

Chapter X

PSYCHOLOGICAL AND MORAL ATTITUDES

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1. IN THE PRISM OF MORAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

The transfer of the profits from corruption from the official to the private sphere has two directions:

- Towards the employee who benefits from his powers and abuses his office for personal profit and to satisfy his personal interest;
- Towards the satisfaction of another private interest that is served by the corrupt employee

1.1. Moral and psychological characteristics

Together with the issue of structural characteristics, another very important issue is the problem of internal characteristics concerning the conduct of the state employee and tilting his attitude towards a given type of relations breeding corruption.

In the conditions of the privatisation process and the emergence of private interests affecting decision-making in one sphere of public activity or another, while the relations between the market subjects and the state administration are still not defined, there is increasing pressure for doing what we call the privatisation of shares of the state power and acquiring private control over certain sectors of the state administration through corrupting the employees and using their influence to pursue private goals.

Some employees will be tempted to “cash in their shares” in the state administration and get something more than their state budget salaries. It is clear that during the process of privatisation, the state administration, in the conditions of emerging private sector and the constitution of private economic interests, will be put under internal and external pressure to cooperate with these interests or to benefit from them. A more difficult issue is how to control these results of “illegitimate lobbying” of private interests benefiting from the services of people inside the state administration.

An indisputably major weapon in the fight against corruption is raising the prestige and payment of state employees. If the state is an unkind stepmother to its employees, then it is easy for a Mafia group or private company to appear as the caring mother.

Apart from raising the salaries, the penalties for corruption should also be strengthened. Offenders should be thrown out of office, and in cases of gross violations, they should be prohibited from any further employment with the state.

Such measures are necessary to fix in the mind of state employees the idea that the state office and the private business are two entirely different spheres of employment and income. Taxpayers fund the salaries and the maintenance of the state apparatus and in return they expect their interests to be protected rather than to be neglected in favour of private interests.

In this respect, it should be clearly realised by the state employees that in comparison to business, state administration is a service sector – it serves concrete public interests. Hence, we need a change in the way of thinking of state employees. The individual clerks should realise that they are not tyrants that rule over people, but are hired to serve the people's interests.

Together with these rules for executing their official duties, state employees might also take other measures limiting corruption. For instance, limiting the opportunity for subjective decisions by the individual clerk who, we might broadly introduce the practice of competitions and tenders, with decisions being made not by a single clerk, but by committees comprised of several clerks. Such a practice would limit the opportunities for easy corruption because the individual employee is most often the purveyor of corruption.

2. BETWEEN LEGAL POWER AND CRIMINAL ARBITRARINESS

Sometimes we speak of corruption as having a passive and an active agent – corrupt and corrupting sides, a giver and a receiver. But in cases where two or more sides are involved in corruption and are benefiting from it, it is difficult to make such a distinction because there is an active and conscious accomplice and cooperation between all persons involved.

2.1. Corruption in the prism of anthropological, psychological and ethical discourse

Corruption is always illegal consumption of power and influence for personal benefit connected with abuse of office; i.e. it always has the features of a crime. In any case corruption is an act of concealed exertion of power or official functions in a way that they are not delegated.

That is why attempts to give corruption a definition through the prism of anthropological-psychological and ethical discourse are connected by necessity with the analysis and evaluation of the *series of relationships between man and power*, the private and official status of the individual as a subject in exerting a given power and the emerging tensions between them in the individual mind.

Here we should mention that wherever there is power and the opportunity for its free execution, there will always be corruptive pressure on the subject of that power – over the individual mind of the empowered and his will. The very presence of a division between private and public status, overlapping and existing together in the empowered person is already an opportunity for their abuse. The condition and opportunity mentioned are not just theoretical or hypothetical, but real and active – they exist within power itself, viewed as a specific human activity and are determined by the character of the individual as a conscious and free subject of sensible and motivated activities within the range of the given powers and the possibilities to administrate them. The opportunity for corruption and abuse of office come from the very distance between the private and public status of the individual as a subject of power and appear exactly in the field of this distance between them.

