

**GLOBAL CORRUPTION BAROMETER  
MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA 2019**

# **CITIZENS' VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION**



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.

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Authors: Roberto Martinez B. Kukutschka, Jon Vrushi  
Contributors: Dr. Caryn Pfeiffer  
Designer: Sophie Everett | [sophieeverett.com.au](http://sophieeverett.com.au)  
Cover image: Rana Zaher | [ranazillustration.com](http://ranazillustration.com)

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# GLOBAL CORRUPTION BAROMETER MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA 2019

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In recent months, millions of people across North Africa and the Middle East have taken to the streets in protest against their governments. There are strong parallels with the Arab revolutions that a decade ago toppled some of the most repressive and corrupt regimes in the region. Whether Tunisia in 2010 or Lebanon and Sudan in 2019, people have been voicing their anger at the corruption they see and experience in their daily lives: from the highest levels of government to accessing basic public services.



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It is nine years since the tragic death of Mohamed Bouazizi, the Tunisian street vendor who set himself on fire to protest police corruption and inspired the Arab Spring. Yet the most recent wave of protests has been caused by many of the same issues that brought down governments in 2010. The *Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) – Middle East and North Africa* reveals that little has changed.

In fact, across the region, the GCB shows that most citizens think corruption is increasing and that their governments are not doing enough to tackle the problem. In addition, the police is still the institution most likely to take bribes.

Even in countries where bribery is low, like Jordan and Palestine, our research shows that the use of personal connections, or what is known in Arabic as “wasta”, is a common

way to access public services or undue privileges.

In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, the results indicate a significant lack of political integrity among government leaders. In addition, some disturbing findings emerged about corruption and women.

Corruption around elections is prevalent, with people offered bribes in exchange for votes in national, regional or local elections. Furthermore, in these countries, an alarming number of citizens are coerced to provide sexual favours in exchange for public services, such as health and education, in a practice known as sexual extortion or “sextortion”.

Despite these challenges, people across the region are hopeful. Fifty per cent think that ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption.

## The survey

The 10th edition of the *Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) – Middle East and North Africa*, published by Transparency International, presents a comprehensive set of public opinion data on citizens' views on corruption and direct experiences of bribery in six countries across the region.

It is based on fieldwork conducted between March and August 2018 in North Africa and between August and October 2019 in the Middle East. More than 6,600 citizens were

surveyed in Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Sudan and Tunisia.

The GCB found that one in five people who accessed public services, such as health care and education, paid a bribe in the preceding year. This equates to more than 11 million citizens in the six countries surveyed.

For the first time, the GCB also reveals that in three of the countries surveyed, one in five citizens experiences sexual extortion, or sextortion, or knows someone who has.

Citizens in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine also experience vote-buying, threats of retaliation if they do not vote a certain way and the spread of fake news.

## ABOUT THE SURVEY



**CONDUCTED FROM**  
**MARCH - AUGUST 2018**  
**(NORTH AFRICA)**  
**AUGUST - OCTOBER 2019**  
**(MIDDLE EAST)**



**6**  
**COUNTRIES**  
**SURVEYED**



**6,600+**  
**PEOPLE AGED**  
**18+ TOOK PART**



**NAMA STRATEGIC**  
**INTELLIGENCE SOLUTIONS,**  
**STATISTICS LEBANON,**  
**QIYAS CENTER**  
**FOR POLLING AND**  
**AFROBAROMETER**  
**FIELDING THE**  
**SURVEY**



**NATIONALLY**  
**REPRESENTATIVE**  
**AND CONDUCTED FACE-TO-FACE**

## KEY FINDINGS

### 01

#### Corruption is on the rise

More than half (65 per cent) of all citizens think that corruption increased in the previous 12 months. Only 12 per cent think it declined.

### 02

#### Governments are not doing enough

Only 28 per cent of citizens think their government is doing a good job at fighting corruption, while 66 per cent think their government is performing badly.

### 03

#### Parliamentarians and government officials are seen as the most corrupt

Forty-four per cent of people think most or all parliamentarians and government officials are corrupt.

### 04

#### Bribery is a regular occurrence for many

One in five citizens who accessed public services, such as health care and education, paid a bribe in the previous year. In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, more than a third used their personal connections, *wasta*, to get the services they needed.

### 05

#### Sextortion is a major issue

In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, one in five citizens experiences sexual extortion, or sextortion, when accessing a government service, or knows someone who has.

### 06

#### Political integrity is lacking, especially around elections

In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, nearly one in three citizens is offered bribes in exchange for votes.

### 07

#### Despite fears of retaliation, citizens can make a difference

One in two citizens believes that ordinary people can help stop corruption.

## Recommendations

To win citizens' trust, governments must show serious and genuine political will to fight corruption,

build transparent and accountable institutions, prosecute wrongdoing and allow for citizen engagement and participation. Governments should:

### 1. STRENGTHEN ELECTORAL INTEGRITY TO ALLOW FOR FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS

Governments must ensure elections are held periodically in a competitive, fair and transparent environment. Governments should enforce sanctions against vote-buying and threats to voters so that citizens can exercise their democratic right without coercion and fear.

### 4. STRENGTHEN JUDICIAL INDEPENDENCE AND PROMOTE SEPARATION OF POWERS

State institutions must ensure the separation of powers and a democratic system of checks and balances. A strong and independent judiciary and robust oversight over the executive branch are essential.

### 2. EMPOWER WHISTLEBLOWERS, CIVIL SOCIETY AND MEDIA

Governments should engage civil society and protect activists, whistleblowers and journalists in monitoring and exposing corruption. The current crackdown on political dissent, free speech and press must end.

### 5. RECOGNISE AND ADDRESS SPECIFIC GENDERED FORMS OF CORRUPTION

Governments must recognise sextortion as a form of corruption and adopt gender-inclusive anti-corruption laws and accountability measures. In addition, governments should create safe, confidential and gender-sensitive reporting mechanisms, and ensure that justice systems have the right tools to help those affected to speak out and seek redress.

### 3. REDUCE AND PREVENT WASTA

Governments must enforce a system that eliminates and criminalises wastā to ensure equal access to services. Governments should take preventative measures and raise awareness about wastā as a form of corruption to combat current social norms.

### 6. IMPROVE TRANSPARENCY AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION

Governments must establish, enforce and effectively implement access to information laws. Following open data standards, they must proactively publish information on budgets, officials' assets and how to use government services. By making information public, governments can help tackle fake news and support fact-based journalism.

### 7. IMPLEMENT LAWS AND COMMITMENTS

Governments must deliver and publicly report on their anti-corruption commitments, including the UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). Governments must also adopt and implement frameworks that comply with international standards for independent anti-corruption agencies, whistleblower protection and conflict of interest, among others.

photo: iStock.com / mariusz\_prusaczyk

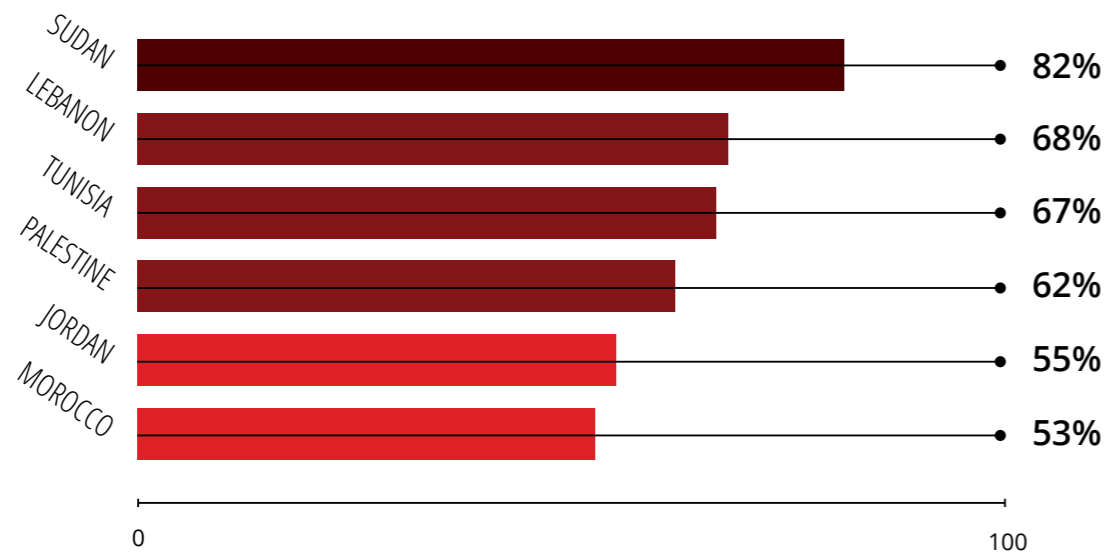


# WHAT DO CITIZENS THINK ABOUT CORRUPTION?

We asked people what they thought about the state of corruption in their country: how prevalent it is, whether it is rising or declining and whether their government is doing enough to control it. Here's what we found.

## CORRUPTION ON THE RISE, BY COUNTRY

Percentage of people who think corruption increased in the previous 12 months<sup>1</sup>



### Corruption on the rise

A majority of citizens across the surveyed countries think corruption increased in their country in the previous 12 months (65 per cent), while far fewer think it decreased (16 per cent).

In Sudan, an overwhelming number of citizens (82 per cent) think corruption increased, which is the highest in the region, followed by Lebanon (68 per cent) and Tunisia (67 per cent). While we have seen corrupt politicians and officials lose their positions and be convicted, the systems that enable corruption remain unchanged.

