# Perceptions of Corruption in Mass Publics

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Corruption is an important but very difficult phenomenon to measure. It is an important phenomenon because modern research tends to agree that impacts of corruption are in all respects negative. Corruption hurts beliefs in the political system and damages legitimacy. In the economy, transaction costs increase, investment incentives get reduced and economic growth goes down (Seligson 2002). The measurement problem is to an extent inherent. Corruption is criminal behavior and as such difficult to measure directly. All kinds of indirect measures have been invented and tried. One such method, largely in disrepute today, is through court records and police reports. Another technique is to study media reports of corruption and official's misconduct (Pharr 2000). A third idea is to use crime-victimization surveys which among other things include questions on the extent to which people have been asked to pay bribes.

However, the most prominent way of measuring corruption today is to turn to business people and various experts and ask them to assess the extent of corruption in a given country. Transparency International as well as the World Bank Institute both use varieties of this method to measure their Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and the index Control of Corruption (Lambsdorf 2002, Kaufmann 2004). These indexes are very complex, built as they are on multiple sources. But in essence they are measures based on perceptions of corruption among elite groups in the relevant countries. Assessments of business people and experts weigh in more strongly than perceptions of corruption among ordinary citizens, if they are weighed in at all.

An obvious alternative way of measuring corruption, if one chooses to take advantage of a perception-based measure, is to ask citizens to assess the extent of corruption in their own country. It is not a novel idea. It has been done by Gallup International and others. Asking not only elites, but also citizens have at least two very positive consequences. First, it gives us a chance to validate the outcome of the elite-based surveys. Do we get the same rank ordering of countries when we ask for elite assessments of corruption as when we ask ordinary people the same thing? Second, data from large mass surveys give us a possibility to break the results down and study perceptions of corruption in various political and social subgroups. And that opens up the possibility to analyse causal factors behind corruption/perceptions of corruption and to identify segments in society where corruption/perceptions of corruption are more or less prevalent. And that in turn give anti-corruption efforts valuable tools to work with.

## Asking Ordinary People

By happy chance it so happens that the community of international election researchers when designing the second wave of data collection for the project *The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES)* included an interview question on corruption in a mass survey administered in some forty countries in the years 2001-2005. The question asks for perceptions of corruption, not in the society at large, but specifically amongst politicians. "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in…..(country)?" The question was asked to representative samples of eligible voters in post-election surveys.  So far results are in from twentyfour countries where data were collected in the years 2001-2003. The figures in Table 1 show the country by country results ranked from perceptions of most corruption to perceptions of least corruption. The fact that Mexicans top the ranking perceiving much more widespread corruption in their country than Danes, who are at the bottom perceiving very little corruption in Denmark, indicates that the measurement might yield a familiar outcome when it comes to the ranking of countries. And that expectation is borne out beautifully.
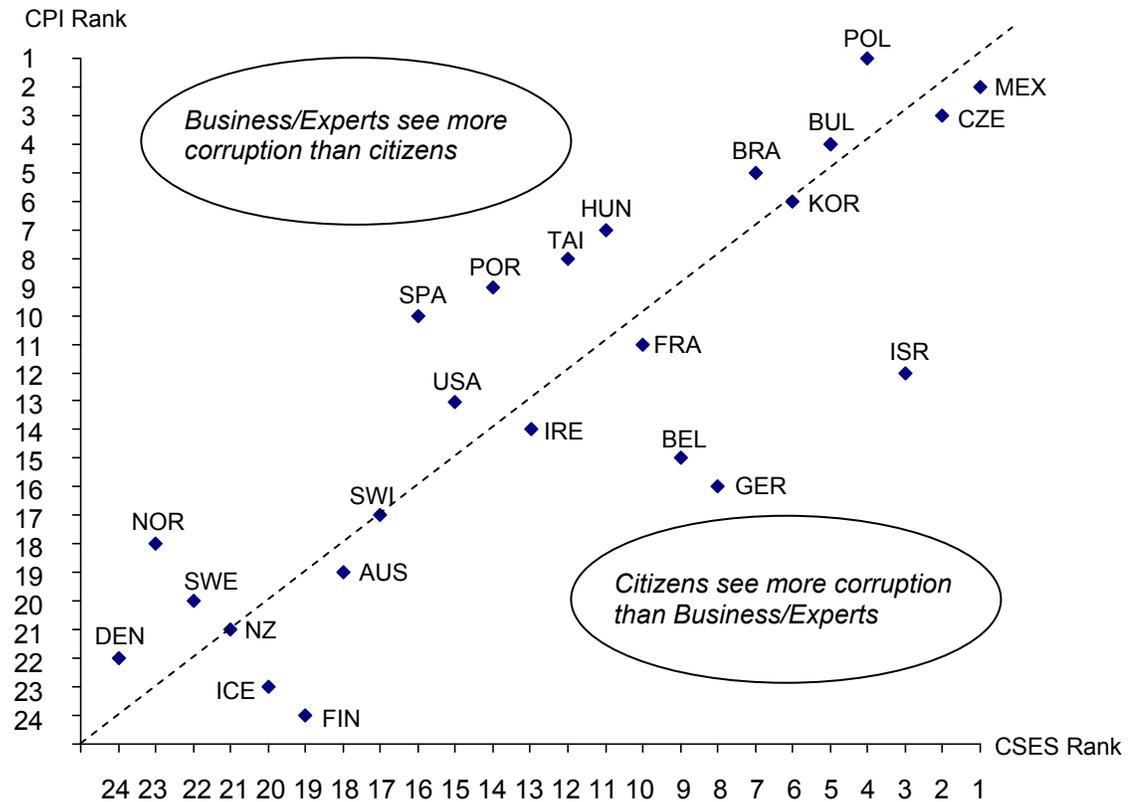
**Table 1     Mass Perceptions of the Extent of Corruption in Twentyfour Countries  (percent, means)**