That is why the conviction that corruption is an un-preventable crime has been often stated. It has always been present with mankind, as far as its organised forms of life provide for power relations between people – when there is power; there is an opportunity to misuse it. Where there is power, there are conditions for those who have it and administer it to misuse it.

So, it might be said that corruption is something like the dark, shadowy side of power – it is always present within the power itself and its existence depends on the very existence of power, because it is in direct connection with it. That is why the sentence “Power corrupts, absolute power absolutely corrupts” states the truth that is difficult, if not impossible, to reject.

But despite all this, this sentence, apart from realistically postulating the rule of interdependence between power and corruption contains a certain condition and confirms a certain possibility to place the expansion of corruption within control depending on the limitations over the empowerment. Uncontrolled power breeds uncontrollable corruption. That is why the different forms of control and transparency in execution of power are the two forms for control of corruption within certain bounds.

2.2. Anthropological aspects of the relationship power – human nature

A more interesting issue from the viewpoint of anthropology of these relationships is the question of whether the power, due to its nature, is a reason for the corruption of man or vice versa, whether a certain feature of man's nature leads to the existence of corruption.

2.2.1. European traditions

Seeking the deep structure of the relationships between man and power and the different aspects of these relationships connected with corruption, it is significant here to briefly pay attention to two anthropological traditions in European culture that are still influencing contemporary anthropological discourse and the humanities in general.

These are, on the one hand, generally speaking the tradition of *modern humanism* and its optimistic views on human nature understood as initially good and naturally predisposed to morally justified and just acts. According to the classical Enlightenment views of man, evil and the shortcomings in personal relations spring from conditions external to human nature, and are not rooted in it. They are the result of the conditions in which man is placed. Hence, misuse of power and laws, being the outcome of the subjective arbitrariness of the empowered, are rooted rather in a corrupt system and organisation of power, in the unfairness of laws, than in human nature as such.

On the other hand, the European anthropological tradition is familiar with yet *another system* of views according to which the tendency of violating norms and misuse power are innate to human nature. It is not that power corrupts the individual, but that corruptive bias ensues from the essence of human nature itself and from the opportunities of the individual to freely and consciously operate.

We should admit that both views have their place in the attempts for building a modern vision of man and the formulation of a more moderate and realistic view of man – free from extremes such as the utopian views of the ideal goodness of man or the total sinfulness and corruption of his nature.

Today, after the deep world crisis and cataclysms of the modern world that affected its views of classical liberal order, after the crash of the utopias for a socialist order based on one of the versions of this Enlightenment view of the natural goodness of man, it seems that more and more a rather realistic and moderate view of man's nature is emerging. It is within the boundaries of a rather *neo-liberal* view and is successfully integrating elements of both anthropological views.

2.3. Moral-ethical aspects

Corruption is a conscious and motivated act. It is characterised by mostly utilitarian motives, i.e. as a form and means for personal benefit. The lack of internal barrier for free personal self-identification and action is often due to hedonistic views of life – everything is justified in

extracting maximum delight from life and nothing should stand in the way of achieving this goal.

2.3.1. The Bulgarian reality

Due to a number of historical, cultural and political reasons in Bulgaria we lack the deep traditions of the modern liberal order. We do not have, it seems, the uniting link between morals and law, and these are falling into different isolated spheres for regulation of the human activities and behaviour.

A more attentive analysis of the contemporary Bulgarian ethos might find an interesting and controversial relation within its range between the internal moral norms that are concerning mostly the private life and the broader external public activities. It seems that for the Bulgarian of contemporary times the world of morals is inhabited only by private family relations and its boundaries do not extend towards the sphere of public-political life. This social world of public relationships according to such a viewpoint does not coincide with the world of morals and is kept external, for purely legal regulation only. Some researchers call this state a “*fragmented individual*”, a person living in a fragmented world or in two fragmented and parallel worlds.

