

Analysis of public opinion data on corruption across countries

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Abstract

The Global Corruption Barometer 2013 is the world's largest cross-country public opinion survey on bribery and corruption. Capturing the perceptions and experiences of approximately 1,000 people in each of 107 countries, it provides a rich source of information on how this corruption manifests itself around the world.

But corruption is hard to measure; it is in most cases illegal and deliberately hidden. The ability to uncover corruption and to be free to talk about it varies from country to country. What constitutes corruption and how it is translated, defined and understood can also vary greatly. This paper performs some initial tests on the Global Corruption Barometer data at the country level, to identify if there are country level factors that can be identified, which are related to differences in the country level results.

The answers to three specific questions, which separately capture people's perceptions, experiences and personal statements, are tested against variables which measure survey implementation differences, national views and tendencies and the macroeconomic context. All three variables have some degree of significance over the results of at least one of the question types. This helps to inform our interpretation of cross-country results and this paper also makes recommendations as to how to understand the different relationships better for future surveys and data analysis.

1. Introduction: Transparency International's global public opinion survey of bribery and corruption

1.1 Background to the Global Corruption Barometer

Corruption is a global concern. Corruption can and does happen in every country around the world. Transparency International was established in 1993 to fight corruption and promote transparency, accountability and integrity around the world. But the way in which corruption manifests itself can be very different from country to country. The corrupt agents and channels are different and therefore approaches to measuring, understanding and fighting corruption must be tailored to the appropriate country context. The Transparency International model recognizes this and has a network approach, where each national office is a locally grown civil society organization, which focuses on corruption at the country level. However, it remains both relevant and important to address corruption at the global level. There are common problems that affect different countries and also therefore common remedies such that it is relevant to discuss corruption outside of national contexts. Countries are also increasingly interrelated, with corruption crossing borders as trade and investment does, therefore we need global collaboration if we are to stop corruption in each country.

Transparency International has developed a number of global corruption measurement tools. These measure the nature and extent of corruption at the global level in order to contribute for the evidence base of the global, regional and national advocacy for the fight against corruption. The Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) is Transparency International's flag ship public opinion survey. It has been gathering data on people's perceptions and experience's of corruption in more than 100 countries for a decade. The survey was designed to complement other global measurement tools, which capture perceptions of experts and business people. The GCB now provides a rich source of cross country and time series public opinion data, which can be used to help us understand trends and patterns and explore national and temporal influences on behaviors and views. For each country that is surveyed, we can identify key institutions that are most vulnerable to bribery and corruption from people's perspectives and use this to prioritise anti-corruption efforts on a country by country basis. But at its heart, the Global Corruption Barometer is a global research tool. The results enable us to understand the global extent and nature of corruption and how this varies between different countries.

The most recent wave of the GCB surveyed 114,000 people in 107 different countries. This is the largest edition of the survey to date and the results published on the 9th July 2013 provided valuable evidence with which to inform the anti-corruption movement.

1.2 Gathering and analyzing globally comparable data

The survey instrument used was the same in all countries surveyed. The questionnaire was developed at the Transparency International Secretariat in Berlin. It was based on the questionnaire used for the last edition of the Global Corruption Barometer in 2010/2011, but with some new questions added and other questions removed or adjusted. The survey included questions on experiences of paying bribes to different institutions, perceptions of corruption and probes people's personal willingness to get involved in the fight against corruption, plus demographic information.

With a few exceptions, in each country a nationally representative sample of 1,000 adults (+18 years) were surveyed. Within country weights were applied where necessary. In 6 cases, it was not possible to survey nationally and the sample was only from urban areas. For countries of a population less than 1million (4 countries) the sample size was 500.

In 99 countries, the fieldwork teams that conducted the survey were local survey companies experienced with public opinion surveying in that country and that form part of the WIN/Gallup International Association survey network, who were contracted to manage the data collection across their network. In 6 countries, the survey was conducted by Transparency International National Chapters. In two countries, Transparency International National Chapters contracted a separate local survey company to conduct the fieldwork.

The questionnaire was translated into all local languages by the survey companies (or Chapters) responsible for conducting the survey. To ensure that sensitive and polysemous terms such as 'corruption' are interpreted in the same way in each language, where possible, the translations of the questionnaire were reviewed by Transparency International local office's, experienced with the interpretation and communication of these issues in the national context.

All surveys were conducted between September 2012 and March 2013. The interviews were conducted through face to face, telephone and online surveys depending on the country context and based on a review of the how appropriate and cost effective the different modes would be in each country.

The data was gathered centrally in the Transparency International Secretariat in Berlin. The raw data was reviewed by Professor Richard Rose at the U. of Strathclyde Glasgow. The results were analysed at the global level, and published in the Global Corruption Barometer 2013 report. The results were validated by Professor Annelies Blom, Survex.

The national results were shared with Transparency International Chapters around the world, and used at the local level for targeted advocacy messages within country.

