

» Issue paper

Gender and Corruption in Failed Democracies

Case study
Bosnia and Herzegovina



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Gender and Corruption in Failed Democracies
Case study Bosnia and Herzegovina
Author: Boris Divjak

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Author: Boris Divjak

Banja Luka, April 2020

» Acknowledgements

Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina

Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina was launched on 01 December 2000, although the operations commenced in early 2001 as a local non-governmental organisation (NGO), accredited as the National Chapter of the global movement. It has grown in operations rapidly, soon to become the leading NGO in BiH for anti-corruption and good governance. Today, it operates two offices: headquarters in Banja Luka and an office in Sarajevo with the staff of 18 and a network of volunteers, members etc. More about its operations can be found at the website: www.ti-bih.org. This publication follows years of data processing and research and it is based on the cases reported directly by citizens to the free legal aid: Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre (ALAC) of TI BiH over many years. Details are disclosed in the section that introduced the data. Information received from the citizens are treated with utmost confidentiality, respecting the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and all the national regulation on data protection. No beneficiary of TI BiH is ever asked to disclose any of their information – it is entirely up to the beneficiary if and when they like to disclose their information to ALAC/TI BiH, including their contacts if they request feedback, extended legal advice or representation. The data presented in this publication fully respects the privacy of beneficiaries and at no point are any information disclosed that may reveal the identity of any beneficiary that has been in contact with ALAC/TI BiH. The ALAC database is managed locally, offline, and is not shared with any part of global TI.

Government of Sweden

Since 2019 the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) provides core support to Transparency International in Bosnia and Herzegovina to strengthen its long-term efforts and approaches in fighting corruption and establishing rule of law. The objective is to develop new solutions to highly complex and serious challenge of corruption in BiH society, but also to enable sustainability and consistency of its anti-corruption efforts. TI BiH is grateful to the Government of Sweden and to SIDA for this vital support that made this publication possible.

Author

Boris Divjak is a macroeconomist, with a bachelor's degree from the University of Reading, UK and the University of Graz, Austria as well as a master's degree in International Studies from the University of Reading. He has been a senior staff of the World Bank and key consultant of the European Commission, OECD, OSCE and several bilateral donors as a private sector development expert. In his voluntary capacity, he has been affiliated with Transparency International continuously for twenty years, founded the Bosnia and Herzegovina Chapter, and served a maximum of three terms in the international Board of Directors. As an anti-corruption expert, he was also appointed Director of Norway-based U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre from June 2014 until October 2016. He has been a freelance consultant since. Under Boris's leadership, the TI BiH Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre's operations were launched. He published several books and papers and has authored for TI BiH on multiple occasions.

Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre (ALAC) Team

The ALAC (free legal support to citizens; explained in a thematic section below) team is composed of a senior coordinator (Ena Kljajić Grgić) and four team members (Uglješa Vuković, Marko Vujić, Milena Mastalo and Damjan Ožegović). Two full-time ALAC members were directly involved in the preparation of this analysis, primarily by providing inputs, processing the database and allowing for segregation of results, and support in their assessments.

Milena Mastalo has been with TI BiH/ALAC as *Programme Officer for Research, Reporting and Legal advice* over the past four years. Even though she began working with ALAC, in the meantime has taken on advocacy research and actions in several fields. She supports the link between ALAC and other projects under implementation, by cross-feeding data and ensuring proper project management. She manages the gender and corruption project.

Marko Vujić started as an ALAC volunteer in 2011. After several months of legal volunteering, he was hired as Team Assistant. Now he provides advice to legal entities and citizens via TI BiH's toll-free line for reporting corruption. In the next phase of legal aid, he provides specific support by preparing submissions on behalf of the citizens. He also supervises the ALAC database – as its principal analyst, he was critical to supporting this endeavour.

Peer review

A draft document was reviewed by five renowned academics, authors and researchers to help improve it and produce a stronger final paper. The author and TI BiH are tremendously grateful to (in alphabetical order):

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Prof Mi Yung Yoon holds PhD from Florida State University and has been teaching international and comparative politics courses at Hanover College since 1993. As an Africanist, she has regularly conducted field research in sub-Saharan African countries and has published her research findings in various peer-reviewed journals in her field. She is interested in women in the developing world and has published numerous articles on related topics. She published a long list of journal articles, some of the latest including: "Gender Equality in Politics at Home and Promotion of Gender Equality in Politics Abroad: The Role of Bilateral Official Development Assistance," *International Political Science Review*; and "Recruitment Mechanism for Reserved Seats for Women in Parliament and Switches to Non-Quota Seats: A Comparative Study of Tanzania and Uganda," *Journal of Modern African Studies*.

TI BiH and TI-Secretariat

A lot of preparations went into this publication, with several preparatory and analytical meetings organised within Bosnia and Herzegovina that were supported by TI BiH staff. Support was also provided through TI Secretariat in Berlin that offered cross-country liaison and connections to other teams focused on the gender gap in TI movement.

Survey Agency

Partner – Marketing Consulting Agency was registered in Banja Luka in 1999. It has since cooperated with political parties, private sector, NGOs, government agencies, foreign investors etc. in surveying the public opinions, creation and monitoring of campaigns, media monitoring, market research etc. in over 500 holistic approach projects. Partner has worked with TI BiH on multiple projects almost since the foundation of this NGO on qualitative and quantitative research alike. Topics covered included monitoring of political developments and the related public opinion, perception of the BiH realities: economic and political and very specifically how corruption plays into these. Gordana Vučković is the Managing Director of Partner and has personally overseen the work under this project, which the Agency carried out for TI BiH.

» Abstract

The paper is based on quantitative research conducted through a national household survey on a representative sample of 1300 citizens and a qualitative analysis of a database of legal aid provided to victims of corruption. Bosnia and Herzegovina as defined by a high level of corruption and a state capture phenomenon that affects all sectors make it thus a failed democracy. In such society, the gender gap flourishes, although the issue is gradually improving with the empowerment of young women, particularly by providing access to education, which the older generations were denied, especially in the more traditional rural areas. These show that where that gap is significant the engagement of women with corruption differs: there is less exposure of 'traditional' women to administration and thus corruption, and it is more difficult for such women to stand up for their rights. Educated, younger women, typically of working age show higher awareness than men and are eager to fight injustice. The perception that women on average are fairer sex and that the country would be better off with female leadership is not supported in BiH – both sexes are perceived and act similarly in countering corruption.

The study has shown that women do not call for justice in pro-social sectors (education, health etc.) more than men, given the same socio-economic opportunities. Limited average ability of women to engage, due to significant gender inequality, forces them to be more selective, and they act where it hurts them the most: when they themselves fall victims to corruption – they initiate actions that will help them remedy their own situation. While on the face of it, BiH women might appear as failing to act for the greater good, in such harsh and corrupt environments women are highly vulnerable, forced to prioritise and help their cause first. This has to do with the local context of BiH, not individual or gender fairness. Access to justice appears equal across gender – there is no evidence that women are being discriminated in courts. For the niche of women determined to seek justice, their awareness of rights is solid, and they appear able to navigate the legal system, including the provision of legal aid through channels other than judiciary (e.g. TI BiH's ALAC).

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» Introduction

This section will define the key terms the paper will cover, and it will set the objectives for the research, including what will be presented.

Definitions

Two main terms will be covered by the study as its very title suggests: corruption and gender. Both of these will be described insofar as their most widely accepted definitions elaborate.

Corruption

Transparency International defines corruption as “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain”. Corruption can be classified as petty and grand, political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs.

Petty corruption refers to everyday abuse of entrusted power by low- and mid-level public officials in their interactions with ordinary citizens, who often are trying to access basic goods or services in places like hospitals, schools, police departments and other agencies. Grand corruption consists of acts committed at a high level of government that distort policies or the central functioning of the state, enabling leaders to benefit at the expense of the public good. Political corruption is a manipulation of policies, institutions and rules of procedure in the allocation of resources and financing by political decision-makers, who abuse their position to sustain their power, status and wealth¹. The aim of this study is primarily petty corruption as it affects the bulk of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, the phenomenon of large-scale political, i.e. grand corruption will have to be considered in the larger context, which predetermines or at the very least affects many aspects of living, including human rights and gender equality.

Gender and the gender gap

Gender might be defined as social attributes and opportunities associated with being female and male and to the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as to the relations between women and those between men². Depending on the context, a range of gender characteristics may include biological sex (i.e., the state of being male, female, or an intersex variation), sex-based social structures (i.e., gender roles), or gender identity. Most cultures use a gender binary, having two genders (boys/men and girls/women); those who exist outside these groups fall under the umbrella term non-binary or genderqueer³. The gender gap is a gap in any area between women and men in terms of their levels of participation, access, rights, remuneration or benefits⁴.

However, in the Bosnia and Herzegovina statistics realities, while this study acknowledges non-binary gender and affirms its existence in the country, there was no means to

1 <https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>

2 <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1141>

3 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender>

4 <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1178>

research beyond the gender binary. The gender division this paper entertains is therefore based on the biological sexes: men and women.

Objectives of the study

There are six broad objectives at the outset of this study. They aim at reaching a consensus between quantitative research and the qualitative assessment of the legal database. However, placing this in the broader social context, as the prior literature review compels, will shape the results of most action points. The report will:

1. Carry out a thorough review of the relevant academic and NGO documents that make assumptions on the interaction between gender and corruption. List such conclusions, irrespective of the level of conclusiveness to be tested by this very research⁵.
2. Analyse a representative general population survey conducted for the purposes of this study, based on the standard TI BiH methodology, with specialised gender-responsive questions in addition, and synthesise the differences in responses between women and men respondents, as well as any other relevant indicator.
3. Conduct a thorough research of the TI BiH ALAC's database of the actual submissions and calls for legal support, and analyse how corruption affects women and men differently and how the affected individuals confronted the specific issue (gender-segregated), including their access to justice and victim's vulnerability.
4. Utilising the quantitative survey results and the empirical study of applied cases of corruption, demonstrate:
 - a. Any differences in corruption perception (particularly by gender). These should reflect variables as education, urban/rural divide, age, etc. affecting corruption perception.
 - b. What, if any, gender difference exists in how corruption affects the victim and how it is reported. This assessment also includes such variables as education, urban/rural divide, age, etc. influencing the above – through the assessment of the ALAC database.
 - c. What, if any, gender difference exists in being corruption perpetrators or victims, as well as in the level of a person's awareness and its willingness to redress it, etc. - using the available ALAC resources and official statistics.
5. Analyse to what extent the data collected in BiH conforms with the previous global research on the issue of gender and corruption and what further insights it offers to the discourse.
6. Provide short and long-term recommendations for policy actions and specific support to victims of corruption, where the gender-responsible approach is advised. Also, draw conclusions on what are the most common motives/incentives for women and men to come forward and report corruption and consequently what gender-responsible approach should be considered.

⁵ The focus is strictly on the impact of corruption on women and men, rather than a broader research into the role of women in political life and their ability to influence decision-making. This might be touched upon, where necessary to highlight the former assumptions or conclusions.

» Highlights of the literature review

Limited research of the existing literature linking gender and corruption was conducted before advancing the BiH case study (details in Annex 1) primarily relating to the objectives of this study, as detailed above. This has not covered the wider topic of gender and politics generally, except in the areas of anti-corruption. Below are several key takes from the conducted research emerging as common scholar views or the most frequent lessons learned:

- Still insufficient empirical evidence on how gender interacts with corruption differently burdens this discourse. More frequent recent findings show that women are not necessarily more intrinsically honest or averse to corruption than men. Some of the most comprehensive research was conducted 20 years ago and gender studies have advanced significantly since then. However, all researchers agree that corruption affects women differently to men and as victims they suffer more.
- Most research agrees that women are more likely to be pro-social and for biological, and historical/traditional reasons might have a greater interest in certain sectors such as health and education, where they also might be more susceptible to bribery. The findings largely depend on institutional and cultural contexts in these experimental situations.
- Often the evidence is inconclusive as to whether women engage in corruption less frequently in some other sectors, such as business, government, judiciary etc. As these are historically male-dominated areas, women might simply not have a sufficient hold to engage in corrupt activities. There are discussions of the ‘male-dominated networks’ which women might break up, although there is no evidence of such successful courses of action yet. Sexism and patriarchal structures of society, open or tacit, simply prevent women from accessing positions of power and these might condition the gender gap.
- Level of democratisation of society, social norms, traditional tolerance of corruption etc. all play a pivotal role in determining to what extent a greater involvement of women in government might reduce corruption – a correlation exists. The gender gap widens in more advanced societies favouring women in countering corruption. As research work progressed, it became ever more apparent that understanding gender and corruption necessitates contextualising it, as there is no intrinsic, biological or otherwise one-size-fits-all determinant.
- There is a prevalent call on this research to continue. The work thus far relies almost exclusively on (smaller national sample) opinion polls, global indices and to a lesser extent experimental evidence. There was no larger-scale attempt to conduct a gender-sensitive mapping of the victims of corruption in order to understand the issues, such as the impact of corruption on women, better.

» Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) came out of the devastating inter-ethnic conflict in the mid-1990s. As a result of the end to hostilities, the country is governed by a compromise hybrid system of power, explained below. This also resulted in a multi-level government, where various levels overlap and duplicate work, making the bureaucratic maze difficult to navigate and corruption-prone. This section provides a political overview, a report on the state of anti-corruption and gender equality.

Political overview

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a highly decentralised parliamentary representative democracy, whereby the executive is exercised by the Council of Ministers of BiH and legislative power by the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH. Members of the Parliamentary Assembly are chosen according to a proportional representation system. The judiciary is formally supposed to be independent of the executive and the legislature. The system of government established by the Dayton Peace Accord, which ended the 1992–95 war, resulted in a representation of the country’s three major ethnic groups termed ‘constituent peoples’ by elites, with each having a guaranteed share of power.

The country is divided into two Entities – the Federation of BiH and the Republika Srpska, which are politically autonomous to an extent, as well as the district of Brčko, which is jointly administered by both. The Entities have their own constitutions. The Federation of BiH is further divided into ten cantons, each administered by their respective assemblies and governments.

Such settings allowed the political affairs to be characterised by severe partisan gridlock among nationalist leaders from the country’s Bosniac, Serb, and Croat communities. Political parties typically organise and operate freely, though the political arena in the Federation of BiH is generally limited to Bosniacs and Croats, while Serbs dominate politics in the Republika Srpska (RS). While coalitions at all levels of government shift frequently, incumbent parties maintain their positions with the help of vast patronage networks (Freedom House, 2019).

The Economist Intelligence Unit ranked Bosnia 101st out of 165 countries and two territories in its Democracy Index 2018⁶. It classified the country as a “hybrid regime”. The Economist Intelligence Unit defines “hybrid regimes” as countries that have substantial irregularities with elections. “Government pressure on opposition parties and candidates may be common,” it says. “Serious weaknesses are more prevalent than in flawed democracies – in political culture, functioning of government and political participation. Corruption tends to be widespread and the rule of law is weak. Civil society is weak. Typically, there is harassment of and pressure on journalists, and the judiciary is not independent.”

⁶ <https://www.eiu.com/topic/democracy-index>

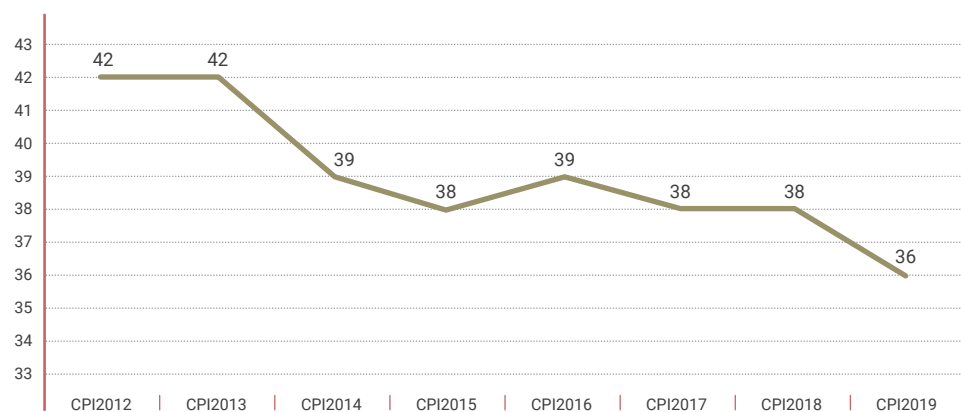
To avoid using this EIU trademarked term, this paper refers to BiH as a ‘failed democracy’ with a similar description in mind – a country that on the paper has all the democratic institutions, which have collapsed in the hands of the crony networks into a ‘failed state’ phenomenon.

Corruption overview

According to the TI’s last available 2019 Corruption Perception Index (CPI), Bosnia and Herzegovina has been rated 36 (on the scale 0-100), which represents the worst rating since 2012, or since the CPI has been established with the current methodology, placing BiH thus among the countries most declining globally. The Index ratings published by TI, show that BiH has fallen by 11 places compared to its position last year, and now it shares 101st position with Kosovo, out of 180 countries in total.

TI BiH’s report published on the occasion of the launch of CPI⁷ comments this significant decline as a result of irregularities in: the election procedures, the law on financing political parties and the election campaign, which deprived citizens of the right to free and fair elections, as pointed out by TI BiH during its monitoring of the last year’s election campaign. BiH is one of the countries with a constant increase in the most serious forms of political corruption due to which it cannot guarantee its citizens the basic human rights.

