



# PEOPLE AND CORRUPTION: EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA

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Global Corruption Barometer

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# WHAT DO PEOPLE THINK ABOUT CORRUPTION?

## REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

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**CORRUPTION SEEN AS ONE OF THE BIGGEST CHALLENGES FACING COUNTRIES**

**1 in 3**

citizens think corruption is one of the main problems facing their country



**GOVERNMENTS ARE DOING A POOR JOB FIGHTING CORRUPTION IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR**

**53%**



say their government is doing poorly

**23%**



say their government is doing well

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**MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE SEEN AS THE MOST CORRUPT**

Nearly

**1 in 3**

say that government officials and lawmakers are mostly or entirely corrupt





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## POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Nearly

# 3 in 5

think that wealthy individuals have too much undue influence over government decisions.



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## SOME HOUSEHOLDS NEED TO BRIBE FOR ACCESS TO PUBLIC SERVICES

# 1 in 6



households have paid a bribe in the last year

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## VICTIMS ARE INTIMIDATED INTO SILENCE

Only

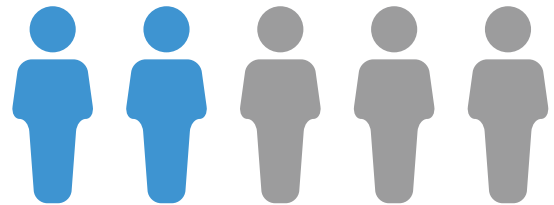
# 1 in 5



bribe payers report the incident

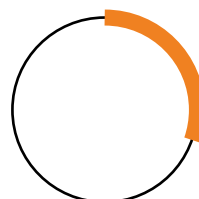
# 2 in 5

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.

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# INTRODUCTION

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Europe has seen a surge in recent years of support for populist and nationalist movements – from Spain to the UK to Turkey. The reasons are manifold and complex, but are driven to a large degree by the belief that traditional democratic institutions – governments, political parties – are failing to deliver on promises of prosperity and equal opportunity and that they cannot be trusted.<sup>i</sup>

Corruption is central to this story – both the failure of governments to properly address corruption and their complicity in corrupt or clientelist schemes. It has become impossible to ignore systemic corruption in the way business influences politics, as shown by the on-going trial of 37 executives and politicians in Spain who are alleged to have been involved in a “kickbacks-for-contracts” scheme for nearly a decade.<sup>ii</sup> Examples such as this can give ordinary citizens the impression that public spending and public policy is distorted to favour the few over the many.

This impression has been compounded by the prevalence of “cosier” forms of corruption, such as the conflict of interests – real and perceived – posed by hidden lobbying and the “revolving door” between the public and private sectors. The public outrage at the decision of former European Commission President Jose Manuel Barroso to accept a position with Goldman Sachs, which generated over 100,000 petition signatures calling for tough sanctions, shows how expectations about greater integrity in politics and business are mobilising citizen action.<sup>iii</sup> This report shines a light on how extensive citizens from across Europe and Central Asia perceive the corruption problem to be and what actions they consider to be effective in order to address it.

## ABOUT THE RESEARCH

For this new report, part of a regional series from our Global Corruption Barometer, we spoke to nearly 60,000 people across 42 countries in Europe and Central Asia via face to face and telephone surveys about the current state of public sector graft.<sup>iv</sup> Our findings show that few people think that their government has done enough to fight corruption in politics. Over a quarter of citizens see politicians, government officials and business executives as highly corrupt, and nearly three in five citizens think that wealthy individuals have too much influence over government decisions.<sup>v</sup>

In the largest, most comprehensive, survey of its kind we look at the results from across the entire Europe and Central Asia area and also compare how attitudes and experiences of corruption differ between European Union (EU) members,<sup>vi</sup> accession countries and the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). In some aspects, such as bribery, there are strong differences across these three regions, with the CIS suffering from the highest rates of bribery; in others there are surprising similarities, with citizens in France just as likely as people in Russia to think that their government is not doing enough to fight corruption.

While in theory citizens think that “standing-up” to officials who demand bribes and “speaking out” by reporting cases of corruption are the most effective things that they can do to stop corruption, our research also shows that in practice there remain considerable barriers to encouraging more people to report. Particularly in the CIS, accession countries and among new EU members there is a lack of social acceptance for reporters of corruption. Many citizens – including in some old EU member states – also fear that whistleblowers suffer negative consequences as a result of coming forward.

These barriers indicate the need for stronger whistleblower protection so that more people are willing to take action against corruption.

## KEY FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY

**1. ONE IN THREE RESPONDENTS THINK CORRUPTION IS ONE OF THE BIGGEST PROBLEMS FACING THEIR COUNTRY**

Citizens in Kosovo, Spain and Moldova are the most likely to think this, with two thirds rating corruption as a major problem (from 65 to 67 per cent).

**2. MORE THAN A HALF OF CITIZENS RATE THEIR GOVERNMENT BADLY AT FIGHTING CORRUPTION**

Citizens in Ukraine, Moldova, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Spain are most critical of their governments' efforts at fighting corruption with four in five or more saying it is doing badly (from 80 to 86 per cent).

**3. POLITICIANS AND PUBLIC OFFICIALS ARE SEEN AS THE MOST CORRUPT**

Of the nine groups that we ask about, across the region, members of parliament and government officials are most likely to be seen as highly corrupt. Nearly a third of people say that most or all of them are corrupt (31 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively).

**4. THE PRIVATE SECTOR IS NOT EXEMPT**

Over a quarter of citizens in Europe and Central Asia say that business executives are highly corrupt (26 per cent).

**5. MANY THINK THAT THE WEALTHY HAVE UNDUE INFLUENCE ON GOVERNMENT DECISIONS**

Three in five citizens think that the wealthy have too much influence on public policy and there needs to be stricter rules to prevent this. Spanish and Portuguese citizens are the most likely to agree (88 per cent and 85 per cent).

**6. BRIBERY IS STILL COMMON, PARTICULARLY IN THE COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES**

Nearly a third of public service users in the CIS have paid a bribe (30 per cent) in the past year and bribery is highest in Tajikistan where this rises to 50 per cent of service users.

Bribery is also high in some EU countries,<sup>vii</sup> particularly Romania (29 per cent of service users) and Lithuania (24 per cent).

**7. "STANDING UP" AND "SPEAKING OUT" ARE SEEN AS THE BEST WAYS TO FIGHT CORRUPTION**

Reporting corruption or refusing to pay bribes are the most effective actions people think they can take (18 and 20 per cent). Reporting corruption is seen as particularly effective in the EU+ (24 per cent). Still 27 per cent of citizens in Europe and Central Asia are resigned to the fact that people can do nothing.

**8. FEAR AND LACK OF ACCEPTANCE PREVENT PEOPLE FROM REPORTING**

The main reason more people don't come forward to report corruption is that they are afraid of the consequences (30 per cent). Furthermore, less than a half of people say that they think it is socially acceptable to report corruption in their country (38 per cent).

**9. ARMENIA, BOSNIA & HERZEGOVINA, LITHUANIA, MOLDOVA, RUSSIA, SERBIA AND UKRAINE ARE SEEN AS HAVING THE MOST SEVERE CORRUPTION PROBLEMS**

These countries are rated poorly by their citizens across all of the key questions in the Global Corruption Barometer survey (as shown in our scorecard summary on page 38).

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are made based on the results of our survey and our experience in addressing corruption in Europe and Central Asia:

### REDUCING POLITICAL CORRUPTION

- Countries and EU institutions need transparent rules on lobbying and a public lobbying register, so that policy decisions can be better scrutinised. They must ensure that information on lobbying activities is published and is easily available.<sup>viii</sup>
- Countries, particularly accession countries and those in the CIS, must reduce executive influence over the judiciary and prosecutorial services, by ensuring transparent and objective systems for the appointment, transferral and dismissal of judges and prosecutors.

### ENCOURAGING MORE PEOPLE TO REPORT CORRUPTION

- Countries must adopt and enforce comprehensive legislation to protect whistleblowers based on prevailing international standards, including those developed by Transparency International and by the Council of Europe.<sup>ix</sup>
- Governments and the private sector must support whistleblowers and reporters of corruption and ensure appropriate follow-up to their disclosures.<sup>x</sup>



# PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION: POLITICIANS AND THE RICH

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Through the Global Corruption Barometer survey, we take the pulse of citizens on their perceptions of corruption and in doing so hold governments to account for their anti-corruption action – or inaction.

In this section we analyse the findings from the following questions asked of citizens across Europe and Central Asia:

- What are the biggest problems facing your country?
- How corrupt are different powerful groups in your country?
- How well or badly is your government doing at fighting corruption?
- Do wealthy individuals have too much influence over government decisions?

## CORRUPTION IS ONE OF THE KEY PROBLEMS FACING COUNTRIES

In our survey, we ask respondents what they think are the three biggest problems facing their country. They chose from a list of key issues including the economy, unemployment, crime, immigration, health, education and corruption. One in three citizens from across Europe and Central Asia say that corruption or bribery is one of the biggest problems facing their country.