The breadth and depth of the Global Corruption Barometer provide us with an excellent data set with which to understand more about corruption as it manifests itself differently around the world. Part 2 explores some of the factors that we must consider when identifying cross country differences in the public opinion data on such a nuanced and sensitive topic. Having identified some key factors, in part 3 this paper tests whether they appear to have a systematic influence on the results of the most recent survey for specific questions. The findings in part 4 informs both the way we interpret the results and also the design of future corruption surveys.

2. Reviewing factors that can systematically impact survey responses

When constructing the questionnaire for the Global Corruption Barometer, we designed questions that could as far as possible be unambiguous and easy for a respondent to understand so that the answers were indeed an accurate representation of the experiences and perceptions of people in each country. However we also recognize that there are a number of other factors, both inside and outside of our control that can have an effect on the results and that this effect can be different from country to country. We first considered factors that were within our control, how the survey was implemented and what differences there were in survey implementation across country (2.1). Section 2.2 examines factors that influence the way each individual respondent chooses to answers the question, but specifically factors that are consistent within a country, but different across countries. This includes issues of trust and some more hard to measure issues such as social expectations and culture (for a more detailed understanding of influences at the individual level, we would need to analyse the data at the respondent level, which is outside the scope of this short paper). Finally section 2.3 suggests that the different country characteristics in terms of the macro economic environment, factors that are completely outside of our control when managing this research, can have an effect on the way people report on their experiences and perceptions of corruption. In the three sections below, the three different types of influence are discussed, with variables identified to capture an aspect of each one.

2.1 Survey implementation

Do the results differ by country because the survey was carried out differently in each country? Have we asked a different group of people different questions in a different way?

There are a number of different ways in which the survey implementation can differ across countries, including the identity and gender of the interviewer, whether or not the survey was administered as part of a longer omnibus survey, or as a standalone survey and if the survey was conducted in the home or a neutral setting.

We used a variety of different modes to conduct the survey around the world, face to face, telephone and online. We will use this data as an indicator for the broader aspects of the difference that survey implementation makes as it is simple to categorise all the countries in our sample using this criteria. Further, the mode can have a very important effect as demonstrated by other research and critically the mode is well within our control as the managers of survey research.

Figure 1- Number of countries, by mode

	Number of countries surveyed
Face to face	67
Telephone	26
Online	13
Mixed	1
Total	107

2.2 National views and tendencies towards completing sensitive surveys

Do the results differ by country because people in different countries are more or less likely to reply honestly? Do people complete the questionnaire differently in different countries because of feeling of fear and intimidation or because of social conditioning to reply in a certain way?

There are a number of different country level factors which can affect the way people think and feel when responding to questions on corruption. In some countries where the freedom of the press is restricted, people may be less likely to hear about cases of corruption in order to form their views on the issue in the same way that people do in countries where the media is free to name names particularly of those in high ranking government positions. People may also feel less inclined to criticize the government or report that they themselves have been involved in corruption, in countries where freedom of expression is limited and there is insufficient protection for whistleblowers. This may be exacerbated when people do not have faith in the survey companies conducting the fieldwork, if for example they have government affiliations and if they do not feel that their anonymity is protected in countries where data protection laws and practice are not common.

As a very broad measure of civil liberties, we will be using the Freedom House measure, which categorizes countries as Free, Partly Free and Not Free, see box 1. This particular measure was selected given the broadness of its scope of freedom issue rather than for example focusing on the political structure, but also because it provides a category for all the countries in the Global Corruption Barometer sample.

Figure 2- Number of countries, by freedom

	Number of countries surveyed
Free	48
Partly free	41
Not free	18
Total	107

Box 1 – Freedom house classifications

FREE, PARTLY FREE, NOT FREE

Freedom in the World applies one of three broad category designations to each of the countries and territories included in the index: **Free**, **Partly Free**, and **Not Free**.

A **Free** country is one where there is open political competition, a climate of respect for civil liberties, significant independent civic life, and independent media.

A **Partly Free** country is one in which there is limited respect for political rights and civil liberties. Partly Free states frequently suffer from an environment of corruption, weak rule of law, ethnic and religious strife, and a political landscape in which a single party enjoys dominance despite a certain degree of pluralism.

A **Not Free** country is one where basic political rights are absent, and basic civil liberties are widely and systematically denied.

For more on how these designations are determined, see the Methodology section on page 32.

2.2 Macroeconomic country characteristics

Do the results differ by country because of macro environmental conditions in a country? Does average income, education and health of a country determine how people feel about and report on the severity of corruption? Is corruption seen as a relative problem to other macro conditions?