Unfortunately, there is no country in which a majority of citizens think that corruption is decreasing.

65% 

OF PEOPLE THINK CORRUPTION INCREASED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS

12% 

THINK CORRUPTION DECREASED

19% 

THINK CORRUPTION STAYED THE SAME

### Country in focus: Sudan

In Sudan, the GCB survey was conducted before April 2019, when President Omar al-Bashir was overthrown by the military. Corruption charges were since brought against al-Bashir after US\$113 million was allegedly found in his residence<sup>2</sup> after he was ousted.

The newly formed Sovereignty Council of Sudan, which is leading the transitional government, was mandated to fight corruption and bring justice to those affected by human rights violations and corruption. In October 2019, the council appointed the country's first woman chief justice to lead Sudan's judiciary body, which is also a first in the history of the Arab world.

As Sudan embarks on a three-year transition to establish democratic institutions, the council should work on a comprehensive anti-corruption framework and develop preventative measures in compliance with the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC).

### Governments not doing enough

We also asked people how they rate their government's efforts at tackling corruption.

The results show clear dissatisfaction with actions taken so far. A majority of citizens (66

per cent) think their government is doing a poor job at addressing corruption risks. However, in some countries, dissatisfaction is far more prevalent.

Eighty-seven per cent of citizens in Lebanon think their government is failing to fight

corruption, followed by Sudan (80 per cent), Morocco (74 per cent), Tunisia (64 per cent) and Palestine (51 per cent).

In contrast, 55 per cent of citizens in Jordan think their government is doing well.

66%

THINK THEIR GOVERNMENT IS DOING A BAD JOB AT TACKLING CORRUPTION

28%

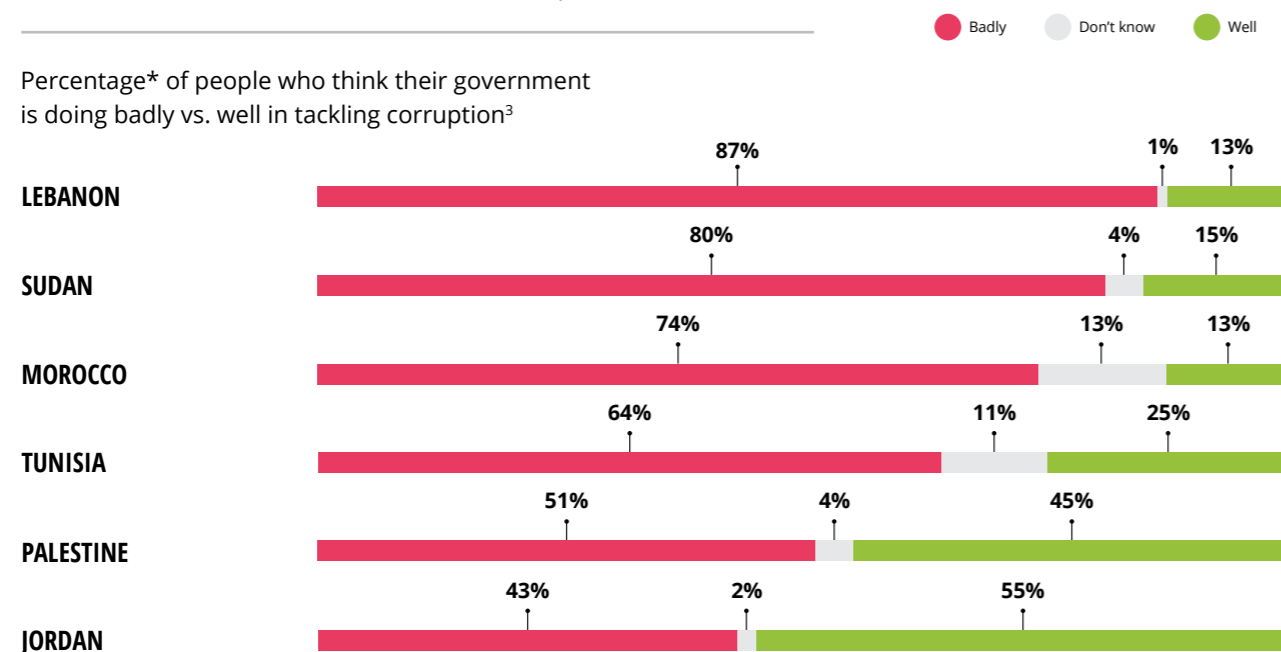
THINK THEIR GOVERNMENT IS DOING WELL



photo: iStock.com / Karim Mostafa

## GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE, BY COUNTRY

Percentage\* of people who think their government is doing badly vs. well in tackling corruption<sup>3</sup>



\*Percentages adding to 99% or 101% are due to rounding

### Country in focus: Jordan

As 86 per cent of Jordanians think corruption is a big problem, the country faces several challenges. Despite significant changes and amendments to Jordan's constitution, laws and procedures following the Arab Spring in 2011, obstacles still exist that prevent further progress.

Over the past two years, the government has amended anti-corruption laws to strengthen the country's anti-corruption commission<sup>4</sup>, increase oversight to reduce illicit gains<sup>5</sup> and regulate public procurement.<sup>6</sup> However, abuse of a cybercrimes law<sup>7</sup> is restricting freedom of expression and the ability of civil society organisations, media and citizens to promote social accountability. Weak access to information laws are also limiting their efforts to report on and speak out against corruption.

The use of personal connections, or what is known in Arabic as "wasta", is a significant corruption challenge in Jordan. While the GCB results show low overall bribery rates across the country (4 per cent), wasta rates are much higher (25 per cent). This is particularly concerning in hospitals, where only 1 per cent of Jordanians report paying bribes for health care services, but 20 per cent report using wasta to receive the medical treatment they need.

Government and civil society must do more to raise awareness about wasta as a form of corruption, as well as other types of corruption, and strengthen the mechanisms to fight it. Despite wide social acceptance in Jordan, wasta poses a significant challenge to basic human rights and the rule of law by denying essential public services to those who do not have the right connections. The government must identify proper mechanisms to detect wasta and create enforcement tools to deter its use.

### Parliamentarians and government officials most corrupt

We asked people how much corruption they thought there is in various institutions in their country. Forty-four per

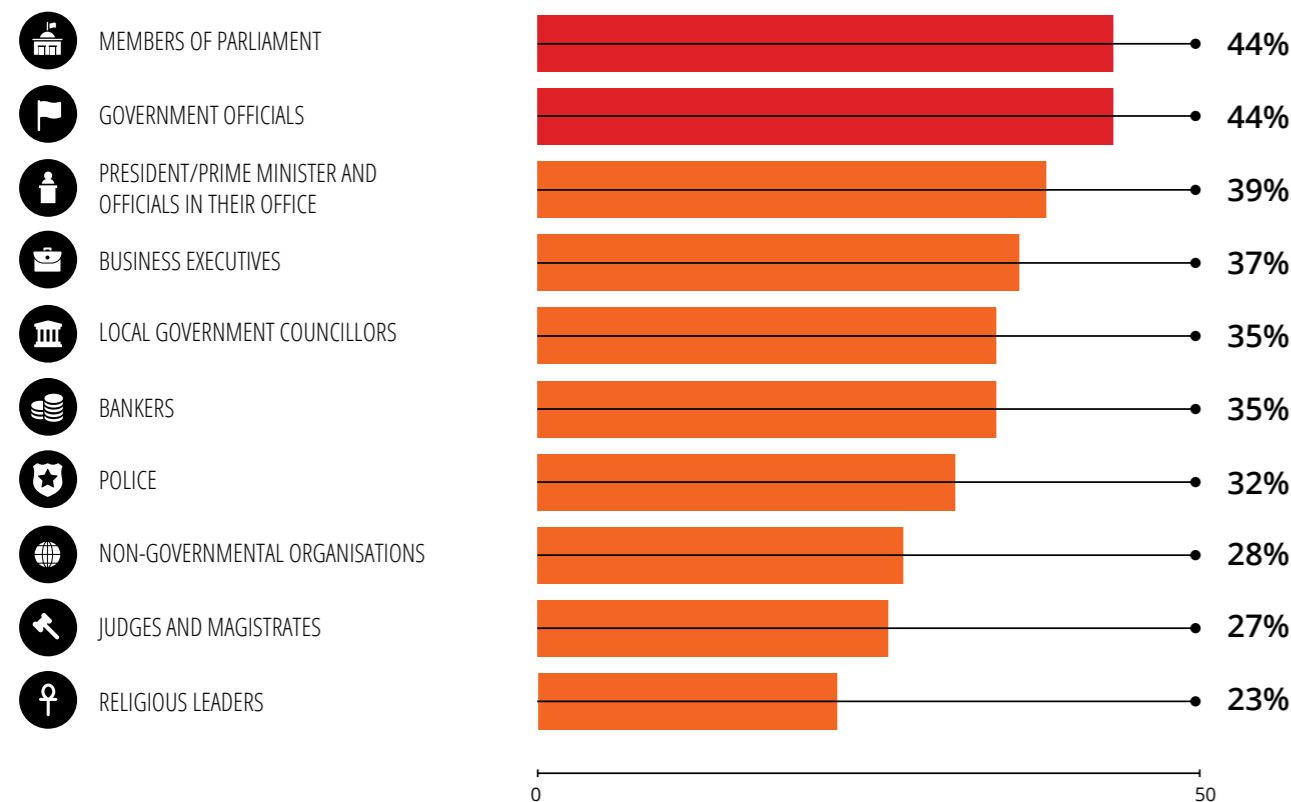
cent of citizens think that most or all members of parliament and government officials are involved in corruption.

