%); the need to coordinate approvals (when the permissive principle prevails over the declarative) (80.1%).

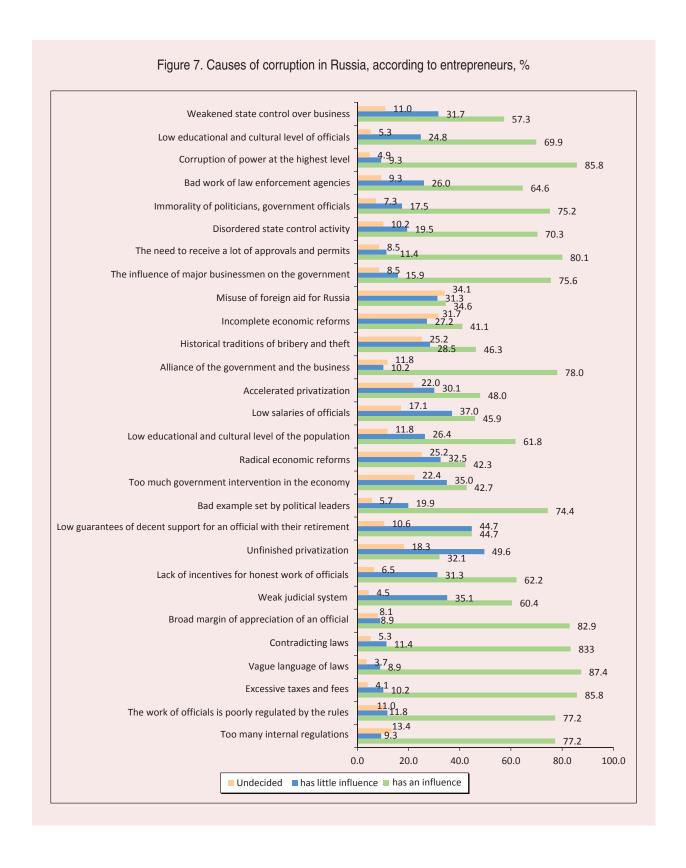
According to respondents, the following problems affect corruption to a lesser extent: incomplete privatization (32.1%); incomplete economic reforms (41.1%); state intervention in the economy (42.7%).

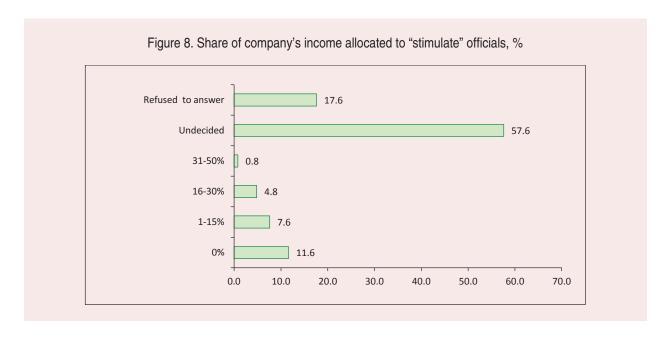
Entrepreneurs were offered several strategies for fighting corruption in Russia to choose from. Almost half of the respondents (48.0%) consider the best strategy to combat corruption to be merciless punishment for all corrupt officials; about a third of respondents (30.4%) believe that first of all it is necessary to eliminate the conditions that generate corruption; 9.6% believe that it is necessary to replace dishonest leaders with honest ones; 6.0% of respondents are skeptical, believing that no strategy will help fight corruption; only 4.4% are ready to resort to merciless punishments for bribe givers; 1.6% — were undecided.

Entrepreneurs often say that they have to bribe authorities. Respondents were asked to estimate what share of their company's monthly turnover they spend on "stimulating" officials. The results of the survey are demonstrated in *Figure 8*.

More than half of the surveyed entrepreneurs could not specify the share of bribes; 17.6% refused to answer this question. 11.6% of respondents believe that enterprises like theirs do not have to spend money on bribery; 7.6% – believe that business representatives spend 1–15%, and, according to only 4.8% of respondents – 16–30%.

The vast majority of respondents (85.2%) try to avoid the authorities and have as little business with them as possible, for which they





have to obey the laws, which, in the end, according to entrepreneurs, often hinders the case; only 8.4% of respondents use any means of influence on the authorities in their own interests; 6.4% feel free violating the law while avoiding conflicts with the authorities.

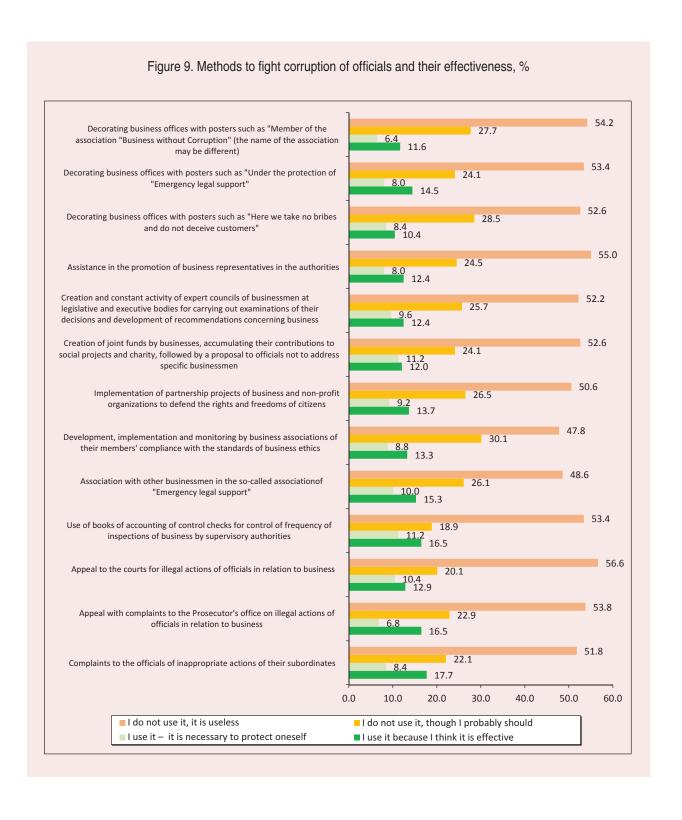
Figure 9 demonstrates how to oppose the corruption of officials and their effectiveness. Opinions are divided almost evenly. In general, the respondents considered all these methods ineffective. At the same time, the most effective methods used by entrepreneurs are: complaints to officials about illegal actions of their subordinates -17.7%; complaints to the Prosecutor's Office about illegal actions of officials in relation to business -16.5%; the use of books of accounting to control the frequency of inspections of business by regulatory authorities -16.5%.