BiH in TI’s CPI (country score)



⁷ TI BiH Press release of 23 Jan 2020, <https://ti-bih.org/english-bih-medju-zemljama-koje-najvise-nazaduju-u-borbi-protiv-korupcije/>

Brutal repression and threats to voters, manipulations of the voters’ lists and election results, and complete mobilisation of the institutional resources by the ruling parties, keep the country away from political responsibility and democracy. As a result of the widespread perception of election irregularities, BiH institutions have a questionable legitimacy. The institutions are additionally compromised by the appointment of the convicted criminals to the highest executive functions. Parliaments, deprived of any parliamentary oversight function, treat MPs as spokespersons of party leaders, without any chance to pass anti-corruption legislation, such as the laws on: conflict of interest, financing of political parties, or High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council, claims TI BiH.

Complete political control, as well as crony networks’ impact on judiciary, call for urgent action. “BiH has found itself in a situation in which corruption became an official state, entity and cantonal policy, and this is apparent in every action of the institutions – if you analyse any appointment, tender, regulation, you will see an obvious, particular interest behind it”, TI BiH Chair of Board of Directors Srđan Blagovčanin commented the results of the Corruption Perception Index⁸.

Corruption, therefore, remains widespread and systemic, and legislation designed to combat the problem is poorly enforced. When probes are actually opened, they rarely result in convictions⁹. TI as well as scores of other multilateral and bilateral diplomatic reports view BiH as a highly corrupt environment, captured by the ruling elites, which *inter alia* explains why it is the only country in the continent that at this point is not even discussing the EU accession process. It is a country that the youth are deserting in alarmingly high numbers to seek their future abroad, while the country continues ticking only based on the new financial borrowing the corrupt elites take. No clarity exists who, how and when will repay these enormous internal and foreign debts¹⁰. This is an immensely important context in which human rights, social issues including the gender issues must be viewed and comprehended.

Gender overview

The local context for this gender assessment needs to be provided at the outset, as it permits a better understanding of the gender issues in contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina. This will be important to contextualise the analysis, which will also condition the subsequent conclusions.

Even though legally and formally there is a fair legal upholding of gender equality in BiH, for a variety of historical and traditional reasons, women are far from having equal access to their rights. The following excerpts from the official statistics bulletin (BiH Agency for Statistics, 2018), based on the latest available figures and the last census carried out in 2013 portrays a picture of BiH as a country in which women have not been given the same opportunity to education (particularly the older generations). They are typically also discriminated when it comes to top positions, i.e. it is still a country where men run the public and private sector alike.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Analitika (2018) details the number of corruption cases in courts that actually do result in prosecution and finally convictions as a fragment of corruption reports lodged through the justice system and law enforcement.

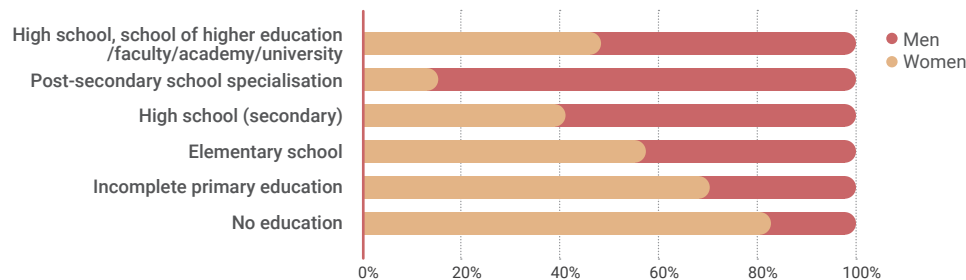
¹⁰ The country’s external debt hovers around 25% of GDP (<https://www.ceicdata.com/en/indicator/bosnia-and-herzegovina/external-debt--of-nominal-gdp>)

Education level (%age)	Women	Men	Total
No education	8.0	1.7	4.9
Incomplete primary education	12.4	5.7	9.2
Elementary school	23.9	18.9	21.4
High school (secondary)	43	59.5	51.1
Post-secondary school specialization	0.2	1.2	0.7
High school, school of higher education/faculty/academy/university	12.4	13.0	12.7

● Source: BiH Agency for Statistics (2018, p. 22)

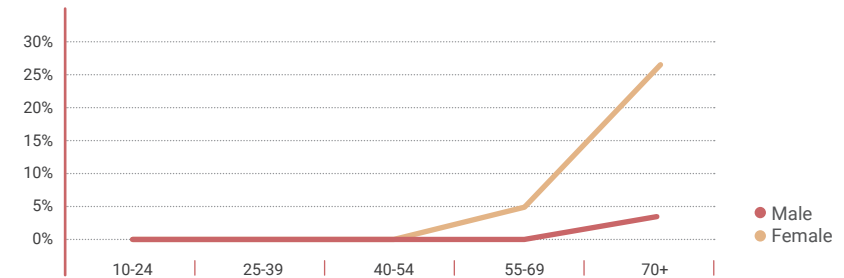
Women have largely been kept away from education institutions and the only segment which distorts the trendline below is the higher education where the young generation of women has successfully enrolled in the university programmes and holds a solid record there.

Women on average receive much less education



However, women lead by a huge margin in the worst category, which is no education at all. It, therefore, comes as no surprise that the illiteracy rate for men was 0.79%, and for women 4.76% (the total illiteracy rate in BiH, according to the 2013 census, was 2.82%). The highest illiteracy rate is in the group of older women – as high as 25.85% for those over 70, which means that every fourth woman older than 70 years in BiH is illiterate.

Rate of illiterate population aged 10 and over by age groups and sex in BiH, in 2013



● Source: ibid, p. 25

This correlates with the employment and unemployment figures, where again employment is led by men, while women lead in the relative unemployment numbers. Although the situation is gradually improving, even the last three years of statistics available show the gap between females and males persists and remains significant.

● Total

Employment generation (%age)	2015	2016	2017
Activity rate	44.1	43.1	42.6
Employment rate	31.9	32.2	33.9
Unemployment rate	27.7	25.4	20.5

● Women

Employment generation (%age)	2015	2016	2017
Activity rate	33.5	32.1	32.4
Employment rate	23.2	22.4	24.9
Unemployment rate	30.7	30	23.1

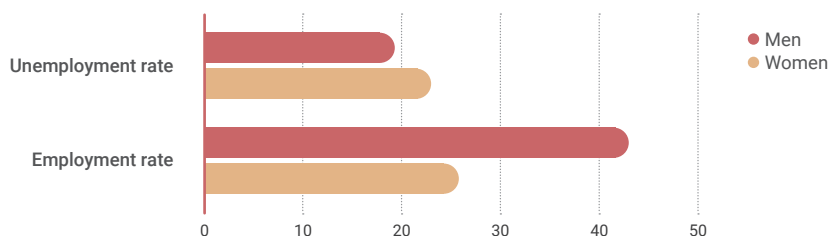
● Men

Employment generation (%age)	2015	2016	2017
Activity rate	55.1	54.9	53.3
Employment rate	40.9	42.5	43.2
Unemployment rate	25.8	22.5	18.9

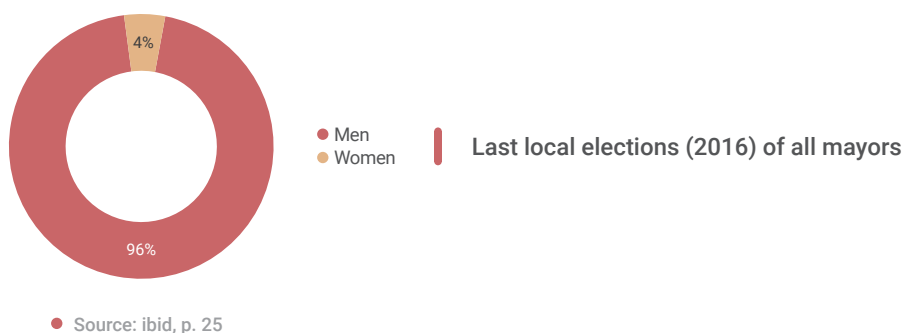
● Source: ibid, p. 68

The employment figures of 2017 show how much easier it is to find a job in BiH if you are a man than if you are a woman and the disbalance is large, as also the chart below illustrates.

In 2017 it was easier for men to find employment



There is no data processed in the country that would show the gender ratio by different professions or managerial levels. However, the public administration data still portrays a male-dominant picture, which is particularly worrisome in politics, despite the adoption of some positive practice laws that call for a higher gender balance through quotas. As a result of the last local elections in 2016, out of 140 elected mayors, only 6 were women (one in FBiH and five in RS), i.e. only 4% of municipalities are run by women mayors.



Similarly, at the state level, women are also insufficiently represented in the government and parliament. These figures could have perhaps been even lower if there were no sanctions envisaged for political parties that underrepresent women on their ballots. As a result, BiH is ranked around the middle of the list in the number of women holding executive and legislative positions.

Women in Politics: 2019 Situation on 1 January 2019
(Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2019¹¹)

Rank	Country	Total ministers	Women	%Women
83.	BiH	9	2	22.2

● (66. in 2017)

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper house or Senate	
		%Women	Women/Seats	%Women	Women/Seats
92.	BiH	21.4	9/42	13.3	2/15

● (84. in 2017)

Although the number of women in legislative and executive power has risen at the state and entity levels, the same cannot be said for the cantonal governments or municipalities where women get appointed far less, as also evidenced from the chart above. More than 500,000 BiH citizens do not have valid health insurance, and more than two-thirds of this number live in the Federation of BiH. Preventive health is a challenge especially for marginalized women, rural women, and poor women in general, not to mention women and girls with disabilities. (Bari, Kovač (2019), p. 45). The health sector will be discussed in details in the coming chapters.

Finally, most threats to human rights defenders in BiH had a gendered connotation, as those affected were mainly women working with survivors of violence, women survivors of war, testimonies against war crimes or women whistleblowers (Kvinna till Kvinna's 2018 and 2019).

The key take from this very brief gender overview of BiH is that, first of all, women live in an undemocratic, semi-authoritarian and very corrupt society, where gender is far from being mainstreamed. This is not a country that offers equal opportunities to all, but to the selected few who are close to the ruling elites, be it at the central levels of power or just about any village in the country. Secondly, women and particularly undereducated, senior and rural women, have been forced by the social norms, the environment and their very own families to take on the 'traditional role' of the home and family caretaker. Women in such circumstances do not get exposed much to the world beyond that entrusted to them by the dominant men in the family or community, who are 'traditionally' supposed to provide the means of existence for that family, home and village.

Therefore, women are probably less frequently exposed to corruption across all sectors in general and might find it more challenging to counter and report it. These demographics have been changing in the recent decades and such demographic segments are what this report will be after. Nonetheless, this assessment treats gender equally for all examination purposes and only in the end this context will be recalled to frame the conclusions in the BiH social realities.

¹¹ <https://www.ipu.org/resources/publications/infographics/2019-03/women-in-politics-2019>

» Methodology of the research

Beyond the presented brief overview of the existing research on the topic, this paper will present the findings of two chief instruments: one was deployed specifically for the purposes of this research and commissioned through Transparency International (TI) BiH – a survey of the general population; and second is a thorough examination of the pre-existent Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre's (ALAC) database of corruption-related reports collected and processed at TI BiH from 2015 through end-2019. Conclusions will be drawn from the two separate instruments but also how these relate will be examined in the text below.

Opinion poll survey

A nationally representative public opinion survey was conducted by the agency Partner, Banja Luka Ltd. as contracted by Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina. The survey follows years of collaboration with the same subcontractor, with whom similar research has been conducted and thus the instrument and sampling methodology tested and verified on multiple occasions. Details of the survey sampling and polling methodology are enclosed in Annex 2. Direct interviews of more than 1300 citizens were carried out using the face-to-face method, with support of a questionnaire that combined open-ended and closed, i.e. multiple-choice questions. Some of the response cards were shared with the respondents and the questions were always posed directly and personally, in the respondents' own homes.

Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre – ALAC

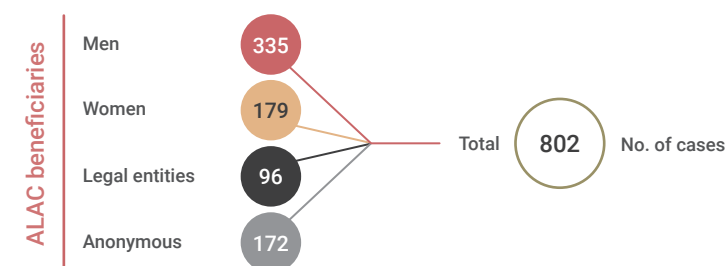
The key dimension allowing the qualitative aspect of this research comes from the operations of the ALAC within TI BiH. They are described in more detail below, including how legal aid is structured from the first citizen contact onwards, as well as how these are recorded in the database, the source for this research purpose. For sake of comparison of its outputs with the survey data, a weighting system is set up and elaborated on later in the text.

Operations to date

From its early days since its start of operations in 2001, TI BiH has put special importance to providing legal aid in the fight against corruption, and its Advocacy and Legal Advice Centre has been offering legal assistance to citizens since 2003. Over the years, more than 20,000 citizens have contacted TI BiH for legal advice, while TI BiH acted upon around 2,500 evidenced and well substantiated corruption-related cases to date. Operations and the workflow are elaborated in the details in Annex 3.

ALAC database

Taking into account methodological changes to the database described in details in Annex 3, the database breakdown that is considered for the purposes of this study runs from the beginning of 2015 until the end of 2019 and consists of the following totality of cases for that period:



The database is constructed using specific terminology for all the cases. This too is explained in Annex 3 in details.

Weighting of database

The ALAC sample is not representative of the Bosnia and Herzegovina demographics. The detailed ALAC database used for this report has 802 entries, of which in 534 cases the gender is known and specified (96 of these were reported by the legal entities and 172 reporters were anonymous). Of the 534, 355 were men and 179 reports were submitted by women. This in percentage terms means 66.479% beneficiaries who are men and 33.521% that are women.

The official census figures (the last one carried out in 2013) give the following statistics: Total population of BiH amounts to 3,531,159; of these 1,732,270 or 49.0567% are men and 1,798,889 or 50.9433% are women. Here is how the two sets of data relate:

2013 census (No.)	Sex	ALAC sample (No.)	Likelihood of being selected (sample/census)	Weight sample (census/sample)	Representation in the ALAC sample (534)	Ratio in the sample
1,732,270	Men	355	0.000204933	4879.63	66.479%	0.6648
1,798,889	Women	179	0.000099506	10049.66	33.521%	0.3352

Therefore, to arrive at a weighting which would correct the ALAC sample figures to the official gender statistics of BiH, the following calculation had to be applied:

Weighting calculation	Ratio	Sex	Percentage
weight=% M in total population/% M in ALAC sample	0.7379	M	73.79233%
weight=% W in total population/% W in ALAC sample	1.5197	W	151.97611%

In the tables and charts in the text, precise case figures and the actual percentages will be presented, but alongside these also the weighted number of cases, adjusted by the weighting ratio displayed above, from which the weighted percentages will be drawn and shown in charts and graphics. All categories will be clearly marked.

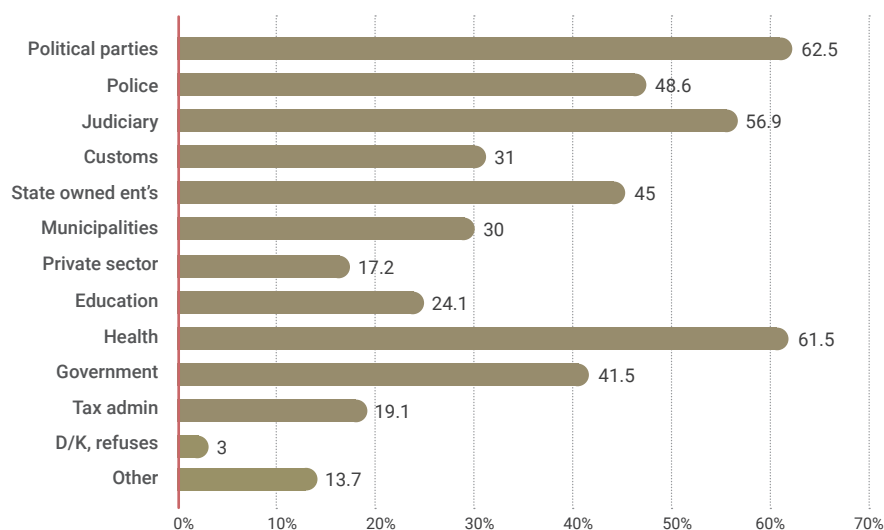
» Key findings of the survey

The survey commissioned by TI BiH and carried out by a seasoned agency which has run this instrument almost biannually over a dozen of years holds a few surprises when it comes to the general perception of corruption in the country.

What is highly apparent and important is that the difference in responses on a vast amount of questions between female and male respondents was within the margin of error or hovering just above it. Perceptions of BiH men and women do not differ significantly regarding any of the overarching questions.

