

PEOPLE AND CORRUPTION: MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA SURVEY 2016



Global Corruption Barometer

Transparency International is a global movement with one vision: a world in which government, business, civil society and the daily lives of people are free of corruption. With more than 100 chapters worldwide and an international secretariat in Berlin, we are leading the fight against corruption to turn this vision into reality.

www.transparency.org

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WHAT DO PEOPLE THINK ABOUT CORRUPTION?

KEY FINDINGS

CORRUPTION IS PERCEIVED TO BE INCREASING

61%

of people think corruption has increased in the last year.



BRIBERY IS WIDESPREAD

Nearly 1 in 3

paid a bribe in the last year, or around **50 million people**

GOVERNMENTS ARE FAILING TO FIGHT CORRUPTION

68%



say their government is doing badly

26%



say their government is doing well

COURTS ARE THE WORST, POLICE AREN'T MUCH BETTER

Almost

1 in 3

who dealt with the courts paid a bribe



1 in 4

people who dealt with police paid a bribe



VICTIMS ARE INTIMIDATED INTO SILENCE

Only

1 in 5

bribe payers report the incident



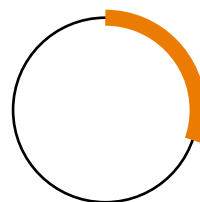
2 in 5

who do report corruption suffer retaliation



30%

fear retaliation if they speak out about corruption



Almost a third say people in the region don't report corruption because they fear the consequences.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In far too many countries, parents are put in the impossible position of having to pay a bribe, which they cannot afford, or their child will miss out on the life-saving treatment that it desperately needs. This was the situation that Kamal from Morocco was faced with when his partially blind daughter urgently needed a brain scan. He had to make the choice between paying the exorbitant bribe that the nurse was demanding or his daughter would not be seen.

This isn't a unique story, and in this latest Middle East and North Africa edition of the Global Corruption Barometer we find that 50 million adults in the region are having to pay bribes to access the basic services that they need. This is one of the findings from our survey, which aims to give a voice to ordinary citizens' views and experiences of corruption and help hold governments to account for their actions – or lack thereof – at stopping public sector graft.

For the survey we are in partnership with the Afrobarometer and several national partners of the Arab Barometer network, which spoke to 10,797 adult respondents from September 2014 to November 2015 in nine countries and territories: Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan, Tunisia and Yemen.¹

Public dissatisfaction with corrupt leaders and regimes has been a key catalyst for change in the Middle East and North Africa, notably with the Arab Spring protests, which began in 2010 and swept across the region in the years following. Yet, despite half a decade having passed since many of these protests first took place, our Global Corruption Barometer still finds widespread public dissatisfaction with government efforts to curb public sector graft. Perhaps even more worrying, the majority of people in the region perceive corruption to have risen recently (61 per cent), and many think that government officials and Members of Parliament are highly corrupt.

Bribery is a common occurrence in public service delivery in the region,² where almost a third of people (30 per cent) who tried to access key public services in the 12 months prior to the survey say that they paid a bribe – or around 50 million adults.³ The extent of the bribery reported in our survey is a major cause for concern, as widespread corruption is linked to governmental institutions that are inefficient and distrusted. Corruption also leads to an unfair distribution of services and undermines law and order.

Positively, a majority of people in the region feel empowered to help in the fight against corruption. Reporting incidences of bribery is seen by citizens as one of the key ways for stopping corruption (24 per cent). That said, the region faces a number of challenges in getting more people to report. Many fear retaliation (30 per cent) or think that nothing will be done (19 per cent).ⁱ Unfortunately these fears are substantiated by our findings: nearly two in five (38 per cent) of those who reported a bribery incident suffered retaliation, while fewer than a third (29 per cent) say that the authorities took action as a result. These experiences indicate that whistleblowers and witnesses of corrupt acts need to be better protected and also that reporting channels need to be made more effective.ⁱⁱ

With bribery in front-line public services still rife across the region and the overall perception that corruption is on the increase, the anti-corruption community in the Middle East and North Africa has

¹ Please see the Methodology section on page 28 for a full explanation of the methodology.

² For the sake of readability, we use the term “region” even though the report includes only nine countries/territories in the Middle East and North Africa.

³ This estimate is made on the basis of the approximate total number of adults aged 18+ living in each of the surveyed countries according to available population data, which gives a figure of 50,405,980. See Methodology for full details.

its work cut out. As our survey shows, many citizens stand ready to lend their hand to turn the tide against corruption, but for this to happen, governments need to make a fundamental shift from curtailing to actually facilitating the engagement of citizens in the anti-corruption struggle.

KEY FINDINGS

The main findings of this report are as follows.

- 1. INCREASING LEVELS OF CORRUPTION PERCEIVED ACROSS THE REGION**

The majority of people (61 per cent) across the region think that the level of corruption has gone up over the last 12 months.

In Lebanon, people are particularly likely to think that corruption has risen: nine in ten people (92 per cent) say that they think corruption has increased.
- 2. ALL GOVERNMENTS ARE RATED BADLY IN THEIR EFFORTS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION**

All governments are rated either very or fairly badly at fighting corruption by a majority of their citizens (between 58 and 91 per cent) in the eight places where we asked this question.ⁱⁱⁱ
- 3. POLITICIANS AND KEY PUBLIC SECTOR INSTITUTIONS ARE SEEN AS THE MOST CORRUPT**

Government officials, tax officials and Members of Parliament are seen as the most corrupt groups in the region.
- 4. BRIBERY IS VERY COMMON IN PUBLIC SERVICES**

Almost one in three people (30 per cent) who accessed public services in the past 12 months paid a bribe, or around 50 million people.

Yemen has the highest bribery rate, with nearly four in five public service users paying a bribe (77 per cent). It is also very common in Egypt, Morocco and Sudan, however, where around a half have bribed (48 to 50 per cent).
- 5. BRIBERY PARTICULARLY AFFECTS LAW AND ORDER INSTITUTIONS**

Courts (31 per cent) have the highest bribery rate of the six key public services that we asked about in our survey, followed by the police (27 per cent).
- 6. THE MAJORITY FEEL ORDINARY PEOPLE CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE**

Across the region the majority of people (58 per cent) feel empowered to help fight corruption. Younger people tend to be more likely than older people to feel empowered, while women feel just as empowered as men to help.
- 7. REPORTING AND SAYING 'NO!' MOST EFFECTIVE THINGS PEOPLE CAN DO, BUT CURRENT REPORTING CHANNELS ARE UNSAFE AND INEFFECTIVE**

Reporting corruption and refusing to pay bribes are seen as the most effective ways that ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption (24 and 25 per cent, respectively).

But nearly two in five (38 per cent) of those who have reported a corruption incident suffered retaliation while fewer than a third (29 per cent) said that the authorities took action.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE REGION

Based on the findings in this report, and our experience and knowledge in the region, Transparency International makes the following recommendations.

TURNING THE TIDE AGAINST CORRUPTION

- Short term: heads of state must speak out immediately and publicly about their commitment to end corruption nationally and regionally.
- Long term: governments must finally deliver on their anti-corruption commitments made globally and regionally, such as under the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC).

IMPROVING GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION

- Short term: governments must prosecute grand corruption, no matter how high the level of the public official concerned.
- Long term:
 - governments must roll back legislation restricting freedoms of the press, civil society and individuals;
 - governments must establish a politically independent and well-resourced anti-corruption commission that is given the lead and authority to fight corruption.

REDUCING PUBLIC SECTOR GRAFT

- Short term:
 - governments must use their legal powers to mandate that all public officials immediately file publicly available asset declarations;
 - governments should adopt the G20 principles for beneficial ownership transparency.
- Long term:
 - governments must pass and implement laws relating to access to information;
 - governments must make public the beneficial owner of all companies winning public contracts.

STOPPING BRIBERY IN PUBLIC SERVICES

- Short term: governments must immediately enact codes of conduct for public servants (if they are currently not in place) and adopt a zero-tolerance policy for corruption in public services, including prosecutions and appropriate sanctions.
- Long term: governments must allow civic engagement in monitoring and reporting corruption in public services.

INVOLVING CITIZENS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

- Short term: civil society organisations must work with youth and women in specific, targeted national and regional campaigns to fight corruption.
- Long term: governments must create channels and the space to leverage people's goodwill to help law enforcement institutions in the fight against corruption.

IMPROVING REPORTING CHANNELS

- Short term: governments must create safe and effective conditions for the involvement of civil society and individuals in reporting corruption.
- Long term: governments must pass and implement whistleblower protection laws and mechanisms.

THE STATE OF CORRUPTION: THE PUBLIC'S VIEW

The Global Corruption Barometer asks people in the Middle East and North Africa for their opinion of the scale of corruption in their country, allowing us to better understand how corruption is perceived through the eyes of ordinary citizens.

This chapter analyses the findings from the following questions.

- How has the level of corruption changed over the past 12 months?
- How corrupt are different powerful groups in your country perceived to be?
- How well or badly is the government seen to be doing at fighting corruption?

RISING OR FALLING? HOW THE LEVEL OF CORRUPTION IS SEEN AS CHANGING OVER TIME

We asked ordinary people what they think has happened to the level of corruption in their own country over the past year⁴ – whether they think it has increased, decreased or stayed the same. These results indicate the trend in perceived corruption levels across the Middle East and North Africa region.

Worryingly, across the region the problem of corruption is widely seen to be on the rise. A majority of people (61 per cent) say that they think corruption increased (either somewhat or a lot) in the 12 months before the survey was conducted. Only 15 per cent say they think it decreased (either somewhat or a lot), while a further 19 per cent say that they think it stayed the same.

In some countries the situation is perceived to be particularly bad. In Yemen⁵ and Jordan three-quarters or more of respondents (84 per cent and 75 per cent, respectively) say that they think corruption rose in the 12 months prior to the survey. This rises to over nine in ten people (92 per cent) in Lebanon, which was the highest of any place we surveyed in.