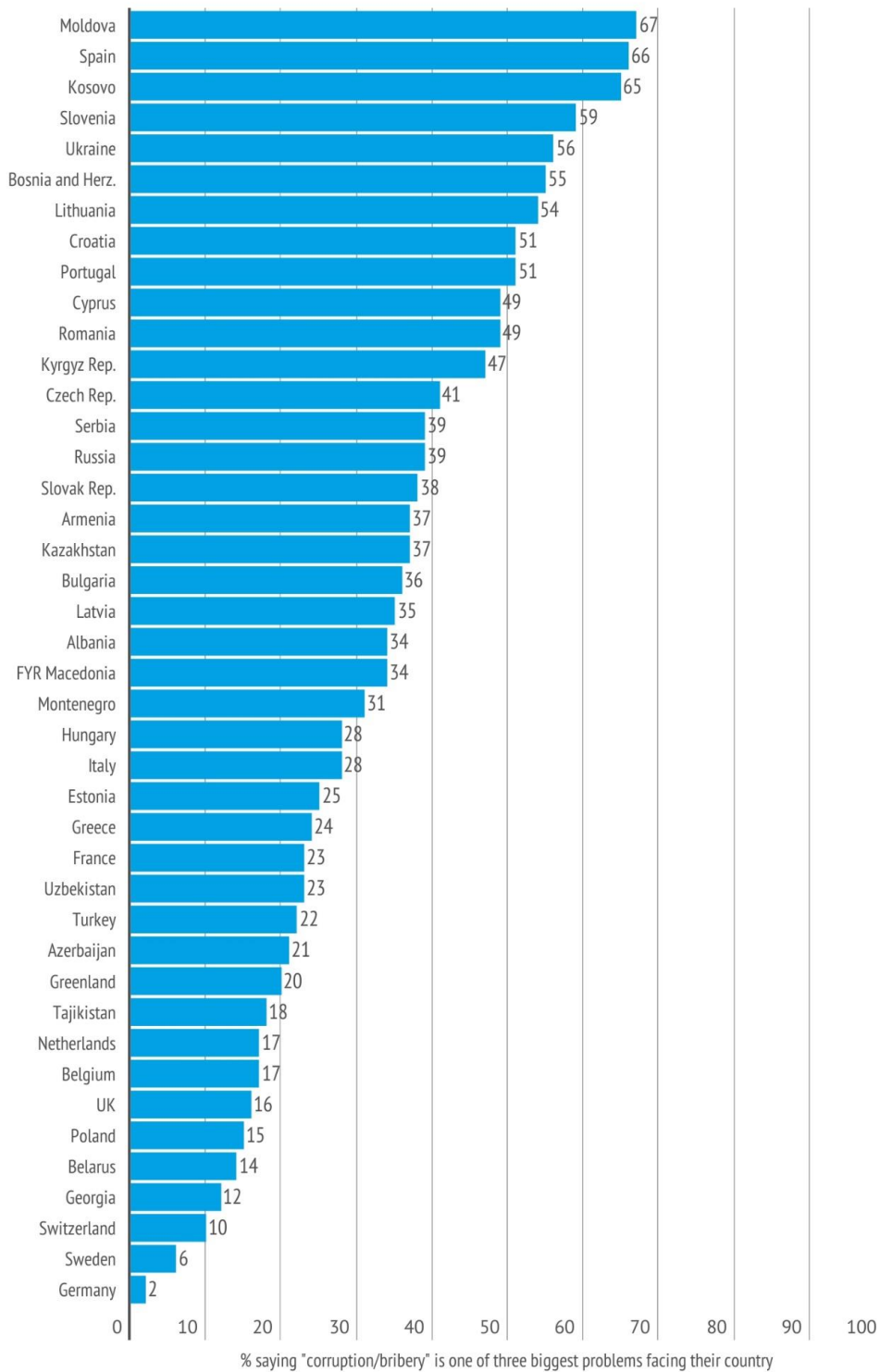
Fairly similar proportions in all three regions mention that corruption is one of the top problems. In the EU+ and the CIS around a third of respondents say that it is one of the biggest problems (32 per cent and 34 per cent respectively) and this rises to two in five in the accession states (40 per cent).

There is considerable variation in the proportion of citizens in each country who mention corruption as one of the biggest problems. This reflects differences in people's experience of corruption and also its varying prevalence within the public discourse in each country.

Citizens in Kosovo, Spain and Moldova are particularly likely to think corruption is one of the top problems facing their country, with two thirds of citizens saying that it should be a priority for the government (from 65 to 67 per cent).

Citizens in Germany are the least likely to see corruption as one of the biggest problems facing their country (2 per cent). This issue is also less of a prominent concern for citizens in Sweden and Switzerland, with one in 10 citizens or fewer thinking it should be a priority for their government to focus on (6 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively).

**Figure 1: Corruption is one of the three biggest problems facing the country**



Q. In your opinion, what are the three most important problems facing this country that government should address?  
 Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. Chart shows percentage of respondents who answered that either "corruption" or "bribery" was one of the three biggest problems.

## KEY INSTITUTIONS: PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION

In the Global Corruption Barometer we ask people to tell us how corrupt they think different powerful groups in their country are – that is whether they think “none”, “some”, “most” or “all” of them are corrupt.

The nine different groups that we ask about include high-level political actors (the president/prime minister’s office, members of parliament and government officials); key public sector employees who interact with citizens (tax officials, the police, judges/magistrates and local government councillors); and those who are not part of the public sector, but are influential in political life (business executives and religious leaders).

The results show that across Europe and Central Asia many citizens perceive problems with corruption in politics. The two groups thought to have the highest levels of corruption have enormous influence over the way countries are run – members of parliament and government officials. Members of parliament fare the worst of all the groups that we ask about with just under a third (31 per cent) saying that most or all MPs are corrupt. Government officials follow closely with over a quarter (30 per cent) of people saying they are highly corrupt.

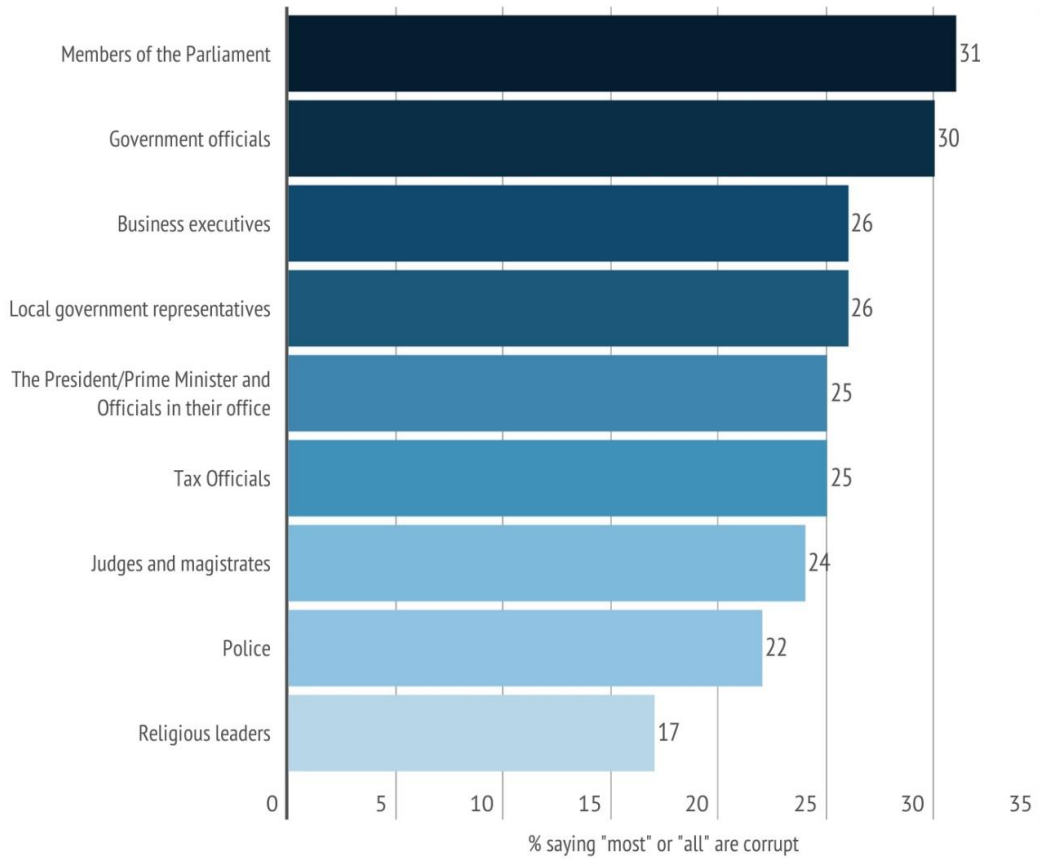
The private sector follows, with extensive corruption among business executives perceived by a quarter of citizens (26 per cent) in Europe and Central Asia.

Similar proportions think that the president’s office, tax officials, the police, judges/magistrates and local government councillors are highly corrupt, ranging from 22 per cent for the police to 26 per cent for local government councillors.

Religious leaders are seen as the cleanest of the nine groups. Just 17 per cent of citizens say that they think that most or all religious leaders are corrupt.

In our last Global Corruption Barometer survey, published in 2013,<sup>xi</sup> politicians and public officials were also perceived as the most corrupt in Europe and Central Asia therefore showing that they have not been able to improve their comparative ranking compared with other groups in society.

**Figure 2: Perceptions of corruption levels for different institutions and groups**



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.<sup>xii</sup>

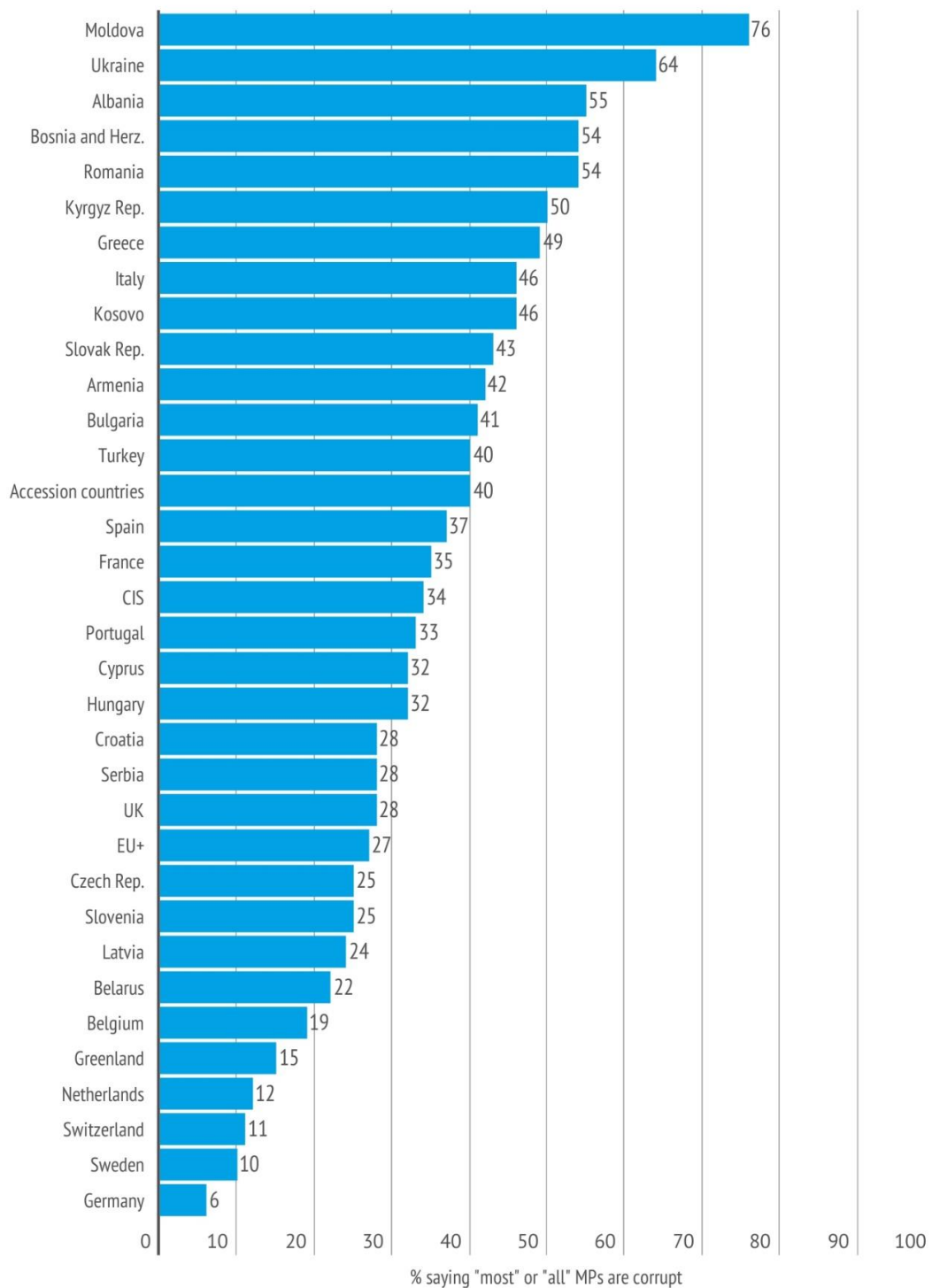
When looking at how members of parliament are perceived across the three different regions, citizens in the EU+ are less likely than those in the CIS and accession countries to perceive their elected representatives as highly corrupt. Just over a quarter of citizens in the EU+ say that their representatives are mostly or entirely corrupt (27 per cent), rising to 34 per cent in the CIS and 40 per cent among the accession states.<sup>xiii</sup>

Citizens from Ukraine, Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Romania are the most likely to think that their members of parliament are highly corrupt. In these countries over a half or more say that their representatives are very corrupt, rising to three quarters in Moldova (76 per cent).

In Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Greenland and Belgium, citizens perceive their members of parliament to be far cleaner. Here, fewer than one in five say that their political representatives are highly corrupt (from 6 to 19 per cent).

**Figure 3: Perceptions of corruption levels for members of parliament**

Results by country and region.





Q. How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? - Members of parliament Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. Chart shows percentage of respondents who answered that either "most" or "all" of them are corrupt.<sup>xiv</sup>

## HOW CITIZENS RATE THEIR GOVERNMENTS' ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS

In our survey we also ask citizens to tell us how well or badly they think that their government is doing at "fighting corruption in government".

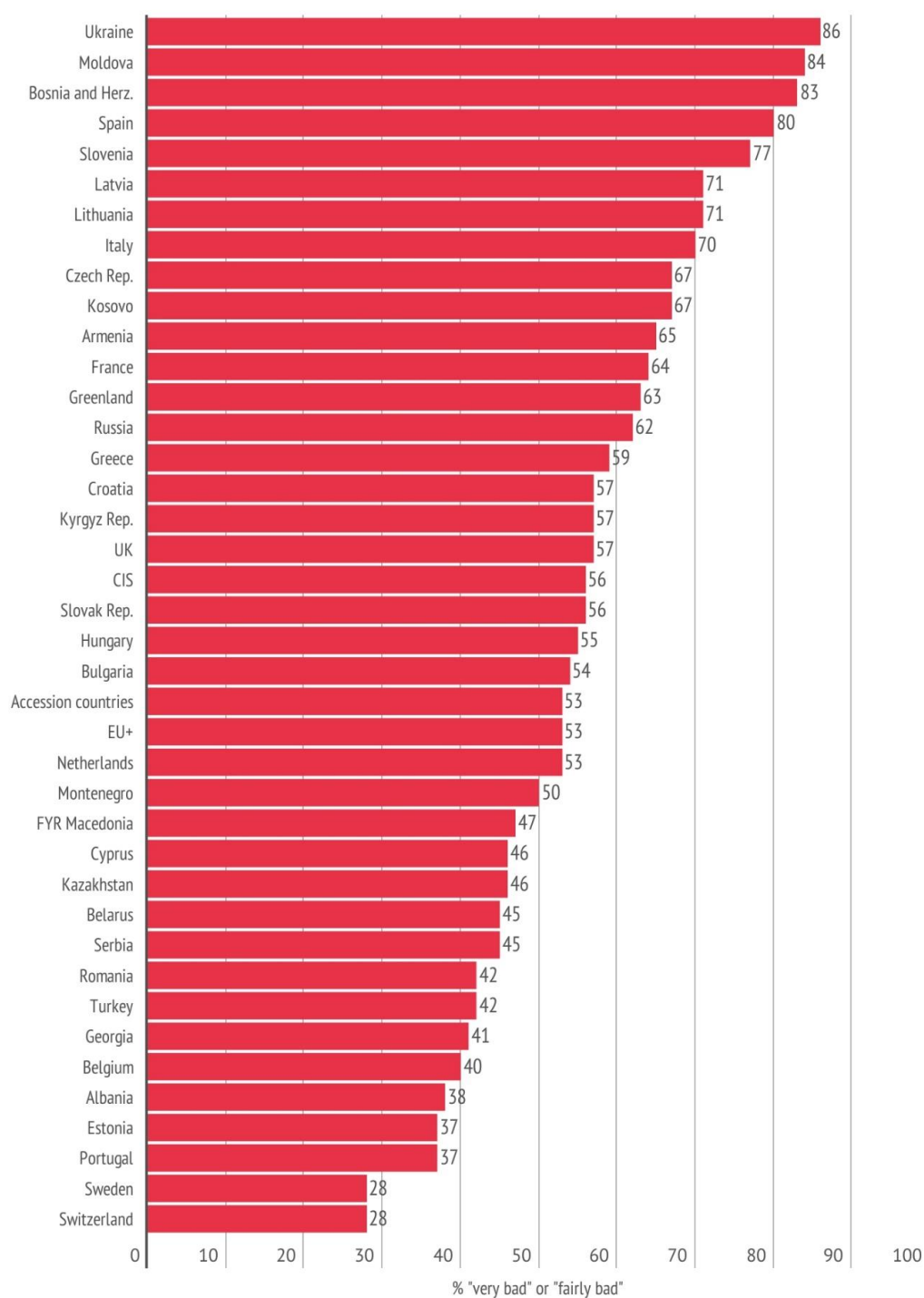
Citizens across Europe and Central Asia are critical of their governments' efforts in this matter – only 23 per cent say that their government is doing well, while just over a half (53 per cent) give their government a negative rating. Across the three regions, fairly equal proportions rate their government as doing badly at fighting corruption (53 per cent in the EU+, 53 per cent in the accession countries and 56 per cent in the CIS).

In Ukraine, Moldova, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Spain citizens are particularly critical of their governments' efforts at cleaning up politics. More than four in five people give their government a negative rating (from 80 to 86 per cent). Particularly in Ukraine, Moldova and Bosnia & Herzegovina, where citizens also perceive particularly high levels of corruption among members of parliament, governments must take decisive action to address corruption risks and communicate their work better to the public.

In Switzerland and Sweden, citizens are far less critical of their governments' actions to address corruption; less than a third give their government a negative rating (29 per cent and 28 per cent).

#### Figure 4: Perceptions of government actions to fight corruption

Percentage who rate their government “badly” at fighting corruption in government. Results by country and region.



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”; “very well”, “fairly well” and “don’t know” responses not shown for ease of comparison.<sup>xv</sup>

## WEALTHY INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR UNDUE INFLUENCE: CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS

There appears to be great concern among many citizens that wealthy individuals have too much influence on government decisions and there is support for stricter rules to prevent this.

Overall 57 per cent of citizens from across Europe and Central Asia agree that wealthy individuals often influence government decisions for their own personal interests and that there should be rules in place to stop this from happening.<sup>xvi</sup> This view is particularly prevalent in EU+ states where 65 per cent of respondents agree, compared with 44 per cent in the accession countries and 46 per cent in the CIS.

Initial analysis suggests that there is a relationship between how well citizens rate their government at fighting corruption and the extent to which they think that policy-making is influenced by the wealthy. We categorise citizens into one of four groups – first, those who perceive too much influence by the rich and rate their government badly; second, those who perceive little influence by the wealthy but rate their government badly; third, those who perceive too much influence by the wealthy but rate their government positively; and the final group, those who see little wealthy influence and rate their government positively.

By far the largest group is of those who think that government decisions are influenced too much by the wealthy and also rate their government badly. Almost a half (47 per cent) of citizens fall into this category. This suggests that they see the influence of wealth on government decisions as an inhibitor to addressing political corruption, or that wealthy interests more easily influence governments that are poor at addressing corruption.

Just 13 per cent of citizens are positive on both measures; thinking that their government is doing well and that government decisions are free of the influence of the wealthy. This is the smallest of the four groups.

The two other groups each account for around one in five citizens who either still rate their government positively at fighting corruption despite a high influence of the wealthy, or rate their government badly, despite their decisions seemingly being free from the influence wealthy interests. Further analysis, outside the scope of this report, would be needed to further unpick what is driving the perceptions of these citizens.

**Figure 5: Relationship between undue wealthy influence on government decisions and perceptions of how well governments are fighting corruption**

Too much wealthy influence/ government rated badly	Less wealthy influence/ government rated badly
47%	22%
Too much wealthy influence/ government rated well	Less wealthy influence/ government rated well
19%	13%

Q. Wealthy individuals often use their influence on government for their own interests and there need to be stricter rules to prevent this. Response categories 7, 8, 9 and 10 are combined into “agree” that there is too much influence by the wealthy. Q. How well or badly would you say the current government is doing at “Fighting corruption in government”? Answers on a scale. “Very badly” and “fairly badly” combined and “very well” and “fairly well” combined. Base: excluding don’t know responses.

## The influencers: Lobbying in Europe

Lobbying is “any direct or indirect communication with public officials, political decision-makers or representatives for the purposes of influencing public decision-making, and carried out by or on behalf of any organised group”.<sup>xvii</sup> It forms part of a healthy democracy, by allowing interest groups with knowledge and expertise to inform political decision-making.

However, our 2015 report *Lobbying in Europe* demonstrated that without rules and regulations lobbying can lead to unfair access to government for privileged groups, resulting in policies and regulations that are not in the public interest. This is enabled in part by the revolving door phenomenon, which sees former politicians using their personal contacts and insider information to benefit their new employers, or politicians from private sector backgrounds shaping political agendas in favour of their former employers.<sup>xviii</sup>

Sometimes these links can become practically institutional, as illustrated by our analysis of the connection between the Portuguese political and financial institutions.<sup>xix</sup> Of the past 19 finance ministers, 14 have previously worked in banks or financial institutions; 54 per cent of government positions since the establishment of the democratic state have been filled by ex-bankers; 230 members of parliament either left a role in a financial institution before being elected, or went on to take one after leaving political office; and since 1986 all heads of the Central Bank have gone on to jobs in the banking sector.

We are calling for stronger lobbying rules to prevent unfair access, including a “cooling off” period and more effective implementation of revolving door rules.

# EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION: BRIBERY

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The Global Corruption Barometer asks respondents in a select number of countries<sup>xx</sup> about their or other members of their household's experiences of bribery in the past 12 months when coming into contact with the following public services: the road police, public agencies issuing official documents, the civil courts, public education (primary or secondary), public education (vocational), public medical care, public agencies in charge of unemployment benefits and public agencies in charge of other social security benefits.

## RATES OF BRIBERY

The Global Corruption Barometer first asks respondents whether they or another member of their household has used any of the eight key public services in the past 12 months. If they have then they are asked whether they made an unofficial payment or gift when using that service.