61% of all respondents view the level of corruption in BiH as 'very high', while only 1.6% see corruption levels as 'somewhat low' or 'very low' combined. When asked to identify the 'corrupt institutions', allowing for multiple responses, the survey presents the following snapshot:

Prevalence of corruption by sector, survey, all respondents

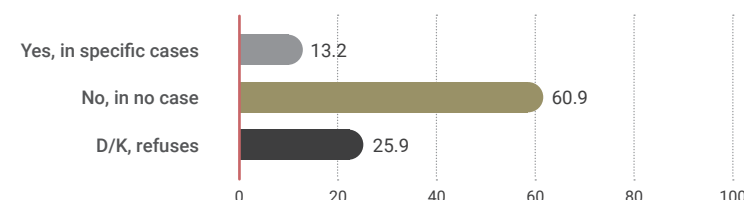


There is a general institutional mistrust and the citizens find very few safe havens to whom they would entrust the fight against corruption or seek their support in redressing justice in their own cases. This fits into the long proclaimed notion that BiH is a 'captured state' where the political elites control all institutional pillars, thus preventing any limitations of their power or questioning of wrongdoing. BiH suffers from petty corruption at the citizen level, whereby trading of favours, bribes and gifts are expected to complete basic services (administration, health services etc.), as well as so-called grand corruption where significant amounts of money are laundered through well document-

ed corrupt contracting, procurement etc. Citizens largely feel exhausted, powerless and frustrated and are increasingly less willing to engage – as the recent migration data shows: younger families prefer leaving the country.

Even in such a highly corrupt environment, almost 61% of citizens by no means approve of corruption.

Do you sometimes approve of corruption?



The respondents are divided when it comes to what action they can undertake to counter corruption: only about half believe fighting corruption is possible. 38% think there is nothing that can be done to reduce corruption, and the majority of those (27.5%) fear reprisal.

Even though there is a natural reservation to admit bribery, as it is legally equally punishable for both sides to the transaction, a significant number of respondents do admit having been in such situations before:

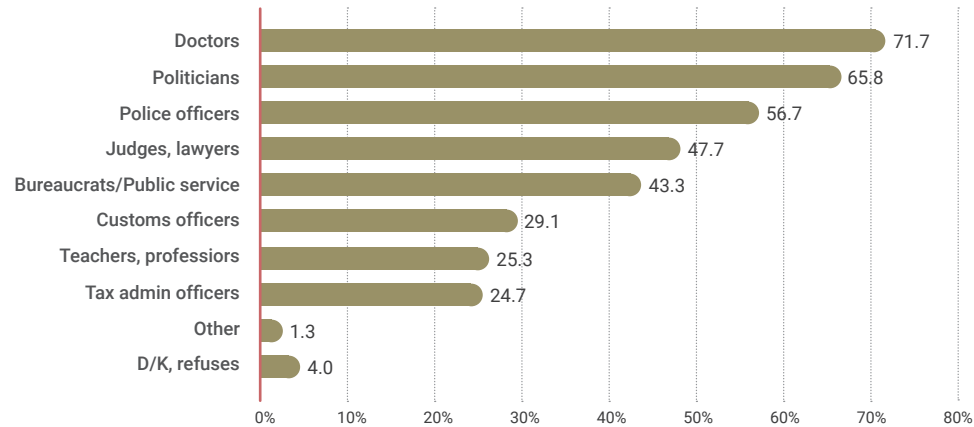
Have you recently been in a position that someone demands a bribe?

	No. of respondents	% of respondents
Yes, and I paid the bribe	191	14.5
Yes, but I did not pay the bribe	187	14.2
No, but I would have paid if necessary	224	17.0
No, but I would not pay regardless	474	36.1
D/K, refuses	238	18.1
Total	1314	100.0

¹² For some example of the documented corruption cases, refer to the website: <http://transparentno.ba/>

While the actual bribery figures might differ, we will work, for consistency's sake with the figures obtained through the survey. When asked about the professions that are most often associated with extortion of bribes or bribe-taking, the following is the general population's rating:

Professions likely to seek bribes



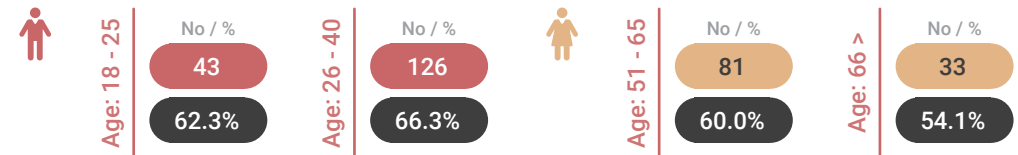
Understanding the demographic differences

We will now turn to the detailed results through gender prism.

When it comes to a bribe exposure this is somewhat different and this will be detailed in the text. This will be the first area this report will look into and it will identify all the statistically significant differences, also diving deeper into the demographics of these responses. Secondly, this section will focus on the gender and politics questions, where the respondents were asked how they perceive men vs. women in political leadership positions and what attitude they expect of them regarding corruption. Finally, we will highlight those areas of the survey which were designed so that they can compare to the other instrument – the ALAC database, and we will discuss the findings of this comparison in a subsequent paper's section.

Corruption is perceived as 'very high' by the largest section of the population (61% as detailed above), but this view is even more dominant among the university-educated respondents (67%) and the urban ones (64.9% urban respondents classify it so, while 54.5% of the rural one are as critical). Among men, younger respondents are most critical, while older women rank corruption marginally higher than the younger ones. Again, all other niches that are not highlighted here are in line with the general population percentage (within the statistical error).

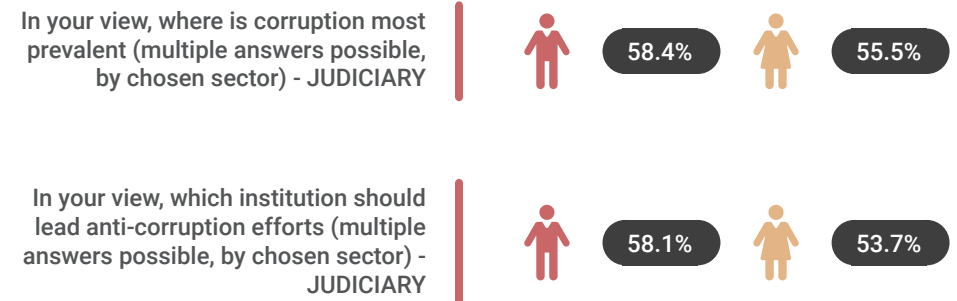
Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (61%)



When asked if they approve corruption 'exceptionally', the urban population is more flexible with 58.0% answering 'never', while among the rural population that response rate is as high as 65.8%. Of those who sometimes approve it, they all rank the exceptions: 1. for health reasons, 2. to avoid bureaucratic complexities, and 3. as a courtesy gift. The background of this attitude will become even more apparent later in the text.

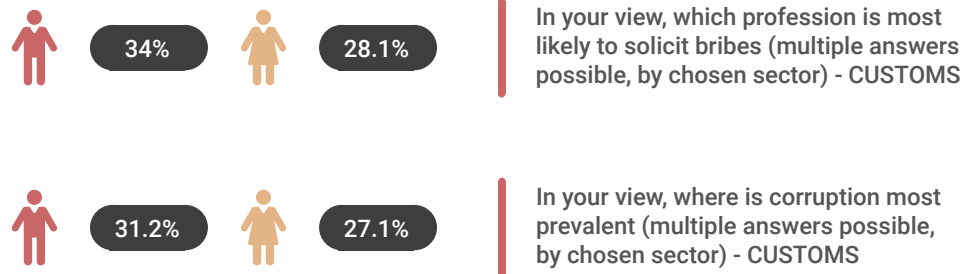
When the respondents were asked to mark the most corrupt professions, the differences again were not as stark, however in a number of them, men and women perceive and experience some institutions differently.

Men perceive the judiciary as very corrupt, a view insignificantly different from women. However, women trust even less that the judiciary is capable of leading the anti-corruption campaign. Urban population is more likely to condemn the judiciary for corruption than rural (60.5% vs. 55.3% respondents respectively). Same was the case in a later question on bribe-taking among professions, where urban respondents believe judges and lawyers are more likely to solicit bribes in 52.7%, while 39.1% of the rural population think that.



Among men, older generations are more in favour of judiciary leading the anti-corruption work (63.6% of 66+ -year-olds). All other demographic differences that are not highlighted are statistically insignificant.

For a variety of reasons, likely to do with exposure to this particular public service, men and women differ in how corrupt they view customs. More critical than average are men of the age groups 26-40 and 41-50 with 37.4% and 39.3% respectively and those with higher education, particularly university-educated (34.1%).



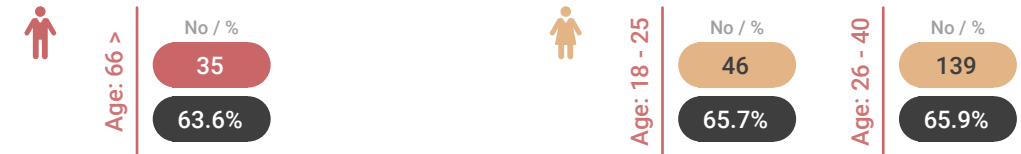
The second of the customs charts shows that women also find customs officers less prone to bribe extortion than do men. One can again contextualise this by questioning the frequency of direct experience and exposure of men vs. women to the customs service.

That contextualising the responses is important proves the next sector analysed, which is health. A significantly different frequency of response comes from women marking the health sector as very corrupt. It might be that women are the primary family care-takers and thus more exposed to the health sector, but quite likely the respondents were choosing those among multiple answers which are the closest to their personal experience. It thus makes sense that women more often name health, than some of the other sectors, given their closer understanding of how the sector operates.



There are again interesting differences as we stratify the respondents:

Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (61.5%)



More critical are also the urban respondents, irrespective of sex (65.1%) than rural (55.3%) possibly because smaller communities exchange favours that are culturally not perceived as bribes or are more closely knitted. In cities, however, health services are provided by larger hospitals with more staff where such closer relations are rare. Bribe-taking in health is universally condemned though. 73.6% of urban respondents and 68.3% rural perceive doctors and health workers as bribe seekers. When we drilled down to who "would pay a bribe for medical purposes for me or my child", we did not get significant differences among men and women – they both would equally. The only social difference comes with the level of education, as we will see in a later section of this text.

When it comes to education, there is no apparent division among men and women in how corrupt they perceive this sector (24.1% on average consider it corrupt). However, the age stratification reveals a turn:

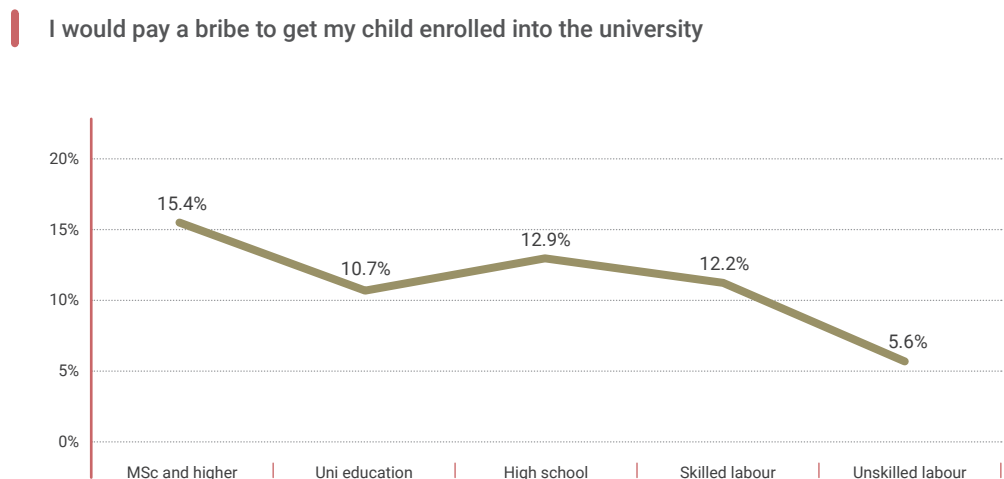
Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (24.1%)



The difference might be a result of the men who see it through the prism of working for or with the education sector and women chiefly experience it in their school/student years. But it is indeed the female students who are the most critical segment of the society about corruption in education. A divide also exists along the urban/rural lines: 26.6% urban population mark education as corrupt and 'only' 19.9% rural. It, therefore, comes as

no surprise that the urban population also more frequently sees teachers and professors as likely to solicit bribes: 28.6% vs. 19.7% of the rural population.

Those who seem to be willing to go to great lengths to see themselves or their children enrolled into university typically have higher education than those who are less prepared to bribe for the cause (no gender differences):



Municipalities and local governments are another source of corruption and one where there is a gender gap too. In this case, this too might be a result of the interactions with the local administrations, which still appears to be more male dominant.



Similarly, more urban respondents than rural would share this view: 31.9% vs. 26.7% respectively. Not many see municipal administrations as a driving force to combat corruption, but those sections of the society that would consider them are older men (16.4% of 66+ age) and younger women (21.4% of 18-25 age). With the small number of respondents, these are only of informative nature.

» Textbox 1

ALAC case study: Access to water / local government issues

TI BiH's ALAC was contacted by an elderly woman from a village in the larger Tuzla region (NE Bosnia), who complained about the denial to connect to the water distribution utilities. After submitting the requested documentation, it was revealed that she had unsuccessfully appealed with various relevant authorities for eleven years, incl. Local Court in Zivinice, Cantonal Court in Tuzla, as well as the Constitutional Court of BiH and all of them declared themselves incompetent in this case – suggesting she appeals with the water management utility. The beneficiary contacted also the Ombudsperson for human rights of BiH, which resulted in a recommendation and a request to the water management utility to allow that connection, but with no success.

On behalf of the beneficiary, TI BiH then contacted relevant inspections, which claimed to have no prior knowledge of the case, as well as the municipality in question that claimed they are incompetent when it comes to securing potable water to its citizens. Nonetheless, the inspectors acted on TI BiH's request and established that the water supply actually belongs to a group of local residents, which is not registered with the municipality – a legal requirement that was overlooked. Therefore, the ownership irregularities were possible, but it also meant no water quality controls are being performed and ultimately who is the authority that decides on supplying the water and managing the business. In the end, the inspection ordered water quality control and warned the municipality that then need to establish a proper oversight of the water source and regulate how it is being managed. That finally allowed any applicant, including the lady in this case study, to apply and get access to the local water supply. At the time of writing, the beneficiary has submitted the application and is awaiting a positive resolution to her case.

Finally, on the institutions that are perceived as significantly corrupt, men view tax administration differently than women. We speculate again that the business context, employment and duties of women staff does not expose them as frequently as men to the tax authorities, which might explain the statistically significant difference in how this institution is viewed.



This is additionally confirmed when looking at the most critical segments – the 26-40 working age men condemn corruption in tax more than any other group, as well as the university-educated respondents.

Several other institutions have interesting specific segments of women and men standing out. Younger women are much more critical of political parties, as the culprits for corruption, and again the youngest segment sees the same problem in the police (general population average below):

Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average

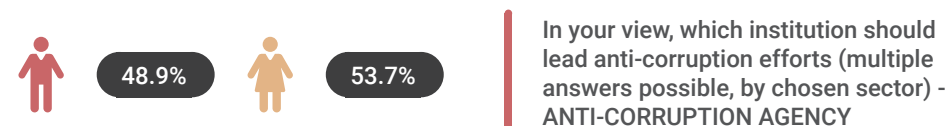


Turning the tables and asking who should lead the anti-corruption campaign provides another interesting gendered insight. More women than men trust parliaments.



Among these women, the most trustworthy segment towards the parliament are the youngest: age 18-25 whose 27.1% endorse it. There might be several explanations for this, but almost certainly very few if any of the respondents deal directly with members of parliament and they build the perception based on what they see in the media. There was likely no corrupt transaction among these parties, so perceptions are created differently. Also, the BiH parliament does have women representation as discussed above, which might sway some of the respondents to see it as more balanced, incl. for the anti-corruption agenda.

An even more interesting choice to lead the anti-corruption work is made in case of the Anti-Corruption Agency that has been in operation in BiH since 2010 and is largely commented by the public as technical but also limited in reach, as it only focuses on prevention. Women are more inclined to trust it:



This is even more apparent with women age groups 18-25 and 26-40 that endorse it 52.9% and 62.1% respectively, which are higher percentages than women of other age groups. Overall, urban population seem to have a stronger preference (54.3%) than rural (46.4%) irrespective of sex, which might have to do with the levels of awareness of this relatively young agency with the general public.

Finally, even though 40.3% of all citizens see no alternative to the police leading the anti-corruption efforts, this confidence grows with age with both sexes – below are the top percentages:

Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (40.3%)



Now that we have examined those subtle social differences in a highly corrupt environment, we will turn to question why the anti-corruption campaign has been ineffective and what can be done to empower it, again as seen differently from the gender perspective.

The respondents were presented with a list of options under the question which issues hinder the fight against corruption in the country. The options were as follows and multiple responses were possible:

- Insufficient number of options to report corruption
- Citizen inertia
- Citizen fear
- Inadequate knowledge of citizens
- Lack of appropriate anti-corruption laws
- Authorities' lack of will to combat corruption
- Our mentality to resolve issues bypassing the laws (bribe, gifts etc.)
- Corruption in the law enforcement agencies
- Insufficient capacities of the law enforcement agencies
- Inefficiency of the law enforcement agencies in combating corruption
- Other, D/K, refuses

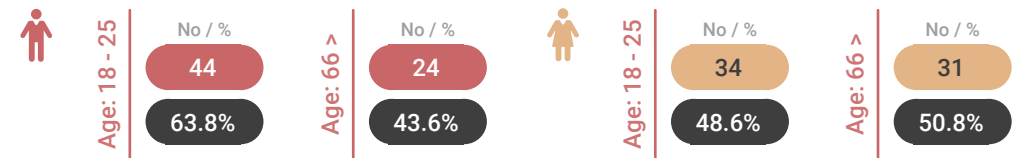
Below is the examination of those selected choices where the gender gap was meaningful. First such example is the choice of **citizen inertia** as a key cause of no anti-corruption progress in BiH:



Blaming their own inertia is particularly prevalent among the young women age 18-25 (52.9%) and 26-40 (47.4%). Also, a lot more urban population is self-critical (43.3%) than rural (37.7%).