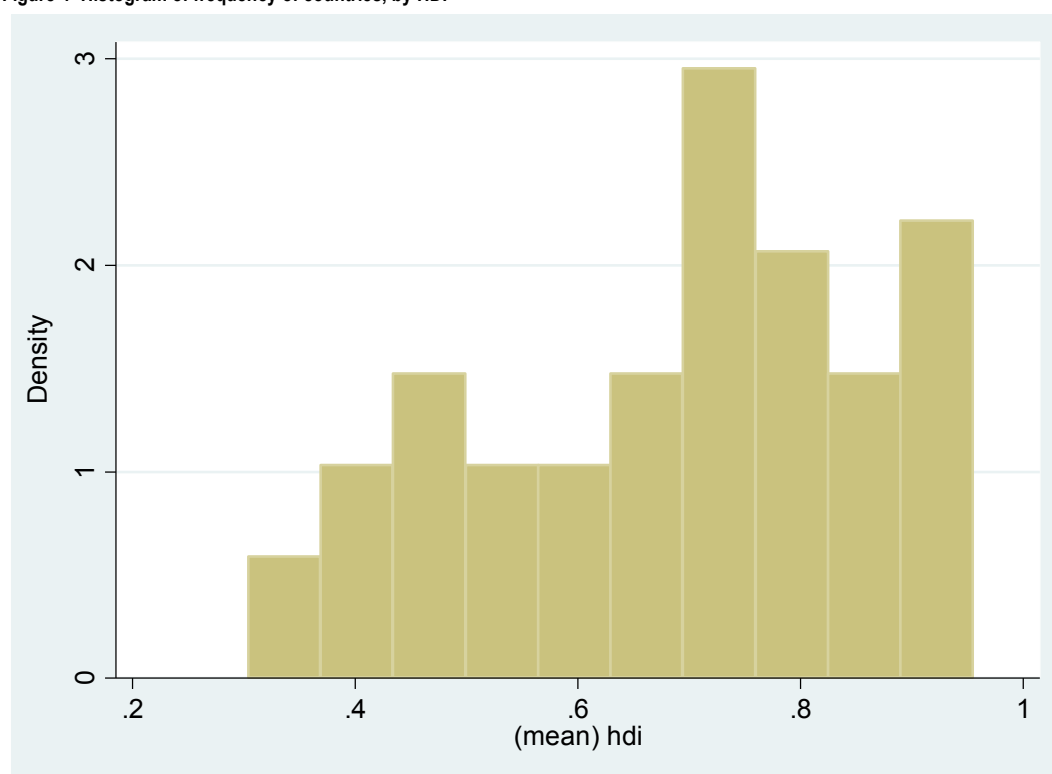
There are many different country level factors that affect how corruption manifests itself in different countries, for example if the economy is driven by primary and extractive resources. Similarly, country level economic factors can affect how people feel about corruption and therefore respond to this survey. For people that can not afford basic services, corruption that they cannot necessarily see everyday, may not be their primary concern and it may be relatively less severe to them. But similarly, in countries where most people are well off, corruption may not be seen to be doing so much harm.

For this dimension, two variables were selected. One purely financial categorization provided by the World Bank, as High, Medium and low income countries. The second is the UN's Human Development Index, which provides a measure of a countries status in terms of important human development outcomes other than money. These two indicators were selected as they are universally viewed as benchmark measure for wealth and development, but also because they provide data for all the countries in our sample.

Figure 3- Number of countries, by income

	Number of countries surveyed
High	27
Upper middle	29
Lower middle	31
Low	18
Total	107

Figure 4- Histogram of frequency of countries, by HDI



3. Exploring the Global Corruption Barometer 2013 data set

In the full raw data file, we have 72 data points for each respondent. For this paper, I will focus on just three of the data points (questions), analysed at the aggregated national level. As we are working with nationally representative samples (in almost all countries), weighted where appropriate, the results we are comparing for each question can be generalized to the national level. The three questions have been selected to typify a 'type' of corruption question included in the survey. These three types are perceptions, experience and personal statements. These three different types require a different cognitive process. Perceptions require a subjective evaluation of what is outside of the respondents' direct sphere of influence, providing a view from the outside. Experience questions should be a simple recall exercise; they are yes no questions about a person's activities in the past 12 months. The personal statements require hypothetical self reflection, what would that person be willing to do. The answers are therefore based on what the respondent feels about themselves, but also how they want to report themselves in a survey. Whilst it is not possible to generalize about these three types on the basis of one question, this serves as a starting point for further analysis and to explore the sensitivities of different questions that fall into each type. The first aspect of each question we will look at are the non response rates. This tells us how many people were not able or willing to complete the question, whether because of comprehension or reluctance, which could be influenced by some of the factors we will explore. We will then look at the results themselves, as published in the Global Corruption Barometer 2013, to explore which questions may be affected differently by different factors and therefore how we should carefully analyse the results across countries as a result.

3.1 Perceptions questions

"To what extent do you believe corruption is a problem in the public sector in your country?" This question was presented on a scale of 1-5, where 1 means not a problem at all and 5 means a very serious problem.

As an average across the 107 countries surveyed, 3% of people said that they 'did not know' and 1% gave no answer. We have combined these answer categories and found the variation across countries for this non-response to the question ranges from 0% (Chile, Mexico, Philippines) to 30% (Japan). The average score on a scale of 1-5 for those respondents that did give an answer was 4.1, which ranged from 2 (Rwanda) to 4.8 (Liberia).

