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.

#cpi2023

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# CORRUPTION PERCEPTIONS INDEX 2023

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Embargoed until 07.01am CET (Berlin) 30 January 2024
180 COUNTRIES.
180 SCORES.

HOW DOES YOUR COUNTRY MEASURE UP?

The perceived levels of public sector corruption in 180 countries and territories around the world.

*The designations employed and the presentation of material on this map follow the UN practice to the best of our knowledge and as of January 2024. They do not imply the expression of any opinion on the part of Transparency International concerning the legal status of any country, territory, city or area or of its authorities or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

SCORE COUNTRY/TERritoRY
90 Denmark
87 Finland
85 New Zealand
84 Norway
83 Singapore
82 Sweden
82 Switzerland
79 Netherlands
78 Germany
78 Luxembourg
77 Ireland
76 Canada
76 Estonia
75 Australia
75 Hong Kong
73 Belgium
73 Japan
73 Uruguay
72 Iceland
71 Austria
71 France
71 Seychelles
71 United Kingdom
69 Barbados
69 United States
68 Bhutan
68 United Arab Emirates
67 Taiwan
66 Chile
64 Bahamas
64 Cabo Verde
63 Korea, South
62 Israel
61 Lithuania
61 Portugal
60 Latvia
60 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
59 Spain
59 Botswana
58 Qatar
57 Czechia
56 Dominica
56 Italy
56 Slovenia
55 Costa Rica
55 Saint Lucia
54 Poland
54 Slovakia
53 Cyprus
53 Georgia
53 Grenada
53 Rwanda
52 Fiji
52 Saudi Arabia
51 Malta
51 Mauritius
50 Croatia
50 Malaysia
49 Greece
49 Namibia
48 Vanuatu
47 Armenia
46 Jordan
46 Kuwait
46 Montenegro
46 Romania
45 Bulgaria
45 São Tomé and Príncipe
44 Jamaica
44 Benin
43 Ghana
43 Oman
43 Senegal
43 Solomon Islands
43 Timor-Leste
42 Bahrain
42 China
42 Cuba
42 Hungary
42 Moldova
42 North Macedonia
42 Trinidad and Tobago
41 Burkina Faso
41 Kosovo
41 South Africa
41 Vietnam
40 Colombia
40 Côte d’Ivoire
40 Guyana
40 Suriname
40 Suriname
40 Tanzania
40 Tunisia
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Justice and the effective rule of law are essential for preventing and stopping corruption at both the national and international levels. Both are cornerstones of democracy and embody notions of fairness and accountability. Impunity for corruption – where people who abuse their power do not face consequences for the harm they cause – is the essence of injustice and failure of the rule of law.

There has been a global decline in justice and the rule of law since 2016. The rise of authoritarianism in some countries contributes to this trend, and even in democratic contexts, the mechanisms that keep governments in check have weakened. Governments across the political spectrum have undermined justice systems, restricted civic freedoms and relied on non-democratic strategies to address recent challenges, including the COVID-19 pandemic.

Against this backdrop, this year’s Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) shows that, despite the progress made in criminalising corruption and establishing specialised anti-corruption institutions around the world, only 28 of the 180 countries measured by the CPI have improved their corruption levels, and 34 countries have significantly worsened.

This limited progress is hardly surprising considering the chronic weaknesses of justice systems.

AVERAGE CPI 2023 SCORE FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF GOVERNMENT*

Strong democracies vastly outperform flawed ones and authoritarian regimes in control of corruption.

- **Full Democracies** (24 Countries): 73
- **Flawed Democracies** (48 Countries): 48
- **Non-Democratic Regimes** (94 Countries): 32

* Based on the Economist Intelligence Unit’s (EIU) democracy classification for the year 2022. The total number of countries covered here is lower than the number covered by the CPI, as the EIU does not provide data for 13 of the countries in our sample. Data available at: https://ourworldindata.org/grapher/political-regime-eiu.
Corruption will continue to thrive until justice systems can punish wrongdoing and keep governments in check. When justice is bought or politically interfered with, it is the people that suffer. Leaders should fully invest in and guarantee the independence of institutions that uphold the law and tackle corruption. It is time to end impunity for corruption.