Egypt and Morocco are the only two countries where people have more mixed views on how the level of corruption has changed, with relatively equal proportions saying that corruption either increased, stayed the same or decreased.⁶

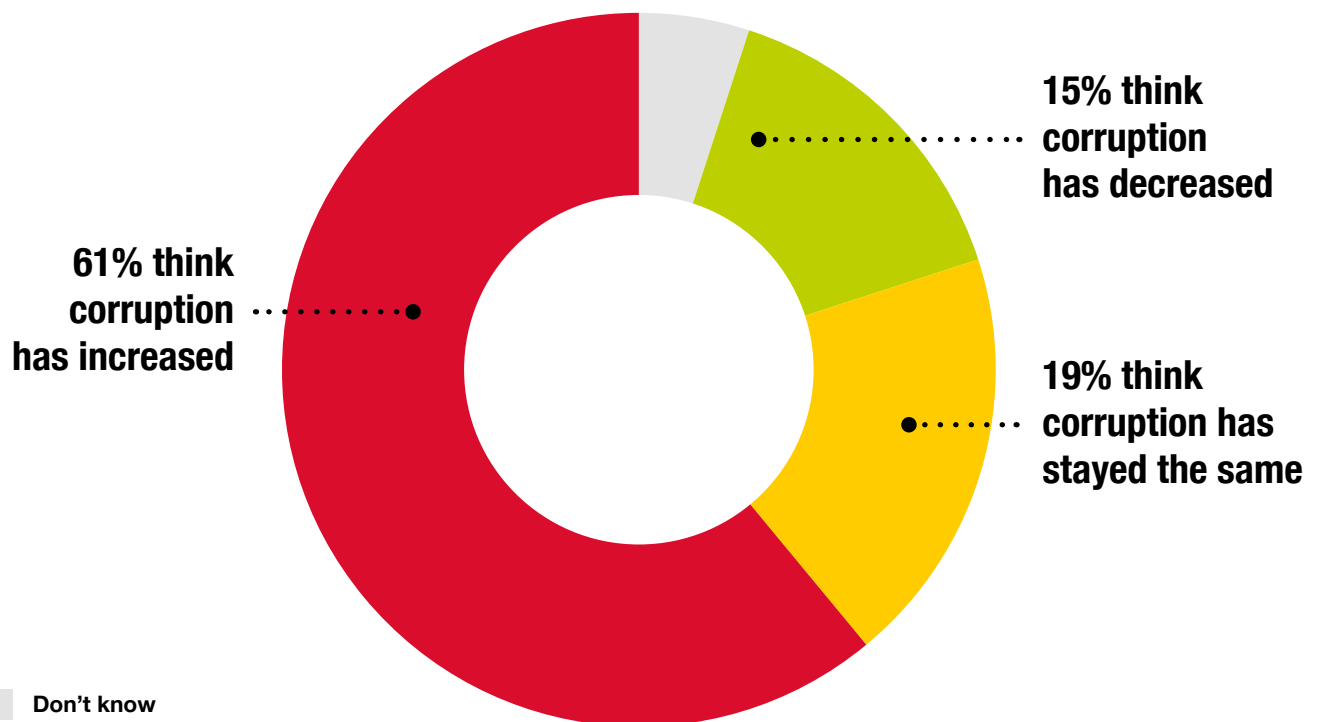
⁴ The survey question asked respondents whether the “level of corruption in this country has increased, decreased or stayed the same” in the 12 months prior to when the survey took place. For a full list of fieldwork dates, please see the Methodology.

⁵ The survey was conducted in Yemen just prior to the civil war. Please see the Methodology section for a full description of the fieldwork dates.

⁶ In Egypt, 28 per cent say “increase”, 30 per cent say “stay the same” and 31 per cent say “decrease”. In Morocco, 26 per cent say “increase”, 42 per cent say “stay the same” and 24 per cent say “decrease”.

IS CORRUPTION GETTING BETTER OR WORSE? CITIZENS' VIEWS

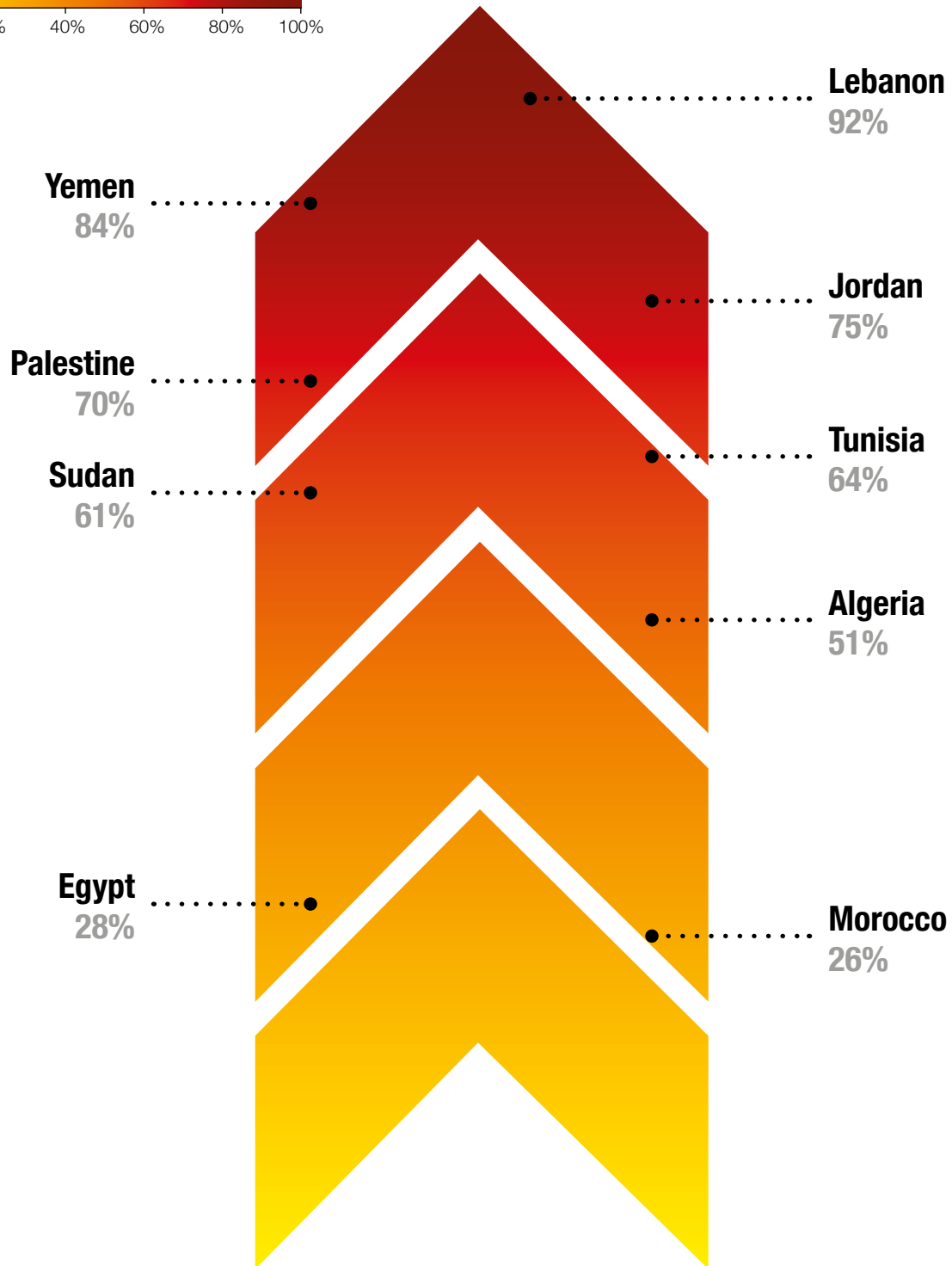
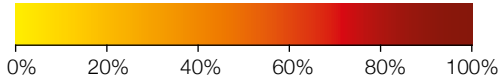
REGION AT A GLANCE:
HOW DO PEOPLE THINK CORRUPTION
HAS CHANGED IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS?



The survey asks people if they think the level of corruption has increased a lot, increased somewhat, stayed the same, decreased somewhat, or decreased a lot in the last 12 months. Base: All respondents.

RISING CORRUPTION: HOW MANY PEOPLE THINK CORRUPTION HAS INCREASED?

The percentage of people who say corruption has increased a lot or somewhat over the past 12 months.



POLITICIANS, PUBLIC OFFICIALS OR BUSINESS EXECUTIVES: WHO ARE SEEN AS MOST CORRUPT?

In the Global Corruption Barometer we ask people to tell us how corrupt they think different powerful groups in their country are – whether they think “None”, “Some”, “Most” or “All” of them are corrupt. The ten different groups that we asked about include key public sector and political actors (the president’s office, Members of Parliament, government officials, tax officials, the police, judges/magistrates and local government councillors), and also those who are not part of the public sector but who still wield enormous influence (business executives, religious leaders and traditional leaders).⁷

Across the region it is key public sector actors, who function at the very heart of government, who are seen to suffer from particularly high levels of corruption: government officials, tax officials and Members of Parliament. For each of these three groups, just under a half (45 per cent) of respondents say that “Most” or “All” people working in these functions are corrupt. Between 35 per cent and 39 per cent say that “Some” are corrupt, while only a small minority think that these groups are completely free from corruption (7 per cent to 9 per cent).

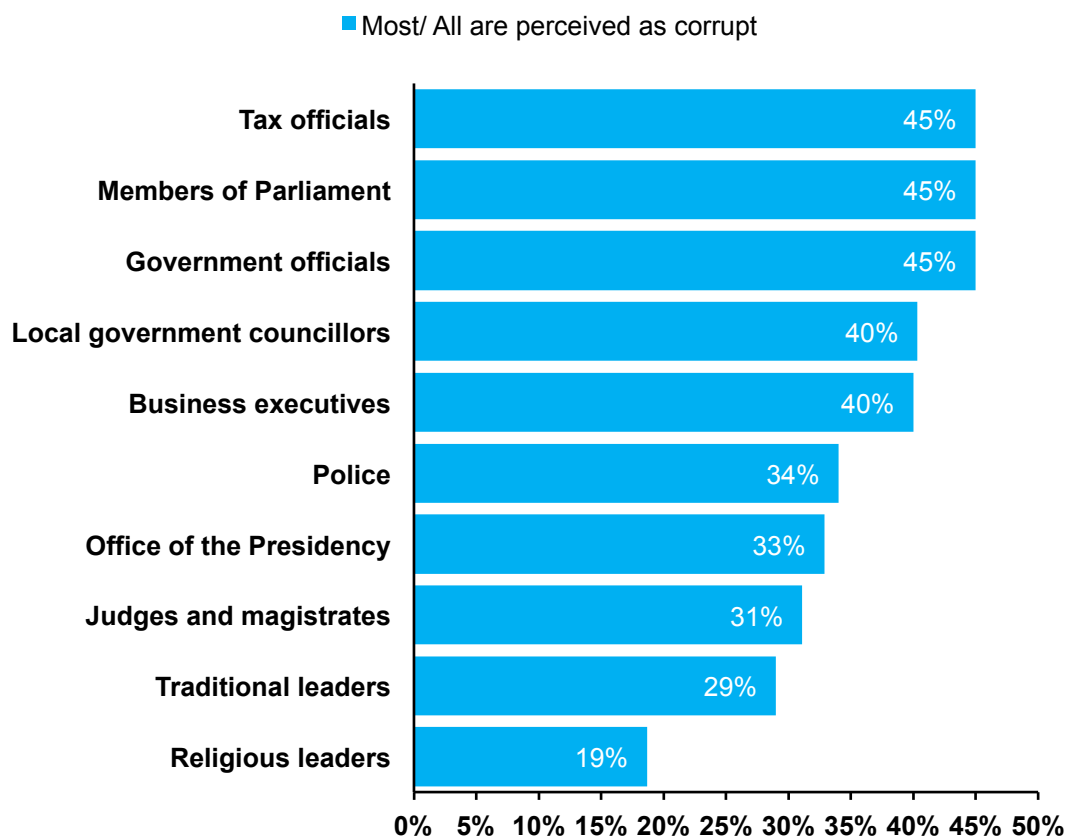
Other key public sector groups are also perceived to suffer from extensive corruption by a substantial minority of people across the region. Judges and magistrates, the police, the president’s office and local government councillors are thought to be mostly or entirely corrupt by between 31 per cent and 40 per cent of respondents. Similar proportions say that “Some” of those working in these professions are corrupt (from 37 per cent to 43 per cent). Very few people think that these groups are completely clean (9 per cent to 17 per cent).