We first test whether the Mode makes a difference to the responses to this question. Figure 5 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the three Modes

Figure 5- Responses to perceptions question, by mode

	% non-responses	Score on a scale of 1-5
Face to Face	3%	4.3
Telephone	4%	3.9
Online	8%	3.6

Non-response rates were slightly higher for those countries surveyed online. In a simple regression treating the mode as categorical variables, **the online survey method is correlated with higher non-response rates at the 5% level of significance, where non response rates for this question are likely to be 5% higher than under face to face conditions.**

Online respondents also on average scored their public sector as less corrupt. This was significant at the 1% level, where telephone respondent scored their country to be less corrupt than face to face respondents and online respondents see their country as less corrupt still. However, online surveys were conducted in countries that have high internet penetration rates, which tend to be countries that are higher income, better governance and less corruption. Therefore we need to control for 'actual corruption' in order to find out what if the mode alone makes a difference. The best predictor we have for corruption, is the Corruption Perceptions Index, which is deliberately designed to measure corruption relatively and also is specific to corruption in the public sector which is the focus of this question. When we regress the score for perceptions of corruption against the mode and control for the Corruption Perceptions Index, we find that only the Corruption Perceptions Index is statistically significant and therefore **the mode has no significant correlation with the results (score) of this question.**

Secondly, we first test whether the degree of freedom in a country makes a difference to the responses to this question. Figure 6 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the three categories of freedom as defined by Freedom House.

Figure 6- Responses to perceptions question, by freedom

	% non-responses	Score on a scale of 1-5
Free	5%	4.1
Partly Free	3%	4.3
Not Free	4%	3.7

Non-response rates were slightly higher for those respondents surveyed in free countries. In a simple regression treating freedom as categorical variables, **lower non response rates in partly free countries were significant at the 5% level, where non response rates in partly free countries are likely to be 2% lower than in Free countries.**

On average, respondents in Not free countries perceive their public sector as less corrupt than respondents in Free or Partly Free countries. When we run a regression using the Corruption perceptions Index as a control, we find that freedom loads negatively and significantly for both partly free and not free countries. **That is, respondents in Partly Free and Not Free countries will give lower scores (less corrupt) for this question. For Partly Free countries they are scoring corruption 0.3 points lower and in Not Free countries, by almost 1.0 points, significant at the 1% level.**

Thirdly we wanted to know if the income level of a country makes a difference to the responses of this question. Figure 7 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the four different classification of income provided by the World Bank.

Figure 7- Responses to perceptions question, by income

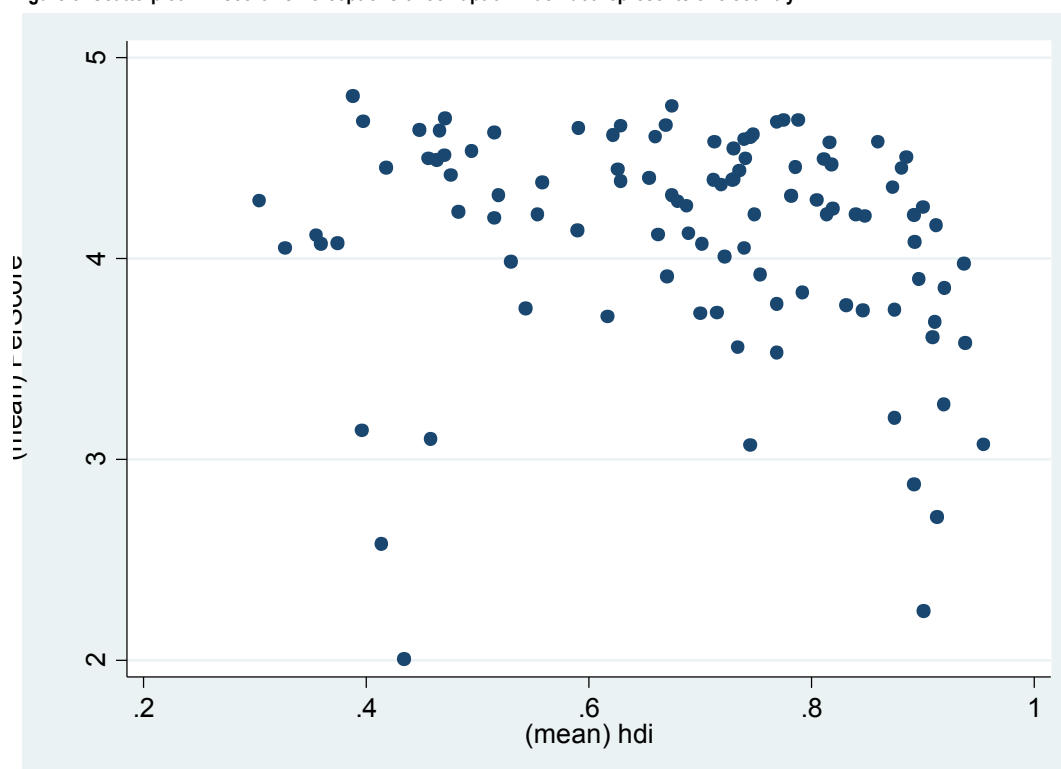
	% non-responses	Score on a scale of 1-5
High	6%	3.8
Upper Middle	4%	4.3
Lower Middle	3%	4.2
Low	2%	4.1