François Valérian
Chair, Transparency International
Recommendations

Our research and work with partners in over 100 countries suggests that governments seeking to tackle corruption, promote justice and strengthen the rule of law should:

STRENGTHEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Shielding the justice system from interference is paramount for its functioning. Promote merit-based rather than political appointments and ensure that the system has qualified personnel and is properly resourced.

MAKE JUSTICE MORE TRANSPARENT

Transparency can help shed light on the functioning of the justice system and make it more accountable. Ensure that relevant data on judgments, out-of-court settlements and enforcement as well as legal procedure and administrative rules are openly available and can be scrutinised by members of the public. This could help discourage corruption and ensure that laws against corruption are properly applied and administered.

INTRODUCE INTEGRITY AND MONITORING MECHANISMS

Ensure that the special protections required by members of the justice system to perform their functions are not abused. Abuse may be prevented through dedicated whistleblowing and reporting channels, as well as requirements for judges, prosecutors and other relevant actors to disclose their assets and interests, and ensure that salaries are commensurate to their work.

PROMOTE COOPERATION WITHIN THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

Justice systems are complex, but ensuring that their different components can effectively collaborate is essential. Defining clear and complementary responsibilities is critical to achieve this objective. Given the widespread use of informal justice systems in some regions, reflecting on potential synergies between formal and informal systems could also prove beneficial.

IMPROVE ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Protecting people’s right to access justice is a first step against impunity and corruption. Strategies to pursue this goal include simplifying complex procedures, making legal procedures accessible to all, widening the definition of victims of corruption to include non-state victims and granting qualified civil society organisations (CSOs) the right to initiate and bring forward cases of corruption – whether criminal, civil or administrative – and represent the interests of victims of corruption.

EXPAND AVENUES FOR ACCOUNTABILITY IN GRAND CORRUPTION CASES

Where grand corruption schemes are carried out in countries with justice systems that are “unwilling or unable” to enforce against the offenders, justice institutions in foreign jurisdictions with stronger rule of law can play a crucial role in countering impunity by handling the grand corruption proceedings. This calls for those foreign countries to have in place key procedural measures, such as extensive jurisdiction, minimal immunities for foreign state officials, standing for qualified public interest CSOs to pursue those cases and represent victims, and a broad definition of justiciable harm that encompasses widespread harm to a large number of victims.
In the 20 years since the adoption of the UN Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), 190 countries have united under it to stop corruption. However, they are largely failing to achieve this – over 80 per cent of the world’s population lives in countries with CPI scores below the global average of 43.

In addition, the top 25 countries in the index make up just over 10 per cent of all people. Corruption therefore remains a challenge that directly or indirectly harms most people.

The CPI ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public-sector corruption according to experts and businesspeople. It relies on 13 independent data sources and uses a scale of zero to 100, where zero is highly corrupt and 100 is very clean.

Countries with strong rule of law and well-functioning democratic institutions often sit at the top of the index. Democratic countries tend to greatly outperform authoritarian regimes when controlling corruption – full democracies have a CPI average of 73, flawed democracies have one of 48 and non-democratic regimes just 32.

**HIGHEST SCORING REGION**

**WESTERN EUROPE & EUROPEAN UNION**

65/100

**LOWEST SCORING REGION**

**SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

33/100
For the sixth year in a row, Denmark heads the ranking, with a score of 90. Finland and New Zealand follow closely with scores of 87 and 85, respectively. Norway (84), Singapore (83), Sweden (82), Switzerland (82), the Netherlands (79), Germany (78) and Luxembourg (78) complete the top 10 this year.

Meanwhile, countries experiencing conflict or with highly restricted freedoms and weak democratic institutions tend to score worst. This year, Somalia (11), Venezuela (13), Syria (13) and South Sudan (13) are at the bottom of the index. Yemen (16), Nicaragua (17), North Korea (17), Haiti (17), Equatorial Guinea (17), Turkmenistan (18) and Libya (18) are the next lowest performers.

MOST SIGNIFICANT MOVERS

Countries that the underlying data sources largely agree improved or declined over the period 2014 to 2023. A full list of all statistically significant changes is available in the CPI 2023 dataset.