In Palestine, nearly one in two citizens thinks that most or all members of parliament

are involved in corruption. In Lebanon, the majority of citizens (68 per cent) think that most or all government officials are involved in corruption.

## CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION

Percentage of people who think that most or all people in these groups or institutions are involved in corruption<sup>8,9</sup>



### Low satisfaction with democracy levels

When asked about their satisfaction with the level of democracy in their country, 52 per cent of citizens said that they are not satisfied.<sup>10</sup> In Lebanon, 65 per cent of

respondents are not satisfied with how well their democracy works, followed by Sudan (60 per cent), Palestine (56 per cent) and Tunisia (51 per cent).

Although 47 per cent of Moroccans are not satisfied with the level of democracy

in their country, a further 39 per cent are satisfied. Jordan is the only country where a substantial majority of citizens (65 per cent) are satisfied with how well democracy works in their country.

52%

## ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH HOW DEMOCRACY WORKS IN THEIR COUNTRY

### Country in focus: Morocco

In Morocco, lack of political will, low accountability and poor governance allow systemic corruption to thrive. Earlier this year, citizens responded with large-scale protests.

The handling of corruption cases reveals a gap between leaders' promises and real action. According to the GCB results, one in four Moroccans think most or all judges, magistrates and police are involved in corruption.

With many court cases ignored by public authorities and some already drawn out judicial processes lengthened by unmotivated prosecutors,<sup>11,12</sup> it is unsurprising to see why an overwhelming majority of citizens (74 per cent) think that the government is not doing enough to tackle corruption and why 47 per cent say they are not satisfied with the level of democracy in their country.

An example of delayed justice is the Casino Es Saadi case, where a local government official was allegedly bribed to cheaply sell municipal land to a business. In 2015, after a trial in which Transparency Maroc, Transparency International's chapter in Morocco, was a civil party, the official was sentenced to five years in prison.<sup>13</sup> However, the appeal is still not concluded and has had to restart after those judges who were hearing the appeal were replaced.<sup>14</sup>

By undermining the vital pillars of democracy, including the judicial system, corruption can produce a vicious cycle, where corruption weakens democratic institutions, and in turn the institutions are less able to control corruption.



**Government corruption is a problem**

In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine we also asked people whether corruption in government is a problem in their country. An overwhelming majority of people (83 percent) think government corruption is a big problem.

Only 16 per cent think corruption is no problem or a small problem. In Lebanon (89 per cent), Jordan (86 per cent) and Palestine (75 per cent), a high percentage of citizens think that government corruption is a big problem.

**83%**

**THINK GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION IS A BIG PROBLEM**

**16%**

**THINK GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION IS NO PROBLEM OR A SMALL PROBLEM**

**GOVERNMENT CORRUPTION, BY COUNTRY**

Percentage of people who think corruption in government is a big problem<sup>15</sup>



**89%**

**LEBANON**



**86%**

**JORDAN**



**75%**

**PALESTINE**

**Low trust in government**

Corruption contributes to the erosion of citizens' trust in government. The results show that trust in government is very low in Lebanon and Palestine.<sup>16</sup>

In Lebanon, the majority of citizens have little or no trust in the government (80 per cent), the courts (72 per cent) or the police (59 per cent).

In Palestine, 51 per cent of citizens have little or no trust in the government. However, 52 per cent trust the courts and 59 per cent trust the police.

In Jordan, the government, the police and the courts enjoy relatively high levels of trust, with 60 per cent of citizens having trust in the government, 70 per cent in the courts and 87 per cent in the police.

**IN LEBANON**

**80%**

**HAVE LITTLE OR NO TRUST IN THEIR GOVERNMENT**

**IN PALESTINE**

**51%**

**HAVE LITTLE OR NO TRUST IN THEIR GOVERNMENT**

**IN JORDAN**

**60%**

**TRUST THEIR GOVERNMENT**

**Anti-corruption agencies**

We asked citizens in Jordan and Palestine whether they are aware of the anti-corruption agencies in their respective countries and whether they think these institutions are doing well at tackling corruption.

An overwhelming majority of citizens in Palestine (78 per cent) and Jordan (66 per cent) have either never heard of their state's anti-corruption agency or know very little to nothing about it.<sup>17</sup>

Of the small number of people who are familiar with the agency, those in Jordan (44 per cent) and Palestine (45 per cent) think that it is doing well.<sup>18</sup>

**IN JORDAN AND PALESTINE**

**72%**

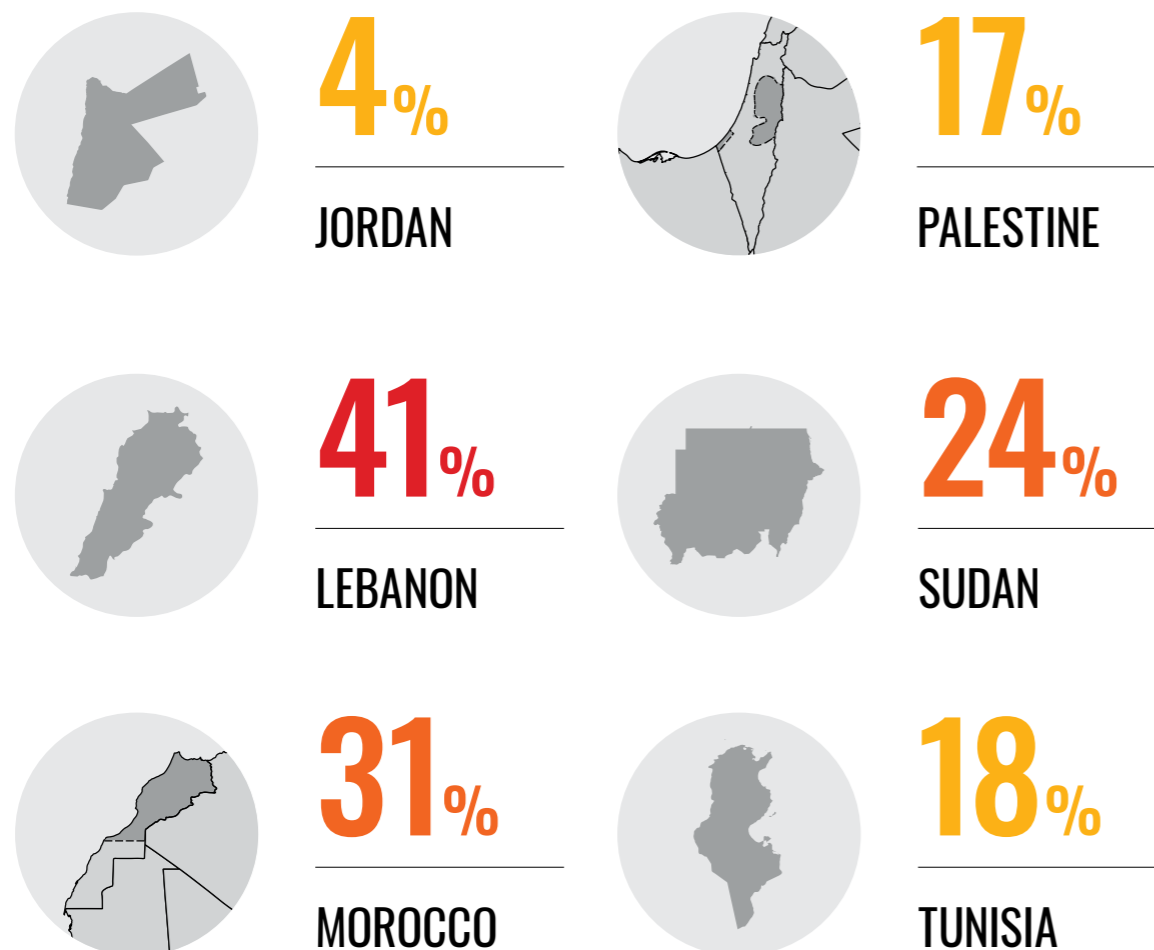
**ARE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THEIR COUNTRY'S ANTI-CORRUPTION AGENCY OR ITS WORK**

# HOW ARE CITIZENS AFFECTED BY CORRUPTION?

We asked citizens about their experiences with bribery for basic services, such as health care and education, to better understand what happens in people’s daily lives. We found that their experiences vary – some services are better than others when it comes to controlling corruption.

## BRIBERY RATES BY COUNTRY

Percentage of public service users who paid a bribe in the previous 12 months<sup>19</sup>



### One in five citizens pays bribes

We asked citizens in six countries whether they had contact with six key public services in their country in the previous 12 months: the police, the courts, health care, schools, identity documents and utilities. We then asked whether they paid a bribe, gave a gift or did a favour in order to receive the services they needed.

Seventy-eight per cent of all respondents had contact with

at least one public service in the previous 12 months. Of these, more than one in five people (22 per cent) paid a bribe for basic services, such as health care or education.

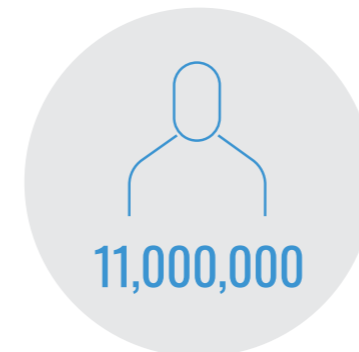
Across the six countries surveyed, this equates to more than 11 million people who paid a bribe in the preceding year.<sup>20</sup>

Lebanon has the highest overall bribery rate (41 per cent), followed by Morocco (31 per cent) and Sudan (24 per cent).