Non-response rates were slightly higher for those countries surveyed in higher income countries. In a simple regression treating income as categorical variables, **the small difference in lower non response rates in each of the income groups were significant at the 5% level.**

On average, respondents in High Income countries reported lower levels of corruption in the public sector. In the three other categories there was little variation in perceptions of corruption. When we run a regression using the Corruption Perceptions Index as a control, we find that **the income group does not have a statistically significant correlation with the perceptions of corruption as scored by the people in that country.**

We also tested the correlation between perceived corruption and human development Index. The scatterplot below shows that with exception of a few outliers in the bottom left corner of the chart, countries with a higher HDI tend to give lower scores for corruption. When we run the regression, controlling for the CPI, we find that the hdi score loads positively and significantly at the 5% level. **This tells us that countries with a higher hdi would score the corruption to be worse (higher scores) than countries with a lower hdi, compared with what the CPI would predict.**

Figure 8- Scatterplot HDI score vs Perceptions of corruption. Each dot represents one country



3.2 Experience questions

"In the past 12 months, have you or anyone living in your household come into contact with medical and health services?"

IF YES - "In your contact or contacts with medical and health services, have you or anyone in your household paid a bribe in any form in the past 12 months?"

We asked this question over 8 different services and calculated an aggregate bribery rate for each country, which was the proportion of the sample that had paid a bribe to any one of the 8 services listed.

As an average across the 107 countries surveyed, 2% of people said that they 'did not know' if they had come into contact with medical and health services. When asked about paying bribes to this service, 1% did not know or gave no answer. The average bribery rate to medical and health services is 19%, which ranged from 0% (Spain, Uruguay, Denmark) to 75% (Albania).

We first test whether the Mode makes a difference to the responses of this question. Figure 5 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the three Modes

Figure 9- Responses to experience question, by mode

	% non-responses (contact)	% non-responses (bribe)	% bribe medical and health	% bribe (aggregate)
Face to Face	1%	1%	22%	34%
Telephone	2%	1%	16%	22%
Online	4%	2%	5%	9%

Non-response rates were slightly higher for those countries surveyed online. In a simple regression treating the mode as categorical variables, **the online survey method has a significant affect on non-response rates for the contact part of the question at the 5% level, but was not significant for the bribery part of the question.**

Online respondents also on average were less likely to pay bribes to medical and health services and overall for the 8 services we asked about. We will again use the Corruption Perceptions Index as a control, using this as a

proxy for actual bribery rates in each country. It should be noted here that the corruption that is captured by the CPI is not limited to bribery that occurs at the citizen level and can include corruption at high level of government, in public procurement etc. However given the challenges for attaining true estimates for bribery, this serves as an appropriate proxy for this analysis. When we regress the bribery rates both for the medical services and the aggregate number against the mode and control for the Corruption Perceptions Index, **we find that only the Corruption Perceptions Index is statistically significant and therefore the mode has no significant correlation with the responses to this question.**

Secondly, we first test whether the degree of freedom in a country can be shown to make a difference to the responses to this question. Figure 6 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the three categories of freedom as defined by Freedom House.

Figure 10- Responses to experience question, by freedom

	% non-responses (contact)	% non-responses (bribe)	% bribe medical and health	% bribe (aggregate)
Free	2%	1%	11%	17%
Partly Free	2%	1%	24%	36%
Not Free	2%	2%	27%	40%

There was no difference in the non-response rates for those countries surveyed in free, partly free or not free countries.

On average, respondents in Partly free and Not free countries were more likely and much more likely respectively to pay bribe for both the medical and health services and overall. When we regress the bribery rates both for the medical services and the aggregate number against the degree of freedom in the country and control for the Corruption Perceptions Index, we find that only the Corruption Perceptions Index is statistically significant and therefore the **freedom (that does not manifest itself in different levels of corruption as captured by the Corruption Perceptions Index) has no significant correlation with the responses to this question.**

Thirdly we wanted to know if the income level of a country makes a difference to the responses of this question. Figure 7 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the four different classification of income provided by the World Bank.