The private sector in the Middle East and North Africa region is also seen as highly corrupt by many citizens. Two in five people say that business executives are mostly or entirely corrupt (40 per cent), and over a third (37 per cent) say that “Some” are corrupt, which is on a par with some public sector groups that we asked about. Only 10 per cent say that no business executives are corrupt.

Religious leaders and traditional leaders are considered to be the least affected by corruption in the region, but even so 19 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively, say that “Most” or “All” of them are corrupt, and a further two in five say that “Some” are corrupt (40 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively), indicating that even these groups are still thought to be affected by the scourge of graft.

⁷ In Egypt, the survey did not ask about “Members of Parliament” as the Chamber was dissolved at the time the survey was in progress. The survey in Egypt also asked about “Officials in the presidency” rather than the “President and officials in his office” and “Court officials” rather than “Judges and magistrates”.

FIGURE 1. HOW CORRUPT ARE DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONS AND GROUPS IN SOCIETY?

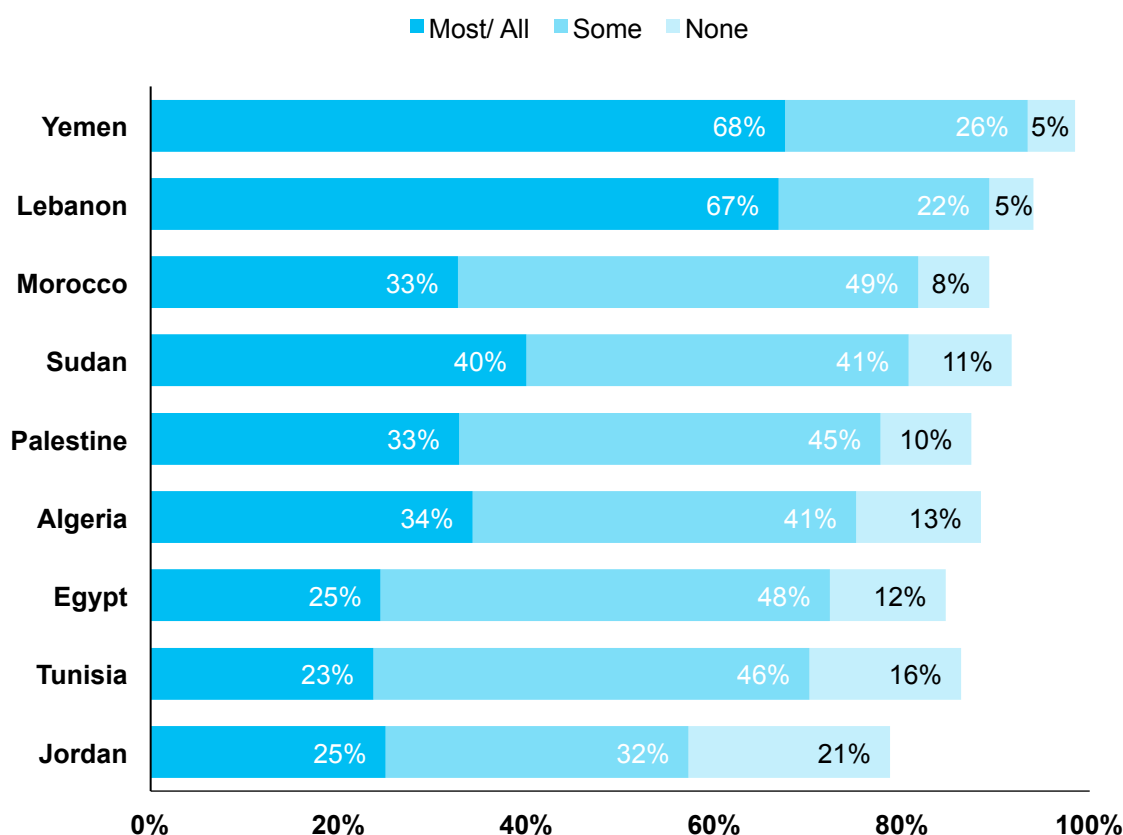


Q. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. Chart shows percentage of respondents who answered that either "Most" or "All" of them are corrupt. The result for Members of Parliament excludes Egypt, as this question was not asked there. The survey in Egypt also asked about "Officials in the presidency" rather than the "President and officials in his office" and "Court officials" rather than "Judges and magistrates".

When we look at the results by country and take a simple average for the seven public sector categories, we see that only a small minority (ranging from 5 per cent to 21 per cent) say that their public sector institutions are completely free of corruption, which demonstrates the extent of the perceived problem of corruption in the region.

Citizens in Yemen and Lebanon think that the public sector in their country suffers from particularly widespread corruption. More than two-thirds of respondents (68 and 67 per cent, respectively) say "Most" or "All" individuals working in these institutions are corrupt, while a further quarter say that "Some" are corrupt (26 and 22 per cent, respectively). Only one in twenty (5 per cent each) thinks that the national public sector institutions are completely free from corruption.

FIGURE 2. HOW CORRUPT IS THE PUBLIC SECTOR?



Q. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. Chart shows the percentage of respondents who answered either "Most/all" of them, "Some" or "None" are corrupt on average across the seven public sector groups: the president's office, Members of Parliament, government officials, tax officials, the police, judges and magistrates, and local government councillors. "Don't know" responses are not shown for ease of comparison.

DOING WELL OR DOING BADLY? HOW PEOPLE RATE THEIR GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS

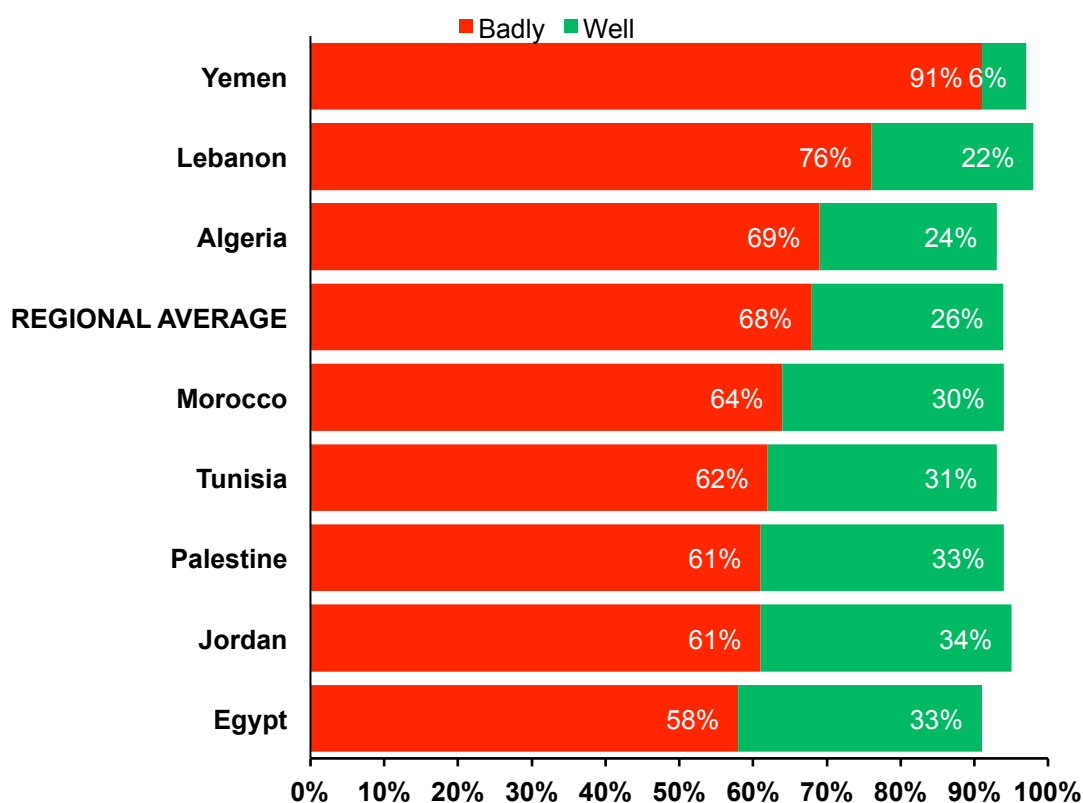
We asked people to rate their own government in terms of how it is performing in fighting corruption in government. This result can indicate whether people think that their administration is taking the right steps in stopping corruption or whether governments need to step up their efforts.

Unanimously across all the eight countries where we asked this question,⁸ a majority of people rated their government negatively in how it is handling the fight against corruption. This suggests either that governments are not doing enough to fight corruption or, at best, that they are not publicising the efforts they are making.

People in Yemen and Lebanon are particularly critical of government efforts to address public sector graft. In Lebanon three-quarters (76 per cent) rate their administration's efforts as either very or fairly bad, while in Yemen this proportion rises to nine in ten (91 per cent).

⁸ In Sudan, a recent election meant that this question was not asked.

FIGURE 3. IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING WELL OR BADLY IN FIGHTING CORRUPTION?