Jordan maintains the lowest overall bribery rate (4 per cent), followed by Palestine (17 per cent) and Tunisia (18 per cent). However, even in these countries, governments could do more to stop bribes for public services.



**MORE THAN 1 IN 5 PEOPLE WHO USED A PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS PAID A BRIBE.**



**THIS IS EQUIVALENT TO MORE THAN 11 MILLION PEOPLE IN THESE SIX COUNTRIES.**

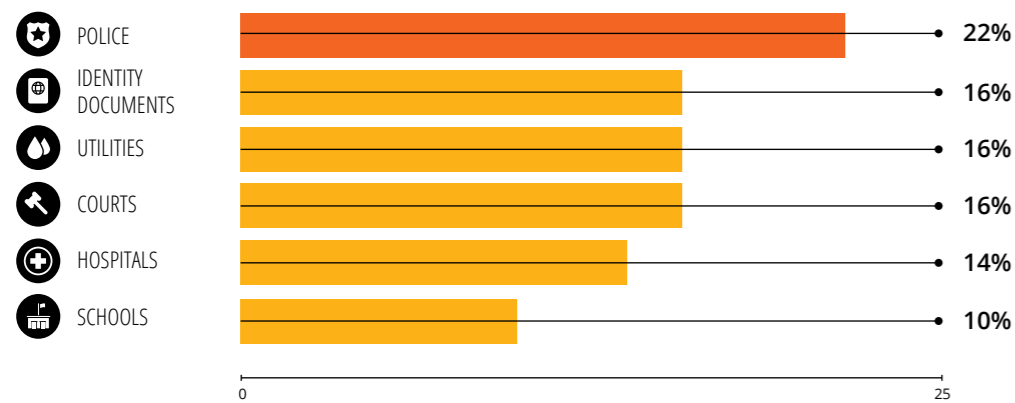
### Police have highest bribery rate

The results show that the police have the highest bribery rate (22 per cent) and are the public service most likely to demand and receive bribes.

Schools have the lowest bribery rate, although 10 per cent of people who had contact with public schools in the previous 12 months paid a bribe.

### BRIBERY RATES BY SERVICE

Percentage of people who used services and paid a bribe in the previous 12 months<sup>21</sup>



### POLICE IN FOCUS

Percentage of people who came into contact with the police in the previous 12 months and paid a bribe<sup>22</sup>



22%

36%

LEBANON

33%

SUDAN

31%

MOROCCO

17%

TUNISIA

11%

PALESTINE

2%

JORDAN

### In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine:

#### More than a third use personal connections – wasta

Despite relatively low bribery rates in countries like Jordan and Palestine, citizens often resort to other means including wasta, or the use of personal connections, to get the public services they need.

For the first time, in addition to asking people about their

experience with bribery, we also asked about the prevalence of wasta when accessing public services in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.

The results show more than one in three people (38 per cent) who accessed public services used wasta to receive the service they needed.

Lebanon has the highest wasta rate, at 54 per cent, followed by

Palestine at 39 per cent and Jordan at 25 per cent.

Across these countries, two in five people who accessed public services used wasta, paid bribes or both. The two forms of corruption are often complementary: almost half of the people who used wasta also paid a bribe.



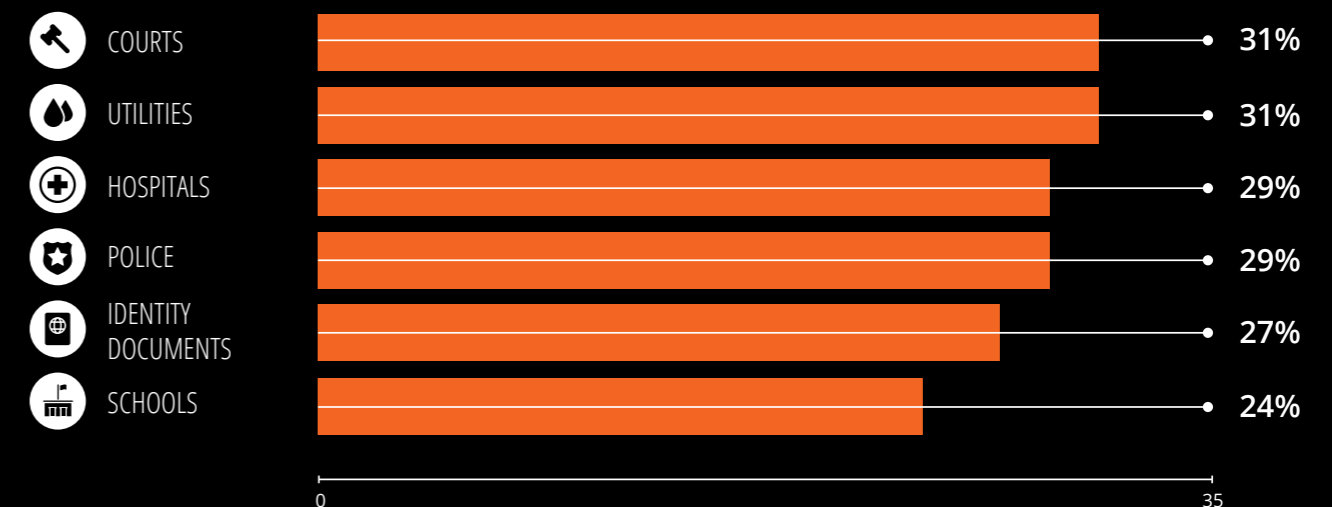
MORE THAN 1 IN 3 PEOPLE WHO USED A PUBLIC SERVICE IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS USED WASTA.



THIS IS EQUIVALENT TO APPROXIMATELY 3.6 MILLION PEOPLE.<sup>23</sup>

### WASTA RATES BY SERVICE

Percentage of people who used public services and had to use wasta in the previous 12 months<sup>24</sup>



### Utilities and courts have the highest wasta rates

Courts and public utilities, such as water and electricity, are the public services for which citizens are most likely to use their personal connections.

In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, nearly one in three people who accessed utilities

and court services used wasta to get the services they needed.

This rate skyrockets in Lebanon, where 65 per cent of citizens who came into contact with the courts report using a personal connection.

In the six countries surveyed, only 10 per cent of people report paying bribes for schools. Twenty four per cent

used wasta to get the education they needed in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.

Similarly, in the six countries surveyed, 14 per cent paid a bribe for hospitals. Twenty nine per cent used wasta to get the medical care they needed in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.

### COURTS AND UTILITIES IN FOCUS

Percentage of people who came into contact with courts and utilities in the previous 12 months and used wasta<sup>25</sup>



UTILITIES

**51%**

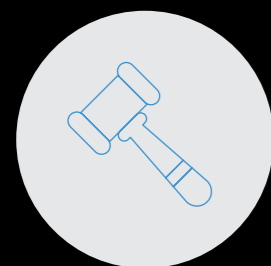
LEBANON

**21%**

JORDAN

**21%**

PALESTINE



COURTS

**65%**

LEBANON

**29%**

PALESTINE

**16%**

JORDAN

### Why do people pay bribes or use wasta?

Some people pay bribes to get things done more quickly (29 per cent) or to express gratitude for the service they received (13 per cent). Interestingly, only 21 per cent of bribe payers report

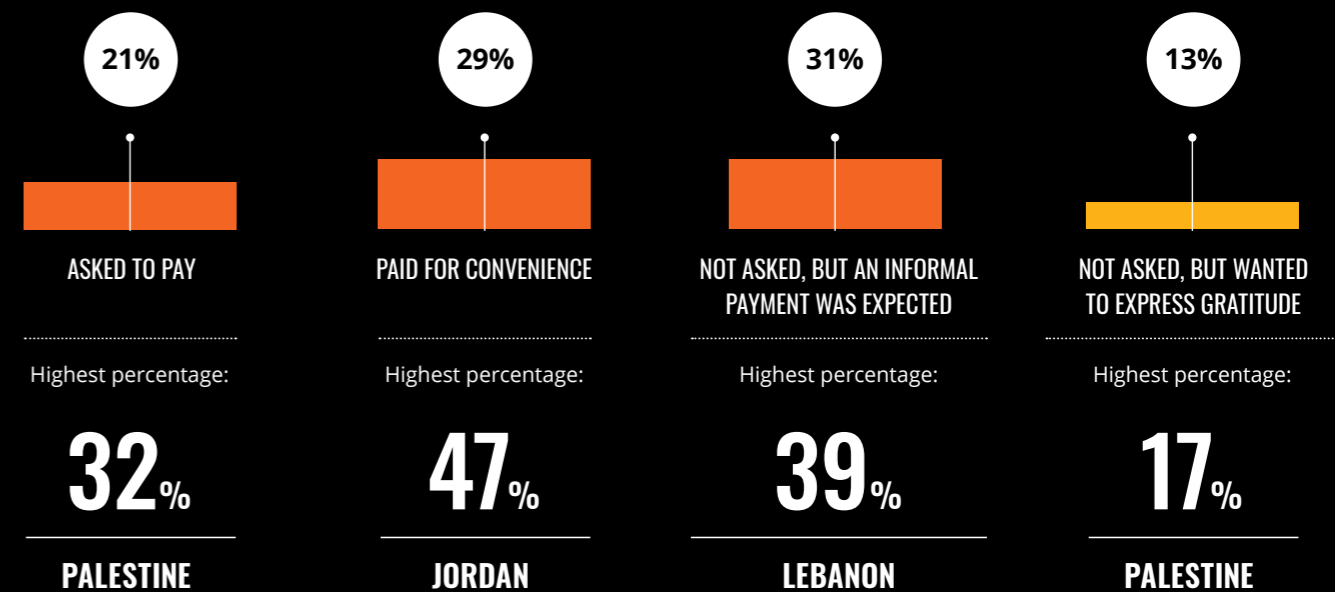
having been asked to pay, while 31 per cent say that although they were not explicitly asked, they knew an informal payment was expected.