| Country | Very wide-spread | Quite widespread | Not very widespread | It hardly happens at all | Sum percent | Mean | Percent don't know/ no answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico | 72 | 21 | 6 | 1 | 100 | 3,6 | 2 |
| 2. Czech Republic | 61 | 34 | 5 | 0 | 100 | 3,6 | 13 |
| 3. Israel | 60 | 33 | 6 | 1 | 100 | 3,5 | 5 |
| 4. Poland | 55 | 38 | 6 | 1 | 100 | 3,5 | 12 |
| 5. Bulgaria | 53 | 43 | 3 | 1 | 100 | 3,5 | 15 |
| 6. Korea | 43 | 51 | 5 | 1 | 100 | 3,3 | 2 |
| 7. Brazil | 51 | 31 | 16 | 2 | 100 | 3,3 | 4 |
| 8. Germany | 40 | 48 | 11 | 1 | 100 | 3,3 | 1 |
| 9. Belgium | 36 | 50 | 10 | 4 | 100 | 3,2 | 6 |
| 10. France | 36 | 47 | 15 | 2 | 100 | 3,2 | 2 |
| 11. Hungary | 26 | 57 | 15 | 2 | 100 | 3,1 | 7 |
| 12. Taiwan | 26 | 55 | 18 | 1 | 100 | 3,1 | 18 |
| 13. Ireland | 27 | 47 | 24 | 2 | 100 | 3,0 | 8 |
| 14. Portugal | 28 | 41 | 20 | 11 | 100 | 2,9 | 17 |
| 15. United States | 18 | 42 | 37 | 3 | 100 | 2,8 | 3 |
| 16. Spain | 9 | 51 | 32 | 8 | 100 | 2,6 | 6 |
| 17. Switzerland | 7 | 34 | 51 | 8 | 100 | 2,4 | 8 |
| 18. Australia | 9 | 28 | 50 | 13 | 100 | 2,3 | 0 |
| 19. Finland | 6 | 28 | 49 | 17 | 100 | 2,2 | 5 |
| 20. Iceland | 5 | 25 | 50 | 20 | 100 | 2,2 | 7 |
| 21.New Zealand | 8 | 24 | 41 | 27 | 100 | 2,1 | 26 |
| 22. Sweden | 4 | 20 | 58 | 18 | 100 | 2,1 | 11 |
| 23. Norway | 2 | 22 | 54 | 22 | 100 | 2,1 | 3 |
| 24. Denmark | 3 | 17 | 52 | 28 | 100 | 2,0 | 4 |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated above. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

In Figure 1 it is demonstrated that most countries are ranked the same way irrespective of which measurement technique is applied. Elite and mass perceptions give the same result.

**Figure 1   Perceptions of Corruption Among Business People & Experts Versus Among Mass Publics in Twentyfour Countries (ranks)**



*Comment:* The results for the Corruption Perceptions Index are from 2002 and published by *Transparency International.* The CPI scores are based on "perceptions of the degree of corruption as seen by business people and risk analysts." The correlation between the rankings of CPI and CSES is .84 for our 24 countries (Spearman's Rho). A high rank (1) means perceptions of widespread corruption.

   The correlation between the two rank orderings is an impressive .82 (Spearmans rho). There are only two rather clear cases where the rankings do not match very well. Both of these outlying cases reveal an outcome where corruption is ranked clearly higher when we ask citizens than when we ask business people and experts. In a somewhat oversimplified way, we can say that people in these cases see more corruption than elites, at least if we use the ranks to draw a crude conclusion; crude

since the two measurement scales are different. The two deviant cases are Israel and Germany. Closer methodological as well as substantive studies are needed here in order to understand what is happening. Who shall we believe, the German/Israeli people or German/Israeli elites?

**Differences Between Political and Social Groups**

Country results will be more credible if most relevant social and political groups tend to agree in their assessment of the extent of corruption. In order to test this, a lengthy series of data runs have been performed for a set of group variables in our twentyfour countries. Six social groupings and two political have been systematically analysed across all the countries looking for differences in perceptions of corruption. The social variables are gender, age group, educational level, public or private sector, occupation, and living in a rural area, a city or a big city. The two political variables deal with ideological identification and party sympathy – supporting a governing party or an opposition party.

The outcome is very conspicuous. There are very few and often very small differences in the way various social and political groups perceive the extent of corruption in their own country. There is a high degree of consensus between groups. People tend to see the same reality no matter what vantage point in society they look from.

The results are displayed in great detail in Tables 3-9 in the Appendix. Of course, if one looks closely at the figures for each country some modest differences turn up for certain countries and groups. For example, the largest gender differences are to be found in New Zealand and Denmark. Finland, Iceland and New Zealand have the largest differences between young and old people. Switzerland, Finland and New Zealand top the list of countries with differences in perceptions between educational groups. Rural-city differences are largest in Brazil and New Zealand. Sector differences tend to be very small in all countries. The same is true for occupational groups with the exception for farmers who tend to deviate up or down in many countries. The reason probably being of a methodological kind. Very few farmers are interviewed in each country. The results become statistically very unstable. Ideological differences between how left and right leaning citizens perceive corruption levels tend to be most visible in Spain, Australia and New Zealand. And, finally, supporters of opposition parties see more corruption than government party sympathizers in especially three countries – Spain, Bulgaria and USA.

New Zealand pops up in many of these enumerations of countries with modest if not large differences between how people from different groups perceive the extent of corruption in their own land. This may signal less of a consensus when it comes to assess corruption in New Zealand.

A further look at the detailed results reveals some very minor but persistent patterns across all countries. The display in Table 2 show which groups have tended to perceive most and least corruption.

**Table 2 Social and Political Groups Perceiving Most and Least Corruption in Twentyfour Countries (Number of Countries)**

| | | Number of Countries Where Group Perceives | |
| | | Most Corruption | Least Corruption |
|---|---|---|---|
| Gender | women | 17 | 7 |
| | men | 7 | 17 |
| Age | young | 13 | 7 |
| | middle aged | 6 | 3 |
| | old | 5 | 14 |
| Education | low | 14 | 6 |
| | middle | 5 | 3 |
| | high | 5 | 15 |
| Occupation | worker | 8 | 2 |
| | white collar | 4 | 6 |
| | farmer | 7 | 9 |
| | self employed | 2 | 4 |
| Sector | public | 11 | 11 |
| | private | 11 | 11 |
| Rural-city | rural | 9 | 6 |
| | city | 6 | 6 |
| | big city | 8 | 11 |
| Ideology | left | 8 | 6 |
| | middle | 14 | 3 |
| | right | 2 | 15 |
| Government vs Opposition | Government Party Sympathizers | 7 | 17 |
| | Opposition Party Sympathizers | 17 | 7 |

*Comment:* See Tables 3 – 10 for exact definitions. For occupation we have three missing cases, for rural-city one. For sector we have one missing case and one draw.

As said before, differences between groups within countries are most often very small, but across counties, there is sometimes a discernable patter. For example, women tend to see more corruption than men. That is the case in 17 out of our 24 countries. Young people perceive more corruption (13 countries out of 24), and old people less corruption (14 countries out of 24). People with low formal education see more corruption than people with university training. Workers perceive more corruption than people in white collar occupations or people being self employed. People living in rural areas see more corruption than big city dwellers. Citizens leaning ideologically to the left or toward the middle notice more corruption than citizens on the right. Especially people in the middle tend to perceive widespread corruption. And, as expected, citizens supporting the political opposition see more corruption than citizens who sympathize with the government (17 out of 24 countries).

The results hint at a pattern where socially and politically weaker groups tend to see more corruption than more established groups. Women, the young, low educated people, workers, people in rural areas, centerleft leaning citizens and opposition supporters perceive a little more corruption in their countries than men, the old, university trained people, self employed, big city people, right leaning citizens and government supporters. Differences are in most cases very small, but the pattern is there. Social and political groups closest to the elites in their societies tend to see a little less corruption than people closer to the bottom. Less advantaged groups perceive somewhat more corruption than more advantaged groups.