Q. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? "Fighting corruption in government". Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. Response categories "Very badly" and "Fairly badly" are combined into "Badly"; and response categories "Very well" and "Fairly well" are combined into "Well". "Don't know" responses not shown for ease of comparison.

Rubbish job: dissatisfaction in Lebanon's waste services

Citizens in Lebanon are very critical of their government efforts at fighting corruption, with over three-quarters saying it is doing a bad job (76 per cent) in this area.

Recently, many people have taken to the streets in Lebanon to protest over the government's failure to dispose of waste in the country's capital, Beirut, as part of the "You Stink" campaign, and public dissatisfaction is reportedly growing in the country over the extent of alleged corruption.^{iv}

Garbage collection services were stopped in some parts of the city in July 2015, after the country's largest landfill site was closed. It took until February 2016 for the government to agree on a new site for the city's refuse to go to – while, in the meantime, the growing piles of rubbish are causing a terrible stench and posing a significant public health risk to the city.^v

Campaigners blame potential corruption and political paralysis for the delay in solving the crisis.^{vi} In Lebanon, refuse processing can be part of the bargain used by politicians when exchanging favours behind the scenes.^{vii} The lack of transparency in such types of deals means that citizens can foot the bill for inefficient or expensive service delivery. The failure of the political system to deal swiftly with the garbage crisis has caused greater attention to be turned to such behind-the-scenes-deals, as people became tired of the slow response from their elected representatives.^{viii}

BRIBERY: WHAT SERVICES DO PEOPLE PAY BRIBES FOR?

The Global Corruption Barometer aims to find out about the extent of bribery across the Middle East and North African region, which public services are most affected by bribery and, specifically, who is most likely to have to pay a bribe.

This chapter analyses the results from a series of questions asking people whether they had paid a bribe – and, if so, how often – to any of the following six key public services:

- public schools
- public clinics or hospitals
- ID documents
- utility services
- police
- courts.

HOW MANY PEOPLE PAY BRIBES?

The Global Corruption Barometer asks people whether they have come into contact with six key public services during the previous 12 months. Of those who have had contact,⁹ we ask whether they paid a bribe, gave a gift or did a favour in order to receive the services they needed.

Our analysis shows that almost one in three (30 per cent) people who had come into contact with a public service during the preceding 12 months had paid a bribe.^{ix} Based on the bribery rates for each country/ territory and its adult population size, this is equivalent to some 50 million people.¹⁰

There is a vast difference in bribery rates across the region. In Yemen particularly there is a huge problem with bribery, with over three-quarters (77 per cent) of respondents having paid a bribe when they came into contact with public services in the preceding year.

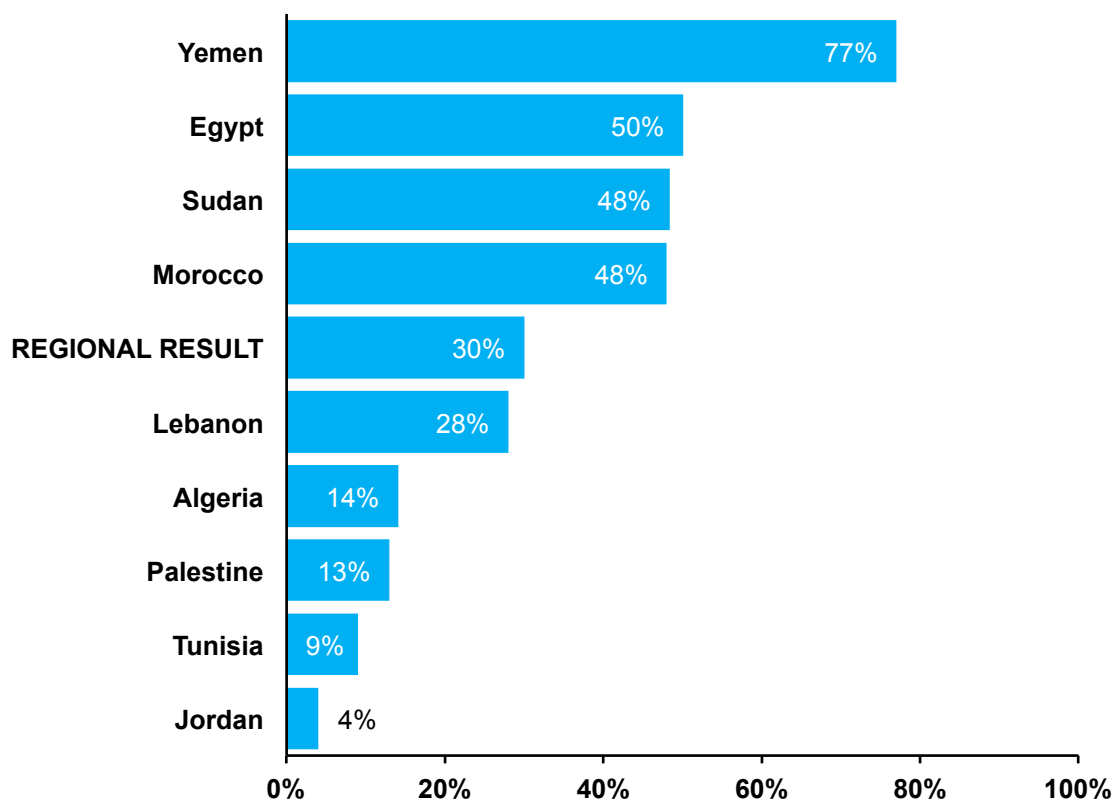
Bribery is also a very common occurrence in Egypt, Sudan and Morocco when people access public services there. For these three countries, around half the people paid a bribe when they came into contact with a public service in the past year (between 48 per cent and 50 per cent).

Despite this, there are some countries in the region that have much lower bribery rates. In Palestine and Algeria, only around one in eight public services users (between 13 and 14 per cent, respectively) paid a bribe, and this level falls to fewer than one in ten in Tunisia (9 per cent) and one in 20 in Jordan (4 per cent). When analysing these findings, it must be kept in mind that the use of personal connections, or “wasta”, to access public services and to get things done quickly is not captured in our bribery statistics. This form of nepotism is reported to be prevalent in parts of the region, and further research should assess the extent of this practice.^x

⁹ 77 per cent of the respondents say that they came into contact with at least one of the six services. Bribery rates are based on those who came into contact with at least one of the six services, excluding those who have missing data for all six bribery questions (weighted n = 8,315).

¹⁰ See Methodology section for full details.

FIGURE 4. HOW MANY PUBLIC SERVICE USERS PAID A BRIBE IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS?



Q. How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or provide a favour for A. a teacher or school official, B. a health worker or clinic or hospital staff, C. a government official in order to get a document, D. a government official in order to receive [utilities] services, E. a police officer or F. a judge or court official? Base: respondents who had contact with at least one of the six public services in the previous 12 months, excluding those who have missing information for all six bribery questions. "Regional result" represents the pooled responses from all nine countries.

Bribes for visitation: a case from a Moroccan hospital

In the Global Corruption Barometer survey, 38 per cent of Moroccans who access public health care say that they had to pay a bribe. But some of them are fighting back, by approaching Transparency International Morocco for help.

One such complaint came from a man named Kamal*, who was told by a nurse that he needed to give him 500 dirhams (US\$60), in addition to the official fee, in order for his partially blind daughter to get an urgent brain scan. For Kamal, who is a vendor at a local market, this was an impossible task of finding around a third of his monthly income overnight.

Kamal then called the team at TI-Morocco's Anti-Corruption Hotline, who advised him to take his complaint to the Attorney General's Office, which he did that very day.

So, when Kamal went back to the hospital, he had back-up – in the form of two undercover officers. When the nurse asked for the money the officers arrested him on the spot, and after going to court the nurse was imprisoned for two months. In the meantime, Kamal's daughter received the care she needed – free from any excess charge.

**name has been changed*

WHICH SERVICES ARE AFFECTED BY BRIBERY?

This chapter examines which public service is most affected by bribery in the region and which is the cleanest. As the services have different levels of usage among the general public, the results are based only upon those people who have come into contact with them.¹¹ Figure 5 shows the bribery rate for each of the six services, broken down by the frequency with which bribes have been made by people across the region.

Our analysis shows that bribery is prevalent across many key public services. The courts have the worst bribery rate of the six services that we asked about. Nearly one-third (31 per cent) of respondents say that they paid a bribe when coming into contact with the courts. The other law and order institution – the police – also suffers from a high bribery rate: a quarter of people (27 per cent) who had contact with the police in the 12 months prior to the survey had to pay a bribe to get the assistance that they needed, or to avoid a penalty such as a fine.

Furthermore, the results show that around a half or more of bribe payers to the courts and the police are having to pay multiple times (see Figure 5), indicating that this can be a frequent occurrence for some in the region when accessing law and order services.

These results should ring the alarm bell for the region, as the integrity of law and order institutions has a massive knock-on impact across the whole of society, such as when criminals avoid punishment because they pay a bribe, or when innocent people are unfairly punished because they cannot afford such a payment.

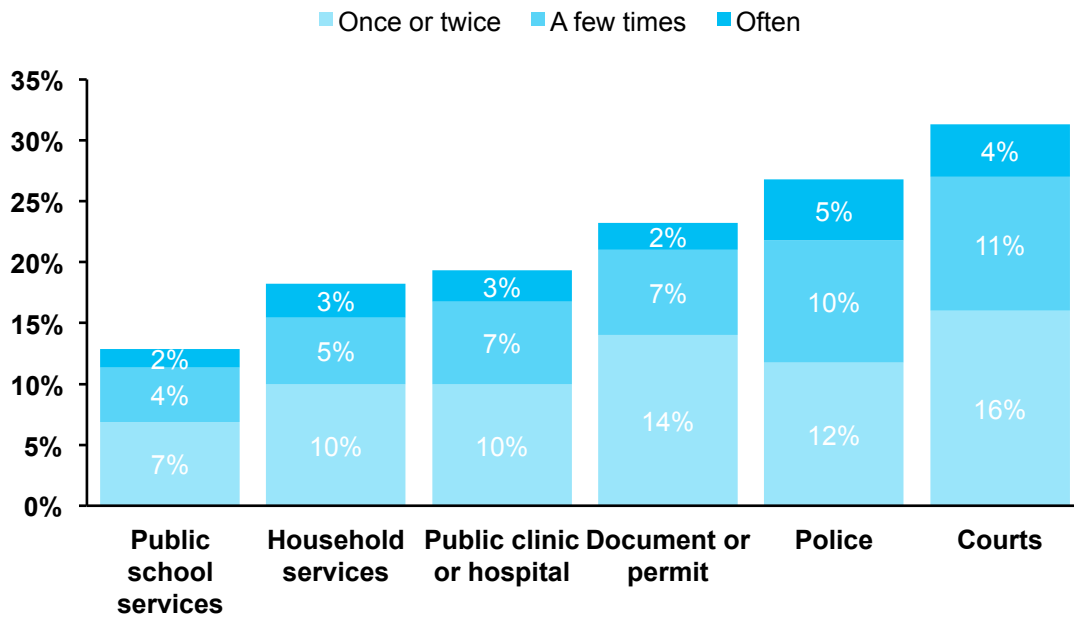
The frequency of bribe payments for public medical services is also extremely concerning, with one person in five (20 per cent) needing to pay a bribe in order to get the services he or she needs. For some people, such a payment might be more than they can afford, meaning that they may not be able to access the vital health services that they need due to corruption.