Like bribery, people resort to wasta for several reasons. A majority of citizens (53 per

cent) who use wasta say that they would not have received the service otherwise. However, 43 per cent of citizens who use wasta also say they did so to get a better service than what is usually offered.

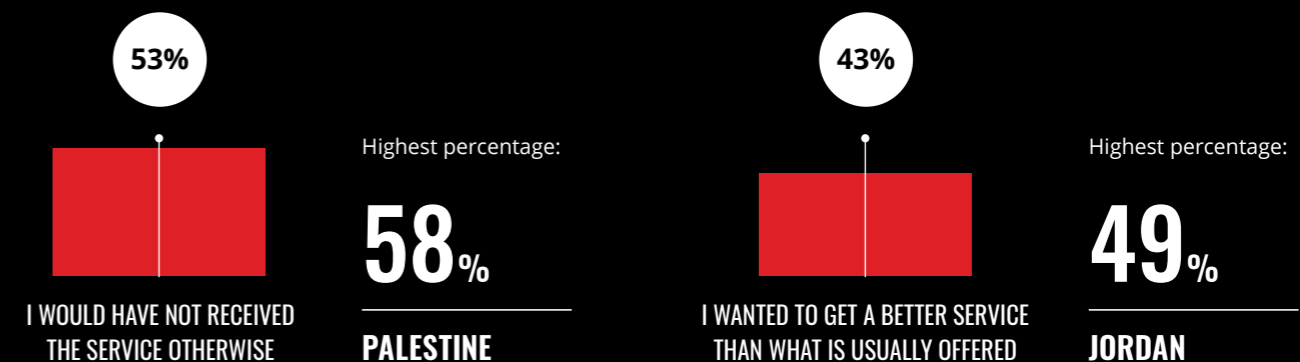
### REASONS WHY PEOPLE PAY BRIBES

Percentage of people who pay bribes, by reason<sup>26</sup>



### REASONS WHY PEOPLE USE WASTA

Percentage of people who use wasta, by reason<sup>27</sup>



## SEXTORTION

For the first time, the GCB Middle East and North Africa highlights data on sextortion, one of the most significant forms of gendered corruption.<sup>28</sup>

When sex is the currency of the bribe, evidence indicates a gender bias that particularly affects women.<sup>29</sup> Some women are coerced into providing sexual favours in order

to receive public services, including health care and education.

Our results show that one in five citizens across Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine experiences sextortion, or knows someone who has.

The highest sextortion rate is in Lebanon, where 23 per cent

of people experience sextortion or know someone who has, followed by Palestine at 21 per cent and Jordan at 13 per cent.

Forty-seven per cent think that sextortion happens at least occasionally.<sup>30</sup> Further analysis of the results shows that women are significantly more likely to think sextortion occurs frequently.<sup>31</sup>

**1 IN 5**

**PEOPLE EXPERIENCES SEXTORTION OR KNOWS SOMEONE WHO HAS<sup>32</sup>**

**47%**

**OF PEOPLE THINK THAT SEXTORTION HAPPENS AT LEAST OCCASIONALLY**

## SEXTORTION RATES BY COUNTRY

Percentage of citizens who experience sextortion or know someone who has



**23%**

**LEBANON**



**13%**

**JORDAN**



**21%**

**PALESTINE**

photo: Hossam el-Hamalawy / CC BY-SA 2.0

### Country in focus: Palestine

When it comes to measuring the impact of corruption on women in Palestine, gathering concrete evidence can sometimes prove difficult.

Although GCB results show that 21 per cent of people in Palestine experience sextortion or know someone who has, these incidents often go unreported.

This may be due to a tendency of victim blaming within Palestinian communities, where sexuality is still taboo.<sup>33</sup> As a result, many women often think twice before reporting sextortion.

According to the Coalition for Accountability and Integrity (AMAN), Transparency International's chapter in Palestine, every year a number of women contact the organisation's Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre with complaints of sextortion in public workplaces. In such cases, public officials abuse their authority to gain sexual favours from their employees. However, when asked to file a formal complaint outlining these incidents, most women refuse.

Civil society organisations in Palestine have advocated for the inclusion of sextortion as an illegal form of corruption.<sup>34</sup> However, there is still no cohesive, consistent legal framework to criminalise sextortion as well as sexual harassment within the public sector. Similarly, the legal framework does not recognise and address specific forms of corruption experienced by women.



## LACK OF POLITICAL INTEGRITY, ESPECIALLY AROUND ELECTIONS

Too often, political leaders act in their own self-interest at the expense of the citizens they serve. To have any chance of curbing corruption, we need to ensure that our leaders act with greater integrity.

Political integrity means that people with political power consistently act in the long-term public interest while using open and transparent decision-making.

Often one of the root causes of political corruption is election abuse, including fraudulent, undeclared funding of political

parties, vote-buying or the spread of fake news during campaigns.

Nearly one in three citizens is offered bribes in exchange for votes in national, regional or local elections. In some countries, citizens are also threatened with retaliation if they do not vote in a certain way.<sup>35</sup>

Vote-buying is highest in Lebanon. Nearly one in two people (47 per cent) is offered a bribe in return for their vote, while more than one in four (28 per cent) receives threats if they do not comply.

Political integrity can also be jeopardised by the spread of fake news. Fifty-two per cent of citizens think that fake news often spreads around elections, while only eight per cent think that it never happens.<sup>36</sup>

In Jordan, 59 per cent of citizens believe that fake news spreads frequently to influence election outcomes, while many in Lebanon and Palestine believe the same (58 per cent and 39 per cent respectively).

NEARLY  
**1 IN 3**

**PEOPLE IS OFFERED BRIBES  
IN EXCHANGE FOR VOTES**

**52%**

**THINK FAKE NEWS OFTEN  
SPREADS AROUND ELECTIONS<sup>37</sup>**

### Country in focus: Lebanon

In Lebanon, the dynamic between money and power is a common challenge to curbing corruption, particularly during elections.

Regardless of political party, money can influence votes directly or indirectly. During the 2009 and 2018 parliamentary and municipal elections, the Lebanese Transparency Association, which is Transparency International's chapter in Lebanon, observed some significant issues that stemmed from gaps in the country's electoral laws.<sup>38</sup>

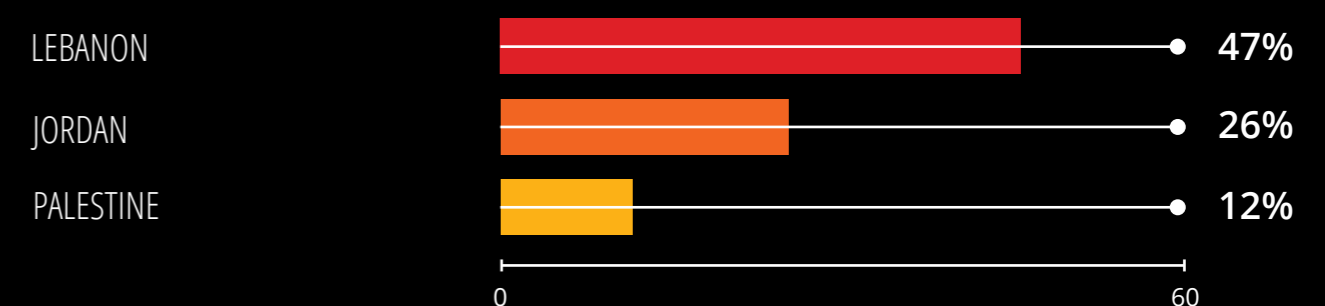
For example, incentives for vote-buying have been increased by a lack of legal clarity on what defines vote-buying and a recent law that raised the upper limit on electoral spending. In the lead-up to the 2018 elections, state institutions illegally employed over 4,500 people<sup>39</sup> and used jobs, scholarships, medical aid and in-kind assistance to allegedly buy their votes and those of their families. The GCB found that in Lebanon, nearly one in two people is offered a bribe in return for their vote and one in four people is threatened with retaliation if they do not vote a certain way.

Unfortunately, the Supervisory Commission for Elections, which is the government body in charge of monitoring elections and promoting electoral integrity, has limited financial and human resources to do its job, including curbing vote-buying.<sup>40</sup>

The political dynamics in Lebanon create a complicated environment that contributes to corruption and the protection of corrupt individuals. Political interference, an absence of accountability and transparency, and a lack of independence of the judicial system are other major challenges.