However, two very different demographic ends highlight **citizen fear** as a problem hindering anti-corruption efforts:

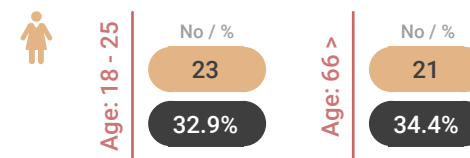
Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (40.3%)



Here it is young men who seem to fear most, while the elderly fear least. It is difficult to speculate on the reasons for this gender divide, especially why do young men seem to stress fear so much, while young women appear less ready to acknowledge fear. Seniors probably have much less at stake and hence do not fear as much.

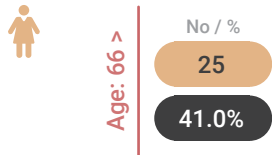
However, women on both ends of the age spectrum speak of **inadequate citizen knowledge to fight corruption** and they stand out more than any male age group (all floating around the male average of 27.6%):

Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (59.7%)



Interestingly, only the older generation of women endorses the **cultural framework as pre-determining corruption**, while the younger groups are less inclined to accept this defeatist view, probably to do with the traditional upbringing (average male response rate 34.7% and female 32.4%):

Demographic segments with the largest deviation from the general population average (33.6%)



Yet it is not only the citizens who could do more. Corruption at the source that is most vital to safeguard the rule of law is also heavily criticised and again more by women than men:

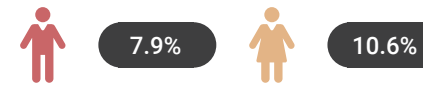


In your view, what are the key problems hindering anti-corruption efforts (multiple answers possible, by chosen sector) - CORRUPTION IN LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

This rather critical attitude goes across the age spectrum, but somewhat above the women average among the oldest respondents 66 and above with 52.5% respectively. Among the general population, two other demographic differences are statistically significant. One is the urban vs. rural with 33.3% vs. 16.1% respectively, which is more than double. The other is the general population segregated by education levels, where the university-educated as well as MSc and above lead the critical list with 44.2% and 48.7% respectively, but interestingly also skilled labour with 47.0%. So, the generic profile of a person profoundly dissatisfied with how law enforcement agencies deal with corruption in their ranks are urban, educated women but only marginally ahead of many other social groups, chiefly urban though. Of the other proposed options, there is no significant difference in how women respond compared to men.

Young women are also much more critical of the lack of political will to engage with corruption: 41.4 of the youngest group (18-25) blame it on politics. This will help us understand a later point, which prompts many of the same group to look to the NGO sector for solutions.

A question begs then what can be done in a captured state additionally weakened by the citizen inertia. Again, a variety of responses were offered to the interviewees, where the gender gap was insignificant. Except in one option denoting civil society activism, where we note a greater interest of women to engage than men.

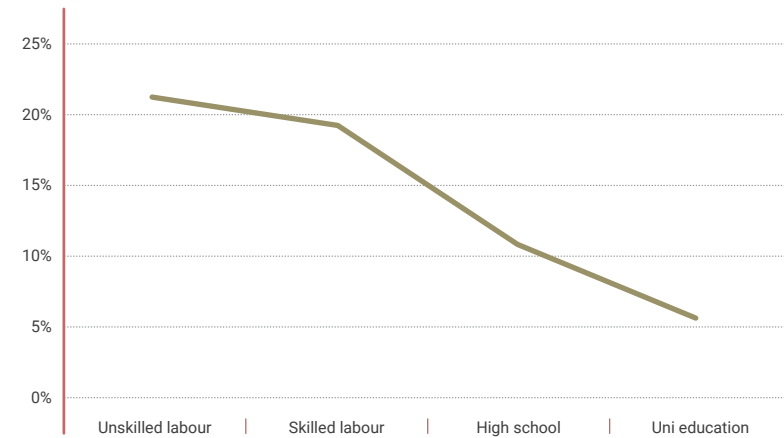


Would you actively pursue fight against corruption (multiple answers possible, by chosen sector) - BY PARTICIPATING IN AN NGO

Unsurprisingly perhaps, responding to another question, it is also women and particularly their youngest members age 18-25 (25.7%) who want to see the NGOs lead the anti-corruption campaign in BiH. Another interesting piece of data reinforces visibility of TI in BiH but also more closely defines the pool of its support: in addition to the NGOs leading the anti-corruption work, respondents were also offered a separate 'Transparency International' option, selected specifically by women 18-25 (30.0%) and 26-40 (28.0%). TI is also a choice of the urban population (21.8%) vs. rural (16.1%). While it comes as no surprise that the public awareness of the TI activities is greater in cities than in the countryside, young women might have found the operations of this gender-balanced NGO attractive as it has been promoting human rights and social justice in the country for 20 years now.

Finally, those that would not engage in anti-corruption work under any circumstances are fewer, but the number is still relatively high. We understand the background much better if we view them not through the gender gap, which here does not exist, but an educational one:

I would not engage in any anti-corruption activities under any circumstances



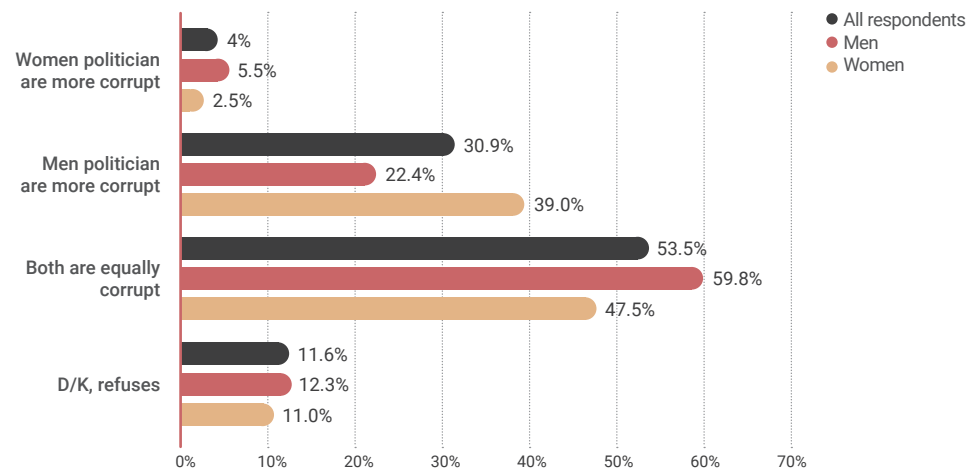
Urban population rather than rural would not engage as they 'fear some form of reprisal' (19.4% and 14.9% respectively). This probably explains why certain niches, including the chart above, are less inclined to engage in fighting corruption.

Gender matters in BiH

This section of the research begins with an obvious perception question, which is whether or not any gender is more corrupt than the other and, if so, which.

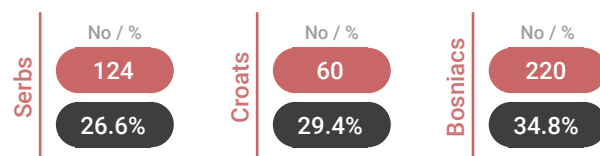
Among the general population, most respondents see little difference:

Do you agree with the following statement (one response possible only)?



Setting aside the fact that most respondents believe both sexes are equally corrupt (given the political opportunity) let us focus now on those who consider men more corrupt, wherever statistically significant. Clearly, more women than men think men politicians are more corrupt, but this view is upheld differently among the three ethnic groups in BiH (general population of the ethnic groups):

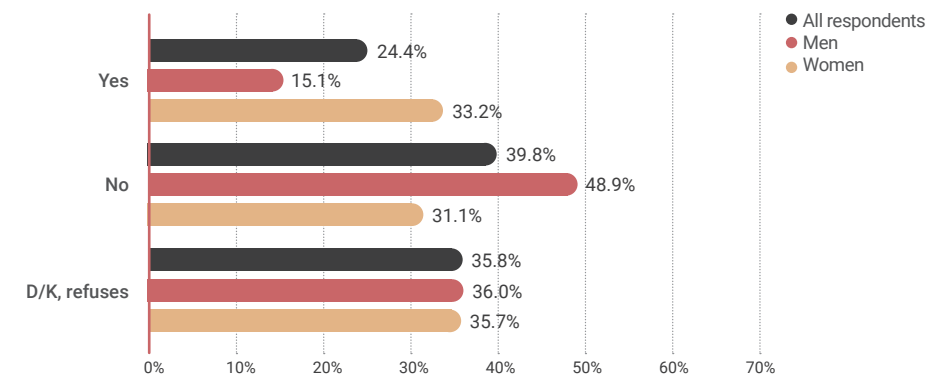
Men politicians are more corrupt



Bosniacs are most prepared to view men politicians are more corrupt and Serbs are least so. This is echoed in the regional division of BiH where men are seen as more corruption-prone by 26.9% respondents from the Republika Srpska, while in the Federation BiH this percentage climbs to 33.2% (and 34% in Brčko District). This is a matter for a closer further sociologic or anthropologic research. It may well be that the Serbs are most conservative, traditional and patriarchal and therefore most 'protective' of men, but it could also be that a few prominent positions, incl. the President of the Republika Srpska, are held by women who by the same measurement would not get glistering popular marks (and are in fact a part of the male-dominated political party in power and the related crony networks). This notion, however, that Bosniacs and Croats, i.e. Federation BiH marginally favour women in politics features across this section and will be highlighted again.

The next question posed to the general population is whether or not the level of corruption would be lower if women were to hold more leadership positions. And again, the responses differ as we dive into their detailed breakdown:

Do you agree level of corruption would be lower if more woman were in political leadership (one response possible only)?



A very interesting difference now shows between the urban and the rural population as the latter seem to favour women in politics by answering 'yes' in 29.2% cases vs. their urban counterparts with 21.5%. Correspondingly, the rural population answers 'no' in 36.0% of cases and urban in 42.0%. This again begs a thorough anthropological assessment, although the traditional rural areas often retain some form of matriarchate and trust in the woman that takes care of the household, which might potentially explain this difference.

Ethnically, differences come to light again as the Serbs chose 'no' most often (47.8%) followed by the Bosniacs with a significantly lower response rate (35.6%) and close Croats (34.3%). Similarly, 47.7% of the Republika Srpska citizens disagree with the statement that corruption levels would drop if more women were in political leadership, while in the Federation BiH this figure drops to 36% (only 22% in the Brčko District).

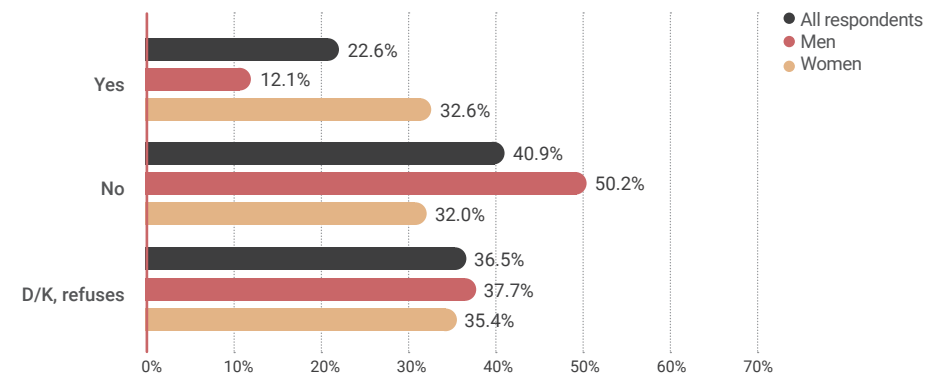
In order to gain a closer understanding of the rationale for these responses, we cross-examined the respondents who consider that men or women politicians are more corrupt or equally, with the responses to this question, i.e. would the corruption levels drop with more women in power. We also segregated them by gender. Here are the unsurprising results:

- Among men who think that women are more inclined to corrupt, 97.1% think corruption levels would not drop if more women were to hold positions of power.
- Among men who think that men politicians are more corrupt, 50.0% believe corruption levels would drop with women taking over political power.
- For those men who think both sexes are equally corrupt, 58.9% do not think more women in leadership means less corruption.
- Among women who think that women are more inclined to corrupt, 76.5% think corruption levels would not drop if more women were to hold positions of power.
- Among women who think that men politicians are more corrupt, 69.5% believe corruption levels would drop with women taking over political power.
- For those women who think both sexes are equally corrupt, 51.7% do not think more women in leadership means less corruption.

To sum up, those who already believe that women are the 'fairer' sex, they will uphold the view that more women in politics means less corruption and vice versa. Those who think both sexes are equally corrupt would not necessarily call for more women in power. Interestingly, this last question had a very significant number of refusals to respond, close to the 40% that would statistically invalidate the question. As we cross-examined the two questions, we find that in the high-frequency range those who refused to respond to one question refused the reply to the other (75.7% for women and 78.5% for men, i.e. a combined total of 471 refusals of 1314 questionnaires). This might have various causes: from lack of interest or saturation with the topic of corruption to no specific view on the gender gap relating to corruption etc.

Almost as a control question, the respondents were then asked would BiH benefit 'in every sense' from a female leadership of the country. It was a simple 'yes' or 'no' choice and a relative majority of the general population still opt for a negative:

Would BiH be more functional in every sense if women were leading the country (one response possible only)?

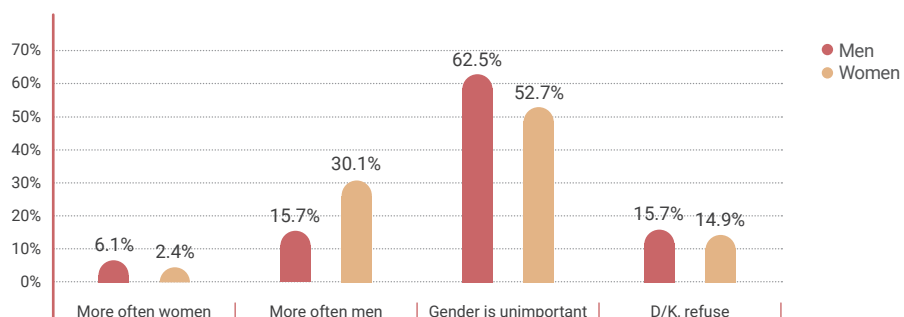


We see the same patterns as with the earlier question. In RS the respondents are less likely to accept women as leaders than in FBiH (17.8% vs. 25% respectively answered 'yes'), while the Serbs lead the 'no' camp (51.0%, compared to 35.9% Bosniacs and 32.8% Croats). Similarly to the previous question, rural areas would agree more easily in favour of women leaders (24.6% vs. 21.4% urban 'yes's).

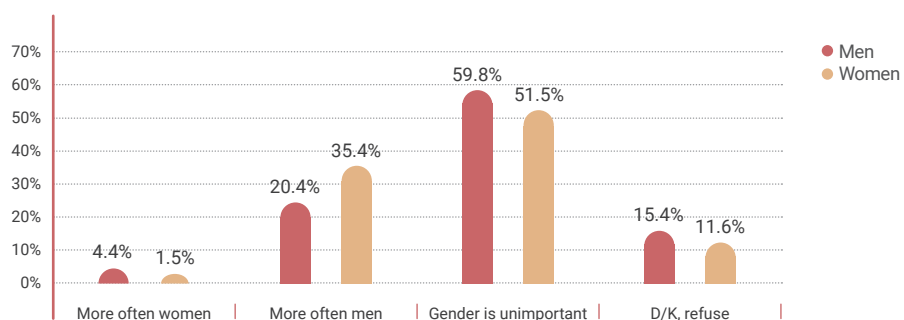
Likewise, among the men who said women are more corruption-prone, 82.9% of them do not trust women would lead the country better, and of those men who said both sexes are equally corrupt, 59.4% would not entrust the country to women leaders. The opposite is the case with women again: 62.6% of those who think men are more inclined to corruption would entrust the country to women, while of those women who think both sexes are equally corrupt, just under half (48.9%) would ask women to lead the country. The almost exact same ratio of D/K, refusals mirrors the previous assessment, i.e. same people who are disinterested in one question, have no interest in responding to the other.

When it comes to the perceptions of sexes in offering and asking for bribes, differences are insignificant, as the next two questions will show. The poll asks the public to opt for one option in both cases:

In your view are the persons offering bribes (one response possible only)



In your view are the persons accepting bribes (one response possible only)



Respondents generally agree that when it comes to offering bribes, sex does not matter. Neither does so for accepting them, but marginally less, so men are more often seen as willing to take them: by both male and female respondents. Otherwise, in both questions, women are more critical of men handling bribes than men are prepared to allow. In both cases, it is the Serbs who are most inclined to blame both sexes equally (65.5% and 64.9% in two questions), unlike Croats (58.3% and 57.4%) and Bosniacs (51.4% and 48.3% per each of the two questions). Consequently, the other two ethnicities have a larger share of 'more often men' in both questions. Interestingly, the only other striking segment that is likely to place larger blame on men than both sexes equally are those with the education level MSc and above (30.8% more often men offering bribes; 35.9% more often men accepting bribes). Cross-checking the responses again identifies the

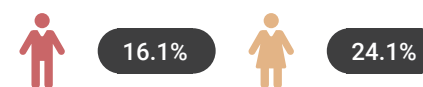
same stratification: those who opted for a sex to be more corrupt, also view the same sex as more often taking or giving bribes. Those who believe both sexes are equally corrupt make no difference as to sex with it comes to bribery.