Bribery is also a fairly common occurrence for those requiring identity documents or permits (23 per cent), and for those who have contact with household utility services such as electricity and water (17 per cent).

While public schools have the lowest levels of bribery of all the six services that we asked about, even here one-eighth (13 per cent) of respondents say that they paid a bribe when coming into contact with schools in the preceding 12 months, which still represents an unacceptable burden on ordinary people when accessing this basic public service.

¹¹ The overall contact rates for each service were: public schools, 37 per cent; public healthcare, 59 per cent; the police, 24 per cent; courts, 16 per cent; official documents, 53 per cent; and utilities, 31 per cent.

FIGURE 5. SERVICE USERS WHO SAY THAT THEY PAID A BRIBE



Q. How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or provide a favour for A. a teacher or school official, B. a government official in order to receive [utilities] services, C. a health worker or clinic or hospital staff, D. a government official in order to get a document, E. a police officer or F. a judge or court official? Base: pooled responses from across all nine countries; respondents who had contact with each service in the previous 12 months, excluding missing responses.

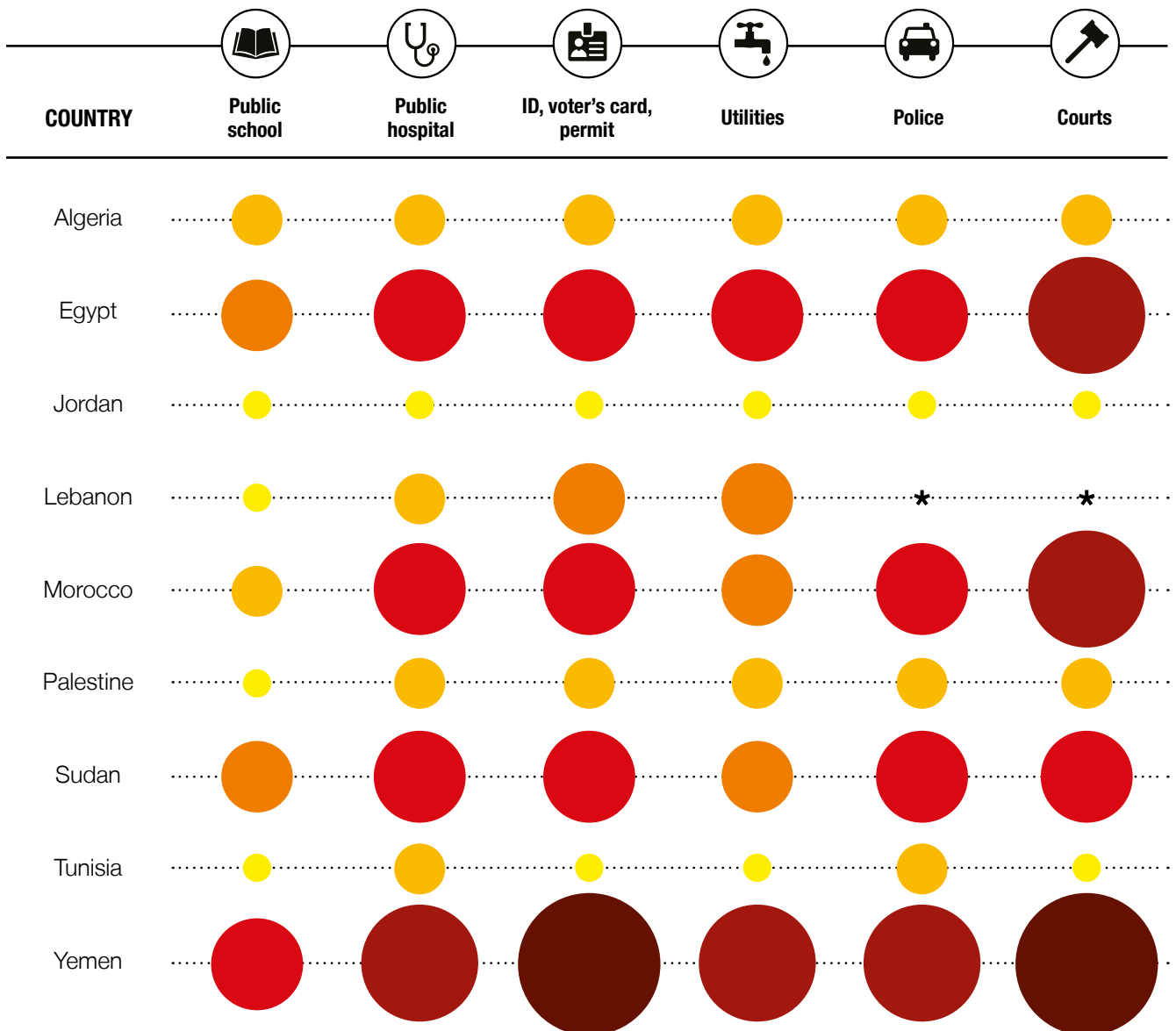
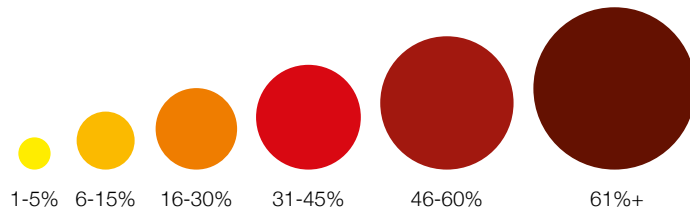
The following infographic shows the bribery rates by service for each of the nine countries/territories. The larger the circle, the higher the bribery rate for that service, which helps indicate which services are suffering more acutely from bribery.

The results show that in Palestine, Jordan, Algeria and Tunisia all six services are relatively clean compared with other countries in the region. In Egypt, Yemen, and Sudan the bribery rates for all six services are much higher than other countries in the region, demonstrating the severity of the bribery problem in these countries in particular.

WHICH SERVICES DO PEOPLE PAY BRIBES FOR?

Percentage of service users who paid a bribe in the past 12 months.

The size of the circle corresponds to the proportion of service users who paid a bribe.



Q. And how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for A. A teacher or school official?; B. A health worker or clinic or hospital staff; C. A government official in order to get the document?; D. A government official in order to get the [Utilities] services?; E. A police officer?; F. A judge or court official?. Base: Respondents who had contact with each service in the past 12 months, excluding missing responses. An asterisk (*) denotes a service base size of less than 60 respondents. These results are not shown as there are too few respondents to be considered statistically reliable.

WHO HAS TO PAY BRIBES?

The high bribery rate in the Middle East and North Africa region is undoubtedly a cause for concern, so we wanted to look more closely at the results in order to understand exactly which people are most likely to have to pay a bribe when they access public services. The results can then be used to help inform anti-corruption activities in the region. The infographic on the following page summarises the key findings from our analysis as to which types of people are most likely to have to pay a bribe.¹²

When looking at the bribery rates by gender, we find that men tend to be more likely than women to have paid a bribe. While 26 per cent of women say that they paid a bribe when coming into contact with at least one public service in the preceding 12 months, this level rises to 34 per cent for men. This may reflect men's better access to financial resources in the region, and it may also reflect men's greater role in public life in at least some of the surveyed countries. When families collectively access public services, such as going to hospital together, it may be more likely that it is the men who take on the responsibility for paying a bribe.

Across the region, younger people who come into contact with services are more likely than older people to pay bribes (33 per cent for those aged under 35, compared with 22 per cent for those aged 55 and over). Still, the results show that no age group is completely immune to public sector graft.

Bribery affects people living in rural areas particularly hard, with 39 per cent of those in the rural areas paying bribes, compared with 25 per cent in urban areas. In rural areas there may be less effective oversight of public services by the authorities, or public officials there might be paid less than their urban counterparts and therefore may be more likely to seek to supplement their income by demanding bribes.

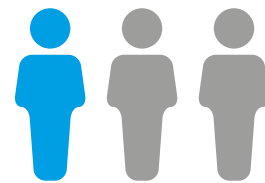
Looking at the results by income, we find that there is a difference between the surveyed countries as to who is more likely to have paid a bribe: the poorest people or the richest. Across five of the surveyed countries/territories – Algeria, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan and Tunisia – we find that it is the poorest people who are most likely to have paid a bribe. In Jordan and Yemen, however, it is the richest people who are slightly more likely to have paid a bribe. Projects in the region seeking to stop bribery should make note of the variances in bribery rates by income level across the region, and develop approaches that are fit for the specific local context.

¹² When analysing the results we controlled to ensure that everyone had come into contact with a public service at least once in the previous 12 months. This is because some groups are less likely to come into contact with public services generally, and therefore have a lower likelihood to be in a situation in which they have to pay a bribe. Non-service users are excluded from the analysis.

WHO HAS TO PAY BRIBES?

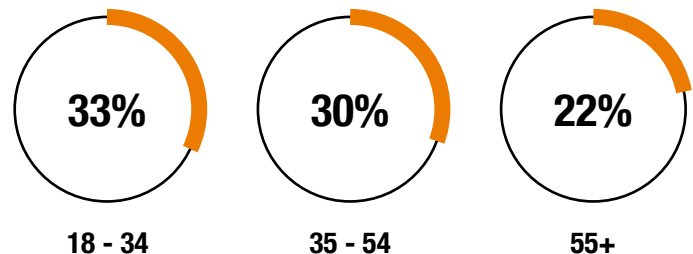
ALMOST 1 IN 3 PEOPLE

In the Middle East and North Africa have paid a bribe in the last year to access basic services like medicine, education or water. This is equivalent to around **50 million people**.



YOUNGER PEOPLE ARE BEING HIT HARDER

People younger than 35 are **more likely** to have to pay a bribe to access a public service.