CPI SCORE CHANGES, 2012-2023

Number of countries that the underlying data sources largely agree improved or declined over the period 2012 to 2023, for all 180 countries with data available.

80
90
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
CPI GLOBAL AVERAGE
CPI 2023
BASELINE CPI SCORE
15
10
7
2014
2015
2016
2017
2020
2023
CORRUPTION AND INJUSTICE

The United Nations Convention against Corruption requires governments to strengthen integrity and prevent opportunities for corruption among members of the judiciary and prosecution services, while maintaining their independence. This explicit focus on the justice system is not surprising, given that it plays a vital role in applying anti-corruption legislation, protecting rights and guaranteeing the rule of law.

Well-functioning justice systems are a precondition and a catalyst for addressing corruption effectively. When the justice system is weak, dysfunctional or lacks independence to shield itself against external pressures, it cannot uphold the law and ensure that it is applied equally to all. Under these circumstances, legal frameworks tend to lose their power to dissuade people from engaging in corruption and other criminal activities, and impunity thrives. It is not surprising that countries where public officials and private actors are unlikely to be sanctioned for misconduct also score poorly on the CPI. A low likelihood of punishment sends the message that corrupt people can get away with their crimes and may be a sign that corruption is tolerated and protected.

The relationship between corruption and justice, however, is more than one-directional. While the declining levels of rule of law worldwide affect efforts to counter corruption, corruption also contributes to the erosion of justice by restricting access and threatening the basic principle of equality before the law. When corruption takes hold of the justice system, the powerful and wealthy can escape prosecution and conviction. At the same time, large segments of society may be excluded from accessing justice or face additional costs to do so. Research shows that the effects of corruption on access to justice are not felt equally across societies. It is often poor and marginalised groups that suffer most from corruption when seeking justice. Vulnerable people also find themselves at a disadvantage when bribes or political connections sway legal outcomes.

Recent studies also show that there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between corruption and social injustice. Corruption often results in discrimination, as favours or privileges the government grants to specific groups, individuals or companies tend to result in the deprivation of others with similar merit.

Corruption worsens social injustice and disproportionately affects the most vulnerable. In many countries, obstacles to justice for victims of corruption persist. It is time to break the barriers and ensure people can access justice effectively. Everyone deserves fair and inclusive legal systems where victims’ voices are heard at every stage. Anything else is an affront to justice.

Daniel Eriksson
Chief Executive Officer, Transparency International
In September 2023, North Macedonia’s (42) parliament significantly undermined its judiciary. In a non-transparent and fast-tracked procedure, MPs amended the criminal code to reduce prison sentences and shorten the statute of limitations for the abuse of official positions. This will cause roughly 200 suspected corruption cases to be dismissed, many of which involve former high-level officials.

Venezuela (13) is an example of grand corruption, where billions of dollars of public money have been systematically embezzled, benefiting a few powerful individuals and exacerbating poverty and inequality. The grand corruption schemes go hand with high-level officials’ capturing legislative, regulatory, and justice systems to build power and evade punishment.

FIGURE 1: CORRUPTION AND IMPUNITY

Countries with higher levels of corruption are less likely to sanction public officials for failing to adhere to existing rules and fulfil their responsibilities. The low likelihood of sanctions can also serve as an incentive to engage in corruption.

Source: Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index and World Justice Project Rule of Law Index.

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Existing patterns of discrimination can increase some people's exposure to corruption and the harm they suffer as a result. Gender inequality and power imbalances, for example, make women and girls more vulnerable to certain types of corruption, such as sextortion – the abuse of power for sexual benefits. Marginalised groups are more likely to be preyed on by corrupt actors and find that the authorities are neither protecting them nor punishing the perpetrators.

Corruption also gives political, economic or other special interest groups the means to influence or completely capture justice institutions, rendering them ineffective and using them to bend the law to protect their interests. In the most extreme cases, grand corruption and state capture can turn justice systems into tools of oppression. Corrupt elites may deploy their influence on the justice system to bolster their hold on power and deprive the people of their rights, freedom and ability to raise their voices against abuses. Some governments make use of justice systems to suppress opposition or other critical voices. These regimes often co-opt police forces, prosecutors and courts, and use them to silence, disadvantage and jail those who raise their voices against them.