### VOTE-BUYING RATES BY COUNTRY

Percentage of citizens offered bribes in exchange for votes<sup>41</sup>



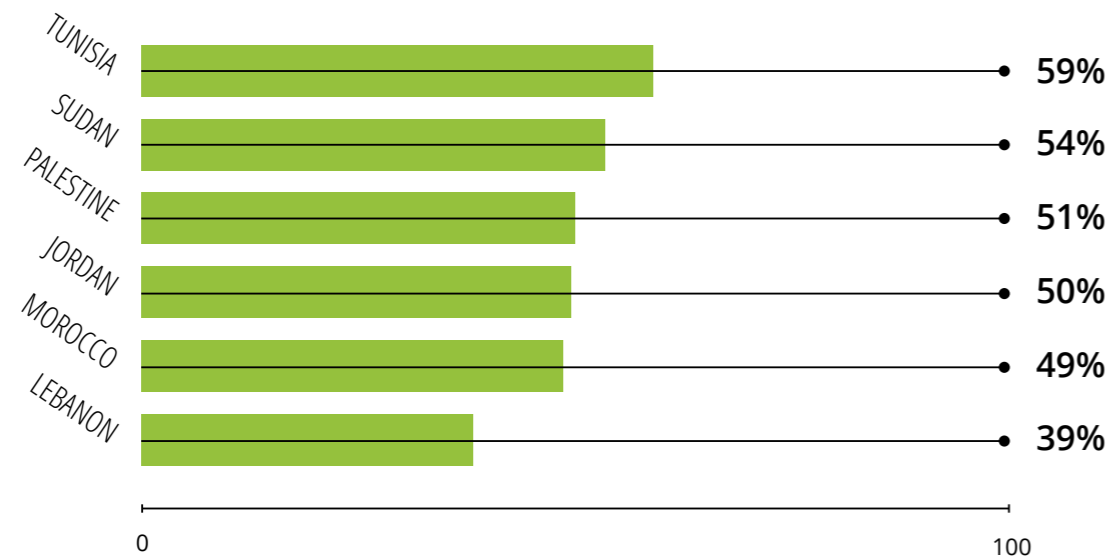
# TAKING ACTION

Several basic requirements are fundamental to reducing the prevalence of corruption: ensuring people can safely report corruption, guaranteeing that punishments are given fairly, enabling NGOs to operate freely and empowering citizens to hold governments to account.

The survey finds that while there are barriers to such anti-corruption efforts in the region, many people are ready and willing to take action.

## ORDINARY CITIZENS CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Percentage of people who agree<sup>42</sup>



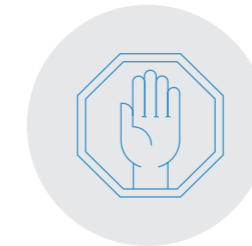
### Citizens can help tackle corruption

Fifty per cent of citizens are hopeful and believe ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption. This is especially true in Tunisia and Sudan where 59 and 54 per cent of citizens, respectively, believe their voice matters.



# 50%

THINK ORDINARY PEOPLE **CAN** MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION



# 37%

THINK ORDINARY PEOPLE **CANNOT** MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

### Country in focus: Tunisia

To help empower citizens to make a difference in the fight against corruption, every December since 2012, Tunisian civil society hosts the “Month Against Corruption” (MAC) organised by I-Watch, Transparency International’s chapter in Tunisia, and other partners. The programme includes activities that raise awareness of corruption in Tunisia and places special emphasis on engaging young people, who are key in fighting corruption.

In 2018, one youth club involved in International Anti-Corruption Day on 9 December created a series of social media advertisements<sup>43</sup> to alert citizens to corruption concerns in government, the police and the court systems. In addition to working with students and young people, the Month Against Corruption engages artists, comedians and rappers<sup>44</sup> to promote anti-corruption efforts. One of the best ways citizens can make a difference in tackling corruption is by reporting cases of corruption when they occur. The role of whistleblowers is particularly important in this regard. Tunisia is one of the only countries surveyed that allows civil society to present cases of corruption, including from whistleblowers, and requests for access to information in court.

In 2016, one whistleblower<sup>45</sup> went to court to compel the Central Bank of Tunisia to publish its investigations into the suspicious conduct of a public bank. The case sparked several additional investigations, including the case of Nabil Karoui, a former media mogul and presidential candidate,<sup>46</sup> who is now facing corruption charges. Reporting corruption is something any citizen can do, no matter who they are. The more people who stand up for anti-corruption and promote integrity and transparency, the more successful our efforts will be in tackling corruption.

**Retaliation and lack of action are the biggest hurdles**

Although reporting cases of corruption is critical to curbing overall corruption levels, more than half of people think that if they report corruption, they will suffer retaliation.

People in Jordan, Palestine, Sudan and Tunisia are particularly concerned about retaliation. Only 36 per cent of people think they can report corruption freely and without consequences, while only 38 per cent think reporting corruption will lead to any action.<sup>47</sup> Lebanon

is the only country bucking this trend, with a majority of citizens (54 per cent) who think they can report corruption without fear.

**58%**

**THINK THEY WILL SUFFER RETALIATION IF THEY REPORT CORRUPTION**

**36%**

**THINK THEY CAN REPORT CORRUPTION FREELY, WITHOUT CONSEQUENCE**

**38%**

**THINK REPORTING CORRUPTION WILL LEAD TO ACTION<sup>48</sup>**

**Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres**

Through our Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres (ALACs), Transparency International offers citizens advice and support when reporting a case of corruption. Governments should support and work with mechanisms like these to ensure that complaints are investigated effectively and safely by the relevant authorities.

**In Jordan and Lebanon:**

**Do citizens know their rights?**

Information is an essential tool to empower citizens to demand accountability from governments and fight corruption.

We asked citizens in Jordan and Lebanon whether they are aware of their right to request information from government agencies and institutions.

Less than half of citizens in these countries (39 per cent) are aware of their right to request information from government agencies and institutions.

Only one in five citizens used their right to request official documents from the government in the previous 12 months.



**43% ARE AWARE OF THEIR RIGHT TO INFORMATION<sup>49</sup>**



**19% HAVE USED THEIR RIGHT TO OFFICIALLY REQUEST INFORMATION<sup>50</sup>**



photo: iStock.com / Goran Jakus Photography



# CONCLUSION

The results from the latest edition of the *Global Corruption Barometer – Middle East and North Africa* paint a complex picture. Citizens are concerned about corruption, and while a majority of people think that it is getting worse, 50 per cent of citizens are optimistic about their role in bringing about change.

Across the six countries, one in five citizens paid bribes for public services, while more than a third in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine used *wasta*, or their personal connections, to access the same services. In addition, half of all people who used *wasta* also paid bribes.

Bribery and *wasta* skew the distribution of public resources to those who can either pay for bribes or use their connections to find someone to provide public services as a private favour. These practices further exacerbate inequality across the region. Governments must prosecute wrongdoing and enforce a system that eliminates and criminalises *wasta*.

Much more work is needed to strengthen political integrity. Citizens think parliamentarians and government officials are the most corrupt institutions across the region. In addition, political corruption, including forms of electoral abuse like vote-buying and the spread of fake news, is a serious challenge to the democratic processes in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine.

Governments must build electoral integrity to allow for fair and democratic elections.

Addressing specific gendered forms of corruption like sextortion requires urgent attention. In Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, one in five people said they experience sextortion, or knew someone who had. Governments should adopt gender-inclusive anti-corruption laws and accountability measures. They should also create safe, confidential and gender-sensitive reporting mechanisms so that those affected can speak up and seek justice.

It is time for leaders in the Middle East and North Africa to act and demonstrate serious political will against corruption. Countries should fulfil their commitments to the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) as a first step. In addition, strong and independent judicial systems, as well as proper separation of powers, are needed to promote anti-corruption efforts.

# METHODOLOGY

The surveys were conducted in the local language using a face-to-face approach in all six countries. The interviews were conducted through computer-assisted personal interviewing, except in Palestine, where the survey was administered using paper and pen interviewing.

The surveys in Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia were conducted by Afrobarometer as part of its Round 7 surveys in collaboration with Transparency International. A random probability cluster sample was used. The sample was stratified by region and by level of urbanisation. Secondary sampling units were selected at random and households were selected using a random walk. The results have a margin of +/- 2.8 percentage points at a 95 per cent confidence level.

## Weighting

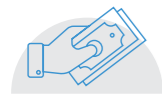
Unless otherwise stated, for reported multi-country averages an additional weighting factor has been applied so that the sample sizes for each country are equal.

Country	Surveying organization	Fieldwork dates	Sample size
Jordan	NAMA Strategic Intelligence Solutions	27 July – 19 August 2019	1,000
Lebanon	Statistics Lebanon	18 September – 3 October 2019	1,000
Morocco	Global for Survey and Consulting (GSC)	13-28 May 2018	1,200
Palestine	Qiyas Center for Polling and Survey Research	23 September – 1 October 2019	1,025
Tunisia	One-to-One Research and Polling (121)	31 March – 7 May 2018	1,199
Sudan	Sudan Polling Survey Center	22 July – 25 August 2018	1,200

# COUNTRY CARDS



## JORDAN



### BRIBERY AND WASTA RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

	BRIBERY	WASTA
Overall rate	4%	25%
Public schools	4%	15%
Public clinics and health centers	1%	20%
IDs	2%	13%
Utilities	5%	21%
Police	2%	15%
Courts	0%	16%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	55%
Decreased	17%
Stayed the same	25%
Don't know	3%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	50%
No	42%
Neither yes nor no	8%
Don't know / refused to answer	0%

**4%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**25%** Used wasta for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**55%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**13%** Experience sextortion or know someone who has

**26%** Were offered bribes in exchange for votes

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

INSTITUTION	
Prime Minister	25%
Members of Parliament	45%
Government officials	36%
Local government officials	28%
Police*	-
Judges and Magistrates	12%
Religious leaders	17%
NGOs	22%
Business Executives	38%
Bankers	21%



### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	55%
Bad	43%
Don't know	2%

\* Survey data about police was not collected in Jordan.