If such a moral paradigm exists and by it the moral world of the Bulgarian does not coincide with the world in general, and is instead a segmented sphere of norms that are internalised but irrelevant to the social world, and most of all do not coincide with the principles of modern social life, then we face a problematic modern legal mind hiding opportunities for moral, and utilitarian attitudes of neglecting the legal order.

Such type of attitude generates opportunities for an individually understood moral sanction of violating or avoiding laws for the sake of pursuing private interests and achieving personal profits regardless of the means. This is a condition for a tolerable attitude towards the different forms of corruption and a reason for the low awareness of the fact that such behaviour violates the principles of the moral and legal order.

A good example is the character of Ganyo Balkansky – a representation of the changing modern consciousness of the Bulgarian and its controversies and paradoxical combination of modern and pre-modern, new and archaic, European and Oriental, civilised and uncivilised attitudes. Ganyo is also a symbol of the new commercial bourgeoisie social strata. It is characteristic of his ethos to frantically pursue “windfalls” and is inclined towards anything involving speculation.

The reasons for this attitude before 1944 might be summed up easily: Bulgaria had a considerably thin layer of entrepreneurs, traditional agriculture dominated; a stable liberal labour ethos was unable to form due to weak traditions of modern liberalism as a system of values and public principles of the political order.

After 1944 the reasons might be concluded as follows:

- The concept of private property was removed along with the rights and freedoms of a contemporary citizen;
- The economy was modernised and increased industrialisation took place, but these processes did not follow a natural course of development. Instead, it was under total control of the state, a centralised administrative intervention in the spirit of communism and the principles of ordered socialism;

- Administratively governed processes of urbanisation were mechanically implanted in society, an industrial proletariat (working class) was created artificially, the guilds were restructured and an urban population without roots and civil consciousness emerged. In Bulgaria the status of citizen is still not realised consciously but is seen as being the opposite of a villager, as a toponym of residence, not as a state of dignity, emancipation and freedom.

2.3.2. Conclusions

In the conditions of the fragile and unstable moral culture of democracy in Bulgaria, the pervasive spread of corruption as a practice and model of civic relations threatens not the market reforms and the growth of the Bulgarian economy alone, but might also threaten the successful establishment of a democratic legal order. If attitudes in society continue to favour corruption as a means for personal profit, as a mechanism for redistribution of wealth within clan and closed structures of a Mafia type, Bulgaria might not meet expectations for growth in living standards and will face social stratification of Third World type, and not European integration. This, in turn, will lead to acute polarisation of society, social inequality and social injustice, future social collisions and political destabilisation.

2.4. The crisis of values in the post-communist situation

Adding to these deeply rooted factors that lead to tolerance of corruption that exist together with the complex and contradictory modern Bulgarian mentality, we should also add the psychological characteristics and moral dilemmas of the transition to a democratic society and market economy.

2.4.1. Moral values

Today Bulgaria faces challenges unprecedented in its history and unknown in its social experience ensuing from the deep changes in all spheres of public life. Economic reforms and social transformation breed problems and pose hardships that require the total concentration and mobilisation of all resources – intellectual, moral, spiritual and cultural.

Parallel to the social transformation in Bulgaria is also a restructuring of the moral space that is often defined as a state of a “crisis of values” and a “crushing of the public morals”. After the break-up of the totalitarian communist regime that imposed class, uniform and compulsory morals, or rather pseudo-morals, in Bulgarian society there does not exist a common code of moral norms. One of the symptoms of the moral chaos and the decay of the system of values is exactly this lack of a common moral order on which the public behaviour of the individual is built and that is understood as a common contract, freely accepted by all in consensus.

2.4.2. Psychological implications

The existing moral disorientation, the devaluation of traditional values like education and professionalism, and the visible wealth of uneducated or dishonest people lead to an erosion of the value placed on diligence, fairness, lawful behaviour, respect for conventional norms etc. This rise of marginal types to financial prosperity and to the highest posts in the social hierarchy is a shock for honest people, and turns their system of values and normal behaviour upside down.