FIGURE 2: CORRUPTION AND ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Under most corrupt justice systems, the powerful and wealthy can escape prosecution and conviction, while large segments of society are excluded from their rightful access to fair and effective judicial services.
In July 2021, President Saied seized control of Tunisia’s judiciary and suspended parliament. He continued to consolidate his power in 2022 through the election of a new parliament which constitutionally remains under his control, further undermining the checks and balances needed to effectively limit government powers. Other concerning measures include the weakening of the anti-corruption commission and the closing of civic space for those willing to speak up.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo (20) faces serious challenges in advancing equal access to justice. In many instances, little progress is made with investigating, prosecuting and convicting the powerful and wealthy, while already marginalised groups of Congolese people are excluded from their rightful access to fair and effective judicial services.

Cambodia (22) has one of the worst scores in the world for both public sector corruption – at its grand and petty scales – and for equal treatment and absence of discrimination. Marginalised groups are more likely to be neglected or mistreated when interacting with public officials, trying to access public services or seeking justice.

**FIGURE 3: CORRUPTION AND ABSENCE OF DISCRIMINATION**

Where corruption is high, equal treatment before the law is not guaranteed and there is more space to discriminate against specific groups.
Regional Highlights

Among many other challenges, every region is struggling with weakening justice systems and diminishing accountability for public officials. This is enabling corruption to thrive with impunity, and regions are either stagnant in their corruption efforts or showing signs of decline.

Countries have improved their scores throughout the world, showing that progress is possible in any environment. However, regions with more countries that are improving than are declining are in a minority.

Western Europe and the European Union (EU), while remaining the top-scoring region, experienced a drop in its average score to 65 out of 100, reflecting weakened checks and balances and eroding political integrity. Eastern Europe and Central Asia grapple with the dysfunctional rule of law, rising authoritarianism and systemic corruption, reflected in an average score of 35.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, despite improvement in some countries, most maintain a low score. The regional average is 33, the world’s lowest. Scores in the Middle East and North Africa region show little improvement with an average of 38, reflecting ongoing struggles with political corruption and conflict. Asia Pacific shows a long stagnant average score of 45 and countries historically at the top backsliding.

Lack of judicial independence and weak rule of law are enabling widespread impunity in the Americas, which has an average of 43.

Percentage of countries with scores below 50 (by region)

Most countries in all but one region have scores under 50, which strongly indicates serious corruption problems in their public sectors.
With two-thirds of the countries in the region having a score under 50 out of 100 on the CPI, the Americas shows considerable challenges in the fight against corruption. The lack of independence of the judiciary in the region is one of the main problems. It undermines the rule of law and promotes impunity for the powerful and criminals, to the detriment of the people and the common good.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, opacity and undue influence renders many justice systems across the region incapable of applying the law effectively in an impartial manner or exercising their function as a check on other branches of government, which is fundamental for all well-functioning democracies.

The sense of impunity and the inability of prosecutors and judges to proceed impartially and guarantee fair trials and equality before the law significantly impacts public trust in the judiciary. This, in turn, discourages reporting, as the institution is perceived as corrupt, unreliable and unsafe. The most severely affected are the poorest and most vulnerable groups, such as women, indigenous people, Afro-descendants, sexual minorities and migrants. These groups often experience discrimination when seeking justice.

The Americas urgently needs more robust and independent judiciaries to enhance justice, tackle impunity and face the growth of transnational corruption networks. Also, judicial and prosecutorial appointments and dismissals must be transparent and based on experience and performance to prevent interference.
ASIA PACIFIC

As the Asia Pacific region faces a big 2024 election year, the 2023 CPI reveals another year of little to no meaningful progress towards curbing corruption. For five years in a row, the average CPI score for the region stagnates stubbornly at 45 out of a possible 100. Very few countries show sustained turnarounds that indicate significant changes in corruption levels. Several historically at the top are slowly declining.