**A Worthwhile and Valuable Tool**
The simple but clear conclusion from our exercise is that mass surveys are very useful tools in the study of corruption. Perceptions of corruption in mass publics give valid and valuable information. And if the perception measurements are complemented with interview questions asking about behaviors like bribe giving and perhaps also bribe taking, the potential for real interesting measurements are great. But as always I guess it is a matter of money. Mass surveys are expansive to do.

**References**
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Lambsdorff, J. 2002. Background Paper to the 2002 Corruption Perceptions Index. Framework Document 2002. Göttingen: Göttingen University
Kaufmann, D. 2004. Corruption, Governance, and Security: Challenges for the Rich Countries and the World. Global Competitiveness Report 2004/2005.

# Appendix

**Table 3   Perceptions of Corruption Among Men and Women in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Gender perceiving most corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | men | 72 | 22 | 94 | 3,7 | men |
| | women | 72 | 21 | 93 | 3,6 | |
| 2. Czech, | men | 61 | 34 | 95 | 3,6 | men |
| | women | 60 | 35 | 95 | 3,5 | |
| 3. Israel, | men | 53 | 36 | 89 | 3,4 | women |
| | women | 66 | 29 | 95 | 3,6 | |
| 4. Poland, | men | 55 | 38 | 93 | 3,5 | men |
| | women | 56 | 38 | 94 | 3,4 | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | men | 55 | 41 | 96 | 3,5 | men |
| | women | 50 | 45 | 95 | 3,4 | |
| 6. Korea, | men | 43 | 51 | 94 | 3,4 | men |
| | women | 42 | 51 | 93 | 3,3 | |
| 7. Brazil, | men | 53 | 29 | 82 | 3,3 | men |
| | women | 50 | 32 | 82 | 3,3 | |
| 8. Germany, | men | 37 | 47 | 84 | 3,2 | women |
| | women | 44 | 49 | 93 | 3,4 | |
| 9. Belgium, | men | 34 | 51 | 85 | 3,1 | women |
| | women | 38 | 50 | 88 | 3,2 | |
| 10. France, | men | 38 | 42 | 80 | 3,2 | women |
| | women | 34 | 52 | 86 | 3,2 | |
| 11. Hungary, | men | 25 | 56 | 81 | 3,0 | women |
| | women | 27 | 58 | 85 | 3,1 | |
| 12. Taiwan, | men | 26 | 53 | 79 | 3,0 | women |
| | women | 27 | 57 | 84 | 3,1 | |
| 13. reland, | men | 25 | 44 | 69 | 2,9 | women |
| | women | 29 | 49 | 78 | 3,1 | |
| 14. Portugal, | men | 28 | 40 | 68 | 2,9 | women |
| | women | 29 | 42 | 71 | 2,9 | |
| 15. United States, | men | 18 | 34 | 52 | 2,7 | Women |
| | women | 17 | 49 | 66 | 2,7 | |
| 16. Spain, | men | 10 | 51 | 61 | 2,6 | men |
| | women | 9 | 50 | 59 | 2,6 | |
| 17.Switzerland, | men | 7 | 28 | 35 | 2,3 | women |
| | women | 6 | 40 | 46 | 2,5 | |
| 18. Australia, | men | 7 | 25 | 32 | 2,2 | women |
| | woman | 10 | 32 | 42 | 2,4 | |
| 19. Finland, | men | 5 | 23 | 28 | 2,1 | women |
| | women | 7 | 34 | 41 | 2,3 | |
| 20. Iceland, | men | 6 | 21 | 27 | 2,1 | women |
| | women | 5 | 29 | 34 | 2,2 | |

**Table 3** **Perceptions of Corruption Among Men and Women in Fifteen Countries**
**(cont.)** **(percent, means)**

|  |  | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Gender perceiving most corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. New Zealand, | men | 6 | 17 | 23 | 2,0 | women |
|  | women | 10 | 29 | 39 | 2,3 |  |
| 22. Sweden, | men | 3 | 18 | 21 | 2,0 | women |
|  | women | 5 | 21 | 26 | 2,1 |  |
| 23. Norway, | men | 2 | 18 | 20 | 2,0 | women |
|  | women | 3 | 26 | 29 | 2,1 |  |
| 24. Denmark, | men | 2 | 13 | 15 | 1,8 | women |
|  | women | 5 | 22 | 27 | 2,1 |  |

**Comment:** The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 4    Perceptions of Corruption Among Young, Middle Aged, and Old People in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Age Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | young | 71 | 20 | 91 | 3,6 | | |
| | middle | 71 | 23 | 94 | 3,6 | old | young |
| | old | 78 | 17 | 95 | 3,7 | | |
| 2. Czech, | young | 61 | 35 | 96 | 3,6 | | |
| | middle | 60 | 35 | 95 | 3,5 | young | middle |
| | old | 63 | 31 | 94 | 3,6 | | |
| 3. Israel, | young | 62 | 34 | 96 | 3,6 | | |
| | middle | 60 | 31 | 91 | 3,5 | young | old |
| | old | 52 | 40 | 92 | 3,4 | | |
| 4. Poland, | young | 52 | 43 | 95 | 3,5 | | |
| | middle | 59 | 35 | 94 | 3,5 | young | old |
| | old | 49 | 41 | 90 | 3,4 | | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | young | 51 | 46 | 97 | 3,5 | | |
| | middle | 56 | 39 | 95 | 3,5 | young | old |
| | old | 49 | 47 | 96 | 3,4 | | |
| 6. Korea, | young | 42 | 53 | 95 | 3,4 | | |
| | middle | 42 | 52 | 94 | 3,3 | young | old |
| | old | 46 | 43 | 89 | 3,3 | | |
| 7. Brazil, | young | 49 | 35 | 84 | 3,3 | | |
| | middle | 55 | 28 | 83 | 3,4 | middle | old |
| | old | 49 | 28 | 77 | 3,2 | | |
| 8. Germany, | young | 31 | 55 | 86 | 3,2 | | |
| | middle | 38 | 50 | 88 | 3,3 | old | young |
| | old | 49 | 41 | 9 | 3,4 | | |
| 9. Belgium, | young | 33 | 52 | 85 | 3,1 | | |
| | middle | 37 | 50 | 87 | 3,2 | middle | young |
| | old | 35 | 50 | 85 | 3,2 | | |
| 10. France, | young | 38 | 46 | 84 | 3,2 | | |
| | middle | 37 | 46 | 83 | 3,2 | young | old |
| | old | 28 | 52 | 80 | 3,0 | | |
| 11. Hungary, | young | 25 | 56 | 81 | 3,0 | | |
| | middle | 27 | 58 | 85 | 3,1 | middle | young |
| | old | 26 | 57 | 83 | 3,1 | | |
| 12. Taiwan, | young | 27 | 58 | 85 | 3,1 | | |
| | middle | 28 | 53 | 81 | 3,1 | young | old |
| | old | 19 | 55 | 74 | 2,9 | | |
| 13. Ireland, | young | 31 | 49 | 80 | 3,1 | | |
| | middle | 26 | 47 | 73 | 3,0 | young | old |
| | old | 28 | 43 | 71 | 3,0 | | |
| 14. Portugal, | young | 29 | 42 | 71 | 2,9 | | |
| | middle | 30 | 41 | 71 | 2,9 | middle | old |
| | old | 23 | 40 | 63 | 2,7 | | |
| 15. United States, | young | 21 | 49 | 70 | 2,9 | | |
| | middle | 17 | 42 | 59 | 2,7 | young | old |
| | old | 16 | 38 | 54 | 2,7 | | |
| 16. Spain, | young | 12 | 51 | 63 | 2,7 | | |
| | middle | 8 | 850 | 58 | 2,6 | young | middle |
| | old | 8 | 51 | 59 | 2,6 | | |
| 17. Switzerland, | young | 4 | 36 | 40 | 2,3 | | |
| | middle | 6 | 37 | 43 | 2,4 | middle | old |
| | old | 8 | 27 | 35 | 2,3 | | |