MEN MORE LIKELY THAN WOMEN TO PAY BRIBES



34% OF MEN
PAID A BRIBE



26% OF WOMEN
PAID A BRIBE

One third of men have paid a bribe, compared to **one quarter** of women.

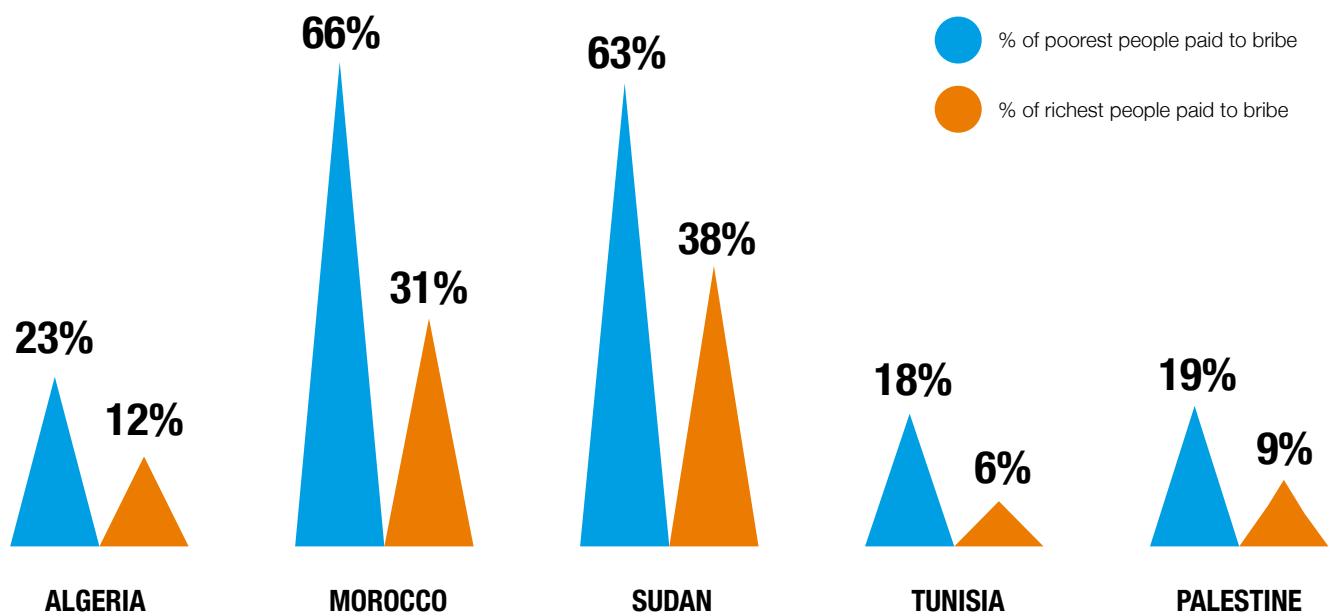
PEOPLE LIVING IN RURAL AREAS ARE MORE AFFECTED

More than a third of people living in rural areas had to bribe for basic services, compared to a quarter of urban citizens.



BRIBERY OFTEN HURTS THE POOREST MOST

In 5 of the 9 countries we surveyed, poorer citizens were more likely than richer citizens to pay bribes - sometimes three times as likely.



Results are based on those who have come into contact with at least one of the six public services in the past 12 months. Please see the methodology notes for a full description of how these results are calculated.

PEOPLE'S ACTIONS: HOW CAN THEY HELP STOP CORRUPTION?

We wanted to find out whether people in the region feel that they can help fight corruption, and how specifically they think they might be able to contribute to anti-corruption efforts.

This chapter analyses the findings from the following questions.

- Can ordinary people make a difference in the fight against corruption?
- Why don't people report incidents of corruption?
- What is the most effective way that ordinary people can fight corruption?

CAN PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

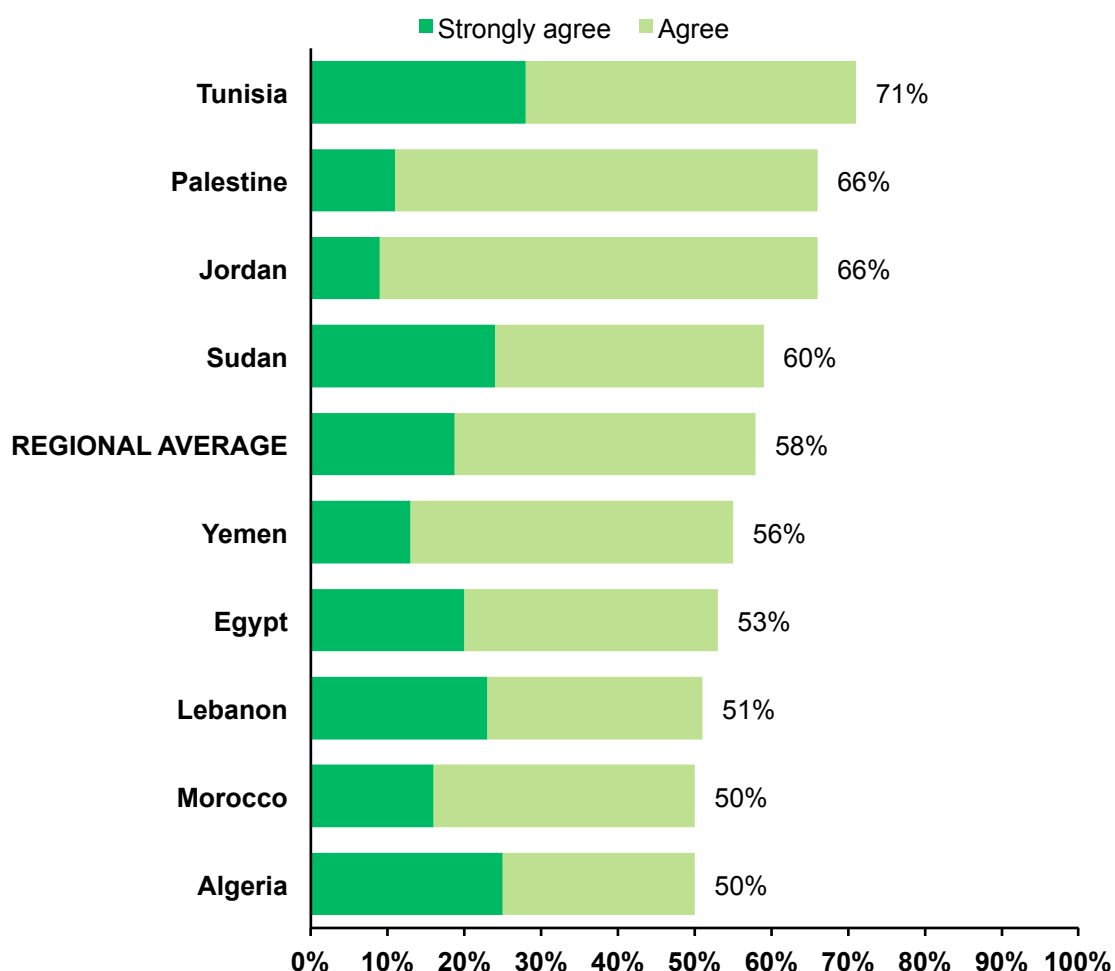
On average across the Middle East and North Africa, a slight majority of people (58 per cent) think that ordinary people can make a difference, while just over a quarter (28 per cent) feel disempowered. This is a fairly positive result, indicating that there are many people in the region who feel that they can help fight corruption.

While the overall finding is positive, the survey also reveals that there is some degree of variation between the different countries. Citizens in Tunisia feel the most empowered to help fight corruption: in this country, more than seven in ten (71 per cent) agree that ordinary people can make a difference. There is also a strong positive response from people living in Sudan, Jordan and Palestine, where between 60 and 66 per cent agree.

Citizens in Morocco, Algeria, Lebanon and Egypt are more divided on this issue. Only around a half of the citizens of these countries (from 50 to 53 per cent) agreed that ordinary people can make a difference in fighting corruption, while a sizable minority feel disempowered.

Across the region, women are just as likely as men to say that they feel empowered (59 and 57 per cent, respectively), while generally, younger people tend to be slightly more likely than older people to say that they can make a difference (59 per cent of those aged 18 to 34, versus 53 per cent of those aged 55 and over). Anti-corruption activities in the region should look to engage people from both genders, and also young people, to build on citizens' desire for involvement in tackling the corruption problem.

FIGURE 6. CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?



Q. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption". Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. "Strongly disagree", "Disagree", "Don't know" and "Neither" answers are not displayed, and nor are refusals to answer, for ease of comparison.

HOW PEOPLE CAN STOP CORRUPTION

Across the region, citizens are telling us in the survey that the most effective actions to help fight corruption are "Reporting corruption incidents" and "Refusing to pay bribes". For both of these methods, nearly a quarter of people say that they are most effective (24 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively). All other actions were mentioned by fewer than 8 per cent of respondents.

In Palestine, Jordan, and Tunisia there is a particular preference for reporting corruption, with this action coming top of the list as the single most effective thing that people can do (40 per cent in each). In Yemen, one in five suggests joining a protest march to be an effective action that people can do to fight corruption (19 per cent), which is more than twice as high as in other countries.

Despite these positive steps that ordinary people can take to fight corruption, there is a substantial minority who feel completely pessimistic about the effectiveness of people's actions against corruption. One-fifth (20 per cent) of respondents overall say that there is nothing that ordinary people can do to help fight corruption. People in Lebanon are the most pessimistic; a third (32 per cent) of citizens there say that there is nothing people can do.

WHY DON'T MORE PEOPLE REPORT CORRUPTION?

Reporting incidents of corruption is a key way for citizens to help ensure that corrupt officials are punished and to dissuade other officials from committing such acts. Yet we find that few people in the Middle East and North Africa region actually report corruption cases they know about. In our survey, only a fifth (21 per cent) of the bribe payers across the region say that they reported a bribery incident in the preceding 12 months.

We wanted to find out why this is the case, so that we can provide guidance on how to develop mechanisms to increase the share of corruption reporting. This is why in our survey we asked citizens why more people don't report corruption in their country.

Our analysis shows that the main reason why people don't report incidents of corruption is that they fear retaliation (30 per cent). In Tunisia, Jordan and Palestine people are especially likely to say that this was the main reason why people don't report (from 42 to 59 per cent). Across the region there is a need to protect whistleblowers more effectively and to establish safe reporting mechanisms, so that people can report cases of corruption without fear of reprisals.