Figure 11- Responses to experience question, by income

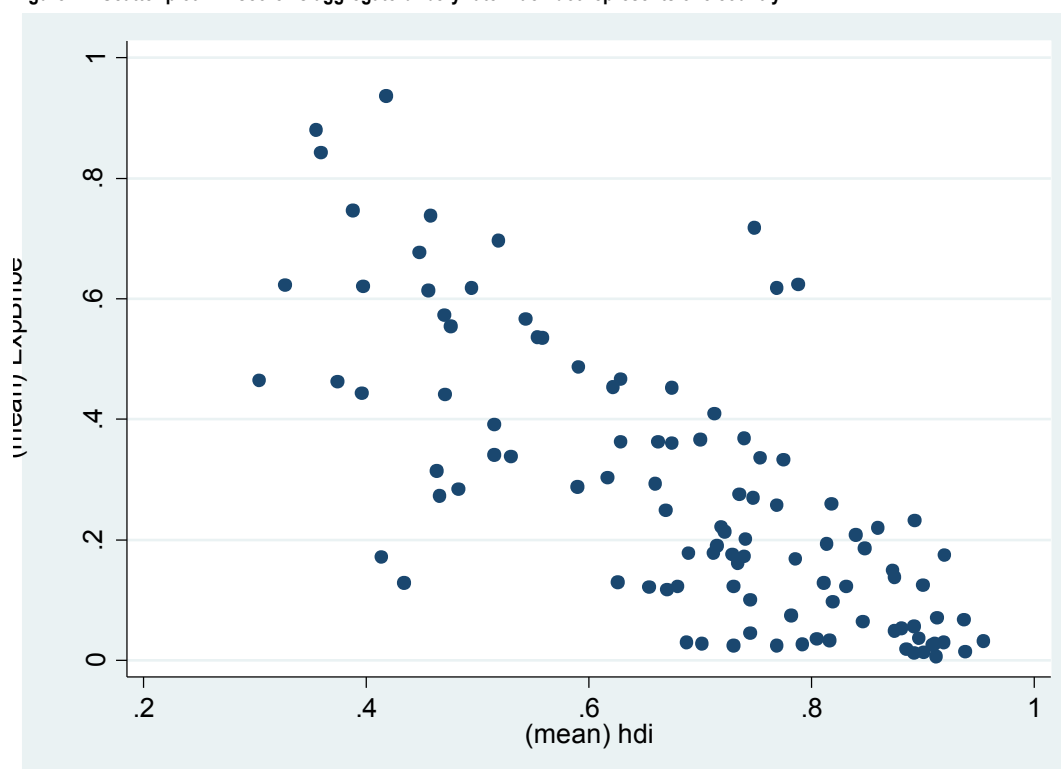
	% non-responses (contact)	% non-responses (bribe)	% bribe medical and health	% bribe (aggregate)
High	2%	1%	7%	8%
Upper Middle	2%	1%	19%	23%
Lower Middle	2%	1%	22%	35%
Low	1%	1%	31%	56%

There was no difference in the non-response rates for those countries surveyed in high medium or low income countries.

On average, respondents in Low Income countries reported higher levels of bribery to the medical and health service and for the aggregated bribery data. When we run a regression using the Corruption Perceptions Index as a control, we find that for medical and health services, **people in the lowest income group are likely to report 13% higher levels of bribery than the CPI alone would suggest. For the aggregated bribery result, the lower middle and the lower income groups were both statistically significant at the 5% level, where people were likely to report 17% and 34% higher rates than the CPI would predict.**

When we regressed the bribery rates against the hdi, we found that there was no statistically significant relationship for the bribery rates in medical and health services. However, there was a significant and negative relationship when we just used the health indicators from the hdi measure, finding that countries with lower hdi health scores were likely to report higher levels of bribery for health related services. For the aggregate bribery rate, the hdi loads negatively and is significant at the 1% level. **With people in countries with lower hdi scores reporting higher rates of bribery than predicted by the CPI.**

Figure 12- Scatter plot HDI score vs aggregate bribery rate. Each dot represents one country



3.3 Personal statements

“There are different things that people could do to fight corruption and I am now going to ask whether you would be willing to do any of the following: Please answer Yes or No.
 Report an incident of corruption”

As an average across the 107 countries surveyed, 7% of people said that they ‘did not know’ and 2% gave no answer. We have combined these answer categories and found the variation across countries for this non-response to the question ranges from 0% (Vanuatu, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Chile, Cambodia, Maldives) to 60% (Japan). The average percentage of people that said that they would report an incident of corruption was 69%

We first test whether the Mode was correlated with different responses to this question. Figure 5 summarises the average non-response rates and scores for each of the three Modes

Figure 13- Responses to personal statement question, by mode

	% non-responses	% that said that they would report an incident
Face to Face	7%	64%
Telephone	7%	74%
Online	20%	86%

Non-response rates were slightly higher for those countries surveyed online. The non response rate for Japan was considerably higher than all other countries surveyed. When we exclude this country from the sample, the average nonresponse rate for online surveys was 16%. In a simple regression treating the mode as categorical variables, **the online survey method is correlated with higher non-response rates at the 1% level of significance, where non response rates for this question are likely to be 12% higher than under face to face conditions.**

Telephone and online respondents were on average more likely to say that they would get involved in the fight against corruption themselves. This was significant at the 5% level, where telephone respondents were more likely by 9% and online by 21%. This question is different from the two explored in 3.1 and 3.2 as we would not necessarily expect the response rates to be correlated with actual levels of corruption in the country. Rather than measuring corruptions itself, this question is measuring people’s personal attitudes towards getting involved

themselves in the fight against corruption. To try to isolate whether the Mode appeared to make a difference in this case, we control for the other two factors that we think may affect people's responses. That is personal openness measures by Freedom and the relative importance of corruption as an issue in the country, measured by the HDI. In this model, **the mode still loads positively and significantly, with coefficients of 12% and 22% respectively for telephone and online. This is robust to changing the model to include people's perceptions of how severe the problem is (perceptions question used in 3.1) and controlling for income.**