This state of things shows there is no connection between success and decency, between social promotion and the labour invested, between welfare and fairness, even between profitable activities and the law. According to NSI data published on 30 July 1998 in Trud daily, the share

of the shadow economy in Bulgaria is 31 per cent. This share includes unpaid taxes on profits, unregistered profits from trade, illegally hired workers, smuggling of goods, and unregistered service profits – including the income of lawyers from unregistered services. According to this study, most lawyers have incomes that are not registered and are part of the shadow economy. But another thing is more interesting and more telling – how would this desired civil society be formed in Bulgaria, based on observance of laws and built on the principle of superiority of law, when the law is violated even by the very specialists of law whose professional experience is directly connected to observing and keeping the legal norms?

The fact that success is possible only in the area outside legal norms puts the ordinary Bulgarian in a dilemma: he has to choose between a high standard of living achieved at the price of violating the law, and an honest but miserable existence. Such a dilemma is a clear indication of the existing dissolution of the public morals and the deep crisis of values regulating the normal life of society.

With the decay of the totalitarian social order the establishment of the “new classes” started. Society was gradually divided economically into two groups – those that benefited from the social reforms and those that started losing ground. There was a sharp transition from the order of strict communism to a state of wild capitalism, and moreover the most outspoken communist activists and functionaries from before the reforms – the supporters of the old regime – became the most fervent capitalists. This is also one of the paradoxes of the transition period in Bulgaria: the ex-communist functionaries were oriented anew and became the capitalists through the system of the so-called “party companies” that started to operate with the property of the totalitarian party.

3. THE STRATEGY OF SURVIVAL

In order to understand the strategy and culture of survival, we should understand patriarchal morals that create the norms of social behaviour in pre-modern times. The description of patriarchal views given here and the ensuing economic, social and political practices is made from the perspective of social anthropology.

3.1. The morals of survivors

The patriarchal morals set as a indisputable norm the subordination to the father in the form of the parent, the teacher, the party boss, the clan chieftain, the gangster boss because only unquestioning loyalty guarantees to the individual survival in the sense of a share of the limited resources of the community. The logic of survival is based on social experience gathered in economic conditions of limited resources. In the world of limited welfare, the only known way of multiplying your own wealth is through conflict – one has to grab from the others. In this struggle for life all methods are good and in this respect moral if they increase one’s chance for life.

The survey shows clearly that the most common justification for taking part in an act of corruption is simply survival. In fact corruption is part of trying to get advantage over competitors, led by the desire to prevail at any rate. He is concerned about his own, and his organisation’s survival, not about the development of a society that values free competition and the best winner. What is more, everyone is governed by the presumption that the others will try and win unjustly, that nobody can be trusted. Then it becomes the classic prisoner’s dilemma when decisions in the culture of survival are mostly oriented towards conflict, not cooperation. This is so, because the social conduct is based on the presumption that people are initially evil.

Of course, in these societies too, there exists cooperation, but not for the purposes of development, but for the purposes of survival. People gather in a group – a family, clan, gang, economic group – because survival of the individual on his own is almost unthinkable in such a hostile world. In order to be, you have to belong. A condition of belonging is loyalty to the chieftain.

3.2. The Fall of Patriarchs

In the new conditions the practice of patriarchal morals and the ensuing economic, social and political behaviour is not any more an adaptive life strategy for the individuals, the groups or the society as a whole. In the world of the market, the shrinking of material resources might be compensated for only by quick development of human resources, which means liberating the potential for creativity, development of the economic and social dreams for advancement, encouragement of autonomy and entrepreneurial spirit, trust in society and developing multiple forms of cooperation and self-organisation. But, as we have seen, the whole governing philosophy and practice of the patriarchal mind is directed towards blocking precisely these abilities. Patriarchal power is thinkable only in the context of dependent, scared and weakly organised individuals suffering from well-learned helplessness, submissive to control and manipulation. In short, a society of automated subjects, not active citizens.