The bribery results (which are based on those who have had contact with at least one public service<sup>xxi</sup>) show that there is extensive variation between the three regions, with bribery substantially more widespread in the CIS than in the accession countries or the EU.

Just under a third of households (30 per cent) in the CIS have paid a bribe to access basic public services in the past 12 months, compared with one in five households (20 per cent) in the accession countries and less than one in 10 in the EU (9 per cent).<sup>xxii</sup> These results are very similar to those found in the 2013 survey, suggesting that there has been little regional progress at addressing bribery risks in the last three years.

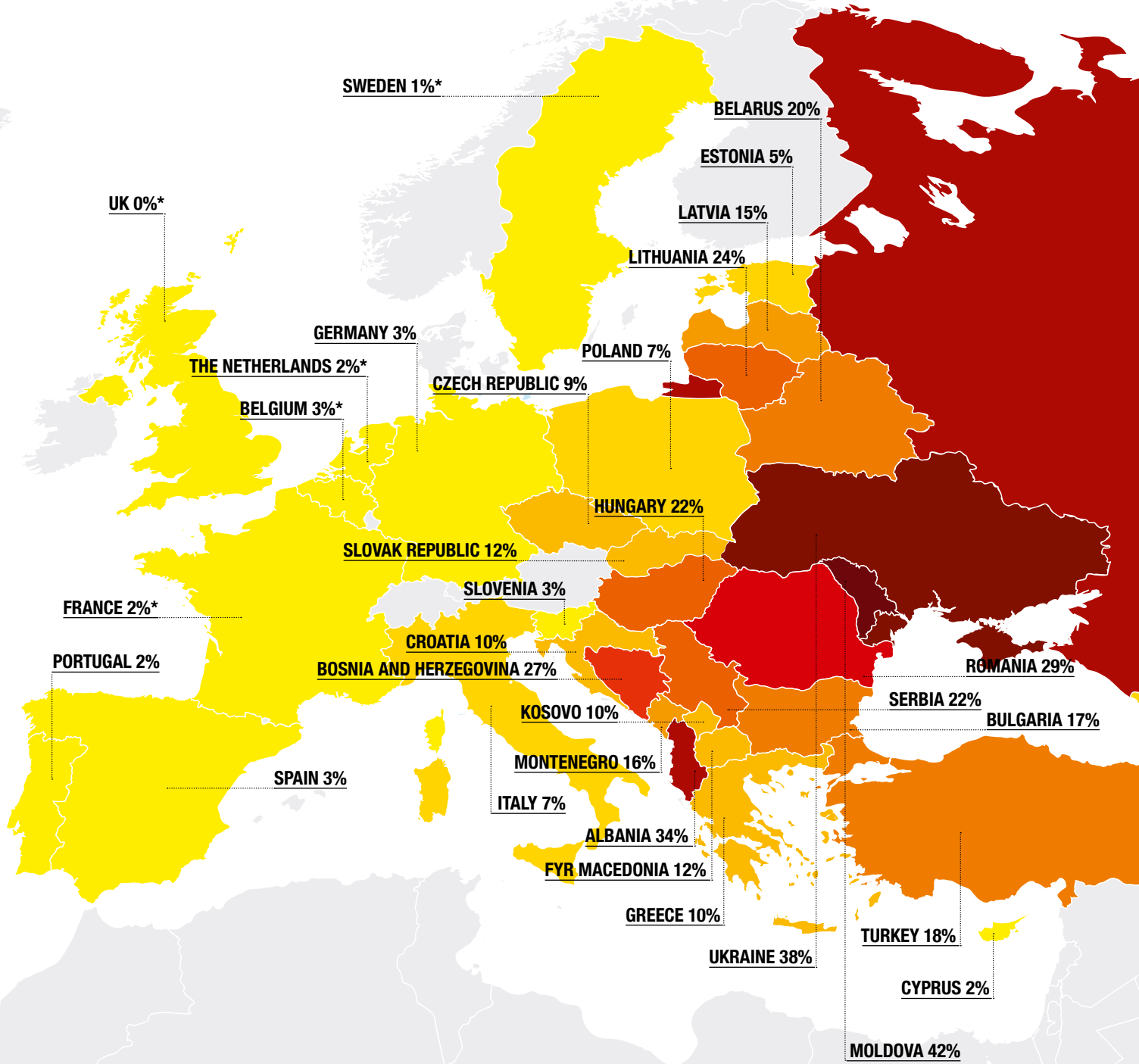
Bribery rates vary considerably between countries. The lowest bribery rates are all found in EU countries. In Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Spain, Cyprus, Estonia, Portugal and the UK one in 20 or fewer have paid a bribe. The EU countries with the highest bribery rates are Hungary, Lithuania and Romania (from 22 to 29 per cent).

Of the accession countries, Kosovo has a particularly low bribery rate of only 10 per cent, which although leaving room for improvement shows that it has controlled public sector graft far better than other countries in this area. In Albania (34 per cent) and Bosnia & Herzegovina (27 per cent), for example, bribery is a far more common.

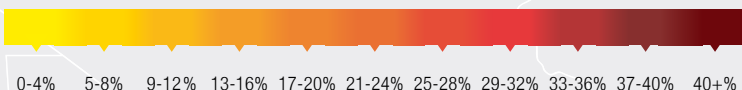
Households in a number of CIS countries are at a high risk of having to pay bribes to access basic public services. In Azerbaijan, Kyrgyz Republic, Ukraine and Moldova around two in five households who had accessed public services paid a bribe (from 38 to 42 per cent) and this rises to 50 per cent in Tajikistan. Georgia, however, is a positive exception to this trend with a bribery rate of just 7 per cent, which is at least on a par with EU member states.

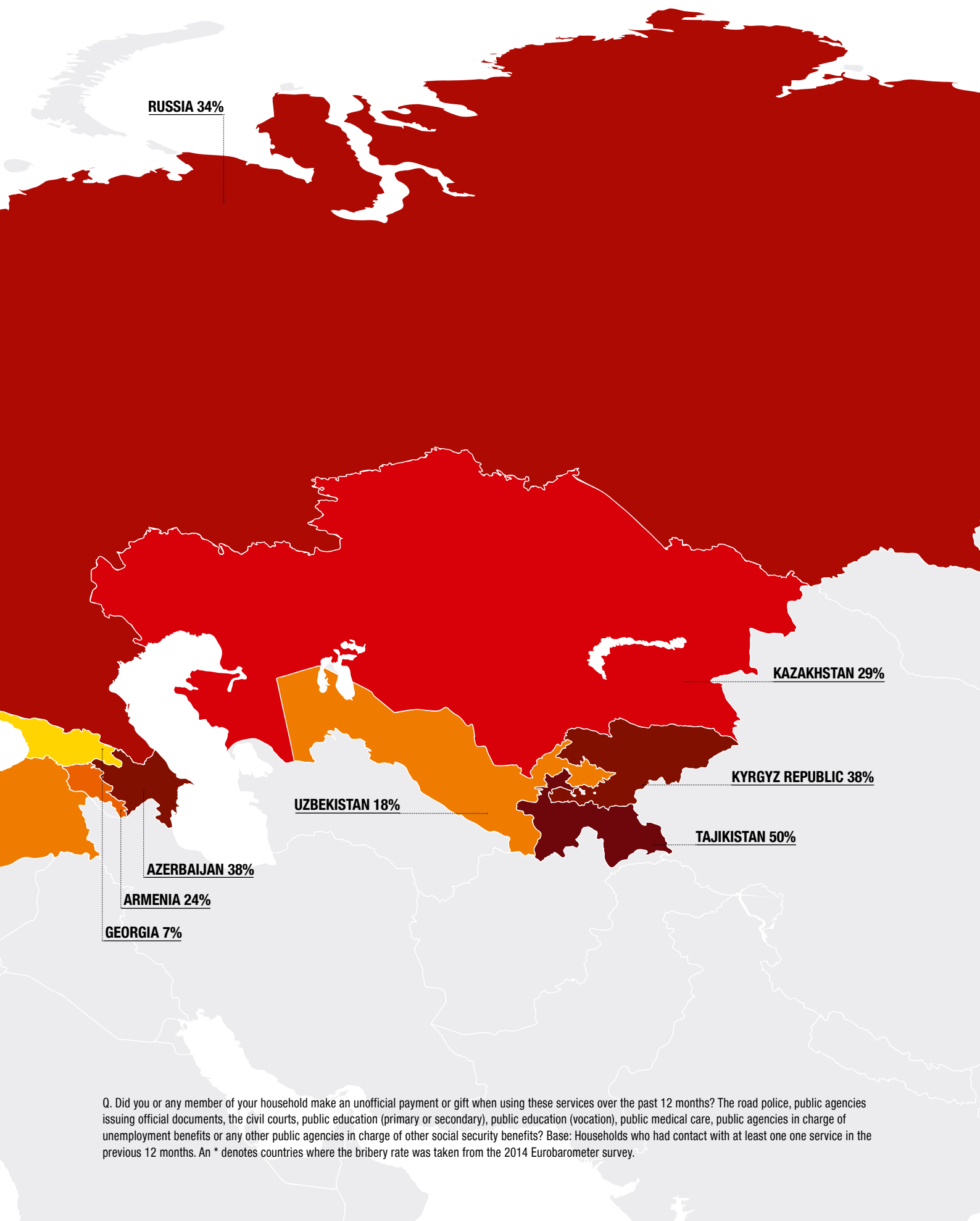


# BRIBERY RATES ACROSS EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA



SCALE:  
% of households who paid a bribe  
when accessing basic services





Q. Did you or any member of your household make an unofficial payment or gift when using these services over the past 12 months? The road police, public agencies issuing official documents, the civil courts, public education (primary or secondary), public education (vocation), public medical care, public agencies in charge of unemployment benefits or any other public agencies in charge of other social security benefits? Base: Households who had contact with at least one one service in the previous 12 months. An \* denotes countries where the bribery rate was taken from the 2014 Eurobarometer survey.

## KEY PUBLIC SERVICES THAT DEMAND BRIBES

After controlling for contact, there are considerable differences in the prevalence of bribery across each of the key public services in the three regions.<sup>xxiii</sup> On average, the CIS has a higher bribery rate than the accession region and the EU for seven public services. The EU has the lowest bribery rate for every service.

In the CIS region, households that come into contact with the police are the most at risk of having to pay a bribe (33 per cent). In the 2013 survey, the police also had the highest bribery rate in the CIS. Bribery in public vocational education and for public health care services is also fairly common, with a quarter of households (24 per cent both) saying that they had paid a bribe to access them.

Of the accession states, the police and the civil courts have the highest bribery risk. Worryingly, just shy of one in five of those who came into contact with them had paid a bribe (19 per cent and 18 per cent respectively), seriously undermining the quality and fairness of these law and order institutions. The police also had the highest bribery rate for this region in the 2013 survey.