**Table 4
(cont.)**     **Perceptions of Corruption Among Young, Middle Aged, and Old People in
Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Age Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Australia, | young | 9 | 41 | 50 | 2,5 | young | old |
| | middle | 9 | 29 | 38 | 2,3 | | |
| | old | 8 | 22 | 30 | 2,2 | | |
| 19. Finland, | young | 3 | 16 | 19 | 2,0 | | |
| | middle | 7 | 31 | 38 | 2,3 | old | young |
| | old | 7 | 36 | 43 | 2,4 | | |
| 20. Iceland, | young | 9 | 35 | 44 | 2,4 | | |
| | middle | 4 | 24 | 28 | 2,1 | young | old |
| | old | 6 | 12 | 18 | 1,9 | | |
| 21. New Zealand, | young | 9 | 34 | 43 | 2,4 | | |
| | middle | 9 | 23 | 32 | 2,2 | young | old |
| | old | 5 | 16 | 21 | 1,9 | | |
| 22. Sweden, | young | 1 | 17 | 18 | 2,0 | | |
| | middle | 4 | 22 | 26 | 2,1 | middle | young |
| | old | 5 | 16 | 21 | 2,1 | | |
| 23. Norway, | young | 2 | 26 | 28 | 2,1 | | |
| | middle | 2 | 19 | 21 | 2,0 | old | middle |
| | old | 4 | 26 | 30 | 2,1 | | |
| 24. Denmark, | young | 4 | 15 | 19 | 1,9 | | |
| | middle | 3 | 17 | 20 | 1,9 | old | young |
| | old | 4 | 19 | 23 | 2,0 | | |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 5    Perceptions of Corruption Among People with Different Educational Levels in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Educational Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.Mexico, | Low | 63 | 27 | 90 | 3,6 | | |
| | Middle | 73 | 21 | 94 | 3,7 | High | Low |
| | High | 84 | 13 | 94 | 3,8 | | |
| 2.Czech, | Low | 66 | 28 | 94 | 3,6 | | |
| | Middle | 61 | 35 | 96 | 3,6 | Middle | High |
| | High | 56 | 37 | 93 | 3,4 | | |
| 3.Israel, | Low | 64 | 26 | 90 | 3,6 | | |
| | Middle | 58 | 33 | 91 | 3,5 | Low | Middle |
| | High | 59 | 35 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| 4.Poland, | Low | 56 | 36 | 91 | 3,4 | | |
| | Middle | 58 | 36 | 94 | 3,5 | Middle | Low |
| | High | 45 | 48 | 93 | 3,4 | | |
| 5.Bulgaria, | Low | 50 | 48 | 98 | 3,5 | | |
| | Middle | 55 | 40 | 95 | 3,5 | Low | High |
| | High | 52 | 42 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| 6. Korea, | low | 38 | 50 | 88 | 3,2 | | |
| | middle | 44 | 50 | 94 | 3,4 | High | Low |
| | high | 42 | 53 | 95 | 3,4 | | |
| 7. Brazil, | low | 53 | 26 | 79 | 3,3 | | |
| | middle | 51 | 36 | 8 | 3,4 | High | Low |
| | high | 49 | 39 | 88 | 3,4 | | |
| 8. Germany, | Low | 51 | 42 | 93 | 3,4 | | |
| | Middle | 39 | 51 | 90 | 3,3 | Low | High |
| | High | 33 | 48 | 81 | 3,1 | | |
| 9. Belgium, | low | 42 | 44 | 86 | 3,2 | | |
| | middle | 36 | 50 | 86 | 3,2 | Low | High |
| | high | 31 | 54 | 85 | 3,1 | | |
| 10. France, | Low | 35 | 47 | 82 | 3,1 | | |
| | Middle | 37 | 49 | 86 | 3,2 | Middle | Low |
| | High | 35 | 44 | 79 | 3,1 | | |
| 11. Hungary, | Low | 24 | 60 | 84 | 3,1 | | |
| | Middle | 28 | 57 | 85 | 3,1 | Middle | High |
| | High | 25 | 50 | 75 | 3,0 | | |
| 12. Taiwan, | Low | 28 | 51 | 49 | 3,1 | | |
| | Middle | 28 | 54 | 82 | 3,1 | Middle | High |
| | High | 24 | 57 | 81 | 3,0 | | |
| 13. Ireland, | Low | 30 | 44 | 74 | 3,0 | | |
| | Middle | 27 | 47 | 74 | 3,0 | Low | Middle |
| | High | 27 | 47 | 74 | 3,0 | | |
| 14. Portugal, | Low | 26 | 40 | 66 | 2,8 | | |
| | Middle | 30 | 41 | 71 | 2,9 | High | Middle |
| | High | 30 | 46 | 76 | 2,9 | | |
| 15. United States, | low | 24 | 46 | 70 | 2,9 | | |
| | middle | 21 | 43 | 64 | 2,8 | Low | High |
| | high | 10 | 40 | 50 | 2,6 | | |
| 16. Spain, | low | 8 | 51 | 59 | 2,6 | | |
| | middle | 9 | 50 | 59 | 2,6 | High | Low |
| | high | 10 | 51 | 61 | 2,6 | | |
| 17. Switzerland, | low | 9 | 38 | 47 | 2,5 | | |
| | middle | 7 | 35 | 42 | 2,4 | Low | High |
| | high | 5 | 31 | 36 | 2,1 | | |