The great ruin is starting – probably the greatest in Bulgarian history – because for the first time it is facing a crisis of civilisation. Essentially the alternatives are either radical rejection of the pre-modern model of life at the cost of great effort or continuance by inertia until total exhaustion of resources and the dying out of the population. For the time being the majority of Bulgarians are choosing the second option, because it is easier and familiar, though counter-adaptive from an evolutionary point of view. Meanwhile processes eroding the models for life are starting on every level. The patriarchal model is quickly falling apart and alternative models are still not found.

Those who try to create wealth, which is starting legal economic activity, immediately find endless obstacles and most of all unpunished crime and corruption, and get discouraged. Apparently the repressive patriarchal order desperately defends its position and refuses to step down from the political stage peacefully, causing in its agony unthinkable damage and human suffering. In response the population starts shrinking and refuses to regenerate (witness the low birth rates) or leaves the territory on which the patriarchal power is spread (the wave of emigration among young people). The unspoken failure of the patriarchal system is turning for a whole generation the country into a land to leave not a land to live in.

Worried by the self-destructive bent of Bulgarian society that creates a new centre of entropy and chaos on the near periphery of the civilised world, developed societies are embarking on a process of counteracting this fall and decay. Essentially the West in the form of international institutions steps into a paternalist role, taking part of the responsibility for development in Bulgaria by giving loans for humanitarian aid, and at the same time limits the right of self-government, imposing a currency board and strict requirements for reforms. Thus Bulgarians are given a time-out, to take a breath and re-think their philosophy of life. To what extent the country will take advantage of this opportunity or will fail again depends entirely on the society.

3.3. A mirror of psychological reality

In order to describe the destructive consequences on the psychic integrity of individuals involved in corruptive practices, a survey was conducted using the method of intensive

interviews with about 30 people with different social status. The major part of them are representatives of middle size businesses, but there was a representative of a Western investment company, a journalist at national radio, an ex-secretary of a Bulgarian prime minister and present owner of a consultancy, a doctor from a psychiatric ward, etc.

3.3.1. The reticence to discuss

The first important finding of the research is *the resistance to talking about corruption* that is apparently connected with a strongly negative experience and emotions. The interviewed, all victims of corruption to a certain extent, prefer to talk about corruption in general, as something happening outside and independently of them, rather than about their own experience. The efforts were directed towards giving a detailed definition of the phenomenon of corruption, instead of saying how one feels when willingly or not turning into a participant in the act of corruption. This protective mechanism is known as rationalisation and aims at avoiding touching on traumatic or shameful experience. When asked why they avoid speaking about that, the interviewees said that the reason is not so much fear of publicity as it is of an unwillingness to mentally revisit events and relations that they find shameful to relate.

Second, no one believes that corruption is something good or normal, but many try to reconcile their conscience with the fact that they yielded to corruption by generating and recreating fatalist explanations. The general answer is that Bulgaria is a bad place where in order to survive you have to accept the rules of the game, even though you don't like them. Often naive theories are shared according to which the Bulgarians are a sick population, unable to build a normal functioning society. The thesis of genetic or cultural mutation is a convenient excuse, because it relieves the individual of the responsibility to make decisions and allows him or her to live with the fact of his impropriety "When everybody else is doing it, who am I to change the world?" At the same time, this type of explanation shows a deep feeling of inferiority and of inability, because the people want to cope but do not know how. It is as if the individual effort to be honest in a corrupt environment is considered but then taken to be a losing strategy. Several people said that when they refused to play by the rules of the rest, it resulted in their being isolated from their business circles, because the others were looking at them suspiciously. Marginalisation from these circles results in a loss of connections, positions and influence. Thus we reach the key point of the inability to be the sole warrior of truth in a medium of complex relations and interdependence that imposes its norms of behaviour.