Bribery and how to counter it

The next set of questions and assessment of the responses was around the practice of bribery, trade of favours, gift etc., which is the so-called petty corruption. Data had been shown above that a dominant share of the population declaratively refuses to pay bribes in any scenario (although propensity to pay bribes increases with age, least likely are the youngest). We tried to understand why that is. Four options were given in the multiple-choice list that allowed more than one response and there was an open-ended option 'other' too:

- I don't want to pay for services for what the service people had already been paid
- I don't have enough money to pay extra for what's in someone's job description
- I refuse to provide counter-favours to someone who was paid to do exactly that
- I know bribery is illegal
- I don't want to be implicated in a corrupt act

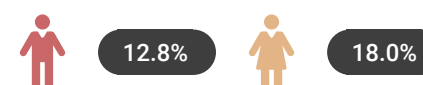
Among these response options, only some display a statistically relevant difference between women and men respondents. One is the following answer, which was ticked by an imbalanced gender ratio.



Reasons for refusal to pay a bribe (multiple answers possible) - I DON'T WANT TO PAY FOR WHAT THE SERVICE PEOPLE HAD ALREADY PAID

Another demographic difference that shows with this particular response is that between the urban and rural population, opting for this answer in the following percentages: 48.3% vs. 42.5% respectively.

While the previous response was more in the area of common sense and righteousness, the following has more to do with the legal equilibrium and justice.



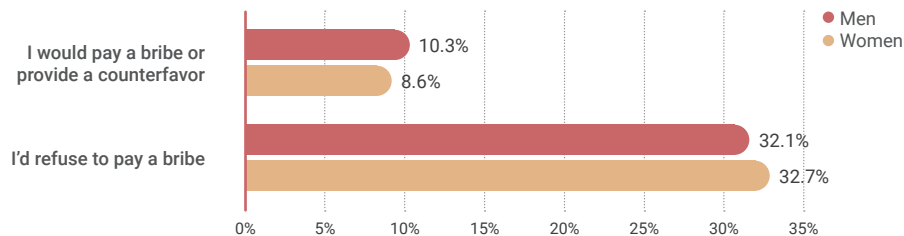
Reasons for refusal to pay a bribe (multiple answers possible) - I KNOW THIS IS ILLEGAL

Women, therefore, display a marginally greater understanding of the legal framework and what constitutes illicit behaviour, which makes them stay away from bribery. This is largely consistent with the more recent research on gender and corruption (see the chapter above), all other things being equal. Similarly, women are risk-averse, and bribery is perceived as too risky, so a larger portion of women opts for the other response – I don't want to be implicated in a corrupt act – than do men. Note that the response rate for these answers was lower overall, so there is no dramatic gender gap even when it comes to risk-aversion.



As the ultimate test of bribe propensity, the survey asked the respondents hypothetical questions on a bribe being extorted for a service that is needed by the interviewee. The level of morality across sexes is rather even:

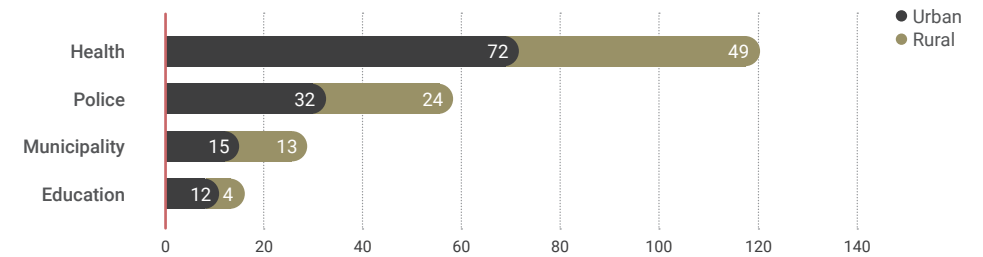
What would you do if asked to pay a bribe/trade favour (one answer only, selected options)



There is almost no statistically significant demographic difference when it comes to bribery. People engage in it equally, irrespective of the place of living, education, age, employment, ethnicity etc. provided they are in a real position when the bribe is being asked of them. However, their exposure to it differs. The responses on the actual bribe paying show that often the most elderly ended up paying it (or were honest enough to talk about it) – 17.2% admit having paid bribes. The youngest were least in such situation and lead the different age groups in the frequency of refusal to pay it – 49.6% in the youngest group would never pay a bribe.

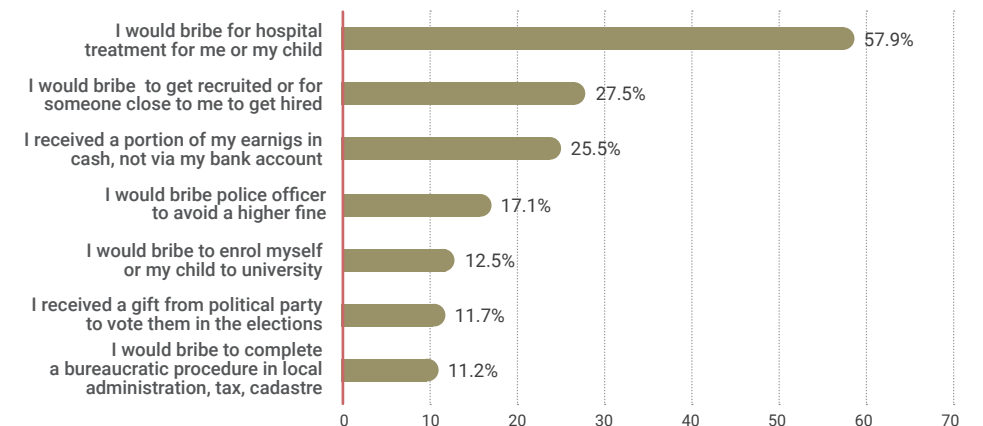
The chart below shows in which sectors bribe paying was dominantly reported (we take this for informative purposes only, as no opinion poll has perfected genuine bribe reporting).

Reported incidents of bribe paying



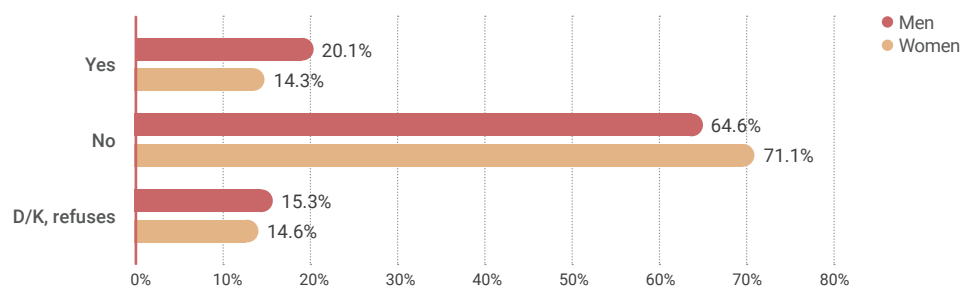
Finally, the respondents were faced with a different hypothetical situation to bring the bribing experience 'closer to home' and we asked them would they in each of these actually pay the bribe or refuse to. Here are the scenarios with clear positive response rates for each:

Ranking the scenarios (general population, %age of positive responses)



Again, not many statistically significant differences come from the gender-disaggregated responses. The only one where the sexes unsurprisingly differ given the local context is the police, as a rule in fact associated with the traffic police:

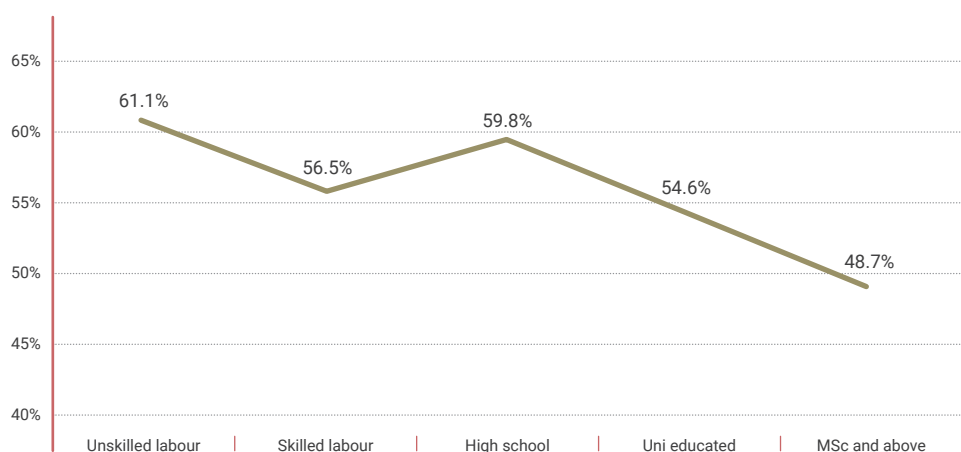
Yes or No answers (one response only) - I WOULD BRIBE POLICE OFFICER TO AVOID HIGHER FINE



Once more we see a difference in how the urban vs. rural respond and in case of (traffic) police bribery rural are more likely to pay than urban: 19.9% and 15.5% respectively.

Another option shows an interesting division – we looked at those who answered ‘yes’ to the first question on the list and stratified them by education:

I would pay a bribe for medical purposes for me or my child



The higher the education level, the less likely people are to pay a bribe even for the hospital treatment. That said, most people in all groups are likely to give what it takes when health is at stake.

» Key findings of the ALAC database

To complement the opinion poll dataset above, the following section will examine the first-hand experience with corruption. It will start by analysing the totality of the ALAC beneficiaries and cases, and analyse their demographics. The genuine count will be weighted according to the actual census ratio of women and men in BiH to get the corrected figures that provide a better sense into the issues (turning individual cases into quantitative data). The cases will next be analysed and made these match as closely the relevant gender-related findings of the survey above, in order to draw conclusions from it. Finally the access to justice will be examined, specifically how women vs. men navigate the process and complete their redress for justice.

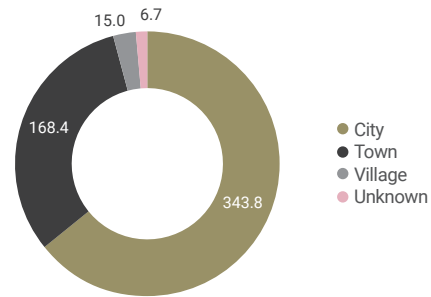
Understanding the ALAC demographics

This publication explained above how the ALAC cases are lodged and processed. Almost 60% of submissions were received electronically. Given the different degrees of awareness of TI BiH’s operations among the demographic segments, we understand certain limiting factors for victims of corruption to seek its legal advice and support. It is also important to start this section by analysing the demographics of the beneficiaries, exactly to test the diversity of the sample. In doing so, we will try to keep the categories comparable to those in the survey sample, or, where this could help understand the matter closer, expand certain terms further, within the same framework. E.g. in the division by place of living the previous urban/rural divide has been retained, but rural is additionally broken down into: town and village. This is exactly where the assessment begins.

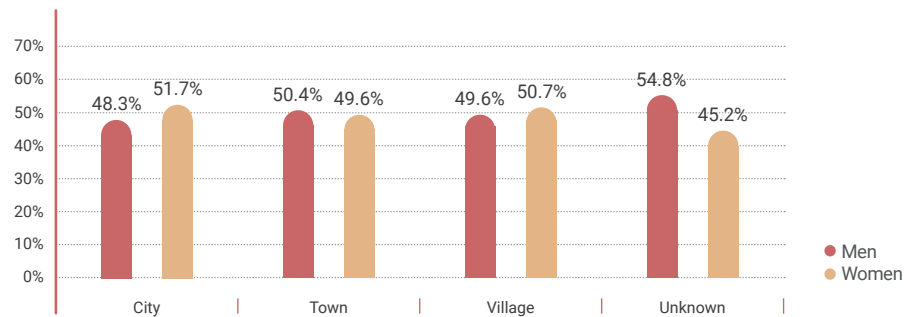
Cases demographics - division by place of living

Source	City	%	Town	%	Village	%	Unknown	%	Total cases
Men	225	65.8%	115	67.7%	10	66.7%	5	71.4%	355
Women	117	34.2%	55	32.4%	5	33.3%	2	28.6%	179
G = M+W	342	100.0%	170	100.0%	15	100.0%	7	100.0%	534
O = Legal/anon	191		71		3		3		268
Total cases (G+O)	533		241		18		10		802

Cases demographics - division by place of living, of all respondents (weighted)



Cases demographics - division by place of living, by gender of reportee (weighted)



Even though on the face of it, more men seem to have been in touch with TI BiH's ALAC, when we weight this and correct it by the explained ratio, we see that on average almost the same ratio of men and women from all the different places of living contact TI BiH. If anything, marginally more urban women get in touch, while the ratios in towns and villages combined remain close to identical.

The situation is different when the highest education level completed is considered. Among those who have been in contact and where the education level was made known to the ALAC staff, we are left with the interesting gender divide.

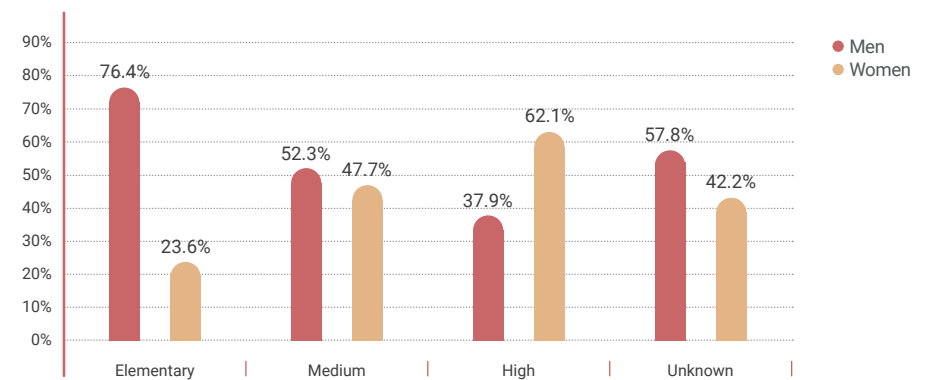
Cases demographics - division by highest education completed

Source	Elementary	%	Medium	%	High	%	Unknown	%	Total cases (G+O)
Men	20	87.0%	158	69.3%	98	55.7%	79	73.8%	355
Women	3	13.0%	70	30.7%	78	44.3%	28	26.2%	179
G = M+W	23	100.0%	228	100.0%	176	100.0%	107	100.0%	534
O = Legal/anon	4		28		96		140		268
Total cases (G+O)	27		256		272		247		802



Cases demographics - division by highest education completed, of all respondents (weighted)

Cases demographics - division by highest education completed, by gender of beneficiaries (weighted)

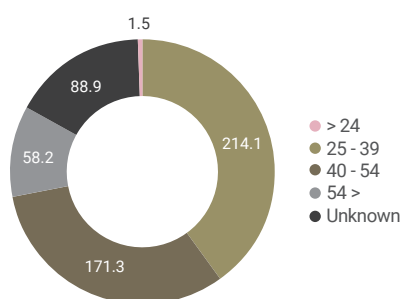


Among those with only the elementary education completed (the equivalent of unskilled and skilled labour in the previous section), men dominate. As the level of education rises, women get engaged significantly more. Those with high education (university and above) significantly lead over men in dealing with their corruption problems. This strongly corroborates the general findings and social links between gender literacy and activism presented earlier. The figures also must be read in relative terms: it is not that the more educated men are less interested in reporting corruption, but that women with high education engage more fiercely than men.

Age groups are comparable to the survey too although the engagement in seeking justice and dealing with the institutions in redressing corrupt cases, i.e. walking the talk, might be more challenging than it seems for certain age groups.