**Table 5 (cont.)    Perceptions of Corruption Among People with Different Educational Levels in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Educational Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Australia, | low | 10 | 29 | 39 | 2,4 | | |
| | middle | 7 | 29 | 36 | 2,3 | Low | High |
| | high | 7 | 28 | 35 | 2,3 | | |
| 19. Finland, | low | 9 | 43 | 52 | 2,5 | | |
| | middle | 7 | 27 | 34 | 2,2 | Low | High |
| | high | 4 | 23 | 27 | 2,1 | | |
| 20. Iceland, | low | 8 | 23 | 31 | 2,2 | | |
| | middle | 6 | 26 | 32 | 2,2 | Low | High |
| | high | 4 | 23 | 27 | 2,1 | | |
| 21.New Zealand, | low | 10 | 27 | 37 | 2,4 | | |
| | middle | 9 | 25 | 34 | 2,2 | Low | High |
| | high | 4 | 16 | 20 | 1,9 | | |
| 22. Sweden, | Low | 6 | 22 | 28 | 2,2 | | |
| | Middle | 4 | 23 | 27 | 2,2 | Low | High |
| | High | 2 | 14 | 16 | 1,9 | | |
| 23. Norway, | Low | 6 | 27 | 33 | 2,2 | | |
| | Middle | 2 | 25 | 27 | 2,1 | Low | High |
| | High | 1 | 14 | 15 | 1,9 | | |
| 24. Denmark, | low | 6 | 23 | 29 | 2,1 | | |
| | middle | 3 | 19 | 22 | 2,0 | Low | High |
| | high | 2 | 11 | 13 | 1,8 | | |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 6 Perceptions of Corruption Among People Belonging to Different Occupational Groups Twentyone (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Occupational Group Perceiving: | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| | | | | | | Most corruption | Least corruption |
| 1. Mexico, | Worker | 69 | 18 | 87 | 3,5 | | |
| | White Collar | 78 | 18 | 96 | 3,7 | White Collar | Worker |
| | Farmer | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Self Employed | 74 | 21 | 95 | 3,7 | | |
| 2. Czech, | Worker | 64 | 32 | 96 | 3,6 | | |
| | White Collar | 55 | 39 | 94 | 3,5 | Worker | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 46 | 46 | 92 | 3,4 | | |
| | Self Employed | 55 | 37 | 92 | 3,5 | | |
| 3. Israel, | Worker | 54 | 33 | 87 | 3,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 60 | 34 | 94 | 3,5 | White Collar | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 15 | 69 | 84 | 3,0 | | |
| | Self Employed | 62 | 26 | 88 | 3,5 | | |
| 4. Poland, | Worker | 62 | 32 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| | White Collar | 52 | 42 | 94 | 3,4 | Worker | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 44 | 46 | 90 | 3,3 | | |
| | Self Employed | 55 | 39 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | Worker | - | - | - | - | | |
| | White Collar | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Farmer | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Self Employed | - | - | - | - | | |
| 6. Korea, | Worker | 45 | 48 | 93 | 3,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 39 | 56 | 95 | 3,3 | Self Employed | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 27 | 57 | 84 | 3,0 | | |
| | Self Employed | 47 | 47 | 94 | 3,4 | | |
| 7. Brazil, | Worker | 55 | 29 | 84 | 3,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 47 | 42 | 89 | 3,4 | White Collar | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 36 | 29 | 65 | 2,9 | | |
| | Self Employed | 56 | 28 | 84 | 3,4 | | |
| 8. Germany, | Worker | 46 | 74 | 93 | 3,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 40 | 48 | 88 | 3,3 | Worker | Self Employed |
| | Farmer | 38 | 50 | 88 | 3,3 | | |
| | Self Employed | 40 | 46 | 86 | 3,2 | | |
| 9. Belgium, | Worker | 36 | 50 | 86 | 3,2 | | |
| | White Collar | 34 | 52 | 86 | 3,2 | Farmer | White Collar |
| | Farmer | 54 | 38 | 92 | 3,4 | | |
| | Self Employed | 35 | 50 | 85 | 3,2 | | |
| 10. France, | Worker | - | - | - | - | | |
| | White Collar | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Farmer | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Self Employed | - | - | - | - | | |
| 11. Hungary, | Worker | 32 | 54 | 86 | 3,2 | | |
| | White Collar | 24 | 59 | 73 | 3,0 | Farmer | White Collar |
| | Farmer | 23 | 69 | 92 | 3,2 | | |
| | Self Employed | 21 | 64 | 85 | 3,1 | | |
| 12. Taiwan, | Worker | 25 | 58 | 83 | 3,1 | | |
| | White Collar | 27 | 55 | 82 | 3,1 | Farmer | White Collar |
| | Farmer | 30 | 61 | 91 | 3,2 | | |
| | Self Employed | - | - | - | - | | |
| 13. Ireland, | Worker | 28 | 48 | 76 | 3,0 | | |
| | White Collar | 28 | 47 | 75 | 3,0 | Farmer | Self Employed |
| | Farmer | 32 | 42 | 74 | 3,1 | | |
| | Self Employed | 23 | 46 | 69 | 2,9 | | |
| 14. Portugal, | Worker | 28 | 37 | 65 | 2,8 | | |
| | White Collar | 28 | 43 | 71 | 2,9 | Farmer | Worker |
| | Farmer | 21 | 58 | 79 | 3,0 | | |
| | Self Employed | 30 | 38 | 68 | 2,8 | | |
| 15. United States, | Worker | 22 | 42 | 64 | 2,8 | | |
| | White Collar | 14 | 44 | 58 | 2,7 | Worker | White Collar |
| | Farmer | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Self Employed | 21 | 37 | 58 | 2,8 | | |
| 16. Spain, | Worker | 13 | 49 | 62 | 2,7 | | |
| | White Collar | 10 | 57 | 67 | 2,6 | White Collar | Self Employed |
| | Farmer | 9 | 45 | 54 | 2,7 | | |
| | Self Employed | 5 | 46 | 51 | 2,6 | | |
| 17. Switzerland, | Worker | - | - | - | - | | |
| | White Collar | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Farmer | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Self Employed | - | - | - | - | | |