3.3.2. The citizen and the institutions

It is hardly a surprise for anybody that the "institution" in the mind of all interviewed is *hostile*, threatening and obstructing rather than supporting and serving. Undoubtedly this attitude is a reminder of the conscientiously bred fear of institutions in the totalitarian state that consider their function to be executing total control over as many spheres of life as possible. The major mechanism for that is to make the citizen feel insecure, troubled and constantly ask himself where he did go wrong. It is of central importance for the success of this operation to maintain a lack of transparency regarding the rules by which the institution is governed. These rules are known and accessible only to the omnipotent clerk, but not to the client of the institution and are subject to constant change according to the inexplicable logic of the bureaucracy.

The psychological result is that several generations of Bulgarians are used to stepping into an institution with a troubled heart and ask themselves not whether the administration serves them effectively, but what the clerk will find wrong this time and how exactly they will be humiliated. Bulgarian citizens are now starting to get rid of the identity as a passive object of

institutional control, constantly suspected of violations and under the threat of punishment by the omnipotent state. Now citizens will realise that they are taxpayers that feed the administration and have the right to demand effective service.

In this context we might view corruption as behaviour eminent in the period of transition – institutions are not as scary and powerful so as to make one forget about corrupting them, but still are not user-friendly. The lack of clear rules to make the conduct of the institutions predictable regardless of the moods and whims of their clerks strongly encourages regression.

3.3.3. Corruption as a perversion

Why then such peacefulness is connected with negative feelings of shame and dirtiness? Perhaps because of the incestuous character of the relationship. As in situations where parents sexually abuse their children and the children learn to act seductively in order to get attention and love, the corrupted employee and the seductive businessman agree to establish a taboo on their dirty relationship. One of the paradoxical results is that, striving to enter into human relationship with the clerk, the person giving the bribe after that experiences a deep feeling of shame, comparable to the shame of perverse sexual relations. This is the price paid for forbidden delight or, in the case of corruption, for the unlawful profit from such a relationship.

It turns out that the concealed relationship involving corruption is unstable and internally tense. Realising the destructive consequences from this relationship in a long term perspective, some of the business people prefer to burden another person with the task of directly engaging in the corruption in order to be able afterwards to look at themselves in the mirror or to work with the respective clerk. For that purpose is created the special function of the mediator who, takes on the risk of being discovered and also takes on the psychological negatives and sustains the illusion that the other players are clean. We found out with horror that very often lawyers play this extremely disgraceful role, the profession that is expected to be the guardian of law and morals in society.

3.3.4. Immoral familism

Another form of corruption, according to the survey, is servicing close relatives of an official. Of course, in order to implement such a method, it is necessary to certain connections to exist between the family circle of the employee and the corrupting side. Another necessary condition is the identification of the official not with institutional interest, but with that of the family, the clan. This second condition is by definition present in the culture of survival and is known in social anthropology as “*immoral familism*”. In the short term, the material profit of the individual and his closest family relatives is always put over the long-term interest of the institution or the organisation in which the clerk works and over the public interest. Individuals do not see their prosperity as a function of the prosperity and the development of the society as a whole, but rather as the share they manage to grab from the limited wealth.

But if the very access to opportunity for corruption is thought of as a part of the limited wealth, not simply as a moral choice, then what comes for those who by definition are excluded from the game? One possibility is to try buy membership in the club of the privileged. This means additional expenditures of time, effort and means that distract from the constructive economic activity, and at that the result is highly uncertain.

Efforts can easily turn into a bad investment in an unstable political situation, where the loyalty to a privileged circle of friends today might turn into accomplices to a group of criminals

tomorrow. Adding the previously described emotions of tension and worry and often-mutual disrespect, it turns out that the destructive aspects of such conduct often prevail over the profits.

This explains why many of the far-sighted business people would prefer to stay out of such relations that, apart from everything else, limit personal freedom and choice. Precisely these people feel most humiliated by corruption and seek ways and means to get out of its deadly grip.