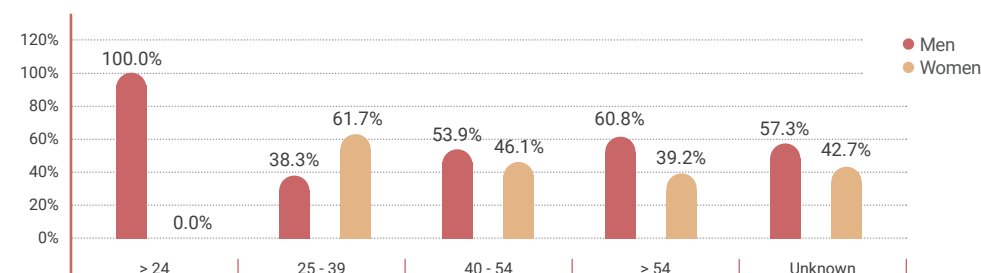
Cases demographics - division by age groups

Source	> 24	%	25 - 39	%	40 - 54	%	54 >	%	Un-known	%	Total cases
Men	2	100.0%	111	56.0%	125	70.6%	48	76.2%	69	73.4%	286
Women	0	0.0%	87	43.9%	52	29.4%	15	23.8%	25	26.6%	154
G = M+W	2	100.0%	198	100.0%	177	100.0%	63	100.0%	94	100.0%	440
O = Legal/anon	25		58		95		184		153		362
Total (G+O)	27		256		272		247		247		802



Cases demographics - division by age groups, of all beneficiaries (weighted)

Cases demographics - division by age group, by gender of beneficiary (weighted)



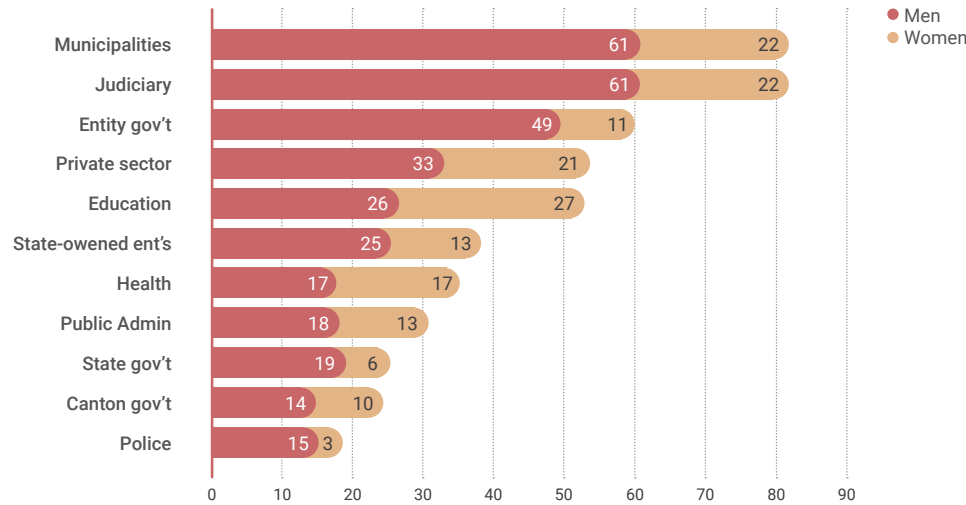
Interestingly, not one woman below 24 was willing to deal with corruption, at least using the same channels as some young men would (they are also just two, so this is not conclusive). This just shows the young people's inertia (albeit self-acknowledged in the survey), despite the declared intention to engage with corruption and particularly through the NGO sector to change their society. Perhaps the actual cases of corruption they encounter at that age are not as serious and their experience is more anecdotal or through older family members, or there are simply other priorities at that stage in life. This is indeed how the ALAC staff comment such a low occurrence of contacts of the youngest age group. However, women of the younger working age, typically more educated, do get involved. Any other side of that demographic peak for women and the figures begin to drop.

Beneficiaries come from all corners of BiH and while submissions can vary from one year to another and tilt the picture in favour of a certain entity or ethnic group, this quickly balances itself out and the ratio again largely mirrors the census percentages. In most other ways, beyond what was just explained, the sample of ALAC is representative of the BiH society at the time of writing.

ALAC matters gendered

As we analyse 802 records in the ALAC database and segregate them by the sector and focus only on those cases where the gender of the beneficiary was known (therefore no anonymous submissions and legal entities), the priorities in fighting corruption once it is actually experienced first-hand somewhat change from the declaratory concerns. Though not greatly. Below are the actual files in the database. In the latter part of this chapter, we will look at them through a closer gender prism.

Actual submissions by gender-known beneficiary only



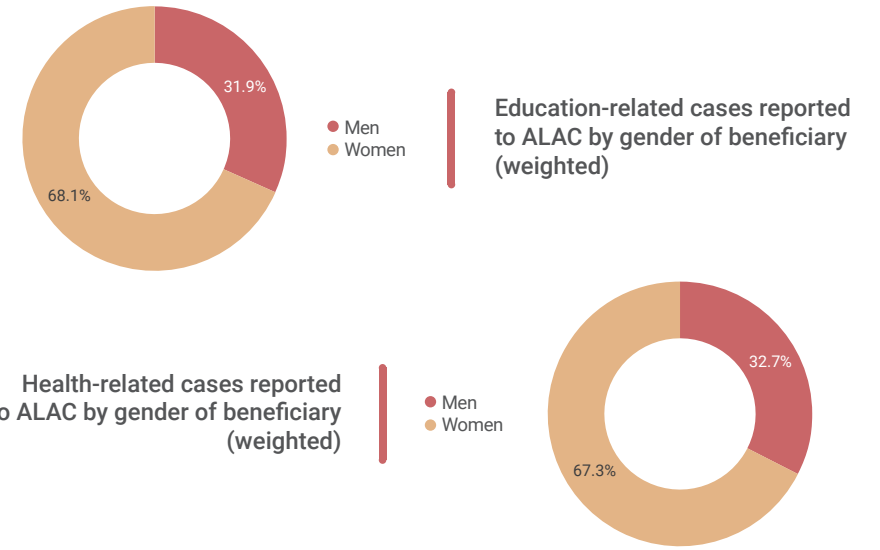
Two sectors where ALAC has recorded the greatest engagement of women are education and health. This is where the number significantly outweighs male involvement and plight for justice in BiH.

Education-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	26	31.7%	0.7379	19.1854	31.9%
Women	27	32.9%	1.5197	41.0319	68.1%
Legal entity	9	11.0%			
Anonymous	20	24.4%			
Total	82	100.0%		60.2173	100.0%

Health-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	17	31.5%	0.7379	12.5443	32.7%
Women	17	31.5%	1.5197	25.8349	67.3%
Legal entity	5	9.3%			
Anonymous	15	27.8%			
Total	54	100.0%		38.3792	100.0%



Clearly, in these two sectors women interact, get involved and suffer more and are therefore more prepared to engage. But it is crucial to understand when and how.

In case of education, women mostly filed cases with ALAC as victims (20/27) of the local level education institution (14/27), and largely about different matters related to either their own recruitment or their ongoing HR issues (20/27), contrary to where one might expect them to engage – it has little or nothing to do with the pro-social values where researchers expect women to more fiercely combat corruption. Women who filed the reports were largely of highest education (20/27), all of them of the working-age (24-39 and 40-54), all from cities (16) except 11 from towns, i.e. none from villages.

When it comes to health, again women act not as much when they spot corruption, but when it happens to them (11/17), in cities (9/17), in the institutions funded at the local level (12/17) and the majority of these women has up to high school education (9/17). Only in 6/17 cases, this was about health-sector related corruption and in the other cases about administrative-level injustice done to women either through recruitment, HR issues, advancement, pension and social payment status etc., so again less to do with the actual sector.

At this stage, it is also important to bring to light 172 of the 802 cases which were reported anonymously. Their high representation in these two sectors alone shows how sensitive reports of corruption are: in smaller environments reporting your doctor or teacher for corrupt practices means years of legal challenges with the very unpredictable outcome and almost a public disgrace with very access to basic services made much more difficult (given the crony networks, not only limited to the sector in which complaint was lodged). Citizens are expected to play by the informal rules the elites have imposed. So, when serious corruption is detected in the social sector, individuals often opt to report it anonymously, if they choose to act at all. Only a third of the 36 anonymous cases in education and health combined relate to employment/HR, far less than when the gender or the beneficiary is known.

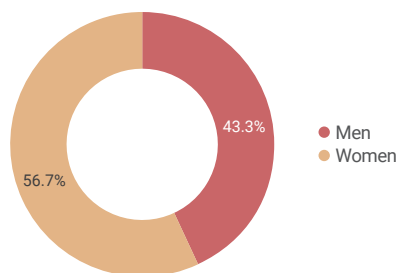
The next two are the private sector and local government (combines municipalities and cantonal governments in the first chart of this chapter).

Private sector-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	33	47.8%	0.7379	24.3507	43.3%
Women	21	30.4%	1.5197	31.9137	56.7%
Legal entity	2	2.9%			
Anonymous	13	18.8%			
Total	69	100.0%		56.2644	100.0%

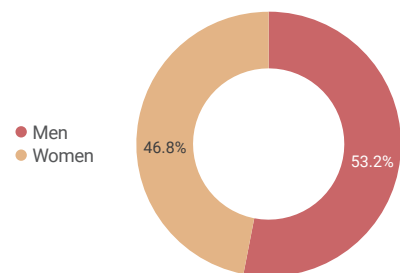
Local government-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	75	50.7%	0.7379	55.3425	53.2%
Women	32	21.6%	1.5197	48.6304	46.8%
Legal entity	15	10.1%			
Anonymous	26	17.6%			
Total	148	100.0%		103.9729	100.0%



Private sector-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary (weighted)

Local government-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary (weighted)



It is with the local government issues that men even in the corrected number start to outnumber women for the rest of the list of sectors. However, in relative terms, women interestingly lodge more cases in the private/business sector than do men. This would have been considered a traditional male-dominant sector, yet women on the face of it appear more interested. Let us examine what is the driver behind it.

The demographic profile of women who stand against issues in the private sector is a lot more varied. One of the few common features is that she comes from a city (16/21) and only in five cases was not a victim. Most often this was about their various rights to a higher payment, property, overtime etc., while some forms of company corrupt practice, contracting etc. were very rarely reported. It is, in fact, men who in a majority of cases (23/33) report various illicit practices that hamper competition, where illegal profits were generated, when private sector harmed the public safety/standards etc., basically in the areas where one would expect the pro-social sensitivity of women to lead the way.

Profile of women that report issues with the local government is as follows: mostly young (12/32 from the 24-39 age group), from a city (17/32), of high school education (19/32), complaining about their local authorities, mostly as victims (18/32) and claiming injustice done in their own employment case not nearly as frequently as in case of the previous sectors (11/32), which is the first sector in which women from the ALAC database are actually driven chiefly by the pro-social motives.

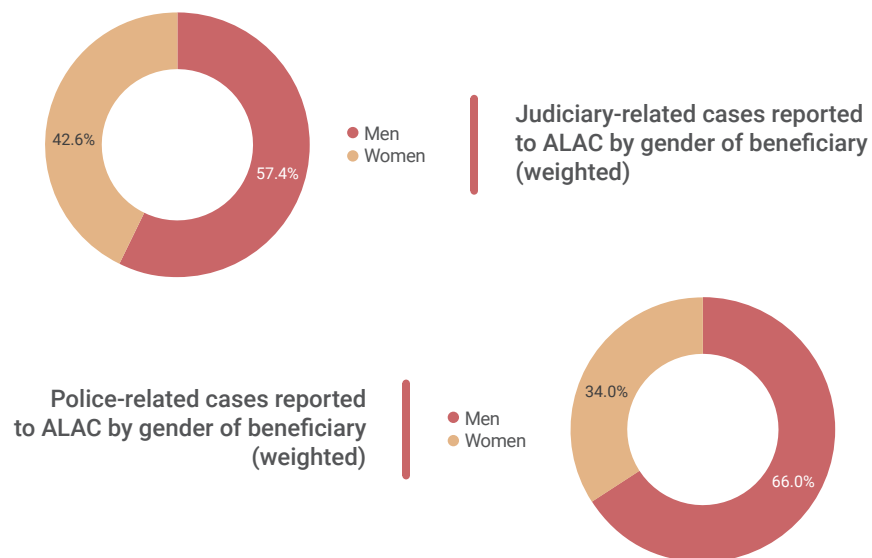
Judiciary-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	61	56.0%	0.7379	45.0119	57.4%
Women	22	20.2%	1.5197	33.4334	42.6%
Legal entity	13	11.9%			
Anonymous	13	11.9%			
Total	109	100.0%		78.4453	100.0%

Police-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	16	57.1%	0.7379	11.8064	66.0%
Women	4	14.3%	1.5197	6.0788	34.0%
Legal entity	1	3.6%			
Anonymous	7	25.0%			
Total	28	100.0%		17.8852	100.0%

Next in rank, yet with diminishing women's submissions, is the judiciary. Women chose to engage less with injustice in this sector but are likely also less exposed to it, to start with. The last sector to be singled out for the report purposes is the police, in order to match it to the survey above. This clearly shows men-reporting dominance.



Half of the women having issues with judiciary are older than 40 and they mostly come from cities (14/22). A relative minority is of high education (8/22) and a relative minority are victims (9/22). Even though some of them are trying to redress the injustice done to them, this is interestingly another sector where very strongly women feel they need to stand up for the greater good and address the issues of injustice done to the citizens at large. Mostly, by finger-pointing to corrupt practices, poor ethics in the courts, inappropriate appointments and assignments of judges and prosecutors that simply undermine the justice system. This is captivating, particularly as these are not all highly educated women from within the system (only one is a whistleblower), therefore a relatively surprising finding in light of all others.

Exactly one woman on every two men is likely to report or address police-induced corruption when weighing our examined cases. Most of these cases relate to the victim's handling by police officers (3/4), which appear inappropriate or corrupt. In 3/4 cases the women were victims, but this is different than being administratively victimised, which coupled with an increasingly smaller sample concludes this sectoral assessment.

What we noticed from this overview by sector is that many reports are about the recruitment and HR issues that are internal to the entities where the issues arose and a lot of the ALAC beneficiaries were affected. This is most often in respect of the decisions made where favouritism played a key role and the ALAC beneficiaries were on the losing

end of the selection. They had the full right to report and aim for justice and ensure that quality and standards are upheld and not clientelism or partisan patronage of sorts.

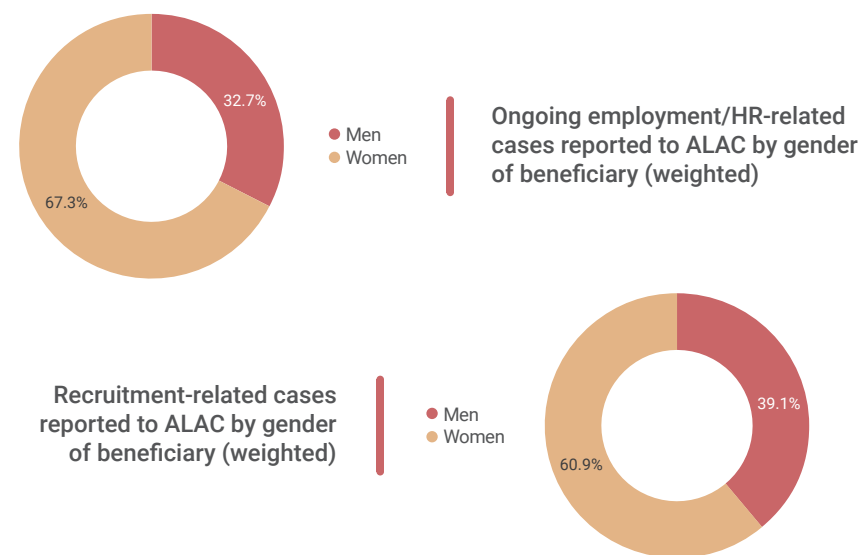
Let us examine the two types of reports:

Ongoing employment/HR-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	22	40.7%	0.7379	16.2338	32.7%
Women	22	40.7%	1.5197	33.4334	67.3%
Legal entity	0	0.0%			
Anonymous	10	18.6%			
Total	54	100.0%		49.6672	100.0%

Recruitment-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	66	35.1%	0.7379	48.7014	39.1%
Women	50	26.6%	1.5197	75.985	60.9%
Legal entity	8	4.3%			
Anonymous	64	34.0%			
Total	188	100.0%		124.6864	100.0%



This is an important comparator, as women much more often than men seem to act in defence of themselves being victims. This can be read in both ways: women are indeed more often victims of employment-related harassment and injustice, which most often has to do with not being parts of the crony networks, to which they lose positions or ranks in their jobs.

» Textbox 2

ALAC case study: Fighting fraudulent hiring

An attempt to manipulate the results of a recruitment process was successfully taken on by TI BiH which resulted in a renewed round with a very different outcome.

In February 2017, a woman with Doctor of Medicine (MD) degree contacted ALAC with full documentation of her candidacy for an opening in the "Prim. Dr. Abdulah Nakaš" general hospital in Sarajevo. Earlier that year, a call was published in the media inviting candidates to apply for post-PhD research positions and employment with the institution. Having received the list of selected applicants, the beneficiary immediately sought legal assistance. TI BiH advised the beneficiary to request a copy of the minutes of the selection process, which is a compulsory document in case of the public calls that documents the members of the interview panel, relevance of the questions posed in the interview and the scoring criteria. The Selection Guidelines also allow for the actual scores for all the applicants to be made known on request and all this information revealed a long list of irregularities. ALAC team supported the beneficiary in putting together a formal complaint, which included: incomplete public call (selected candidates were scored lower for the documents not submitted, but these were not listed in the call); irregular interview panel (which consisted of two members, even though the Guidelines prescribe a minimum of three); and irregular scoring (applicants with worse MD grades and length of studying received more points).

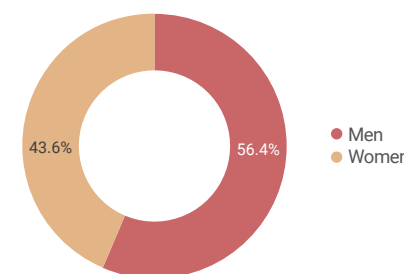
Already in March, the doctor received a reply to her complaint in which the hospital informs her that the process will be repeated with a new interview panel and the previous decision will be annulled. The story had a fair and just outcome, with the genuinely best candidates selected, rather than those with crony connections in the hospital management.