## LEBANON



### BRIBERY AND WASTA RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

	BRIBERY	WASTA
Overall rate	41%	54%
Public schools	26%	40%
Public clinics and health centers	27%	45%
IDs	37%	45%
Utilities	36%	51%
Police	36%	42%
Courts	48%	65%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	68%
Decreased	10%
Stayed the same	21%
Don't know	0%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	39%
No	48%
Neither yes nor no	11%
Don't know / refused to answer	2%

**41%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**54%** Used wasta for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**68%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**23%** Experience sextortion or know someone who has

**47%** Were offered bribes in exchange for votes

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

INSTITUTION	
President / Prime Minister*	-
Members of Parliament	64%
Government officials	68%
Local government officials	46%
Police	44%
Judges and Magistrates	53%
Religious leaders	46%
NGOs	47%
Business Executives	53%
Bankers	54%



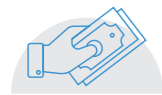
### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	13%
Bad	87%
Don't know	1%

\* Survey data about the President/Prime Minister was not collected in Lebanon.



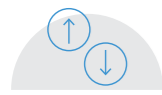
## MOROCCO



### BRIBERY RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

Overall rate	31%
Public schools	6%
Public clinics and health centers	32%
IDs	18%
Utilities	13%
Police	31%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	53%
Decreased	12%
Stayed the same	26%
Don't know	9%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	49%
No	24%
Neither yes nor no	15%
Don't know / refused to answer	12%

**53%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**31%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**74%** Think their government is doing a bad job of tackling corruption

**49%** Think ordinary citizens can make a difference in the fight against corruption

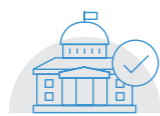
\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

INSTITUTION	Percentage
Prime Minister	39%
Members of Parliament	41%
Government officials	37%
Local government officials	38%
Police	24%
Judges and Magistrates	26%
Religious leaders	11%
NGOs	22%
Business Executives	28%
Traditional leaders	21%



### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	13%
Bad	74%
Don't know	13%



## PALESTINE



### BRIBERY AND WASTA RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

	BRIBERY	WASTA
Overall rate	17%	39%
Public schools	11%	22%
Public clinics and health centers	9%	31%
IDs	9%	24%
Utilities	8%	21%
Police	11%	30%
Courts	14%	29%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	62%
Decreased	12%
Stayed the same	24%
Don't know	2%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	51%
No	36%
Neither yes nor no	13%
Don't know / refused to answer	0%

**17%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**39%** Used wasta for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**62%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**21%** Experience sextortion or know someone who has

**12%** Were offered bribes in exchange for votes

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

INSTITUTION	Percentage
President / Prime Minister	55%
Members of Parliament	36%
Government officials	47%
Local government officials	33%
Police	36%
Judges and Magistrates	31%
Religious leaders	33%
NGOs	31%
Business Executives	41%
Bankers	29%

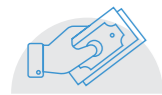


### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	45%
Bad	51%
Don't know	4%



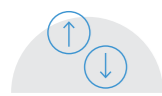
## SUDAN



### BRIBERY RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

Overall rate	24%
Public schools	8%
Public clinics and health centers	12%
IDs	20%
Utilities	21%
Police	33%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	82%
Decreased	8%
Stayed the same	5%
Don't know	5%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	54%
No	36%
Neither yes nor no	5%
Don't know / refused to answer	5%

**82%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**24%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**80%** Think their government is doing a bad job of tackling corruption

**54%** Think ordinary citizens can make a difference in the fight against corruption

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

#### INSTITUTION

President / Prime Minister	49%
Members of Parliament	47%
Government officials	45%
Local government officials	38%
Police	34%
Judges and Magistrates	22%
Religious leaders	16%
NGOs	22%
Business Executives	32%
Traditional leaders	25%



### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	15%
Bad	80%
Don't know	4%



## TUNISIA



### BRIBERY RATES\*

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.

Overall rate	18%
Public schools	8%
Public clinics and health centers	11%
IDs	12%
Utilities	10%
Police	17%



### HAS CORRUPTION LEVEL CHANGED IN THE PREVIOUS 12 MONTHS?

Increased	67%
Decreased	12%
Stayed the same	14%
Don't know	7%



### CAN ORDINARY PEOPLE MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION?

Yes	59%
No	36%
Neither yes nor no	1%
Don't know / refused to answer	3%

**67%** Think corruption increased in the previous 12 months

**18%** Paid a bribe for public services in the previous 12 months\*

**64%** Think their government is doing a bad job of tackling corruption

**59%** Think ordinary citizens can make a difference in the fight against corruption

\* Based on people who used these public services in the previous 12 months.



### CORRUPTION BY INSTITUTION\*

\* Percentage who think that most or all people in these institutions are corrupt.

#### INSTITUTION

President / Prime Minister	25%
Members of Parliament	30%
Government officials	31%
Local government officials	27%
Police	23%
Judges and Magistrates	16%
Religious leaders	18%
NGOs	24%
Business Executives	28%
Traditional leaders	16%



### IS THE GOVERNMENT DOING A GOOD OR BAD JOB OF FIGHTING CORRUPTION?

Good	25%
Bad	64%
Don't know	11%

# ENDNOTES

1 Q: In your opinion, over the past year, has the level of corruption in this country increased, decreased or stayed the same? Response options: Increased a lot; Increased somewhat; Stayed the same; Decreased somewhat; Decreased a lot; Don't know. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

2 BBC News, *Omar al-Bashir trial: Sudan's ex-president 'got millions from Saudis'*, August 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-49394908>

3 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". Response options: Very badly; Fairly badly; Fairly well; Very well; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

4 Al-Mamlaka, *قائمة نوناق لخدمة راقدا، داسرفال ةحفاكمر*, August 2019, <https://www.almamlakatv.com/news/%D8%A5%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D9%85%D8%B9%D8%AF%D9%84-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A6%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AF-23497>

5 Ad-Dustour, *تائفال ددحي "بباونل"*, November 2018, <https://www.addustour.com/articles/1040525-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D9%8A%D8%AD%D8%AF%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%A6%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B4%D9%85%D9%88%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%B3%D8%A8-%D8%BA%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B9>

6 Ammon News, *تايوتشمرال مراظن رودص، دحومرل ءارشال عمر فراعال مرزاولل ديحوت ةيمروكحل*, May 2019, <https://www.ammonnews.net/article/458470>

7 Access Now, *مراجال ةحفاكمر نوناق عورشر*

ةيرجل أديقت رثك اتاليدعت: ندرألا يف ةينورتكلإلا يف، صوصخلا يف جحلل أكاهنتاواو أربلا نع ريبعتلا February 2019, <https://www.accessnow.org/%D9%85%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B9-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86/>

8 Q: How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say? Response options: None; Some of them; Most of them; All of them; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

9 The questions on how many corrupt people are in the office of the president and prime minister were asked separately but the responses were combined for consistency with previous editions of the Global Corruption Barometer. The questions on how many corrupt people are in the office of the president and how many corrupt people are in the office of the prime minister were not asked in Lebanon. The question on how many corrupt people are in the banking sector was not asked in Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia. The question on how many corrupt people are in the police and in the Royal Court was dropped from the questionnaire during fieldwork in Jordan following police complaints by interviewees.

10 Q: Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in [INSERT COUNTRY NAME]. Response options: Very satisfied; Fairly satisfied; Not very satisfied; Not at all satisfied; [INSERT COUNTRY NAME] is not a democracy; Don't know. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

11 HuffPost Maghreb, *Aux origines de l'affaire de dilapidation de deniers publics à la CNSS*, July 2016, [https://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/entry/cnss-proces-verdict-dilapidation\\_mg\\_11066948](https://www.huffpostmaghreb.com/entry/cnss-proces-verdict-dilapidation_mg_11066948)

12 L'Economist.com, *Affaire CIH: Khalid Alioua en detention*, July 2012, <https://www.leconomiste.com/>

article/896098-affaire-cih-khalid-alioua-en-d-tention

13 TelQuel, *L'istiqalali Abdellatif Abdouh condamné à 5 ans de prison ferme*, February 2015, [https://telquel.ma/2015/02/20/listiqalali-abdellatif-abdouh-condamne-5-ans-prison-ferme\\_1435277](https://telquel.ma/2015/02/20/listiqalali-abdellatif-abdouh-condamne-5-ans-prison-ferme_1435277)

14 Alyaoum24, *يديعسل ونيذاك" ةيضرق، امروي لزل زجل ءداهشوب جودبأ ءالء دعب ديدج ليچأت*, June 2019, <http://www.alyaoum24.com/1264037.html>

15 Q: How big or small a problem would you say corruption is in government? Response options: No problem at all; A very small problem; Quite small; Quite big; A very big problem; Don't know. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

16 Q: Overall, how much trust and confidence do you have in the following to do a good job and act in a fair manner whilst carrying out their responsibilities? Response options: None at all; Not very much; A fair amount; A great deal; Don't know. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

17 How much, if anything, do you know about the "Anti-Corruption Commission"? Response options: Never heard of them; Heard the name, but don't know anything about what they do; A fair amount; A great deal; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents, excluding missing.