Sixty-eight per cent of the countries across Asia and the Pacific have a CPI score below 50. These weak scores reflect the lack of delivery by elected officials on anti-corruption agendas, together with crackdowns on civil society and attacks on freedoms of press, assembly and association.

The Pacific continues to grapple with the impact of climate change and remains a focal point for geopolitical tensions between China and the West. While there’s a steady influx of economic, military or financial incentives to support its development and climate goals, many Pacific countries have weak governance systems, which some donors overlook, exposing these substantial investments to high risk of corruption.

Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer revealed the prevalence of corruption around election processes in Asia and the Pacific. These findings show the serious implications for the ability of elections to bring in governments that can be trusted to effectively control and curb corruption.

LATEST IMPROVERS
MALDIVES
39/100 (+10 points since 2019)
NEPAL
35/100 (+4 points since 2018)
VIETNAM
41/100 (+8 points since 2018)

LATEST DECLINERS
MYANMAR
20/100 (-9 points since 2018)
SRI LANKA
34/100 (-4 points since 2018)

NEW MAXIMUM SCORES
NEPAL 35 and TIMOR-LESTE 43

NEW MINIMUM SCORES
BANGLADESH 24, FIJI 52, NEW ZEALAND 85 and SRI LANKA 34
EASTERN EUROPE & CENTRAL ASIA

The CPI paints a troubling picture of Eastern Europe and Central Asia, an area struggling with dysfunctional rule of law, rising authoritarianism and systemic corruption. The average score of 35 out of 100 makes it the second lowest-scoring region in the world.

Widespread democratic backsliding and weakening justice systems are undermining control of corruption, as institutions like the police, prosecutors and the courts are often unable to investigate and punish those who abuse their power. In a region where war and inflation are increasing poverty levels, it is crucial that leaders act for the common good. There are, however, countless examples of public officials systematically influencing policies and institutions to increase their power and steal public funds.

Leaders urgently need to strengthen the rule of law, rights and democracy, but many are systematically attacking them.

The 2023 CPI shows that while most countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia are not making progress against corruption, five countries have significantly improved their CPI scores over the last 10 years. This shows that despite the substantial challenges faced in much of the region, change is possible.

The rest have stagnated in their anti-corruption efforts, except for Bosnia and Herzegovina (35), Turkey (34) and Turkmenistan (18), which have declined. Turkey also reached its lowest score to date on the CPI this year, as did Serbia (36), Russia (26) and Tajikistan (20).
MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA

The loss of momentum in anti-corruption efforts across the MENA region is diminishing public trust. At the same time, adopting a reactive, rather than preventative, approach to fighting corruption impairs good governance.

For over a decade, most countries in the region have failed to improve their positions on the CPI, and 2023 is no exception. This trend is attributed to high levels of political corruption that undermine anti-corruption efforts across the region. Corruption continues to hinder citizens’ access to essential services, including health and education, and in many cases, even threatens their right to life.

With only seven years to go to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Arab States struggle to fulfil their commitments to justice and human rights. This is due to the absence of proper infrastructure and national integrity systems. The combined CPI 2023 scores of the Arab States amount to an average of 34 out of 100, demonstrating the long road ahead in assuring integrity and justice throughout the region.

Across the region, widespread corruption significantly undermines progress and many states grapple with deeply rooted social and structural injustices. These prevailing conditions perpetuate various forms of inequality, including disparate access to essential services and resources. This not only exacerbates social inequalities but also severely impedes the pursuit of the SDGs.

18 COUNTRIES

38 AVERAGE SCORE

17
This year’s CPI shows mixed results in Africa, with significant improvements in a few countries. However, most African countries experienced stagnation, maintaining the region’s consistently poor performance, with an unaltered regional average score of 33 out of 100. Ninety percent of countries in Sub-Saharan Africa scored under 50.

Despite a regional survey ranking corruption among the most important problems that Africans want their governments to address, the 2023 CPI shows that countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have a long way to go in their fight against corruption.

The region’s persistent challenges stem from decades of severe underfunding in public sectors, exacerbated by corruption and illicit financial flows siphoning resources away from basic public services. Addressing social and economic issues remains ineffective, often at the expense of the most vulnerable population. Corruption in justice delivery mechanisms disproportionately affects the poorest citizens and those who depend primarily on public services, such as people living with disabilities or women and children, hindering the realisation of global and regional development goals.