If we combine the two categories as they largely cover a similar area: one is about the ongoing employment, the other about recruitment and the start of it, we are dealing with 242 specific cases lodged with the TI BiH ALAC, of which 72 documented women beneficiaries. Most of these women are of the highest education (43/72), largely urban (47/72), and younger (51/72 are 24-39 in age) from a variety of sectors. In 52/72 cases they are victims in this employment-related problem and in just 17/72 witness or whistleblower (23.6%), i.e. acting on behalf of someone else's rights being violated. As a matter of comparison, men acted 37/88 times as witnesses or whistleblowers (42%).

A significant number of complaints were lodged against the bureaucrats of various offices and agencies. These cases handle injustice committed by the administrative layer of the justice system, inspectorates, other public sector offices.

Issues with administration (public services)-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary

Source	Cases No.	%	Weight	Weighted No.	Weighted %
Men	56	57.7%	0.7379	41.3224	56.4%
Women	21	21.7%	1.5197	31.9137	43.6%
Legal entity	5	5.1%			
Anonymous	15	15.5%			
Total	97	100.0%		73.2361	100.0%

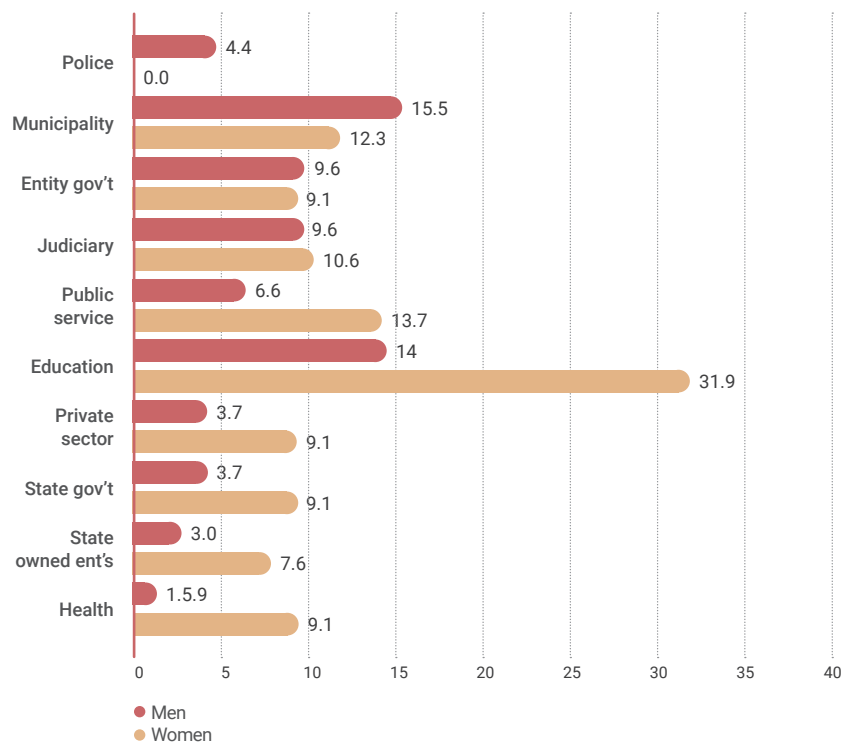


Administration (public services)-related cases reported to ALAC by gender of beneficiary (weighted)

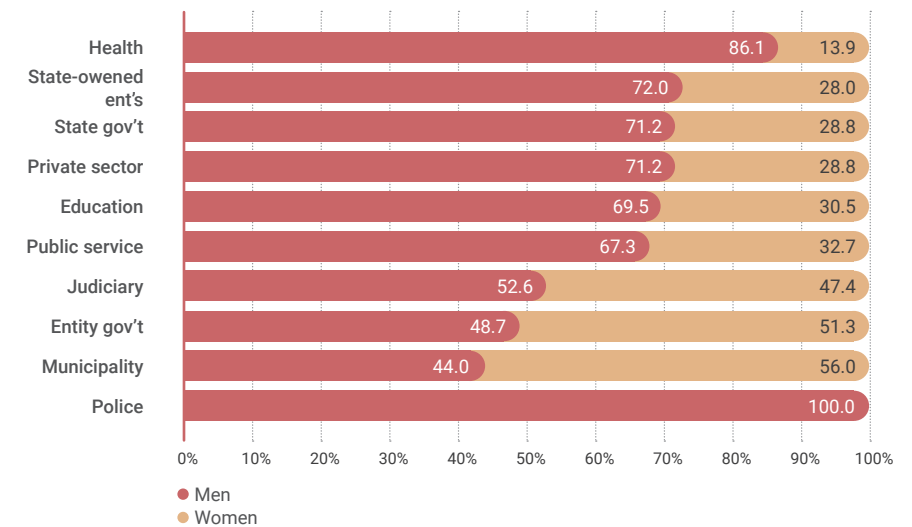
These seem to be experienced and managed by men more often than women. Demographics of the breakdown are too varied to draw any conclusions, as frequencies are too small for all the categories. This is a mix of issues at various levels of administration, in which interests are shared by many – all aspects of the society deal with the administration and there are no peculiarities involved. It might, however, be true to say that administration in BiH is chiefly concentrated in the entity and state apparatus and this is more typically the sector where men still lead on both ends of transactions: employees and system users are more frequently male (as described in the gender and politics in the introductory section).

At the end of this list of sectors, we will look back at the total data from another angle, that of the fraction of the higher educated beneficiaries only. This gives a slightly different order than the list that opened this chapter (disregarding the number of cases, just weighted frequencies between women and men of university-level education and above):

Weighted number of cases (known gender, high education level)



Weighted number of cases (known gender, high education level only), weighted %



Even though education remains the pro-social issue of relatively greater concern for women, as their own education level and thorough engagement in the society extends, so do the areas in which women get involved, become victims to corruption and ultimately engage to combat it. Firstly, we need to recall that most education cases are about women's own issues, mostly to do with employment. But in a variety of other sectors, which had earlier been branded much more 'male-dominated', we see by the weighted number of submissions, and the subsequently weighted percentages, these sectors completely lose their 'traditional' gender monopoly and moreover get 'female-dominated'. This is very interesting as it shows that the main hurdle for women's greater engagement in the various social spheres is their access to education. Given the same access to education opportunities and successful completion of high education, no other socially assigned roles stand in woman's way of managing the issues that have traditionally been assigned to men.

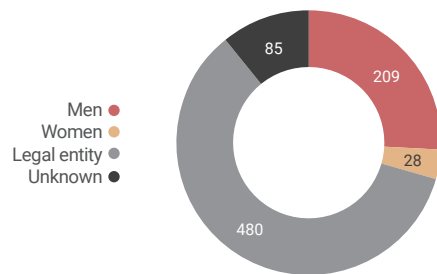
Culprits gendered

Even though this is much harder to track, ALAC staff do record who is the culprit of the corrupt act and record the gender of the perpetrator whenever available. This shows us some results, although of course in many cases the details are not known, or too complex, as the actual problem rests with entities and not a specific individual.

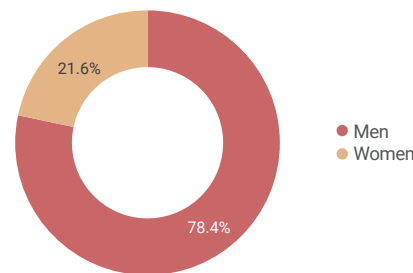
Cases demographics - gender of the perpetrator

Source	Cases No.	%
Men	209	26.0%
Women	28	3.5%
Legal entity	480	59.9%
Anonymous	85	10.6%
Total	802	100.0%

So, by weighting where sex is known, we arrive at the following division:



Cases demographics - gender of the perpetrator, all cases (actual number of reports)



Cases demographics - gender of the perpetrator (weighted)

In those cases where we can speak with certainty of the gender of the reported perpetrator (which is about a third of all reports), we see more than 3/4 of corrupt acts committed by men. This measurement is supplemented by the official statistics obtained from the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH that closely resemble the ALAC-based findings.

Access to justice

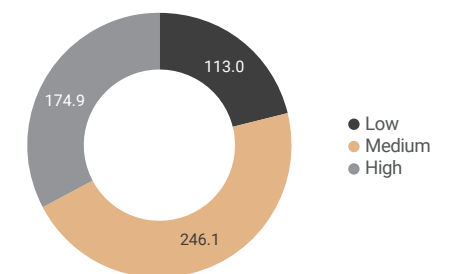
Through the contacts these beneficiaries have established with ALAC, the legal advisors were able to get a better insight into how these individuals stood up for their right, what was the level of their knowledge and understanding of the issues, as well as the legal remedies and how difficult it was for them to pursue justice for themselves or the victims they represented.

Beneficiary's awareness*

Source	Low	%	Medium	%	High	%	Total cases
Men	81	69.8%	175	69.4%	99	59.6%	355
Women	35	30.2%	77	30.6%	67	40.6%	179
Total	116	100.0%	252	100.0%	166	100.0%	534

*Beneficiary's awareness (low, medium, high) – is being established at the time of the initial contact with the beneficiary. ALAC staff need to assess to what extent is the new beneficiary actually familiar with their case: do they understand what might be illegal in the reported incident and what laws and regulations this (corrupt) act breaches, incl. at which constitutional level, institution etc. They need to establish what the beneficiary has already attempted to do and whether or not s/he knew how to properly do that (re-dressing the matter and seeking justice), i.e. if any attempt to contact the official institutions has been initiated or perhaps several actions had been undertaken. That also interrelates with the role of the beneficiary: are they a victim, whistleblower, witness etc. So, based on all this information and how far down that road the beneficiary has gone, the ALAC staff determine the level of beneficiary's awareness: low, medium or high.

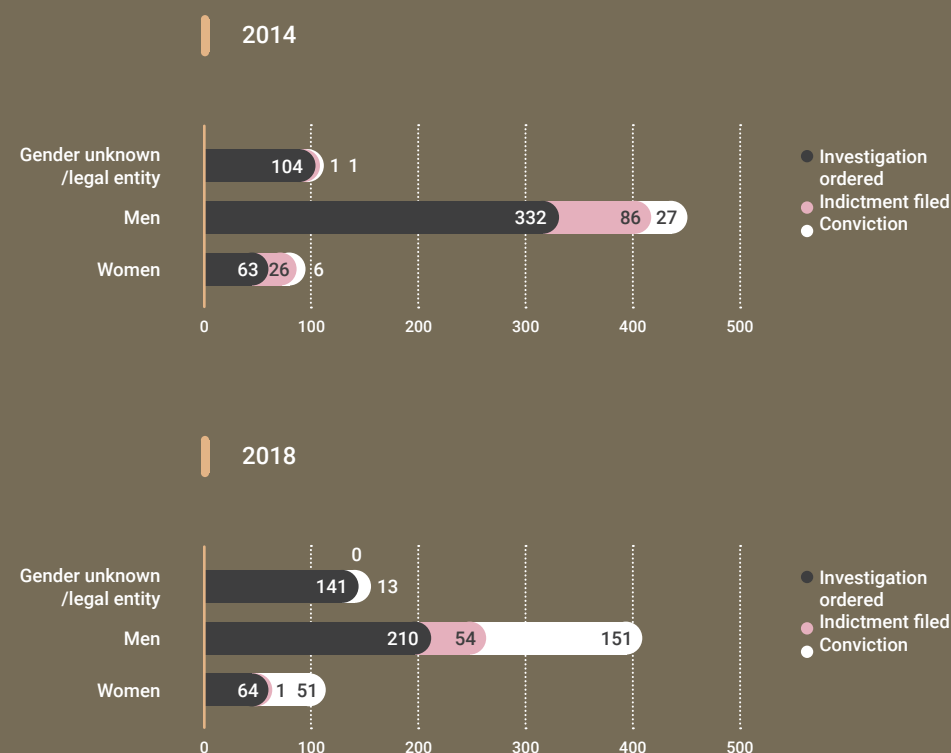
Cases demographics - beneficiary's legal awareness, all of beneficiaries (weight)



» Textbox 3

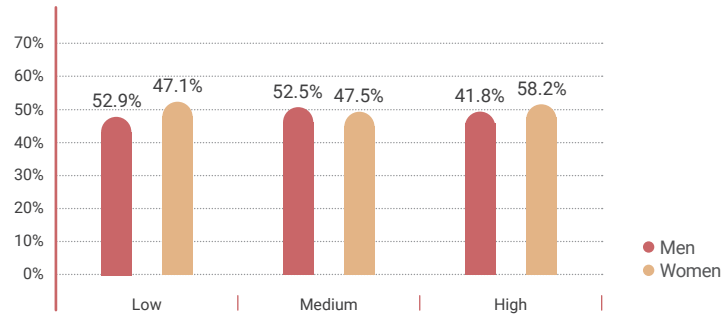
Official crime figures: Men engage in corruption 3-4 times more often than women

TI BiH requested data from the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council (HJPC) of BiH aggregated from all the courts in the country insofar as the cases cover only acts that relate to corruption. HJPC informed TI BiH on 25 February 2020 in writing of all the cases before both courts and prosecutors from 2014 until 2019 (inclusive of both years) and provided all the corrupt criminal cases from the moment of filing of complaint with the judiciary until the cases were resolved: in conviction (fine, probation, jail sentence), or acquittal and these cumulative figures then segregated by gender. Even though the data is very similar in all five years observed, below are two sets of selected but very indicative data for 2014 and 2018:



What these figures show is approximately the same ratio in every category and that is approximately 3-4 times (exact interval in the 5-year period is 1.13-7.50, but the average ratio is in the range 3 to 4 in favour of men) more men are being investigated, indicted and convicted than women for corrupt activities, punishable by law. Therefore, the official judicial data across BiH is consistent with the findings of TI BiH's ALAC and its database.

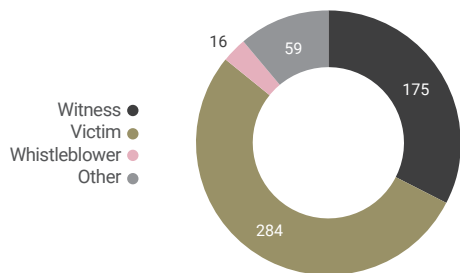
Cases demographics - beneficiary's legal awareness, by gender (weight)



Having gone through the types of cases lodged with ALAC and their gendered breakdown, including the demographic where applicable, we now see that in these cases women are actually more legally aware of the process than men on average. High awareness has men trailing significantly behind women on a weighted breakdown, while it is men who more often have little or no understanding of their legal rights when they reach out to ALAC. This is related very much to the status of the beneficiary, so we will next look at that category:

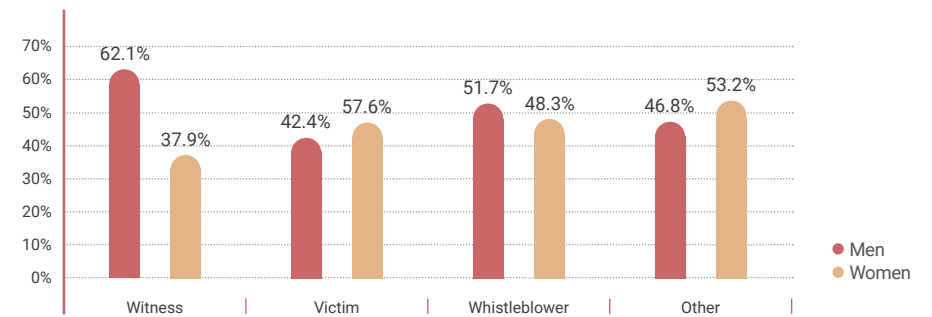
Division by role in reported transaction

Source	Witness	%	Victim	%	Whistle-blower	%	Other	%	Total cases
Men	135	77.1%	171	60.2%	11	68.8%	38	64.4%	355
Women	40	22.9%	113	39.8%	5	31.2%	21	35.6%	179
Total	175	100.0%	284	100.0%	16	100.0%	59	100.0%	534



Cases demographics - division by role in reported transaction (actual number of reports)

Cases demographics - division by role in reported transaction, by gender (weighted)



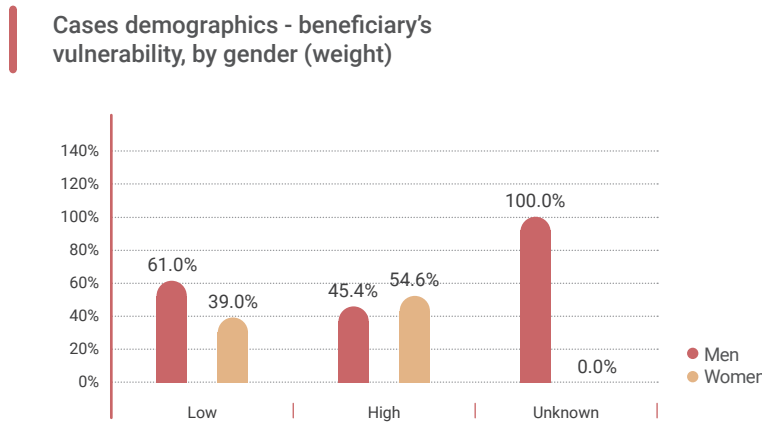
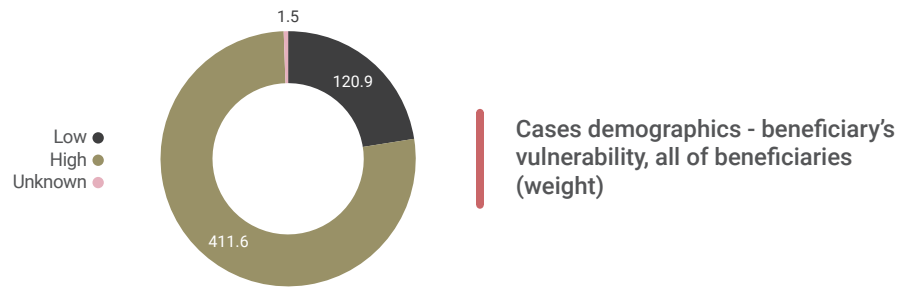
Again, we have seen that the larger share of whistleblowers and particularly witnesses are men, while women reporting to ALAC are much more often the victims in the corrupt transaction and report as such. This speaks of two facts: that women are indeed frequently victims of corruption and also that they are willing to pursue this a lot more as victims and redress justice, including by contacting ALAC for legal support.