Of the EU countries surveyed, public health care services have the highest bribery rate with 10 per cent of households who used these services having paid a bribe. The other services were fairly or very clean with one in 20 or fewer households saying that they had paid a bribe. In the 2013 survey, medical services were also the highest bribery risk in the EU, indicating a need for further attention to address corruption in this vital public service.

**Figure 6: Rates of public service bribery**

Results by region.

	European Union	Accession countries	Commonwealth of Independent States
The road police	•	●	●●
Public agencies issuing official documents	•	•	●
The civil courts	•	●	●
Public education (primary or secondary)	•	•	●
Public education (vocation)	•	•	●●
Public medical care	●	●	●●
Public agencies in charge of unemployment benefits	•	●	●
Public agencies in charge of other social security benefits	•	●	●

Q. Did you or any member of your household make an unofficial payment or gift when using these services over the past 12 months? Base: respondents who had contact with each service in the previous 12 months. Results for the European Union exclude the following countries: the UK, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and France as the data were not collected.

Tajikistan has the highest bribery rate for road police of all the countries surveyed: 64 per cent of households who have come into contact with the road police in the last 12 months paid a bribe. Bribery to the road police is also very common in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (47 and 48 per cent respectively).

Households in Ukraine and Russia are more likely than those from any other country to have paid a bribe for public primary and secondary education: 38 per cent and 29 per cent of households respectively paid a bribe when accessing schooling in the past 12 months.

Bribery is a particular risk for households in Tajikistan and Moldova when needing public medical care, where more than two in five households had paid a bribe when accessing public health services (46 per cent and 42 per cent respectively).

# PEOPLE SPEAKING OUT AGAINST CORRUPTION

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The Global Corruption Barometer explores whether people feel empowered to help fight corruption in their country and what barriers exist to discourage them from speaking out against corruption.

We asked:

- What are the most effective things ordinary people can do?
- Why don't more people report?
- Is it socially acceptable to report corruption?
- Are people empowered to make a difference in the fight against corruption?

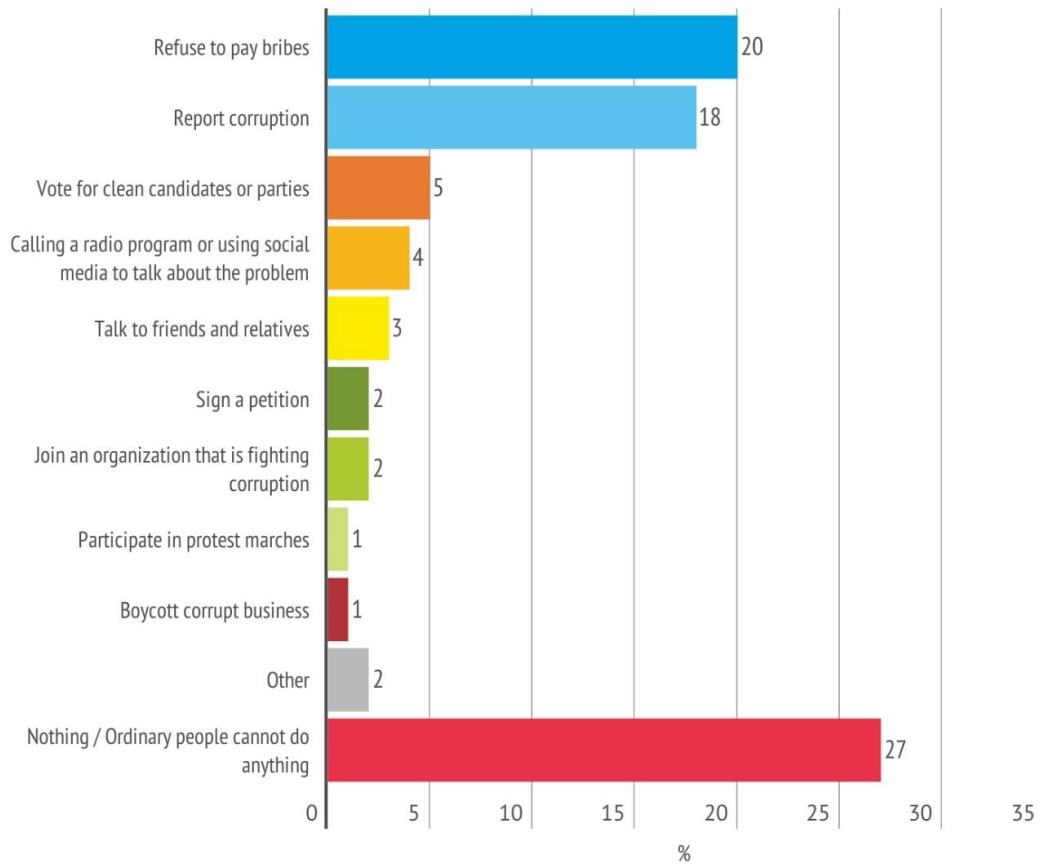
## EFFECTIVE ACTIONS THAT PEOPLE CAN TAKE AGAINST CORRUPTION

Across Europe and Central Asia, around one in five citizens tell us that the most effective actions to help fight corruption are “reporting corruption incidents” and “refusing to pay bribes” (18 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively). All other actions are mentioned by 5 per cent or less of the respondents. Reporting corruption is more likely to be seen as an effective action in the EU+ (24 per cent), while in the CIS people are more likely to think that refusing to pay bribes is more effective (25 per cent).<sup>xxiv</sup>

Despite this, there is a substantial minority who are sceptical of the effectiveness of people's actions against corruption. Just over one quarter (27 per cent) of respondents overall say that there are no effective actions that people can take to fight corruption. Citizens living in the CIS are more likely to feel that their actions would be ineffective (36 per cent), compared with those living in the EU+ and the accession countries (24 per cent and 25 per cent, respectively).



**Figure 7: Perceptions of the most effective actions people can take against corruption**



Q: What is the most effective thing that an ordinary person can do to help combat corruption in this country? Base: all respondents excluding missing responses.

## Ensuring that help goes to those in need: A case from Ukraine

Shortly after the Euromaidan protests Anna Burdyliak and Mykhailo Tytskyi became volunteers for the Ukrainian Red Cross Society (URCS). They were eager to help the thousands of Ukrainian citizens suffering from the economic crisis and fleeing the war in the east. The last thing they expected to encounter was large-scale corruption.

The volunteers were shocked when they saw that people were being asked for payment to receive basic humanitarian aid or to join first aid courses, which should have been provided for free.

The volunteers did not want to remain silent and approached Transparency International Ukraine for help. TI Ukraine's lawyer investigated the allegations, contacted the URCS directly and verified the facts. Law enforcement bodies and the Ministry of Health were alerted and TI Ukraine also went public with the case.

Different entities were audited as a result, and the State Audit Service of Ukraine revealed that the URCS received 252.3 million hryvnias (equivalent to approximately 9.8 million US Dollars<sup>xxv</sup>) of government funds from the Ministry of Healthcare, but URCS did not provide any healthcare services for this. Investigations are still on-going.<sup>xxvi</sup>

## BARRIERS PREVENTING MORE VICTIMS FROM SPEAKING OUT

A key way for citizens to help stop corruption is by stepping forward and speaking out when they see or experience corruption in their lives. Disclosures by whistleblowers and citizens are one of the most effective ways to uncover and address corruption and other malpractice.

Despite a substantial minority of citizens in our survey saying that in theory reporting is the most effective thing that people can do to fight corruption, we find that rarely in practice do people actually report their experiences of bribery. Less than one in five who say they paid a bribe in the last 12 months actually reported it to the authorities (19 per cent).

Reporting rates are particularly low in Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Belarus, where fewer than one in 10 of those who had paid a bribe subsequently reported it. We decided to explore the barriers that prevent more people from coming forward to report corruption so that we could help devise strategies to overcome them.

### Fear is the main reason people don't report

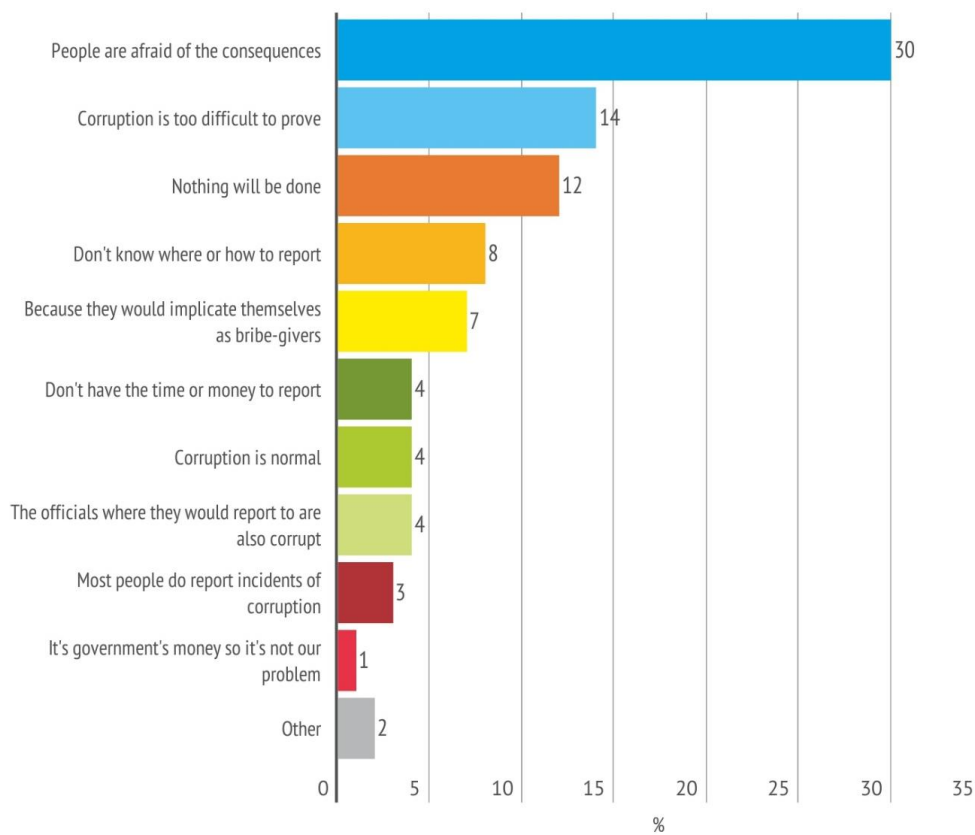
Worryingly, the most common reason people don't report corruption is that they are afraid of the consequences (30 per cent). This demonstrates that fear of retaliation or a negative backlash (such as losing one's job) is a major barrier to more people from coming forward. This is the main reason cited by people in all three regions. In France, Switzerland, Portugal and the Netherlands a half or

more respondents say that they think this is the main reason more people don't report corruption (from 50 to 56 per cent).