**Table 6**     **Perceptions of Corruption Among People Belonging to Different Occupational**
**(cont.)**     **Groups Twentyone (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Occupational Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Australia, | Worker | 12 | 32 | 44 | 2,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 7 | 29 | 35 | 2,3 | Worker | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 9 | 24 | 33 | 2,3 | | |
| | Self Employed | 10 | 23 | 33 | | | |
| 19. Finland, | Worker | 8 | 34 | 42 | 2,4 | | |
| | White Collar | 5 | 24 | 29 | 2,1 | Self Employed | White Collar |
| | Farmer | 0 | 42 | 42 | 2,4 | | |
| | Self Employed | 9 | 36 | 45 | 2,4 | | |
| 20. Iceland, | Worker | 8 | 28 | 36 | 2,3 | | |
| | White Collar | 4 | 24 | 28 | 2,1 | Worker | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 7 | 9 | 16 | 2,0 | | |
| | Self Employed | 4 | 20 | 24 | 2,0 | | |
| 21. New Zealand, | Worker | 9 | 27 | 36 | 2,2 | | |
| | White Collar | 8 | 23 | 31 | 2,1 | Farmer | Self Employed |
| | Farmer | 19 | 19 | 38 | 2,3 | | |
| | Self Employed | 5 | 20 | 25 | 1,9 | | |
| 22. Sweden, | Worker | 5 | 21 | 26 | 2,1 | | |
| | White Collar | 3 | 18 | 21 | 2,2 | Farmer | White Collar |
| | Farmer | 14 | 36 | 50 | 2,6 | | |
| | Self Employed | 4 | 17 | 21 | 2,0 | | |
| 23. Norway, | Worker | 3 | 20 | 23 | 2,1 | | |
| | White Collar | 2 | 19 | 21 | 2,0 | Worker | Self Employed |
| | Farmer | 2 | 20 | 22 | 2,0 | | |
| | Self Employed | 2 | 20 | 22 | 1,9 | | |
| 24. Denmark, | Worker | 4 | 21 | 25 | 2,1 | | |
| | White Collar | 2 | 12 | 14 | 1,8 | Worker | Farmer |
| | Farmer | 0 | 5 | 5 | 1,7 | | |
| | Self Employed | 3 | 20 | 23 | 1,9 | | |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 7**      **Perceptions of Corruption Among People in the Public and the Private Sector in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Sector perceiving most corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | Public | 85 | 12 | 97 | 3,8 | Public |
| | Private | 73 | 20 | 83 | 3,7 | |
| 2. Czech, | Public | 55 | 37 | 92 | 3,5 | Private |
| | Private | 63 | 33 | 96 | 3,3 | |
| 3. Israel, | Public | 64 | 30 | 94 | 3,6 | Public |
| | Private | 56 | 36 | 92 | 3,5 | |
| 4. Poland, | Public | 57 | 36 | 93 | 3,5 | No difference |
| | Private | 57 | 36 | 93 | 3,5 | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | Public | 56 | 40 | 96 | 3,5 | Public |
| | Private | 54 | 40 | 94 | 3,5 | |
| 6. Korea, | Public | 43 | 50 | 83 | 3,4 | Public |
| | Private | 42 | 51 | 83 | 3,4 | |
| 7. Brazil, | Public | 44 | 38 | 82 | 3,3 | Private |
| | Private | 54 | 31 | 85 | 3,4 | |
| 8.Germany, | Public | 35 | 50 | 85 | 3,2 | Private |
| | Private | 43 | 47 | 90 | 3,3 | |
| 9. Belgium, | Public | 36 | 53 | 89 | 3,2 | Public |
| | Private | 37 | 49 | 86 | 3,2 | |
| 10. France, | Public | - | - | - | - | - |
| | Private | - | - | - | - | |
| 11. Hungary, | Public | 25 | 57 | 82 | 3,0 | Private |
| | Private | 29 | 58 | 87 | 3,1 | |
| 12. Taiwan, | Public | 24 | 53 | 77 | 3,0 | Private |
| | Private | 27 | 56 | 83 | 3,1 | |
| 13. Ireland, | Public | 25 | 47 | 73 | 2,9 | Private |
| | Private | 29 | 46 | 75 | 3,0 | |
| 14. Portugal, | Public | 30 | 42 | 72 | 2,9 | Public |
| | Private | 28 | 40 | 68 | 2,8 | |
| 15. United States, | Public | 19 | 44 | 63 | 2,8 | Public |
| | Private | 16 | 44 | 60 | 2,7 | |
| 16. Spain, | Public | 8 | 47 | 55 | 2,5 | Private |
| | Private | 10 | 52 | 52 | 2,7 | |
| 17. Switzerland, | Public | 5 | 36 | 41 | 2,4 | Private |
| | Private | 6 | 35 | 41 | 2,4 | |
| 18. Australia, | Public | 7 | 24 | 31 | 2,3 | Private |
| | Private | 8 | 31 | 39 | 2,4 | |
| 19. Finland, | Public | 8 | 32 | 40 | 2,4 | Public |
| | Private | 4 | 27 | 31 | 2,2 | |
| 20. Iceland, | Public | 5 | 26 | 31 | 2,1 | Public |
| | Private | 5 | 23 | 28 | 2,1 | |

**Table 7** **Perceptions of Corruption Among People in the Public and the Private Sector**
**(cont.)** **in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

|  |  | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Sector perceiving most corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21. New Zealand, | Public | 8 | 19 | 27 | 2,0 | Private |
|  | Private | 7 | 24 | 31 | 2,1 |  |
| 22. Sweden, | Public | 5 | 19 | 24 | 2,1 | Public |
|  | Private | 3 | 20 | 23 | 2,1 |  |
| 23. Norway, | Public | 2 | 19 | 21 | 2,0 | Public |
|  | Private | 1 | 19 | 20 | 2,0 |  |
| 24. Denmark, | Public | 3 | 14 | 17 | 1,9 | Private |
|  | Private | 3 | 16 | 19 | 1,9 |  |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 8    Perceptions of Corruption Among People Living in Rural Areas, in Cities or in Big Cities in Twentythree Countries**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Rural-City Group perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | Rural | 62 | 26 | 88 | 3,5 | | |
| | City | 68 | 26 | 94 | 3,6 | Big City | City |
| | Big City | 77 | 18 | 95 | 3,7 | | |
| 2. Czech, | Rural | 63 | 32 | 95 | 3,6 | | |
| | City | 61 | 36 | 97 | 3,6 | City | Big City |
| | Big City | 59 | 35 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| 3. Israel, | Rural | 63 | 29 | 92 | 3,5 | | |
| | City | 56 | 36 | 92 | 3,5 | Big City | City |
| | Big City | 63 | 29 | 92 | 3,5 | | |
| 4. Poland, | Rural | 55 | 37 | 92 | 3,5 | | |
| | City | 57 | 37 | 94 | 3,5 | City | Big City |
| | Big City | 49 | 46 | 95 | 3,4 | | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | Rural | 48 | 49 | 97 | 3,4 | | |
| | City | 57 | 37 | 94 | 3,5 | Big City | Rural |
| | Big City | 54 | 41 | 95 | 3,5 | | |
| 6. Korea, | Rural | 42 | 50 | 92 | 3,3 | | |
| | City | 40 | 52 | 92 | 3,3 | Big City | City |
| | Big City | 45 | 51 | 96 | 3,4 | | |
| 7. Brazil, | Rural | 41 | 35 | 76 | 3,1 | | |
| | City | 58 | 29 | 82 | 3,3 | Big City | Rural |
| | Big City | 56 | 30 | 86 | 3,4 | | |
| 8. Germany, | Rural | 45 | 46 | 91 | 3,3 | | |
| | City | 41 | 49 | 90 | 3,3 | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 38 | 49 | 87 | 3,2 | | |
| 9. Belgium, | Rural | - | - | - | - | | |
| | City | - | - | - | - | | |
| | Big City | - | - | - | - | | |
| 10. France, | Rural | 39 | 42 | 81 | 3,2 | | |
| | City | 35 | 46 | 81 | 3,1 | Big City | City |
| | Big City | 34 | 50 | 84 | 3,2 | | |
| 11. Hungary, | Rural | 27 | 60 | 87 | 3,1 | | |
| | City | 25 | 56 | 81 | 3,0 | Rural | City |
| | Big City | 26 | 56 | 82 | 3,0 | | |
| 12. Taiwan, | Rural | 27 | 55 | 82 | 3,1 | | |
| | City | 26 | 53 | 79 | 3,0 | Rural | City |
| | Big City | 26 | 55 | 81 | 3,1 | | |
| 13. Ireland, | Rural | 26 | 48 | 74 | 3,0 | | |
| | City | 28 | 48 | 76 | 3,0 | City | Rural |
| | Big City | 30 | 45 | 75 | 3,0 | | |
| 14. Portugal, | Rural | 27 | 43 | 70 | 2,9 | | |
| | City | 31 | 40 | 71 | 2,9 | City | Big City |
| | Big City | 27 | 37 | 64 | 2,8 | | |
| 15. United States, | Rural | 16 | 49 | 65 | 2,8 | | |
| | City | 17 | 43 | 60 | 2,7 | Rural | City |
| | Big City | 19 | 40 | 59 | 2,8 | | |