The second most common reason why people don't report more cases of corruption is that they feel that it won't make a difference, as nothing will be done about it (19 per cent). In Yemen and Lebanon (26 and 30 per cent, respectively) this is particularly the case, which perhaps reflects the lack of government capacity in both these countries.

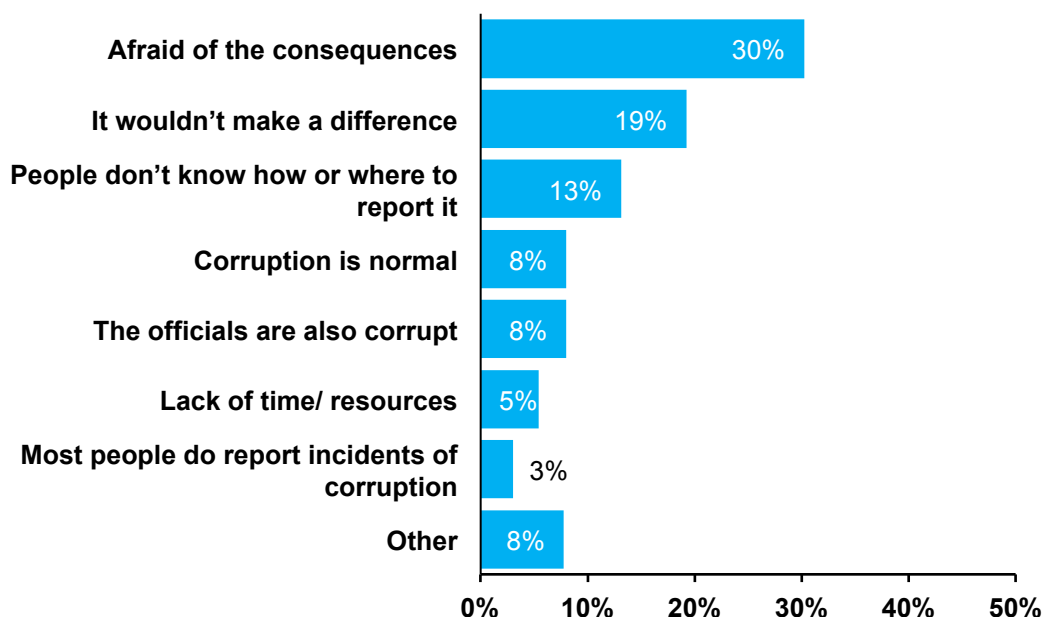
A lack of awareness of reporting channels is also a fairly popular response, with one in eight people saying that he or she didn't know where or how to report a case of corruption (13 per cent). In Algeria and Egypt the proportion of people mentioning that they didn't know about the reporting mechanisms rises to a quarter (24 per cent in each), indicating a more acute need in these countries to establish and raise awareness of existing safe reporting mechanisms.

The widespread extent of corruption in Yemen, Lebanon and Sudan in particular is also considered another factor why more cases of corruption are not reported there. In these countries respondents are particularly likely to say that the reason why people don't report is that corruption is normal and everyone does it (between 11 and 14 per cent), or that the officials to whom they would report corruption are often also involved in it (between 14 and 15 per cent). When corruption is endemic within communities it triggers a feeling of resignation and apathy, which is why greater efforts need to be made to tackle bribery and other forms of corruption head-on.

Unfortunately, citizens' concerns that reporting mechanisms are either ineffective or will lead to retaliation against the victim are substantiated by our survey data from experiences of the victims of bribery incidents. In our survey, we asked bribe payers what happened when they reported an incident to the authorities. Nearly two in five (38 per cent) of those bribe payers who reported it say that they suffered some form of retaliation or negative consequences, while fewer than a third (29 per cent) say that the authorities took action.

These results shine a spotlight on current weaknesses in existing reporting mechanisms in the Middle East and North Africa, and serve to further highlight the need for safer, more secure and effective reporting channels in the region.

FIGURE 7. WHY PEOPLE DO NOT REPORT INCIDENTS OF CORRUPTION



Q. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think the main reason is why many people do not report corruption when it occurs? Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. "Don't know" responses are not shown, and nor are refusals to answer.

Casting off: a fisherman in Palestine fights back against corruption

Transparency International chapters in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine and Tunisia offer Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres (ALACs), to which people can turn for advice and support when reporting a case of corruption.

In Palestine, one such case reached them from Kareem*, who is a 34-year-old fisherman, married with five children. He put all the money he had into buying a boat, which, unfortunately, was destroyed during Israeli strikes in Gaza in 2014.

Humanitarian aid was being distributed to affected fishermen, but Kareem did not receive any, yet he noticed that some people who were not fishermen did get aid. When he heard a Transparency International Palestine ALAC radio announcement encouraging people to report corruption, he decided to contact them to see what they could do to help.

When Kareem met with the ALAC legal advisor in Gaza, he also told them about how he had been threatened by some of those people who had been benefiting from the aid. The ALAC took on the case and demanded an investigation, which was successful in helping Kareem get the humanitarian aid that he was entitled to.

The ALAC has since been conducting outreach visits to increase awareness of fighting corruption in the fishing sector, and some fishermen have formed a coalition to combat corruption. Several corruption cases have reached the ALAC from fishermen, and these are currently being investigated. The whole sector is being monitored by the government and fishermen, who have become more willing to fight corruption.

**name changed.*

CONCLUSIONS: HOW COUNTRIES MEASURE UP

This Middle East and North Africa region report has presented the findings from the latest Global Corruption Barometer survey, conducted by the Afrobarometer and a number of Arab Barometer national survey partners. Our scorecard summary on the next page summarises the key findings by country/territory, rating each area as either green, amber or red depending on how positive or negative the answers are. The scorecard clearly demonstrates the extent of the corruption problem in the region, with no government getting a clean bill of health for its efforts at addressing public sector graft; either countries/territories are plagued by high bribery rates, corruption is seen to be on the rise or the government is seen as not doing enough to stop corruption – or, most frequently, a combination of the above.

Egypt, Jordan and Tunisia get the highest number of positive ratings by their own citizens, particularly when comparing their results to Yemen and Lebanon, whose citizens are the most critical of all the places that we surveyed. Importantly, though, Egypt performs very badly in the area of public sector bribery, showing one of the highest bribery rates for the region. Jordan¹³ and Tunisia, meanwhile, seem to manage their bribery risks fairly well, and their citizens also feel that they have an important role to play in the fight against corruption.

Algeria, Morocco, Sudan and Palestine all fall in the middle compared to their neighbours. Even here, though, we find strongly negative views on the part of citizens about their government's handling of the corruption problem, and bribery is far from rooted out from public service delivery. Of these countries/territories, bribery is particularly rampant in Morocco and Sudan, where almost a half of public service users paid a bribe during the 12 months prior to the survey.

Lebanon and Yemen stand out in the region as having the most negative ratings by citizens. Since Yemen was on the verge of collapse when the survey was conducted, these ratings indicate a larger malaise within the country just prior to the civil war and the imminent crumbling of public infrastructure and services. Lebanon, which is divided along sectarian lines, has failed to produce a functioning government since the former president stepped down in 2014.^x The public sector suffers from high levels of corruption according to its citizens, who are critical of government efforts at fighting corruption. Here, our survey indicates that tackling corruption should be a priority for all actors, from government and business to ordinary citizens.

Our results show that corruption remains a major challenge for the region. It is clear, however, that developing effective anti-corruption mechanisms needs to go hand in hand with guaranteeing rights to freedom of expression and freedom of association across the entire region. Many people in the Middle East and North Africa are still afraid to speak out against corruption because of fears of reprisals. Only if governments in the region are ready to make a fundamental shift in their mindset to allow for meaningful participation by citizens and civil society in public life, and stop using repression or intimidation against them, will the fight against corruption stand a chance.

¹³ As noted earlier in the report, the use of wasta payments in Jordan, which are not viewed as bribery, may have contributed to its low bribery result.

OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION – A CITIZEN SCORECARD

The anti-corruption performance of the government and the country's corruption risks are rated by citizens as:

-  Negative/High risk
-  Mediocre/Medium risk
-  Positive/Low risk

This infographic summarises the country results for five key corruption questions presented in this report. For each question, countries are categorised as either red, amber or green depending on how positively or negatively respondents from that country responded. Countries are ordered from those who score the best according to their citizens to those who score the worst. See the methodology note for the full description of how the colours are assigned.



These groupings are meant to be indicative, and regionally contextual. It is important to keep in mind that they are based on the subjective perceptions and experiences of citizens in each country rather than on an assessment against a common objective benchmark.

METHODOLOGY

The Global Corruption Barometer 2016 question module was implemented by the Afrobarometer network and by several national partners in the Arab Barometer network. All fieldwork was completed using a face-to-face survey methodology. The survey samples were selected and weighted to be nationally representative of all adults aged 18 and above living in each country/territory, and all interviews were conducted face to face. Half the surveyed respondents are female, and half are male. The results have margins of sampling error of approximately +/-3 per cent (for a sample of 1,200) at a 95 per cent confidence level.

The country selection for the Global Corruption Barometer was made on the basis of where the survey could be conducted safely and where honest responses from respondents could be anticipated.

The results presented in this report have also been weighted, so that the sample sizes for each country/territory are equal. The overall regional results are equivalent to an average of all nine countries surveyed.

PLACE	SURVEYING ORGANISATION	FIELDWORK DATES	SAMPLE SIZE	ESTIMATED POPULATION AGED 18+	BRIBE PAYERS AS % OF TOTAL POPULATION
Algeria	The Afrobarometer network	28.05.15 – 17.06.15	1200	26,200,000	12%
Egypt	The Afrobarometer network	18.06.15 – 04.07.15	1198	55,585,000	41%
Jordan	Center for Strategic Studies, University of Jordan	23.11.14 – 04.12.14	1199	4,749,000	3%
Lebanon	Statistics Lebanon	10.12.14 – 04.12.14	1200	4,318,000	13%
Morocco	The Afrobarometer network	02.11.15 – 22.11.15	1200	22,781,000	44%
Palestine	Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research	25.09.14 – 27.09.14	1200	2,640,000	11%
Sudan	The Afrobarometer network	09.06.15 – 25.06.15	1200	19,390,000	40%
Tunisia	The Afrobarometer network	14.04.15 – 26.05.15	1200	7,981,000	8%
Yemen	Center for Studies and Statistical Researches, Yemen	19.12.14 – 06.01.15	1200	14,055,000	36%

Population estimates have been made using available population data and are rounded to the nearest thousand. To calculate the total number of bribe payers in the Middle East and North Africa region, we used the national bribery rates (the percentage of all adults who had paid a bribe) to calculate the number of bribe payers in each country/territory. We then added the projected number of bribe payers across all nine countries/territories, which gives a total number of 50,405,980. For ease of reporting we rounded this figure to 50 million.