The second most common reason is that corruption is difficult to prove (14 per cent). Similar proportions of people in all three regions mention this as the main barrier. A further one in eight think that the main reason people don't report is that nothing would be done or it wouldn't make a difference, suggesting a lack of trust in the effectiveness of reporting channels or that public officials have impunity when they commit corruption offences (12 per cent).

All other reasons are cited by fewer than one in 10 respondents: only 3 per cent of respondents say that they think most incidents of corruption are reported.

**Figure 8: Perceived main reasons people don't report corruption**



Q. Some people say that many incidents of corruption are never reported. Based on your experience, what do you think is the main reason that many people do not report incidents of corruption when they occur? Base: all respondents excluding missing responses.

## Social acceptance

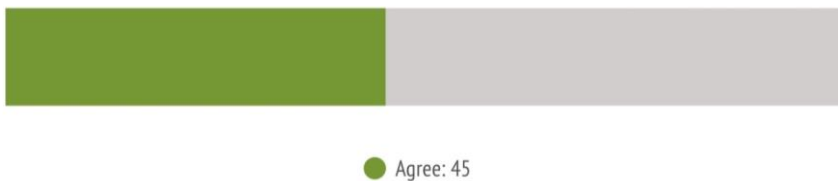
Our research finds that a lack of social acceptance is another barrier to more people reporting corruption. Through the survey, we ask whether people agree that in their society it is generally acceptable for people to report a case of corruption they have witnessed.

Only two in five respondents in each of the three regions agreed with the statement. The EU+ has the highest level of social acceptance with 45 per cent agreeing; this falls to under a third (31 per cent) in the accession countries and to just over a quarter (27 per cent) in the CIS.

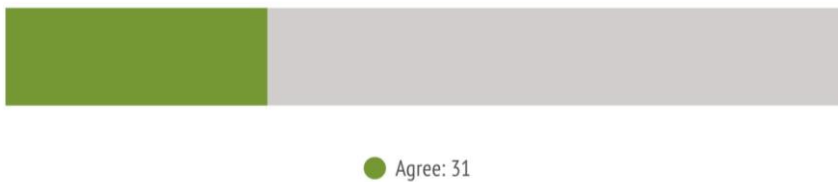
Citizens in France and Portugal are the most likely to think that it is socially acceptable to report a case of corruption (74 per cent and 78 per cent respectively), with around three quarters or more agreeing; while in Montenegro, Belarus, Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Armenia, Russia and Bosnia & Herzegovina people are far less likely to agree (from 10 to 17 per cent).

**Figure 9: Perceptions of the social acceptance of reporting corruption**  
Results by region.

### EU+



### Accession countries



### Commonwealth of Independent States



Q. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: "In our society it is generally acceptable for people to report a case of corruption they witness". Base: all respondents, excluding missing responses. "Strongly agree" and "agree" combined. "Neither", "disagree", "strongly disagree" and "don't know" not shown for ease of comparison.

### Lack of empowerment

With the survey, we ask to what extent respondents feel that ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption in their country. The results show a worrying lack of empowerment

across Europe and Central Asia. In all three regions less than a half of citizens say that they feel they can make a difference.

Citizens in the EU+ are the most likely to say that they are able to act against corruption, yet even there on average less than a half of citizens agree (47 per cent). In the accession countries, this falls to just over two in five people (43 per cent) feeling empowered and to less than a third for people living in the CIS (31 per cent).

The results show that countries where people feel less empowered are generally characterized by higher levels of bribery and lower levels of social acceptance for reporting corruption. This suggests that increased government attention to reduce public sector graft and an improvement of the effectiveness and confidentiality of reporting channels could increase feelings of empowerment and public willingness to engage in anti-corruption activities.

We also find a relationship between a country's state of civil liberties and how empowered its citizens feel at fighting corruption. Freedom House categorises countries and territories as "free", "partly free" or "not free", depending on its political rights and civil liberties rating.<sup>xxvii</sup> In "Free" states on average 45 per cent of citizens say that they feel empowered to fight corruption; in "Partly Free" states this falls to 40 per cent; and in "Not Free" states only 27 per cent feel empowered.

While further analysis is needed to explore the complex relationship between democracy, accountability, human rights and citizen empowerment, our initial findings suggest that the engagement of citizens in anti-corruption activities is unlikely to increase unless there are further improvements in political rights and civil liberties particularly in the authoritarian countries of Europe and Central Asia.

## What happens to whistleblowers?

When Andrea Franzoso was conducting a routine audit of the Italian railway company he was working for, he discovered that embezzlement and fraud went right to the very top – the president was siphoning off thousands of euros in public funds from the company accounts.<sup>xxviii</sup> But when he spoke out about what he had found, rather than being rewarded for his courage, he was shunned by his co-workers and moved from the audit unit to another office. He took his company to court, asking for the restoration of his position, but he lost because there is no whistleblower protection in Italy.

Unfortunately, this is an experience shared by other reporters of corruption. In our survey, of the respondents who had reported bribery to the authorities, nearly two in five say that they experienced some negative consequences as a result and only a third say that the authorities actually took any action against the perpetrator. When the social barriers to reporting are so high and the consequences for whistleblowers so severe, while at the same time there is scant evidence of positive redress in corruption cases, it remains a real challenge to encourage people to come forward and report corruption.

But, Andrea Franzoso's story did not end there. He exposed his findings to Transparency International Italy and to the police, which led to the company's president stepping down and the courts opening a file to look into the case.<sup>xxix</sup>

# IN FOCUS: EU MEMBER STATES

In this section, we focus on the results from the EU member states (not including those from Greenland or Switzerland) to see how countries are performing compared with their neighbours.

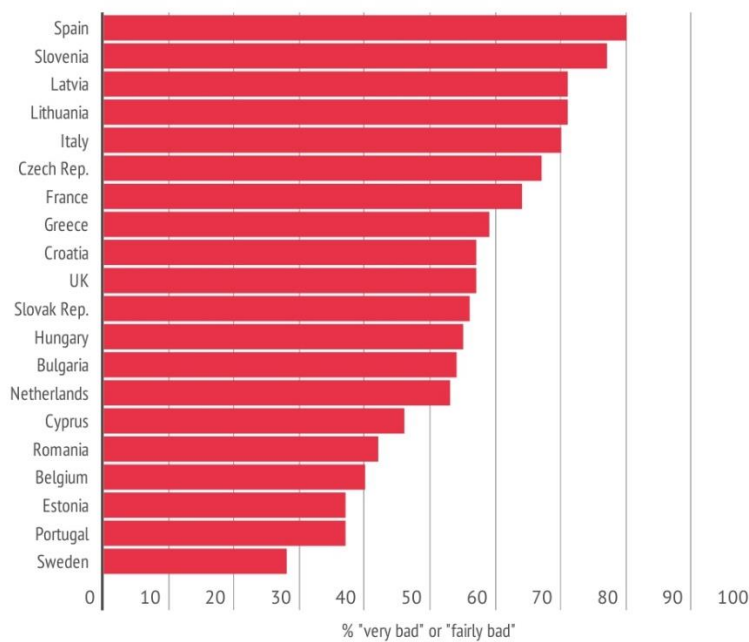
We look at the results from three key questions:

- How well or badly is the government judged at fighting corruption?
- Is it seen as socially acceptable to report a case of corruption?
- What proportions of households paid a bribe in the last 12 months?

## RATINGS OF MEMBER STATES' ANTI-CORRUPTION EFFORTS

**Figure 10: Perceptions government actions to fight corruption**

Results by country.



In 14 of the 20 member states where we have robust data, over a half of citizens rate their government badly at fighting corruption risks in the public sector.

Estonia, Portugal and Sweden are the least likely to give their governments a negative rating on this indicator: fewer than two in five rate their government badly.

Spain, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania and Italy were the most critical countries of all the EU member states. More than seven in ten say that their

government is doing a bad job at fighting corruption in government.

## LOW SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE FOR REPORTING IN THE EU

Ensuring that witnesses and victims come forward to report cases of bribery or corruption is essential to ensuring more public officials are held to account for their actions. However, it appears that in many countries there is a lack of social acceptance for reporting cases of corruption.

In only five of the member states did a substantial majority of respondents say that it is socially acceptable: Portugal, Germany, Italy, the UK, Sweden and France (from 63 to 74 per cent).

There is a large difference in results between EU members who joined before 2004 and those who joined in 2004 or later. In the older member states, 58 per cent of citizens feel it is socially acceptable, but this falls to just 31 per cent among the newer members.

In Lithuania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Hungary, only around 15 per cent of citizens think it is acceptable to report corruption.

## BRIBERY

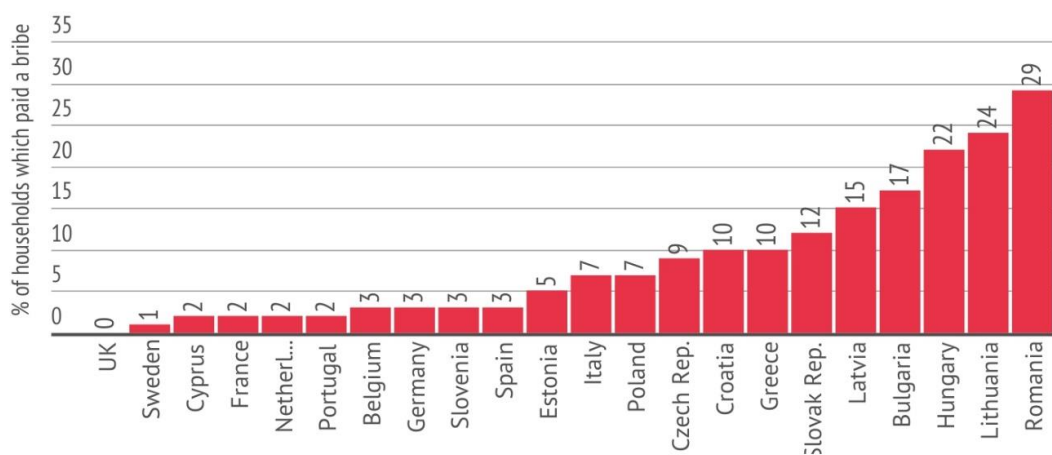
Most EU member states in the survey have very low bribery rates of one in 20 or fewer households paying a bribe in the past 12 months.

However, there are still a number of member states – notably Hungary, Lithuania and Romania (all of which are new member states) – that have not yet successfully rid their public services of petty corruption, with a substantial number of households reporting that they have paid a bribe (from 22 to 29 per cent).

Since the 2013 survey, Romania's bribery rate has increased and it has overtaken Lithuania to achieve the highest bribery rate of the member states surveyed. Lithuania's bribery rate has hardly changed.

**Figure 11: Rates of bribery**

Results by country.