**Table 8     Perceptions of Corruption Among People Living in Rural Areas, in Cities or in Big**
**(cont.)      Cities in Twentythree Countries**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Rural-City Group perceiving: | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | Most corruption | Least corruption |
| 16. Spain, | Rural | 8 | 46 | 54 | 2,5 | | |
| | City | 9 | 51 | 60 | 2,6 | Big City | Rural |
| | Big City | 9 | 53 | 62 | 2,6 | | |
| 17. Switzerland, | Rural | 8 | 36 | 44 | 2,4 | | |
| | City | - | - | - | - | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 6 | 33 | 39 | 2,4 | | |
| 18. Australia, | Rural | 10 | 28 | 38 | 2,4 | | |
| | City | 14 | 33 | 47 | 2,5 | City | Big City |
| | Big City | 8 | 28 | 36 | 2,3 | | |
| 19. Finland, | Rural | 5 | 38 | 43 | 2,4 | | |
| | City | 7 | 26 | 33 | 2,3 | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 6 | 28 | 34 | 2,2 | | |
| 20. Iceland, | Rural | 3 | 24 | 27 | 2,1 | | |
| | City | 6 | 25 | 31 | 2,2 | Big City | Rural |
| | Big City | 6 | 25 | 31 | 2,2 | | |
| 21. New Zealand, | Rural | 10 | 24 | 34 | 2,2 | | |
| | City | 10 | 27 | 37 | 2,3 | City | Big City |
| | Big City | 7 | 21 | 28 | 2,0 | | |
| 22. Sweden, | Rural | 7 | 22 | 29 | 2,2 | | |
| | City | 4 | 19 | 23 | 2,1 | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 3 | 19 | 22 | 2,1 | | |
| 23. Norway, | Rural | 4 | 31 | 35 | 2,2 | | |
| | City | 3 | 23 | 26 | 2,1 | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 2 | 20 | 22 | 2,0 | | |
| 24. Denmark, | Rural | 5 | 17 | 22 | 2,2 | | |
| | City | 3 | 18 | 21 | 2,2 | Rural | Big City |
| | Big City | 3 | 15 | 18 | 2,0 | | |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview
question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe
taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated  in
Table 1. The mean runs between 1 –  4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to
be very widespread.

**Table 9    Perceptions of Corruption Among People Identifying Themselves as Ideologically to the Left, in the Middle or to the Right in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Fairly widespread | Sum | Mean | Ideological Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | Left | 76 | 18 | 94 | 3,7 | | |
| | Middle | 78 | 18 | 96 | 3,7 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 69 | 23 | 92 | 3,6 | | |
| 2. Czech, | Left | 60 | 33 | 93 | 3,5 | | |
| | Middle | 64 | 35 | 99 | 3,6 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 56 | 39 | 95 | 3,5 | | |
| 3. Israel, | Left | 62 | 31 | 93 | 3,5 | | |
| | Middle | 61 | 31 | 72 | 3,5 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 56 | 36 | 72 | 3,5 | | |
| 4. Poland, | Left | 57 | 36 | 93 | 3,5 | | |
| | Middle | 52 | 41 | 93 | 3,4 | Right | Middle |
| | Right | 55 | 39 | 94 | 3,5 | | |
| 5. Bulgaria, | Left | 55 | 42 | 97 | 3,5 | | |
| | Middle | 53 | 44 | 97 | 3,5 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 51 | 43 | 94 | 3,4 | | |
| 6. Korea, | Left | 46 | 49 | 95 | 3,4 | | |
| | Middle | 41 | 53 | 94 | 3,3 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 40 | 53 | 93 | 3,3 | | |
| 7. Brazil, | Left | 48 | 35 | 83 | 3,3 | | |
| | Middle | 50 | 33 | 83 | 3,3 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 50 | 30 | 80 | 3,3 | | |
| 8. Germany, | Left | 40 | 49 | 89 | 3,3 | | |
| | Middle | 36 | 49 | 85 | 3,2 | Left | Middle |
| | Right | 42 | 46 | 88 | 3,3 | | |
| 9. Belgium, | Left | 31 | 53 | 84 | 3,1 | | |
| | Middle | 38 | 48 | 86 | 3,2 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 34 | 51 | 85 | 3,2 | | |
| 10. France, | Left | 32 | 48 | 80 | 3,1 | | |
| | Middle | 46 | 41 | 87 | 3,3 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 32 | 50 | 82 | 3,1 | | |
| 11. Hungary, | Left | 34 | 53 | 87 | 3,2 | | |
| | Middle | 27 | 58 | 85 | 3,1 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 17 | 60 | 87 | 2,9 | | |
| 12. Taiwan, | Left | 33 | 49 | 82 | 3,2 | | |
| | Middle | 25 | 59 | 84 | 3,1 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 27 | 53 | 80 | 3,1 | | |
| 13. Ireland, | Left | 30 | 47 | 77 | 3,0 | | |
| | Middle | 30 | 47 | 77 | 3,1 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 22 | 44 | 66 | 2,9 | | |
| 14. Portugal, | Left | 28 | 41 | 69 | 2,9 | | |
| | Middle | 29 | 38 | 67 | 2,8 | Right | Middle |
| | Right | 27 | 44 | 71 | 2,9 | | |
| 15. United States, | Left | 17 | 39 | 56 | 2,7 | | |
| | Middle | 22 | 43 | 65 | 2,8 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 15 | 41 | 56 | 2,7 | | |
| 16. Spain, | Left | 11 | 60 | 71 | 2,8 | | |
| | Middle | 8 | 44 | 52 | 2,5 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 4 | 36 | 50 | 2,3 | | |
| 17. Switzerland, | Left | 5 | 35 | 40 | 2,4 | | |
| | Middle | 7 | 37 | 44 | 2,4 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 7 | 30 | 37 | 2,4 | | |