To calculate how rich or poor respondents are, for the North African countries we used the Afrobarometer Lived Poverty Index (LPI), an experiential measure that asks respondents: “Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family gone without enough: food to eat; clean water for home use; medicines or medical treatment; enough fuel to cook your food; a cash income?” The results presented in this report use the four-point “lived poverty” categories, ranging from no lived poverty to high lived poverty. For the Middle Eastern countries, we calculate poverty based on

responses to the question whether the respondent's average monthly household income is below, the same or above average. This was converted into a four-point scale.

CITIZENS' CORRUPTION SCORECARD RATINGS

1. Change in level of corruption over previous 12 months

The scores are based on the percentage of respondents in each country/territory who say that corruption has either increased a little or increased a lot over the 12 months prior to when the survey was conducted.

- Green: fewer than 40 per cent say corruption had increased either somewhat or a lot in the preceding 12 months.
- Amber: from 40 per cent up to 60 per cent say corruption had increased either somewhat or a lot in the past 12 months.
- Red: 60 per cent or more say corruption had increased either somewhat or a lot in the past 12 months.

2. How corrupt public officials are perceived to be

Each score is based on a simple average of the percentage of the population who say that "Most" or "All" of them are corrupt for each of these public sector groups: the president's office; Members of Parliament; government officials; tax officials; the police; judges and magistrates; and local government councillors. Business executives, religious and traditional leaders are excluded as they do not belong to the public sector.

- Green: fewer than 30 per cent on average across the seven groups.
- Amber: from 30 per cent up to 50 per cent on average across the seven groups.
- Red: 50 per cent or more on average across the seven groups.

3. How the government is handling the fight against corruption

The scores are based on the percentage of respondents who rate their government as doing either "Very badly" or "Fairly badly" at fighting corruption in government.

- Green: fewer than 40 per cent rate the government very or fairly badly.
- Amber: from 40 per cent up to 60 per cent rate the government very or fairly badly.
- Red: 60 per cent or more rate the government very or fairly badly.

4. Bribery rate

The scores are based on the percentage of people who say that they paid a bribe to at least one of the six services mentioned in the 12 months prior to the survey: public medical care; public schools; documents or permits; household services; the police; the courts. The results exclude those who say that they did not come into contact with any of these services in the previous 12 months.

- Green: fewer than 10 per cent paid a bribe.
- Amber: from 10 per cent up to 30 per cent paid a bribe.
- Red: 30 per cent or more paid a bribe.

5. Ordinary people make a difference

The results are based on the percentage of people who either "Strongly agree" or "Agree" with the statement "Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption".

- Green: 60 per cent or more "Strongly agree" or "Agree".
- Amber: from 40 per cent up to 60 per cent "Strongly agree" or "Agree".
- Red: fewer than 40 per cent "Strongly agree" or "Agree".

DATA TABLES

Table 1. Perceptions of corruption by actor, proportion that think most or all are corrupt (%)

Q. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? % who say "Most" or "All" are corrupt.

Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	PRESIDENT/PRIME MINISTER	MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT	GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS	LOCAL COUNCILLORS	POLICE	TAX OFFICIALS	JUDGES AND MAGISTRATES	TRADITIONAL LEADERS	RELIGIOUS LEADERS	BUSINESS EXECUTIVES
Algeria	31	39	39	39	25	40	28	17	17	37
Egypt	12	NOT ASKED	27	36	26	26	20	19	14	38
Jordan	26	36	34	24	12	28	17	17	16	33
Lebanon	69	79	79	67	41	80	52	62	42	64
Morocco	20	36	35	39	34	31	34	21	10	34
Palestine	36	31	38	30	30	39	26	27	22	32
Sudan	33	42	43	43	42	51	25	25	16	37
Tunisia	18	17	31	32	26	23	17	9	15	47
Yemen	49	77	79	51	74	83	60	68	16	37

Table 2. Change in corruption level over the past year (%)

Q. In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased or stayed the same?

Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	INCREASED A LOT	INCREASED A LITTLE	STAYED THE SAME	DECREASED A LITTLE	DECREASED A LOT	DON'T KNOW / NO ANSWER	TOTAL INCREASE	TOTAL DECREASE
Algeria	30	21	24	11	5	10	51	15
Egypt	9	19	30	25	6	11	28	31
Jordan	60	15	12	10	2	2	75	12
Lebanon	88	4	6	2	0	0	92	2
Morocco	6	20	42	23	2	7	26	24
Palestine	48	22	12	12	4	2	70	16
Sudan	39	22	17	11	4	6	61	15
Tunisia	42	22	12	16	3	4	64	19
Yemen	67	17	13	1	1	1	84	2

Table 3. Bribery rates

Q. How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour for: A. public schools; B. public health services; C. identity documents; D. utility services; E. the police; or F. the courts? % who have paid a bribe at least “once or twice” to any of the services.

Base: excluding those who have not had contact with any of the six public services in the past 12 months and excluding those who have missing data for all six bribery questions.

COUNTRY	BRIBERY RATE (%)
Algeria	14
Egypt	50
Jordan	4
Lebanon	28
Morocco	48
Palestine	13
Sudan	48
Tunisia	9
Yemen	77

Table 4. Contact rates per service (%)

Q. In the past 12 months have you had contact with: A. public schools; B. public health services; C. identity documents; D. utility services; E. the police; or F. the courts? % who have come into contact with each service.

Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	PUBLIC SCHOOL	PUBLIC HOSPITAL	ID, VOTER'S CARD, PERMIT	UTILITIES	POLICE	COURTS
Algeria	47	77	75	44	34	19
Egypt	48	73	53	40	34	27
Jordan	39	66	47	44	26	20
Lebanon	9	13	33	11	4	4
Morocco	52	74	79	32	40	23
Palestine	37	64	45	38	18	17
Sudan	50	66	63	38	34	21
Tunisia	35	71	63	25	12	11
Yemen	20	24	22	11	17	8

Table 5. Bribery rates by service (%)

Q. How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour for: A. public schools; B. public health services; C. identity documents; D. utility services; E. the police; or F. the courts? % of those who have come into contact with the service and had paid a bribe at least "Once or twice" for each service.

Base: excluding those who have not had contact with the service in the past 12 months and excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	PUBLIC SCHOOL	PUBLIC HOSPITAL	ID, VOTER'S CARD, PERMIT	UTILITIES	POLICE	COURTS
Algeria	7	7	8	6	8	9
Egypt	24	32	45	41	43	53
Jordan	2	2	2	2	3	5
Lebanon	3	13	29	19	*	*
Morocco	13	38	33	29	39	49
Palestine	4	6	8	8	9	15
Sudan	22	32	39	25	37	36
Tunisia	2	8	3	4	8	5
Yemen	36	59	72	48	52	71

Table 6. Handling fighting corruption in government (%)

Q. How well or badly would you say the current government is handling the following matters, or haven't you heard enough to say? "Fighting corruption in government".

Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	VERY BADLY	FAIRLY BADLY	FAIRLY WELL	VERY WELL	DON'T KNOW / NO ANSWER	TOTAL BADLY	TOTAL WELL
Algeria	34	35	17	7	7	69	24
Egypt	15	43	29	4	9	58	33
Jordan	29	32	28	6	6	61	34
Lebanon	59	18	16	6	2	76	22
Morocco	27	37	26	3	6	64	30
Palestine	31	30	26	7	6	61	33
Sudan	NOT ASKED						
Tunisia	36	26	28	3	7	62	31
Yemen	70	21	5	1	4	91	6

Table 7. Ordinary people can do something against corruption (%)

Q. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption".

Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses.

COUNTRY	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DON'T KNOW / NO ANSWER	TOTAL AGREE	TOTAL DISAGREE
Algeria	25	25	18	10	17	5	50	27
Egypt	20	33	15	13	9	11	53	22
Jordan	9	57	4	16	12	1	66	28
Lebanon	23	28	5	16	26	2	51	42
Morocco	16	34	18	16	9	7	50	25
Palestine	11	55	8	19	6	1	66	25
Sudan	24	35	6	15	13	6	60	28
Tunisia	28	43	1	11	16	1	71	27
Yemen	13	42	11	18	12	3	56	31

END NOTES

ⁱ Weighted base size: 516 respondents who reported an incident of bribery to the authorities.

ⁱⁱ Only three of the nine countries that we surveyed in have whistleblower protection laws in place, and even in these countries the whistleblower protection laws are either weak or not enforced.

ⁱⁱⁱ In Sudan, the survey did not ask whether the government was doing well or badly at fighting corruption in government, because of the recent legislative and presidential elections.

^{iv} L. Khatib, “Lebanon Echoes Hypocrisy of Arab Political Class”, Carnegie Middle East Center, 2015. <http://carnegie-mec.org/2015/08/24/lebanon-echoes-hypocrisy-of-arab-political-class/iidv>.

^v M. Yahya, “Taking Out the Trash: Lebanon’s Garbage Politics”, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2015. <http://carnegieendowment.org/syriaincrisis/?fa=61102>.

^{vi} BBC, “Lebanon Rubbish Crisis: Cabinet Agrees to Resume Waste Disposal”, 2015. www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-34203165.

^{vii} L. Khatib, “Lebanon Echoes Hypocrisy of Arab Political Class”, Carnegie Middle East Center, 2015. <http://carnegie-mec.org/2015/08/24/lebanon-echoes-hypocrisy-of-arab-political-class/iidv>.

^{viii} Ibid.

^{ix} For the sake of readability, we use the term “bribe” to refer to those who say that they paid a bribe, gave a gift or did a favour for a public service. It is important to note that questionnaire changes for the Global Corruption Barometer bribery question mean that the results for previous Global Corruption Barometer surveys cannot be compared with the findings presented here. The question was changed from asking about household to individual bribe payments, and from any service provider to only services provided by the government. Afrobarometer question wording is also changed to more carefully screen for contact before asking about bribe payments, so the results should also not be compared with previous rounds of the Afrobarometer.

^x See R. B. Cunningham and Y. K. Sarayrah, *Wasta: The Hidden Force in Middle Eastern Society* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1993); and S Kilani and B. Sakijha, *Wasta: The Declared Secret* (Amman: Jordan Press Foundation, 2002).

^{xi} BBC, “Lebanon Country Profile”, 2015. www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14647308.

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