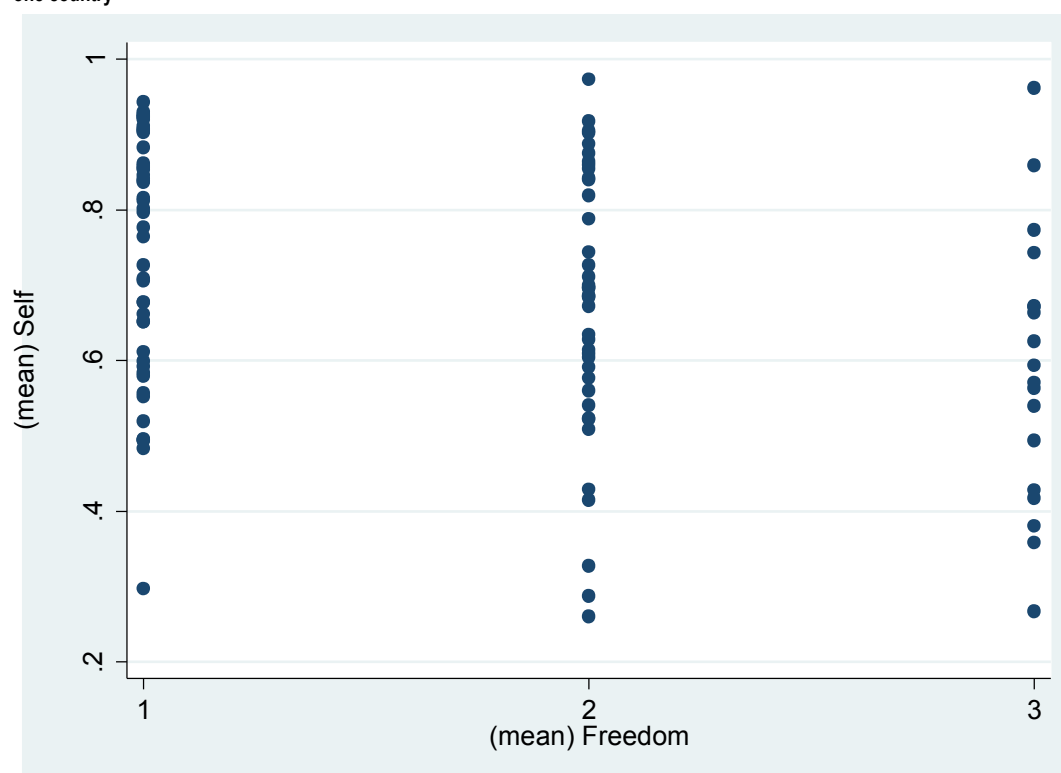
Figure 14- STATA output regression of personal statement question against mode, freedom, hdi and perceptions of corruption

Source	SS	df	MS		Number of obs	104
					F(7, 96)	4.62
Model	0.8212107	7	0.117315818		Prob > F	0.0002
Residual	2.4394537	96	0.025410976		R-squared	0.2519
					Adj R-squared	0.1973
Total	3.2606645	103	.031656936		Root MSE	0.15941
% report corr	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Telephone	0.1223401	0.0396562	3.09	0.003	0.0436232	0.201057
Online	0.2238896	0.0602884	3.71	0	0.1042181	0.3435611
Mixed (Nepal)	-0.0690946	0.1626895	-0.42	0.672	-0.3920306	0.2538415
Partly Free	-0.0620861	0.0416413	-1.49	0.139	-0.1447434	0.0205712
Not Free	-0.1560066	0.0568507	-2.74	0.007	-0.2688543	-0.0431589
HDI	-0.2399074	0.1260747	-1.9	0.06	-0.4901638	0.010349
Perceptions of corruption	0.0023831	0.0331652	0.07	0.943	-0.0634494	0.0682155
_cons	0.8407004	0.1785663	4.71	0	0.4862491	1.195152

In the above model, perceptions of corruption (the question asked in our survey) are not significant, which tells us that people's willingness to get involved in the fight against corruption is not related to their own perception of the severity of the issue in its own right. People from Not Free countries are less likely to report incidents of corruption. This tendency can be seen on figure 14 below, where each dot represents a country classified as Free, partly free or not free. It shows that proportion of people in free countries that said that they would report an incident were more tightly clustered between 50% and 90% than in free countries, where the results were much more evenly distributed in the sub sample between low and high extremes.

When we substitute people's perceptions of corruption with the CPI score, there is a very small positive coefficient, where a higher CPI score (less corruption) corresponds with higher reporting of corruption. In this model, the hdi also loads negatively and significantly at the 5% level, such that lower hdi scores correspond with higher reporting of corruption.

Figure 14- Scatter plot Freedom (1=Free, 2=Partly Free, 3=Not Free) vs % people that would report corruption. Each dot represents one country



4. Conclusions and recommendations

The Global Corruption Barometer is one of Transparency International's major global corruption measurement tools. It seeks to measure bribery and corruption in key institutions from the perspective of people living and working in more than 100 different countries around the world. The results of this survey, published July 9th 2013, provide important information on how corruption manifests itself differently in different countries and can be used to shape our understanding of the issue and how to fight it, at the national regional and global level.