# CONCLUSION

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This edition of the Global Corruption Barometer focuses on the results from Europe and Central Asia derived from surveys with nearly 60,000 citizens in 42 countries. Our scorecard on the following page summarises the anti-corruption performance of these countries as judged by their own citizens. It is based on the responses to the survey on the key indicators of (1) the perceived importance of the corruption problem, (2) the perceived performance of governments in addressing corruption, (3) the perceived levels of corruption among members of parliament, (4) the prevalence of bribery and (5) the perceived acceptance of reporting.

The scorecard clearly demonstrates the extent of the problem. Across Europe and Central Asia, mediocre or poor ratings dominate: over a half of ratings are poor, just over a quarter are mediocre and fewer than one in five are positive. The poorest rated area of the scorecard is the anti-corruption performance of governments, where only one country – Switzerland – achieves a positive score and only seven receive a mediocre rating.

Overall, according to the views of their citizens **Germany** and **Sweden** do the best, with the largest number of positive ratings across the key corruption questions in the survey. **Switzerland** and **the Netherlands** follow with positive or mediocre ratings across the key questions in the survey. In these countries, not many people think that corruption is one of the biggest problems facing their country and members of parliament are perceived to be fairly clean. In Switzerland and the Netherlands the mediocre rating of citizens on how socially acceptable it is to report suggests an area for improvement.

At the other end of the scale, **Armenia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Serbia** and **Ukraine** are the worst performing countries in Europe and Central Asia, according to their own citizens. They received bad ratings across all the key corruption questions, suggesting real and serious corruption challenges in these countries, which urgently need to be addressed. These countries are marked by high perceptions of corruption among members of parliament, high bribery rates and a negative social environment for engaging in anti-corruption actions.

The results from other countries show a mixed picture of positive, mediocre and negative ratings – which in part reflect the varied nature of the corruption challenges across the region. In some of these countries, like **Azerbaijan**, the bribery rate is very high, but only around a third of people think that corruption is one of the biggest problems for the government to focus on. Other countries such as **Spain** have very low bribery rates, but two thirds think that it is one of Spain's biggest problems.

There are a number of barriers to engaging more citizens in anti-corruption. Many people are afraid of the negative consequences of blowing the whistle on graft; and indeed, this seems justified, as a substantial proportion of people report suffering as a consequence of reporting corruption. High bribery rates, lack of social acceptance for reporting and an absence of political and civil rights all contribute to a lack of willingness to engage in anti-corruption activities.

New lobbying rules, whistleblower protection and actions to address public sector graft are hugely important, but real change will not happen until there is a clear commitment from all levels of government, the private sector and civil society working together to address corruption.

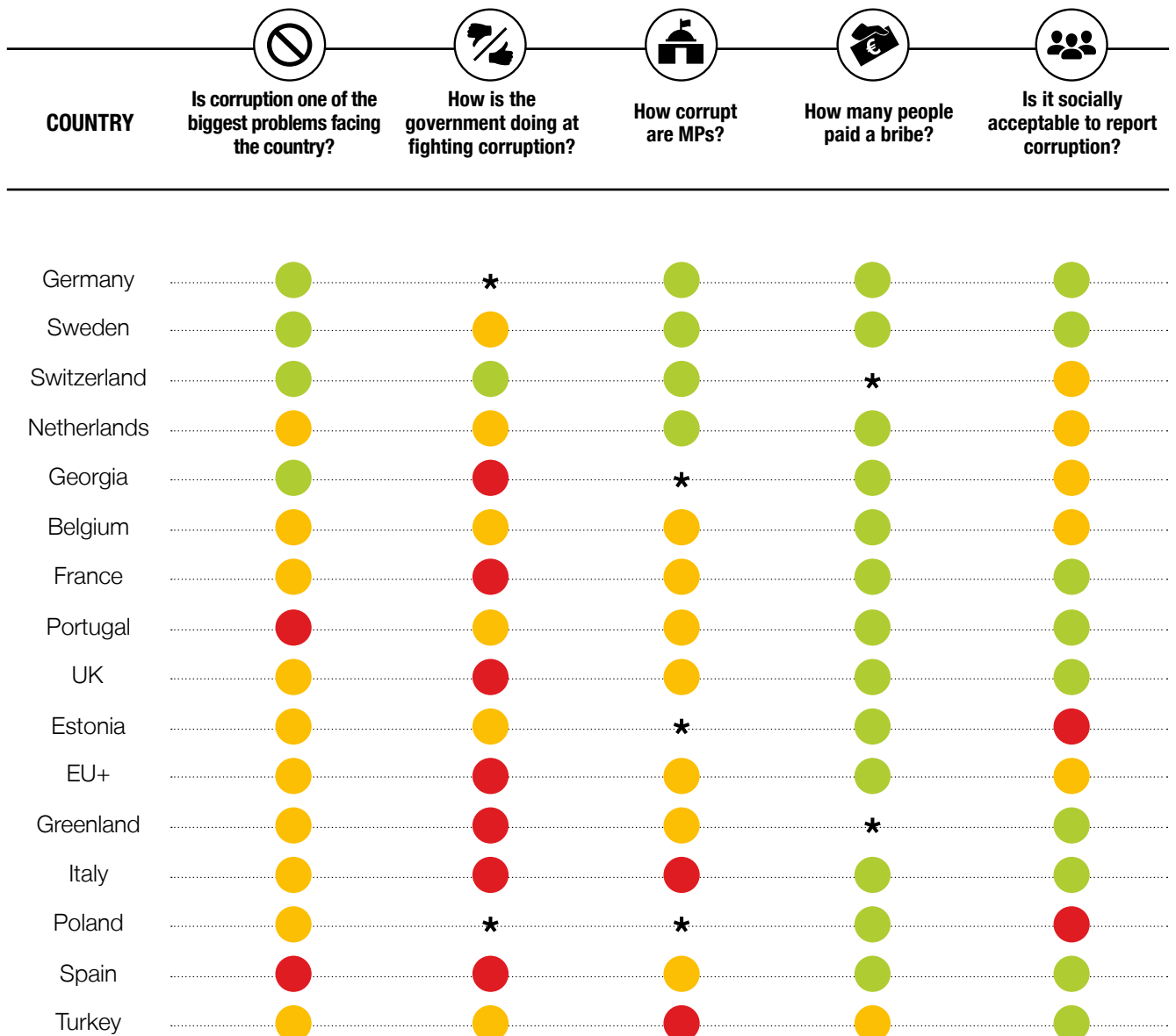


# OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION – A CITIZEN SCORECARD

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.

\* is used where there was high levels of don't know responses or when the question was not asked in that country.



COUNTRY

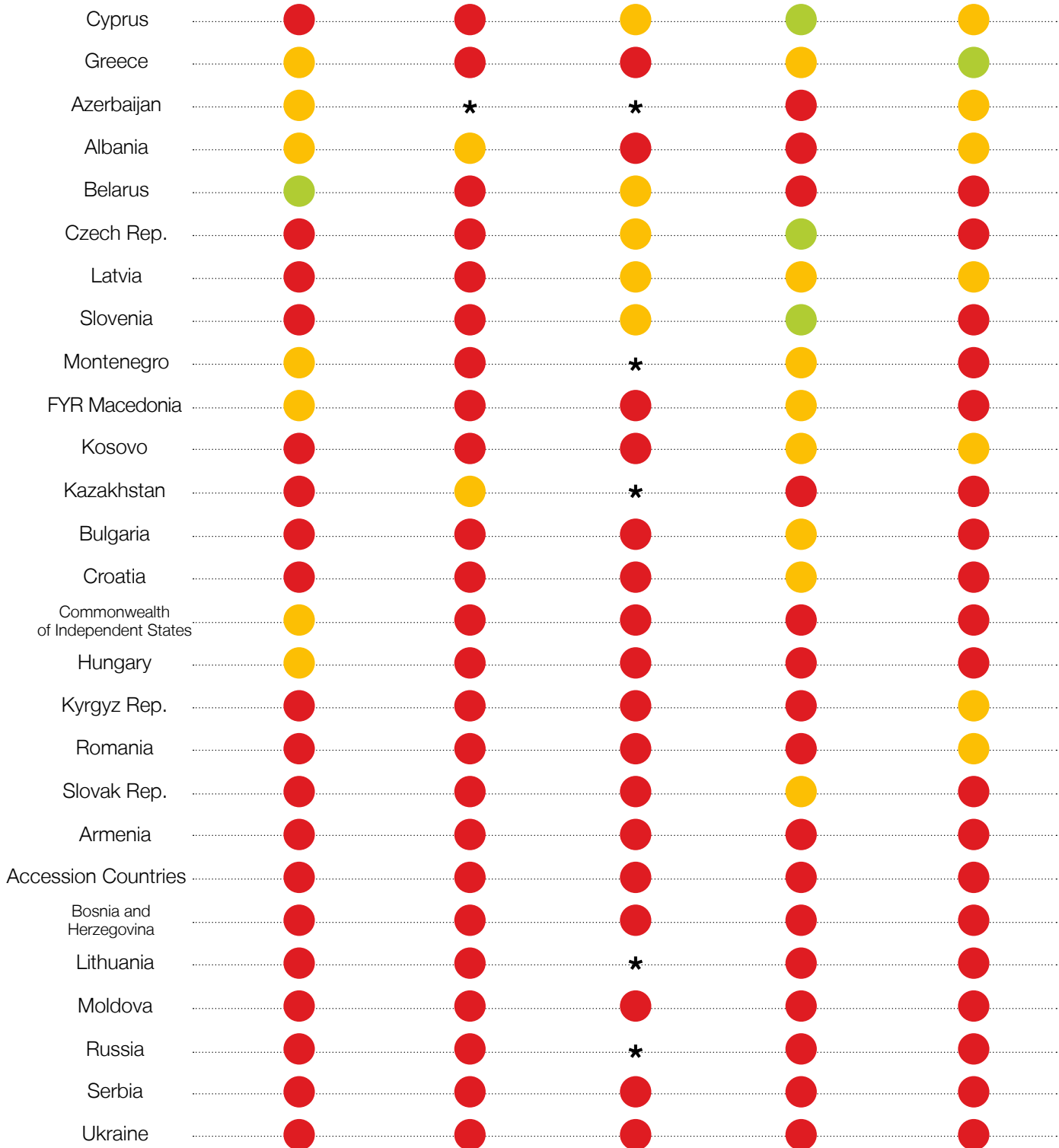
Is corruption one of the biggest problems facing the country?

How is the government doing at fighting corruption?

How corrupt are MPs?

How many people paid a bribe?

Is it socially acceptable to report corruption?



# METHODOLOGY NOTE

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Two research companies organised the implementation of the Global Corruption Barometer 2016 question module in the Europe and Central Asia region. TNS Opinion (from September 2016 trading as Kantar Public Brussels) collected data for the module using face to face interviews. Effience3 was responsible for the interviews conducted over the telephone.