3.3.5. The method of violence

A extremely destructive form of corruption we came across in the survey that deserves special attention is “*misuse of highly qualified specialists*”. Such misuse that we define as “forceful corrupting” is done in a delicate and perverse way and is extremely harmful for the mental health of the victim. The professional is invited to make an expert assessment for a very good commission, usually paid in advance. Later he or she is informed that a false assessment for the benefit of certain person or group is what is desired, and that since the money has changed hands, the deal has been concluded and punishment will ensue if this does not happen.

It is in essence a gangsters’ type of racket, but the victims feel corrupted, selling their professional and social experiences and heavily debasing themselves. The victims feel strong discomfort connected with their ability to survive in a world where there is so much evil. The lack of a trustworthy legal system that gives a feeling of security and protection deepens the feelings of neglect, vulnerability and loss of control over life situations in a world of triumphant and arrogant evil.

4. PRESCRIPTIONS

In this respect Bulgarian society and its institutions do not offer much of a choice.

4.1. Social attitudes

The only possible way of thinking is still the aggressive seeking of rights before a higher, controlling authority. There exists a conviction in the people that the higher level of authority is safe from corruption due to public scrutiny, and if one manages to get to the top, the problem might be solved in a normal way. The interesting fact is that personal connections are sought, rather than formal channels. The opinion that in the times of communism the controlling bodies were more trustworthy is shared by many: “Then it was possible to complain to the party secretary, now there is no one to complain to when you are bullied.” An attempted solution was the establishment of political police reporting to the ruling party to observe whether orders were being implemented on a local level.

The interesting thing in this case is not so much the sincere nostalgia for the Committee for State and Civil Control, but rather the belief that top politicians have an interest in limiting corruption and are sincere in their attempts to fight it, but lack enough resources. The past mythologeme for the “good ruler and bad field keeper” is re-lived and it finds many examples in reality, especially in the cases of corruption in municipal administration. From a psychological point of view, this myth is telling of an attitude seeking the observance of rules of external authority where the norms in the internal world do not exist. Hence, the decisions are sought by means of strengthened external control, not by internalisation of rules by the individuals as an ethical code of behaviour.

The break-through into such a logical composition comes from the fact that those who are expected to exert control belong to the same cultural and moral community as the rest, so the expectation for decency just because they have more power is naïve, to say the least.

On the other hand, the belief that there are good people out there who want to change things is telling of the necessity for an honest goal, though external to the individual and his immediate surrounding, and marks a replacement of the pessimistic view of hopeless corruption that recently ruled the minds of Bulgarians and still rules the pages of many newspapers. Such a replacement is directed towards a more optimistic view and might be used as a basis for winning broader support in favour of the efforts of part of the political elite for a change in the attitudes towards intolerance to corruption.

4.2. Conclusions

The recommendations that ensue from such an understanding of the dynamics of human relations in the institutions are directed towards:

- Matching external mechanisms of control with internal mechanisms of self-control and restraint of destructive impulses;
- Establishing an atmosphere of transparency, but also of care for employees at risk of corruptive pressure – an atmosphere in which people are able to check their experiences of living in institutions and organisations and the negative experiences connected with that, including the temptation of corruption. This would make possible the overall humanisation of the institutional practices and the healthy identification of employees with their organisations;
- Securing broad public awareness and creating a public attitude of intolerance towards corruption, but not due to fear of external repression alone, but also due to an understanding of the deeply destructive effect of corruption on the welfare of the community;
- Changing the methodology – if the fight against graft takes the form of condemning corrupt employees as social enemies, this would harden the traumatised identity of these people and would further convince them of the “rightness” of their way of functioning. Another danger in the traditional methods of strengthened control and punishment by itself is the selection of scapegoats to confirm the widespread attitude that the important thing is not to avoid corruption, but to not get caught. Such attitude corresponds to the conviction that the risk of violating the rules is connected with the position of the individual in the hierarchy, that there is a privileged circle of “untouchable” people. The disintegration and demoralisation that these convictions have on society has already been mentioned.

Bulgarian society can hardly bear the deepening of these effects. In this respect, the responsibility of the people to create and implement a strategy for fighting corruption is extremely heavy.