But the Global Corruption Barometer has not been designed to rank countries, deliberately scoring them as better/worse than others (as the Corruption Perceptions Index does) and we must be careful when making direct country to country comparisons with this data. This paper has explored some of the reasons why the results may vary from country to country – reasons other than differences in perceptions of corruption. These early tests emphasise the need for making a qualitative assessment of the results from surveys such as this and the need to keep exploring why people's responses may differ across country and how these differences can help us communicating the issue of corruption to different people around the world.

The survey implementation is important. The mode matters in terms of soliciting responses. In the three types of questions we explored, non-response rates were significantly higher for countries where the survey was conducted online. In the models tested, the survey mode did not make a difference to the results to the questions on perceptions of corruption or experiences of bribery, but people were more likely to say that they would report and incident of corruption, if asked in an online survey compared with a face to face or telephone survey.

Online surveys offer an increased anonymity for the respondent. For the question on whether people would report on an incident of corruption, this could work two ways as for this question there is clearly a socially correct answer, that one would agree that they would stand up against this crime and report and incident themselves. The first effect could be that people completing a survey online do not feel that they have to answer in the socially acceptable way as they are not providing this answer to another person and can admit if they would not report an incident. This would result in lower percentages for reporting from online surveys. But indeed we find the opposite. This could be because people may be more ready to agree to certain things that they know are the socially acceptable answers, but which they do not intend to follow up, if they feel like they are anonymous and the statement can not be followed up upon.

Further analysis would be necessary to ensure that the non-responses to the online survey did not introduce and bias and critically, exploring the non-response rates and non-completion rates at the questionnaire level. As a practical follow up, it is recommended that sample sizes for online surveys be increased by 5-10% (when compared with sample sizes of telephone and face to face countries) in order to accommodate the non-responses without reducing the sample size for each question. To solicit the most honest answers on people's commitment to getting involved in the fight against corruption, the online questionnaire could be linked directly to an anti-corruption petition, where the respondent is asked to complete this in their name. This would ensure that we capture a % of people that do not just 'say' they would do something, but that are actually prepared to follow through.

National views and tendencies towards completing sensitive surveys are important. The way people choose to respond to questions varies across every individual. This paper attempts to generalize the way people would respond in a country on the basis of their civil liberties in the rest of society, as captured by the freedom classification by freedom house. We find that people in countries that are less free, provide perceptions of corruption in their country that are lower than predicted by internationally comparative measures of corruption. This could be a result of people not having access to information: the stories news and corrupt goings on in their country, with corruption happening behind firmly closed doors that does not reach the public, but that is picked up by international observers and institutional analysts. It could also be driven by a reluctance to criticize the state, where the people in that country are fearful of repercussions for criticism or simply do not have the capacity, experience and space to openly discuss issues of national governance.

People in Not Free countries also said that they were less likely to report an incident of corruption. This is understandable, where there may not be they systems in place to facilitate confidentiality and protection for whistleblowers. In not free countries, the space for citizens to change things is also limited, so one can postulate that a respondent would feel like reporting would not make a difference.

It is important to recognize that the measure that we use for internationally comparable rates of corruption, the Corruption Perception's Index, may also be influenced across country by some other variable other than the level of corruption. For example, scoring Not Free countries as more corrupt than people living in those countries do, may also be a result of the general context that some of the CPI data sources are evaluating, which include aspects of democracy and government efficiency and so on. Therefore more analysis of the kind of corruption people are thinking about in free countries versus non free countries would be necessary and on what basis and information sources they are making this assertion of the level of corruption on. This could be done with more in depth interviews which ask these more detailed questions in people from different countries with different freedom classifications. Understanding why people in Not Free countries are less likely to report would also be important, and can be followed for this sub-set of countries, by exploring another question in the Global Corruption Barometer, which asks why people would not be willing to report.

Country context is important. People in more developed countries with a higher HDI think that corruption is worse than would otherwise be predicted. These findings suggest that perceptions of corruption may be relative to the other issues that affect people in their everyday life. For a country that is struggling to address the basic needs of it's citizens, corruption may not be seen as an extreme problem as the day to day needs take priority. It could also indicate that there may be a certain level of development necessary, which includes human development in terms of literacy and education and infrastructure, which facilitates access to information and transparency, before people appreciate the seriousness and cost of corruption particularly in the long term, to the point where it overrides any short terms gain from using corrupt means for example to access services.

People in richer countries are also less likely to tell us that they pay bribes in their everyday life, than the overall perceived level of corruption would suggest. This suggests that corruption manifests itself different in countries at different states of development, with the day to day bribery not being the major driver of higher income countries, but rather corruption occurs using more sophisticated means of influence and power, political lobbying, state capture and so on.

Corruption is about those that have money and power – using it and those that do not, being excluded from the game. More analysis how a country's wealth and development affect the way they see corruption would be valuable from the perspective of the relative dimensions of the haves and the have nots, in other words measures for inequality in that country and also by exploring differences in responses of people from different income brackets within the country sample.