Despite adopting the African Union Convention on Prevention and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC) two decades ago, impunity of public actors, a weakened civic space and public access to justice and information continue to be critical issues that threaten the rule of law in the region. Anti-corruption efforts are therefore necessary at all levels and by multiple stakeholders within the justice network.

**LATEST IMPROVERS**
- ANGOLA: 33/100 (+14 points since 2018)

**LATEST DECLINERS**
- LIBERIA: 25/100 (-7 points since 2018)

**NEW MAXIMUM SCORES**
- CABO VERDE 64, COTE D’IVOIRE 40, SEYCHELLES 71, SIERRA LEONE 39 and TANZANIA 40

**NEW MINIMUM SCORES**
- GABON 28, LIBERIA 25 and SOUTH AFRICA 41
WESTERN EUROPE & EUROPEAN UNION

The average CPI score of 65 out of 100 has dropped for the first time in a decade in Western Europe and the EU. Despite remaining the top-scoring region in the CPI, robust anti-corruption measures continue to be undermined by the weakening of checks and balances. The erosion of political integrity contributes to diminishing public trust in countries’ ability to tackle the region’s ongoing challenges.

The 2023 CPI reveals that anti-corruption efforts have stagnated or declined in more than three-quarters of the countries in the region. Among the 31 countries assessed, only six have improved their score, while eight have declined since 2012.

Several high-ranking democracies, including Sweden (82), Netherlands (79), Iceland (72) and the United Kingdom (71), have recorded their lowest-ever scores. Notably, the UK has experienced a six-point decrease over the past five years. Denmark (90), Finland (87) and Norway (84) top the CPI ranking, while the lowest-performing countries—reflecting substantial weaknesses in the rule of law—include Hungary (42), Romania (46) and Bulgaria (45).

Weak accountability and political corruption are undermining the rule of law in a region where people are losing trust in their institutions. In the most alarming cases, narrow interest groups have too much control over political decision making. In others, governments are targeting journalists, whistleblowers and other watchdogs.
METHODOLOGY

The CPI aggregates data from several different sources that capture perceptions among businesspeople and country experts of the level of corruption in the public sector. Transparency International takes the following steps to calculate the CPI:

1. **Select data sources.** Each data source used to construct the CPI must fulfil the following criteria to qualify as a valid source:
   - Quantifies risks or perceptions of corruption in the public sector
   - Is based on a reliable and valid methodology
   - Comes from a reputable organisation
   - Allows for sufficient variation of scores to distinguish between countries
   - Ranks a substantial number of countries across more than one region
   - Considers only the assessments of country experts or businesspeople
   - Is updated regularly (at least every two years).

   The CPI is calculated using 13 different data sources from 12 different institutions that have captured perceptions of corruption within the past two years.

2. **Standardise data sources to a scale of 0-100.** This standardisation is achieved by subtracting the mean of each source in the baseline year from each country score, then dividing by the standard deviation, of that source in the baseline year. This subtraction and division using the baseline year parameters, ensures that the CPI scores are comparable year on year since 2012. After this procedure, the standardised scores are transformed to the CPI scale by multiplying them with the value of the CPI standard deviation in 2012 (20) and adding the mean of the CPI in 2012 (45), so that the dataset fits the CPI’s 0-100 scale.

3. **Calculate the average.** For a country or territory to be included in the CPI, a minimum of three sources must assess that country. A country’s CPI score is then calculated as the average of all standardised scores available for that country. Scores are rounded to whole numbers.

4. **Report the measure of uncertainty.** The CPI score is accompanied by a standard error and confidence interval. This captures the variation across the data sources available for a country or territory.
ENDNOTES


2 The justice system comprises the various agencies, establishments and institutions tasked with administering or enforcing the law. The judiciary is the system of courts and tribunals that adjudicates legal disputes and interprets, applies and defends the law.


5 Only CPI results from 2012 onwards can be compared.


8 UNCAC Article 11, Paragraph 1.


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