18 Q: How well or badly would you say the "Anti-Corruption Commission" is doing at fighting corruption in this country? Response options: Very Badly; Fairly Badly; Fairly Well; Very Well; Don't know. Base: All respondents who said they have heard of the "Anti-Corruption Commission" in their country, excluding missing.

19 Q: In the past 12 months have you had contact with a) a public school b) a public clinic or hospital c) the government to get an identity document (i.e. a birth certificate, driver's licence, passport or voter's card, or a permit) d) the government to get water, sanitation or electric services e) the police f) a judge or court official? Respondents who

answered that they had contact with any of these public services were then asked "How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour" for each service. Response options: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents who had contact with at least one service in the previous 12 months. Percentages refer to those who said they had paid a bribe at least once for any service.

20 To calculate the total number of bribe payers in the six surveyed countries, we used the country level bribery rates (the percentage of all adults in the country who had paid a bribe) to calculate the number of bribe payers in each country. We then added the projected number of bribe payers across all six countries, which gave a total number of 11 million. Source: UN population estimated 18+.

21 Pooled responses. In the past 12 months have you had contact with a) a public school b) a public clinic or hospital c) the government to get an identity document (i.e. a birth certificate, driver's licence, passport or voter's card, or a permit) d) the government to get water, sanitation or electric services e) the police f) a judge or court official? Respondents who answered that they had contact with any of these public services were then asked "How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour" for each service. Response options: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents who had contact with at least one service in the previous 12 months. Percentages refer to those who said they had paid a bribe at least once for any service.

22 Q: How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed, or to avoid a problem, such as passing a checkpoint, or avoid a fine or arrest? Base: all respondents who had contact with the police in the previous 12 months.

23 Wasta is an Arabic word that means connections. To calculate the total number of people who used wasta

in Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine, we used the country level wasta rates (the percentage of all adults in the country who used wasta). We then added the projected number of people who used wasta across all three countries, which gave a total number of 3.6 million. Source: UN population estimated 18+. The survey questionnaire was updated to include the wasta questions after the fieldwork had been completed in Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan. Hence, there is no wasta data available for these three countries.

24 Q: In the past 12 months have you had contact with a) a public school b) a public clinic or hospital c) the government to get an identity document (i.e. a birth certificate, driver's licence, passport or voter's card, or a permit) d) the government to get water, sanitation or electric services e) the police f) a judge or court official? Respondents who answered that they had contact with any of these public services were then asked "How often, if ever, did you have to use wasta" for each service. Response options: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents who had contact with at least one service in the previous 12 months. Percentages refer to those who used wasta at least once for any service.

25 Pooled responses on wasta use for utilities and courts.

26 Q: And thinking about the most recent time that you paid a bribe, gave a gift, or did a favour in order to get a public service, what was your main reason for doing this? Response options: You were asked to pay; You were not asked to pay but you knew it was expected; You offered to pay to get things done quicker or better; You were not asked to pay but you wanted to express your gratitude; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: All respondents who said they paid a bribe at least once for at least one of the six services, excluding missing.

27 Q: And thinking about the most recent time that you had to use wasta in order to get a public service, what

was your main reason for doing this? Response options: I would not have received the service without my personal connection; I wanted to get a better service than what is usually offered; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: All respondents who said they used wasta at least once for at least one of the six services, excluding missing.

28 Gender-specific forms of corruption are not restricted to women only.

29 UNDP, *Gender and Corruption in Latin America: Is there a link?*, July 2014, [https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rblac/docs/Research%20and%20Publications/Democratic%20Governance/Gender\\_and\\_Corruption\\_in\\_Latin\\_America\\_Is\\_There\\_a\\_Link\\_Final\\_10July.pdf](https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rblac/docs/Research%20and%20Publications/Democratic%20Governance/Gender_and_Corruption_in_Latin_America_Is_There_a_Link_Final_10July.pdf)

30 Q: How often, if at all, do you think that this [sexual extortion] occurs in this country? Do you think it happens? Response options: Very frequently; Often; Occasionally; Rarely; Never; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents excluding missing.

31 Results are derived from survey-weighted logistic regressions with standard errors clustered at the country level. Being female is a positive and significant predictor for thinking that sextortion happens very frequently or often.

32 Q: And thinking about your own experience or experiences had by people you know, how often, if at all, has a public official implied either openly or suggestively to either yourself or someone you know that they will grant a government benefit in exchange for sexual favours? Response options: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Or have you had no contact with any public officials ever; Don't know; Refused to answer. Base: all respondents excluding those who said they had no contact with any public officials ever.

33 Al-Haq, *Violence against Palestinian Women Must Stop*, December 2015, <http://www.alhaq.org/advocacy/6457.html>

34 The Coalition for Accountability

and Integrity, *فوقهم قرو*, شرح حث ال امر حث: ف قوهم قرو, *ي سنج ال شرح حث ال امر حث: ف قوهم قرو*, *ي سنج ال شرح حث ال امر حث: ف قوهم قرو*, November 2014, <https://www.aman-palestine.org/ar/reports-and-studies/2197.html>

35 Q: And in the past five years, how many times, if at all, has anyone threatened you with some sort of retaliation if you did not vote in a particular way in national, regional or local elections? Has this happened to you: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know; Refused to answer; Could not vote. Base: all respondents excluding those who could not vote.

36 Q: Please tell me how often you think the following things happen during national, regional or local elections in [insert country name]: False information or fake news being spread to influence voting outcomes. Response options: Never; Rarely; Occasionally; Frequently; Very Frequently; Don't know. Base: all respondents excluding missing.

37 This figure was obtained by adding the percentage of respondents who chose the answer options "Frequently" and "Very Frequently".

38 The Daily Star (Lebanon), *Transparency Group Call for Electoral Reforms, September 2018*, <https://www.pressreader.com/lebanon/the-daily-star-lebanon/20180925/281603831389162>

39 The Daily Star (Lebanon), *Over 4,500 illegal state hires despite jobs freeze*, Kanaan, February 2019, <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Lebanon-News/2019/Feb-21/477097-over-4500-illegal-state-hires-despite-jobs-freeze-kanaan.ashx>

40 Al Modon, *فارش ال ائيه تشرة اذكه*, *فارش ال ائيه تشرة اذكه*, *فارش ال ائيه تشرة اذكه*, April 2018, <https://www.almodon.com/politics/2018/4/23/%D9%87%D9%83%D8%B0%D8%A7-%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B4%D8%AA-%D9%87%D9%8A%D8%A6%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81-%D8%B9-D-9%84%D9%89-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA>

41 Q: And in the past five years, how many times, if at all, has anyone tried to

offer you a bribe or special favour to vote in a particular way in national, regional or local elections? Has this happened to you: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know; Refused to answer; Could not vote. Base: all respondents excluding those who could not vote.

42 Q: Next, for each of the following statements that I read out, please tell me whether you strongly disagree, tend to disagree, neither agree nor disagree, tend to agree or strongly agree: Ordinary people can make a difference in the fight against corruption. Base: all respondents excluding missing.

43 Lycée Pilote Sfax Youth Club, *Journée internationale de lutte contre la corruption, December 2018*, [https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lyc%C3%A9e-Pilote-Sfax-Youth-Club-127893784359394/photos/?tab=album&album\\_id=520464365102332&\\_tn\\_=H-R](https://www.facebook.com/pg/Lyc%C3%A9e-Pilote-Sfax-Youth-Club-127893784359394/photos/?tab=album&album_id=520464365102332&_tn_=H-R)

44 TAY-C, *Beat the Corrupt 2*, January 2019, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q\\_ieRbvWm3Y](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q_ieRbvWm3Y)

45 I-Watch Tunisia, *معرول عمل ال اذفن ال*, *معرول عمل ال اذفن ال*, *معرول عمل ال اذفن ال*, September 2016, <https://www.iwatch.tn/ar/article/22>

46 Reuters, *Tunisian police arrest presidential candidate Karoui on tax evasion charges*, August 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tunisia-election-karoui-idUSKCN1VD22F7>

47 Q: In this country, can ordinary people report incidents of corruption without fear, or do they risk retaliation or other negative consequences if they speak out? Response options: Can report without fear; Fear reprisals; Don't know. Base: all respondents excluding missing.

48 Pooled responses. Thinking about if you were to report a case of corruption committed by a government official, how likely is it that appropriate action would be taken against them? Response options: Not at all likely; Not very likely; Somewhat likely; Very likely. The percentage reported is obtained by combining the response options "Somewhat likely" and "Very likely". Base: all respondents excluding missing.

49 Q: In this country, there is the right by law for citizens to access key facts and data from the government. Were you aware that you have the right to request information from the government, or were you not yet aware that you have this right? Response option: Yes, I was aware; No, I was not yet aware; Don't know. Base: all respondents excluding missing. Palestine does not have legislation regulating access to information and therefore was not included in this question.

50 Q: In some cases, public bodies make information and facts publicly accessible, for example on their website. In other cases, citizens request (e.g. via a letter, email or telephone call) that the public body provides them with the information they need. In the last 12 months, how often, if at all, have you officially contacted a public body to request any information? Have you done this: Never; Once or twice; A few times; Often; Don't know. Base: all respondents excluding missing.

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Transparency International  
International Secretariat  
Alt-Moabit 96, 10559 Berlin, Germany

Phone: +49 30 34 38 200  
Fax: +49 30 34 70 39 12

[ti@transparency.org](mailto:ti@transparency.org)  
[www.transparency.org](http://www.transparency.org)

Blog: [voices.transparency.org](http://voices.transparency.org)  
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