TNS Opinion collected the data using face to face household interviews with Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). A random probability stratified clustered sample was designed in each project country. The sample was stratified by regions and by level of urbanisation. Households were selected at random, either with prior enumeration using random walk, or using existing registers. The respondent was selected at random from all adults in the household.

Effience3 organised the implementation of the survey using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (CATI). Random digital dialling was used to randomly select households and respondents were selected at random from all adults in the household. Both landline telephones and mobile phones were selected for interviewing. Samples were stratified across all regions in the country according to population size.

## MODE EFFECTS

The report presents the results obtained using two different modes of data collection and may be prone to mode effects, in terms of sampling, the selection of respondents and the propensity to respond using different modes of data collection.

The questions highlighted in the report were asked as part of a longer interview on related topics in the face to face data collection.

## WEIGHTING

The survey samples were selected and weighted to be nationally representative of all adults aged 18 and above living in each country/territory. The results have margins of sampling error of a maximum  $\pm 2.6$  percentage points (for a sample of 1,500) and  $\pm 3.1$  percentage points (for a sample of 1,000) for dichotomous questions (for example, yes or no) at a 95 per cent confidence level.

In addition an extra weight is applied so that the sample sizes for each country/territory are equal. The overall results for Europe and Central Asia and for the three regions are equivalent to an average of the countries surveyed.

## EU+

Place	Organisation	Methodology	Fieldwork start date	Fieldwork end date	Sample size
Belgium	Efficienc3	CATI	04/01/2016	15/03/2016	1006
Bulgaria	TNS	Face to face	11/12/2015	01/02/2016	1500
Croatia	TNS	Face to face	31/12/2015	21/02/2016	1503
Cyprus	TNS	Face to face	05/12/2015	14/02/2016	1500
Czech Rep.	TNS	Face to face	11/01/2016	05/05/2016	1532
Estonia	TNS	Face to face	19/12/2016	15/02/2016	1503
France	Efficienc3	CATI	11/12/2015	29/12/2015	1003
Germany	TNS	Face to face	06/01/2016	23/02/2016	1500
Greece	TNS	Face to face	18/11/2015	18/02/2016	1503
Greenland	Efficienc3	CATI	08/01/2016	17/02/2016	510
Hungary	TNS	Face to face	01/02/2016	08/05/2016	1501
Italy	TNS	Face to face	13/01/2016	01/03/2016	1501
Latvia	TNS	Face to face	19/12/2015	14/03/2016	1500
Lithuania	TNS	Face to face	04/12/2015	29/01/2016	1501
Netherlands	Efficienc3	CATI	06/01/2016	19/02/2016	1000
Poland	TNS	Face to face	11/01/2016	27/02/2016	1500
Portugal	Efficienc3	CATI	18/12 /2015 p	26/01/2016	1008
Romania	TNS	Face to face	02/02/2016	01/04/2016	1512
Slovak Rep.	TNS	Face to face	06/12/2015	01/05/2016	1544
Slovenia	TNS	Face to face	09/12/2015	23/05/2016	1501
Spain	Efficienc3	CATI	15/12/2015	22/12/2015	1000
Sweden	Efficienc3	CATI	16/12/2015 p	27/01/2016	1000
Switzerland	Efficienc3	CATI	04/01/2016	19/01/2016	1000
United Kingdom	Efficienc3	CATI	15/122015 p	28/01/2016	1004

## Accession countries

Place	Organisation	Methodology	Fieldwork start date	Fieldwork end date	Sample size
Albania	TNS	Face to face	30/01/2016	02/03/2016	1500
Bosnia & Herzegovina	TNS	Face to face	16/12/2016	10/02/2016	1499
FYR Macedonia	TNS	Face to face	06/12/2015	01/03/2016	1500
Kosovo	TNS	Face to face	12/12/2015	02/03/2016	1500

Montenegro	TNS	Face to face	28/11/2015	07/03/2016	1503
Serbia	TNS	Face to face	26/11/2015	25/02/2016	1508
Turkey	TNS	Face to face	09/01/2016	27/02/2016	1500

## The Commonwealth of Independent States

Place	Organisation	Methodology	Fieldwork start date	Fieldwork end date	Sample size
Armenia	TNS	Face to face	28/12/2015	02/05/2016	1527
Azerbaijan	TNS	Face to face	15/04/2016	08/06/2016	1510
Belarus	TNS	Face to face	02/04/2016	22/05/2016	1504
Georgia	TNS	Face to face	20/02/2016	30/05/2016	1508
Kazakhstan	TNS	Face to face	01/03/2016	19/05/2016	1505
Kyrgyz Rep.	TNS	Face to face	01/04/2016	23/05/2016	1500
Moldova	TNS	Face to face	13/03/2015	26/05/2016	1512
Russia	TNS	Face to face	21/01/2016	21/04/2016	1507
Tajikistan	TNS	Face to face	16/01/2016	15/02/2016	1510
Ukraine	TNS	Face to face	24/02/2016	26/05/2016	1507
Uzbekistan	TNS	Face to face	02/07/2016	20/07/2016	1506

P denotes a start date from the initial pilot tests.

## CITIZENS' CORRUPTION SCORECARD RATINGS

### 1. Three biggest problems

The scores are based on the percentage of respondents who said that "corruption/bribery" was one of the three biggest problems that government should address.

- Green: fewer than 15 per cent.
- Amber: from 15 per cent up to 35 per cent.
- Red: 35 per cent or more.

### 2. 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. The results were rebased to exclude don't know responses.

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

### 3. How corrupt members of parliament are perceived to be

Each score is based on a simple average of the percentage of the population who say that “most” or “all” members of parliament are corrupt. The results were rebased to exclude don’t know responses.

- Green: fewer than 20 per cent.
- Amber: from 20 per cent up to 40 per cent.
- Red: 40 per cent or more.

### 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 eight public services mentioned in the 12 months prior to the survey: public medical care; public schools (either vocational, or primary and secondary); official documents; unemployment benefits; other social security benefits; the police; or 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 20 per cent paid a bribe.
- Red: 20 per cent or more paid a bribe.

### 5. Social acceptance

The results are based on the percentage of people who either “strongly agree” or “agree” with the statement “*In our society it is generally acceptable for people to report a case of corruption they witness*”. The results were rebased to exclude don’t know responses.

- 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”.

# NOTES

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- <sup>i</sup> C. Ziller and T. Schübel, “‘The pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’? Political corruption, political trust and the success of radical right parties in Europe”, *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*, 25(3), 2016: 368–386.
- <sup>ii</sup> Jones, S. “Spanish politicians in court over corruption case billed as trial of the year”, *Guardian*, 4 October 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/oct/04/spanish-politicians-court-corruption-case-trial-year>
- <sup>iii</sup> Rankin, J., “EU petition on Barroso’s Goldman Sachs job signed by more than 150,000”, *Guardian*, 11 October 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2016/oct/11/eu-petition-on-barroso-goldman-sachs-job-signed-by-150000>
- <sup>iv</sup> For this regional edition of the survey, we spoke to 58,238 people living in 42 countries and territories across Europe and Central Asia. The survey was conducted either face to face or by telephone, with nationally representative samples in each country. The fieldwork took place between December 2015 and July 2016. Please see the Methodology section on page 32 for a full explanation.
- <sup>v</sup> The term citizen is used in our report for ease of reporting to refer to the respondents surveyed.
- <sup>vi</sup> In this report, we use EU countries to include only European Union member states. In some sections of the report, Greenland and Switzerland are analysed collectively with EU member states. When this is the case we use the abbreviation EU+.
- <sup>vii</sup> The bribery questions were not asked in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK due to funding constraints. The EU average uses the results taken from the 2014 Eurobarometer survey for these countries. The bribery questions were also not asked in Switzerland or Greenland, but unfortunately no comparable data source could be found so bribery results for these two areas are not included in this report.
- <sup>viii</sup> Transparency International, *Lobbying in Europe: Hidden Influence, Privileged Access* (Berlin: Transparency International, 2015). [https://issuu.com/transparencyinternational/docs/2015\\_lobbyingineurope\\_en?e=2496456/12316229](https://issuu.com/transparencyinternational/docs/2015_lobbyingineurope_en?e=2496456/12316229)
- <sup>ix</sup> Transparency International, *Whistleblowing in Europe: Legal Protections for Whistleblowers in the EU* (Berlin: Transparency International, 2013). [http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/whistleblowing\\_in\\_europe\\_legal\\_protections\\_for\\_whistleblowers\\_in\\_the\\_eu](http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/whistleblowing_in_europe_legal_protections_for_whistleblowers_in_the_eu)
- <sup>x</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xi</sup> Transparency International, *Global Corruption Barometer 2013* (Berlin: Transparency International, 2013). The three groups with the highest perceived levels of corruption in Europe and Central Asia in the 2013 survey were “political parties”, “the parliament” and “public officials”. <http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/report>
- <sup>xii</sup> This question was not asked in Uzbekistan. The results from Tajikistan are not included in this average due to on-going assessment of the data. The results from Tajikistan are not included in this average due to on-going assessment of the data.
- <sup>xiii</sup> This question was not asked in Uzbekistan.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Due to the high level of “don’t know” responses, of more than 40 per cent, the results for Georgia, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Montenegro, Kazakhstan, Lithuania and Russia are not shown.
- <sup>xv</sup> Due to the high level of “don’t know” responses, of more than 40 per cent, the results for Azerbaijan, Germany and Poland are not shown. The results from Tajikistan are not included in this chart or in any analysis of this question, due to an on-going assessment of the data.
- <sup>xvi</sup> This question was not asked in Uzbekistan.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Transparency International, 2015.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xix</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>xx</sup> The bribery module was not asked in the following countries: France, the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Greenland and Belgium due to funding constraints. For France, the UK, the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium the bribery rate used in this report is taken from the 2014 Eurobarometer survey results.
- <sup>xxi</sup> The overall contact rate for the three regions is 77 per cent in the EU, 65 per cent in the accession countries and 63 per cent in the CIS.
- <sup>xxii</sup> The average for the EU includes a bribery rate for the UK (0 per cent), France (2 per cent), the Netherlands (2 per cent), Sweden (1 per cent) and Belgium (3 per cent) using the 2014 Eurobarometer survey.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> The overall contact rates for each service were: road police 19 per cent, official documents 22 per cent, civil courts 4 per cent, primary or secondary education 17 per cent, vocational education 9 per cent, medical treatment 57 per cent, unemployment benefits 6 per cent, other social benefits 8 per cent.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> This question was not asked in Uzbekistan.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Currency conversion as per November 2017
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Transparency International Ukraine. <http://ti-ukraine.org/en/news/oficial/6363.html>
- <sup>xxvii</sup> See: <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2016/methodology>
- <sup>xxviii</sup> See: <http://blog.transparency.org/2016/05/06/lets-celebrate-whistleblowers-a-case-from-italy/>
- <sup>xxix</sup> See: <http://blog.transparency.org/2016/05/06/lets-celebrate-whistleblowers-a-case-from-italy/>

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