The most useless ways of combating corruption, according to entrepreneurs, are as follows: filing claims to courts for illegal actions of officials in relation to business -56.6%; assistance in promoting business representatives to the authorities -55.0%; decorating business offices with posters such as "Member of the

Association "Business without Corruption" (the name of the association may be different) -54.2%.

Next, we find out the opinion of entrepreneurs about the potential long-term behavior in fighting against corruption, which were divided almost evenly: almost a half (48.8%) will try to take part in the fight against corruption in Russia; 43.2% — will observe; only 8.0% consider this a useless venture.

The last two questions indicate that entrepreneurs have a certain apathy toward the problem of corruption; but on the other hand, it shows a significant potential, the initiative "from below", which intersects with the all-Russian, non-corruption trends observed in recent years: the growth of the share of "selfsufficient" Russians and the replacement of the need for stability with the need for change. Thus, according to M. Gorshkov, Director of RAS Institute of Sociology, "in the last two and a half years, stability has started to be perceived as a synonym for the stagnation of the situation observed in the crisis years" [7]. Linking this with low electoral activity, he explains that the respondents understand the changes as "a



significant increase in the standard of living and quality of life, a breakthrough in the technological development of the country, strengthening the "defense industry", changing the situation in the regions, especially in medium and small towns, overcoming regional inequalities".

Conclusions and recommendations based on the studies

The research and the structural analysis have shown that the population, government officials, students and the business community understand corruption not in its broadest sense defined in the legislation as "malpractice", but much narrower — as "bribery". Therefore, in order to prevent corruption manifestations among the authorities, it is important to change the attitude toward corruption with the help of anti-corruption programs and to change the way it is perceived; it should be perceived as "the use of the authority and the rights entrusted to the officials, their authority, opportunities and connections for personal gain, contrary to the law and moral guidelines".

If we compare Russia's historical periods, the era of Boris Yeltsin looks the most "corrupt", while the perception of corruption in the modern period of V. Putin's rule can be compared to that in the period of Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika. At the same time, the respondents consider that the state has no visible general line of fight against corruption: one part of the respondents "heard something about anti-corruption", the other says they heard nothing about it. In this regard, the state should consistently, actively and systematically

disseminate successful experience in combating corruption in the public PR-space.

Almost all groups of respondents reported the need for joint actions in the fight against corruption as a combination of public control and strong political will of the President of the Russian Federation. Respondents point out that corruption in Russia can be eradicated if such a combination of efforts is used. Therefore, it is necessary to talk about the creation of an effective system of personal responsibility of officials at all levels of government, which should be spelled out in the national anticorruption plans and designated as a condition for the effective implementation of national projects of the President of the Russian Federation and for ensuring social stability in the country.

In anti-corruption strategies, respondents are more inclined to increase the ruthlessness of punishments for all corrupt officials than to eliminate the conditions that give rise to corruption. Respondents mention the second mechanism considerably less frequently. It seems that the once proclaimed thesis according to which "the inevitability of punishment is more important than the severity of a just retribution" has lost its effect. Both inevitability and adequacy of punishment are important. Developing the idea, let us clarify that criminal prosecution must be inevitable, and the severity of the punishment should be comparable to the crime committed.

The Prosecutor's Office, according to entrepreneurs, is the most effective institution in combating corruption (unlike other institutions, including the court of general jurisdiction). In the war against corruption declared by the President of the Russian Federation the "sovereign's eye" looks like a

⁸ Stability or change? What do Russian citizens expect from the state? (an interview with M.K. Gorshkov, Director of RAS Institute of Sociology). *Argumenty i fakty*, 2018, no. 31, August 1.

very appropriate feedback together with the branches of the All-Russian Popular Front working in the regions.

The study has found that almost half of the respondents take on a role of onlookers and refrain from taking an active part in the fight against corruption in Russia. No doubt, such a wait-and-see position hampers the fight against corruption. Young people and entrepreneurs (as the avant-garde part of society) are not ready to act as a locomotive in this process. Besides, the mentality of Russians testifies that to report a corruption crime means "to become a stoolie", rather than to cooperate with justice (as in any Western country).

As the survey shows in general, the regional community has domestic (grassroots) corruption; the economy of favors is flourishing in the absence of prohibitions and restrictions; the ability of the government to solve social problems is reduced, and the most active part of the population — entrepreneurs — in their answers show a decrease in their trust in the government, the alienation of which from society is growing.

The results of the survey also indicate that the problems of corruption can be solved by implementing a targeted set of measures in all spheres of life of the state and society and only through joint efforts.

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