**Table 9**
**(cont.)**

**Perceptions of Corruption Among People Identifying Themselves as Ideologically to the Left, in the Middle or to the Right in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Fairly widespread | Sum | Mean | Ideological Group Perceiving: Most corruption | Least corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. Australia, | Left | 7 | 30 | 37 | 2,3 | | |
| | Middle | 10 | 36 | 46 | 2,5 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 6 | 20 | 26 | 2,1 | | |
| 19. Finland, | Left | 7 | 26 | 34 | 2,2 | | |
| | Middle | 5 | 30 | 35 | 2,2 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 6 | 27 | 33 | 2,2 | | |
| 20. Iceland, | Left | 7 | 27 | 34 | 2,3 | | |
| | Middle | 6 | 29 | 35 | 2,2 | Left | Right |
| | Right | 3 | 21 | 24 | 2,0 | | |
| 21. New Zealand, | Left | 5 | 17 | 22 | 1,9 | | |
| | Middle | 12 | 27 | 39 | 2,3 | Middle | Right |
| | Right | 4 | 18 | 22 | 1,9 | | |
| 22. Sweden, | Left | 3 | 16 | 19 | 2,0 | | |
| | Middle | 5 | 24 | 29 | 2,2 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 4 | 21 | 25 | 2,1 | | |
| 23. Norway, | Left | 2 | 21 | 23 | 2,0 | | |
| | Middle | 3 | 24 | 27 | 2,1 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 2 | 21 | 23 | 2,0 | | |
| 24. Denmark, | Left | 3 | 15 | 18 | 1,9 | | |
| | Middle | 3 | 22 | 25 | 2,0 | Middle | Left |
| | Right | 4 | 15 | 19 | 1,9 | | |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread.

**Table 10    Perceptions of Corruption Among Government and Opposition Sympathizers in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Party Sympatizers Perceiving Most Corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mexico, | Gov. Party | 66 | 27 | 93 | 3,6 | |
| | Opp. Party | 78 | 17 | 95 | 3,7 | Opposition Party |
| 2. Czech, | Gov. Party | 54 | 40 | 94 | 3,5 | |
| | Opp. Party | 52 | 43 | 95 | 3,5 | Opposition Party |
| 3. Israel, | Gov. Party | 49 | 41 | 90 | 3,4 | |
| | Opp. Party | 63 | 25 | 88 | 3,5 | Opposition Party |
| 4. Poland, | Gov. Party | 56 | 36 | 92 | 3,5 | |
| | Opp. Party | 58 | 37 | 95 | 3,5 | Opposition Party |
| 5. Bulgaria, | Gov. Party | 27 | 57 | 84 | 3,1 | |
| | Opp. Party | 61 | 37 | 98 | 3,6 | Opposition Party |
| 6. Korea, | Gov. Party | 46 | 49 | 95 | 3,4 | |
| | Opp. Party | 47 | 47 | 94 | 3,4 | Governing Party |
| 7. Brazil, | Gov. Party | 46 | 33 | 79 | 3,3 | |
| | Opp. Party | 52 | 34 | 86 | 3,4 | Opposition Party |
| 8. Germany, | Gov. Party | 40 | 49 | 89 | 3,3 | |
| | Opp. Party | 39 | 49 | 88 | 3,3 | Governing Party |
| 9. Belgium, | Gov. Party | 44 | 47 | 91 | 3,3 | |
| | Opp. Party | 52 | 48 | 100 | 3,5 | Opposition Party |
| 10. France, | Gov. Party | 35 | 48 | 83 | 3,2 | |
| | Opp. Party | 22 | 54 | 76 | 3,0 | Governing Party |
| 11. Hungary, | Gov. Party | 15 | 59 | 74 | 2,9 | |
| | Opp. Party | 33 | 54 | 87 | 3,2 | Opposition Party |
| 12. Taiwan, | Gov. Party | 30 | 50 | 80 | 3,1 | |
| | Opp. Party | 22 | 54 | 76 | 3,0 | Governing Party |
| 13. Ireland, | Gov. Party | 16 | 47 | 63 | 2,8 | |
| | Opp. Party | 35 | 45 | 80 | 3,1 | Opposition Party |
| 14. Portugal, | Gov. Party | 25 | 46 | 71 | 2,9 | |
| | Opp. Party | 33 | 39 | 72 | 2,9 | Opposition Party |
| 15. United States, | Gov. Party | 8 | 71 | 49 | 2,5 | |
| | Opp. Party | 24 | 44 | 68 | 2,9 | Opposition Party |
| 16. Spain, | Gov. Party | 3 | 34 | 37 | 2,2 | |
| | Opp. Party | 10 | 60 | 70 | 2,8 | Opposition Party |
| 17. Switzerland, | Gov. Party | 6 | 37 | 43 | 2,4 | |
| | Opp. Party | 1 | 48 | 49 | 2,4 | Opposition Party |
| 18. Australia, | Gov. Party | 6 | 23 | 29 | 2,2 | |
| | Opp. Party | 11 | 32 | 43 | 2,4 | Opposition Party |

**Table 10 Perceptions of Corruption Among Government and Opposition Sympathizers**
**(cont.) in Twentyfour Countries (percent, means)**

| | | Very widespread | Quite widespread | Sum | Mean | Party Sympatizers Perceiving Most Corruption |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. Finland, | Gov. Party | 6 | 32 | 38 | 2,3 | |
| | Opp. Party | 7 | 33 | 40 | 2,4 | Opposition Party |
| 20. Iceland, | Gov. Party | 2 | 19 | 21 | 2,0 | |
| | Opp. Party | 7 | 28 | 35 | 2,3 | Opposition Party |
| 21. New Zealand, | Gov. Party | 7 | 21 | 28 | 2,0 | |
| | Opp. Party | 5 | 21 | 26 | 2,0 | Governing Party |
| 22. Sweden | Gov. Party | 4 | 16 | 20 | 2,0 | |
| | Opp. Party | 4 | 21 | 25 | 2,1 | Opposition Party |
| 23. Norway, | Gov. Party | 3 | 19 | 22 | 2,0 | |
| | Opp. Party | 1 | 20 | 21 | 2,0 | Governing Party |
| 24. Denmark, | Gov. Party | 4 | 20 | 24 | 2,0 | |
| | Opp. Party | 4 | 13 | 17 | 1,9 | Governing Party |

*Comment:* The results are from CSES Module II collected 2001-2003 in post-election surveys. The interview question was formulated in the following way: "How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in… (country)?" The response alternatives were the four indicated in Table 1. The mean runs between 1 – 4 where high values indicate that citizens perceive corruption to be very widespread. Gov. Party = Largest Government Party; Opp. Party = Largest Opposition Party. Government or opposition status have been determined by the pre-election situation in each country.