The final aspect of this assessment will be the beneficiary's vulnerability:

Beneficiary's vulnerability*

Source	Low	%	High	%	Un-known	%	Total cases
Men	100	76.3%	253	63.1%	2	100.0%	355
Women	31	23.7%	148	36.9%	0	0.0%	179
Total	131	100.0%	401	100.0%	2	100.0%	534

*Beneficiary's vulnerability (low, high, unknown) – has a lot more to do with the extent of exposure of the beneficiary to the actual problem. If they are a whistleblower in a precarious ongoing corruption exposure, the vulnerability would undoubtedly be high. For a witness, who is not affected directly by a corrupt transaction and only wants justice to be done, the beneficiary's vulnerability would be estimated as low. Low is basically in all instances where the victim of corruption is not directly related or even known to the beneficiary. To avoid tricky nuisances, and based on many experiences with beneficiaries, the database now only maintains these two levels: high and low (plus unknown in certain rare cases).



With the prior knowledge of the roles in the cases and the beneficiary's awareness, it is easier to understand the vulnerability level. Specifically, because women often call as victims, but are legally aware of their issues and the legal methods forward, their vulnerability level is on average not as high as the difference in men vs. women frequency of being a victim. Women victims who report corruption come from the educated, urban segments of the society and are reasonably informed as to what their options are in the reported corrupt act. This makes the provision of aid relatively simpler. The most difficult cases are of course the socially most sensitive, where the victim has no awareness but is highly vulnerable. Such cases exist on both sides of the gender spectrum. But it is nonetheless fair to say that women are still more vulnerable because ultimately they are mostly victims in the corruption acts they report.

A question perseveres from the outset of this analysis: why is it that in absolute numbers women contact ALAC less than men. The survey shows women's fair awareness of TI BiH and what the NGO does, and women more than men trust TI in leading the anti-corruption advocacy and would join ranks, yet still more men than women ultimately get in touch. A thorough assessment of the beneficiaries above and the interviews with the ALAC team members point to the literacy level (incl. computer) and awareness of the civil society to reach out appropriately. The education level of an average BiH woman does not empower her to sufficiently understand her rights, she needs to prioritise among many tasks at work and home and she doubts the system: its fairness and the

opportunity cost of battling corruption. She is not as professionally connected as an average man from the same community. This is the profile of a woman who would not contact ALAC, yet who has been victimised and remained silent since. By the time women would contact ALAC, the 'traditionalist' selection had already played its role.

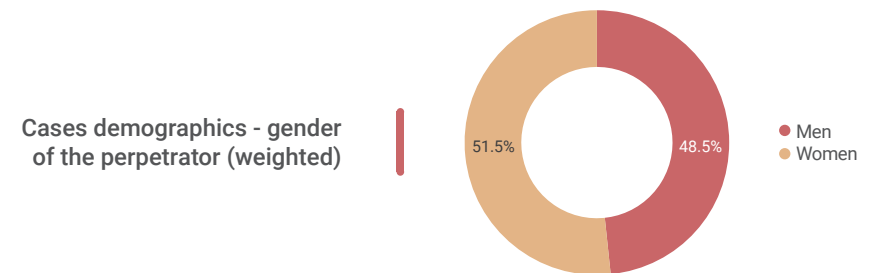
Course of legal action

In addition to the charts above, the assessment of the beneficiary's action undertaken shows a fairly even division, perhaps with a minor women's lead:

Source	Cases No.	%
Men	155	50.7%
Women	80	26.1%
Legal entity	46	15.0%
Anonymous	25	8.2%
Total	306	100.0%

Beneficiary's own prior legal actions* undertaken

*Prior beneficiary's action – based on what the beneficiary informs the legal expert has specifically been undertaken by the beneficiary thus far. They might have launched an appeal or redress process, or perhaps come as far as appealing to the Constitutional Court and are now hitting the institutional wall; but also they might not know how to deal with the issue and receive their first-ever guidance from ALAC. For analytical purposes, the categories are streamlined to: report to the relevant institution, report to the employer, court appeal, report to the legal entity/company, unknown.



Please note that the first chart above now refers to the actual numbers of reports (including all types of submissions/beneficiaries) and the one next to it only separates men from women weighted the standard way. Therefore, those who have tried to redress their issue before turning to ALAC are women and men in equal portions.

After the advice was given by ALAC and the beneficiary has taken the advised course of action, this is how the case ended, as far as the last available action is being made available to ALAC (cases, where the outcome is not known or completed, are disregarded for these purposes):

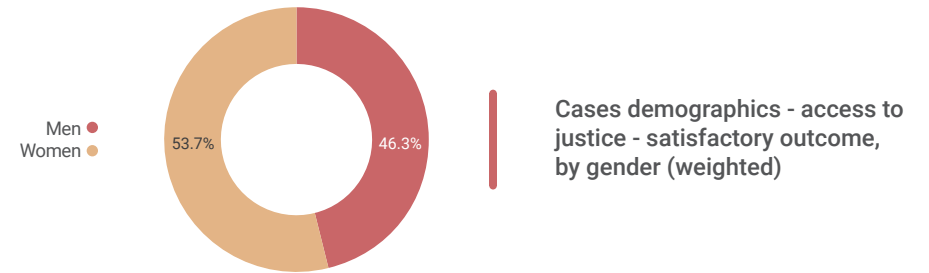
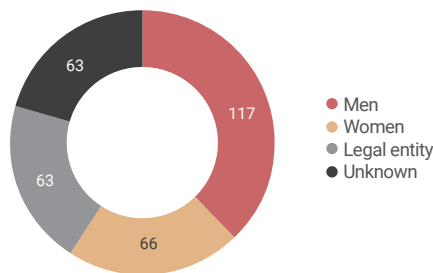
Source	Cases No.	%
Men	117	37.8%
Women	66	21.4%
Legal entity	63	20.4%
Anonymous	63	20.4%
Total	309	100.0%

Satisfactory institutional outcome*

*Action taken by the relevant authority – this is the type of action that came as a result of the citizen’s action which the beneficiary has undertaken, either at their initiative or as advised by ALAC. If they had asked ALAC for assistance and that support was provided, there is typically to be a resulting action of the relevant authority. Two are semi-satisfactory, as it means that the authority had done something but not necessarily enough: responded to the beneficiary, processed the complaint. In the instance the case was closed in a satisfactory manner for the beneficiary, the entry would be marked as: satisfactory. If the appeal, complaint or whatever action was undertaken by the beneficiary met a wall of complete silence or the beneficiary was denied their legal and constitutional rights due to the lack of cooperation of the institution or inappropriate response, the case would be marked: unsatisfactory. If the beneficiary was advised and they never reported back to ALAC on the outcome of their subsequent action, the case would be marked: unknown (which more often happens when the beneficiary themselves feel they have completed the case, most often satisfied or less often completely frustrated, so they do not bother reporting back or complaining ever again).

In visual terms:

Cases demographics - access to justice - satisfactory completion of ALAC case (internal), all cases (actual number of reports)

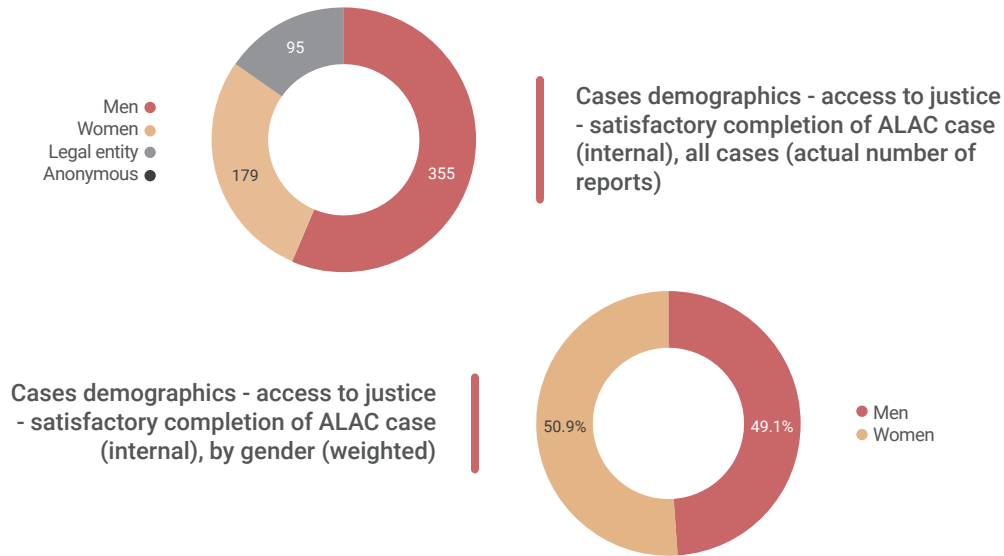


Cases demographics - access to justice - satisfactory outcome, by gender (weighted)

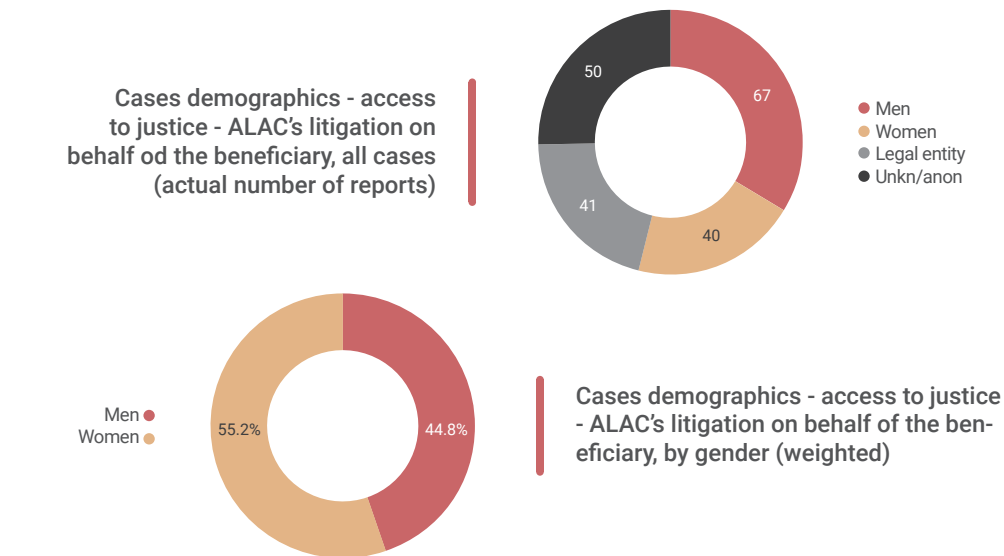
Given appropriate advice, both men and women are likely to take the advised course of action and that leads to a satisfactory result. There is no evidence of particular gender-spurred discrimination in redressing the cases of corruption, in the ALAC legal experience. In the lengthy history of its operations, ALAC has seen the successful completion of basic as well as very complex and demanding cases where the victims were both men and women alike. Unfortunately, nothing compels the victim, having received the advice, to get back to ALAC and report a satisfactory outcome. Many frequently do, as a matter of courtesy, having received free legal aid. So, many cases that reach some form of conclusion do not get captured by this indicator. More often than not, when a beneficiary receives assistance, but that for some reason has not helped her/him, they do return to ALAC to investigate what is the next possible legal avenue they can pursue. So, there is speculation that more often those cases that have an unknown resolution (462/802) may have helped the beneficiary to some extent. But as this is purely speculation, we will not process this category.

ALAC case result is a related mark given by the case’s administrator for internal monitoring purposes. Based on how the case was managed by the beneficiary and the institution, as the beneficiary was advised and what happened after all the interactions between the beneficiary and ALAC had taken place, each case is branded the following: satisfactory completion, unsatisfactory/incomplete, unknown. N.B. – Satisfactory completion has several sublevels, depending on the type of outcome and engagement with or on behalf of the beneficiary.

From ALAC's viewpoint, therefore, this number is larger, because ALAC staff know how exactly they have supported the beneficiaries and what has happened based on their recommendation. 629 cases are internally considered satisfactory and the gender balance is rather obvious – ALAC makes absolutely no differentiation in how it supports women and men beneficiaries and takes care of their cases until they are seen through:

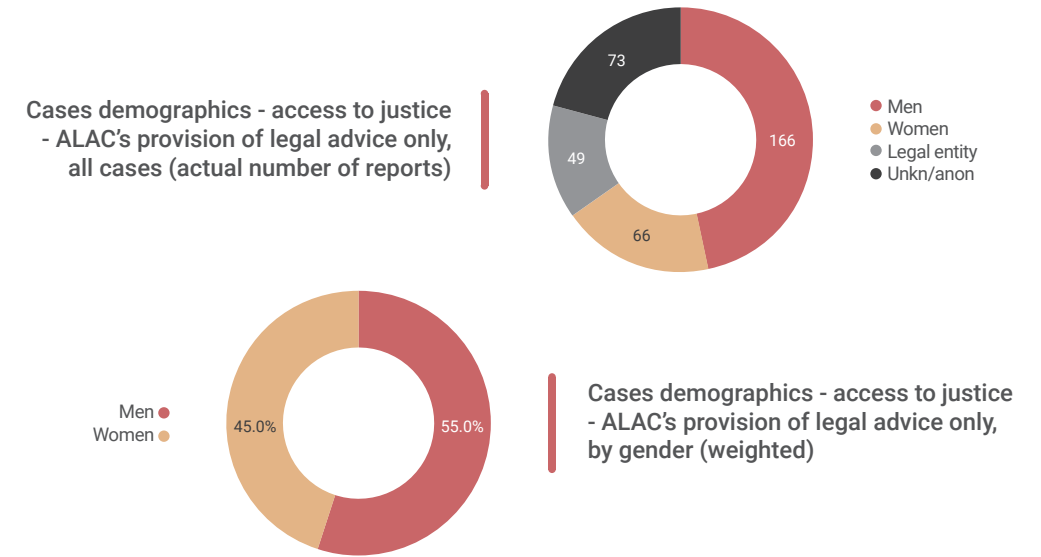


More specifically, what constitutes satisfactory assistance to the beneficiaries is a very specific type of support that was provided to them:



More often with women than with men as beneficiaries in relative terms, ALAC has gone beyond the simpler form of advice and guidance in how to redress the situation. In the more complicated instances (198/802), ALAC has litigated the perpetrator of corruption on behalf of the beneficiary. This is the most advanced form of support to the beneficiaries.

When it comes to the most simple format of support – provision of advice only, we see a consistent inverse picture:



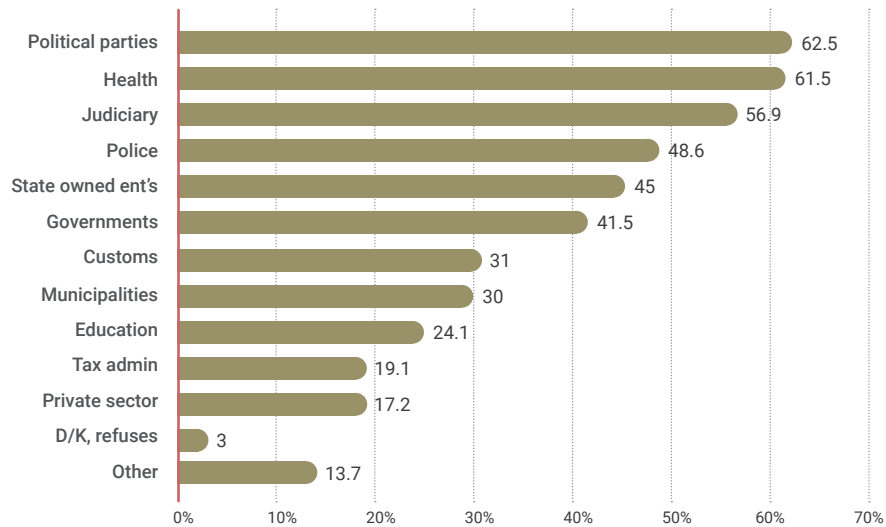
With TI BiH's reputation and legal record to date, even despite the very corrupt national environment in which it operates, the success rate when acting on behalf of the beneficiary currently stands at 59% and beneficiaries are marginally more women. As women are socially disadvantaged in many ways and as victims of corruption very vulnerable, TI BiH feels compelled and is very proud to be able to support its beneficiaries. With the support of several donors, it plans to continue extending this free legal aid in the years to come as well.

» Comparing opinions and applied corruption by gender

Even though these are different instruments and measurements, a large number of processed cases by ALAC permit some quantifications of the totals and comparisons with the common perceptions.

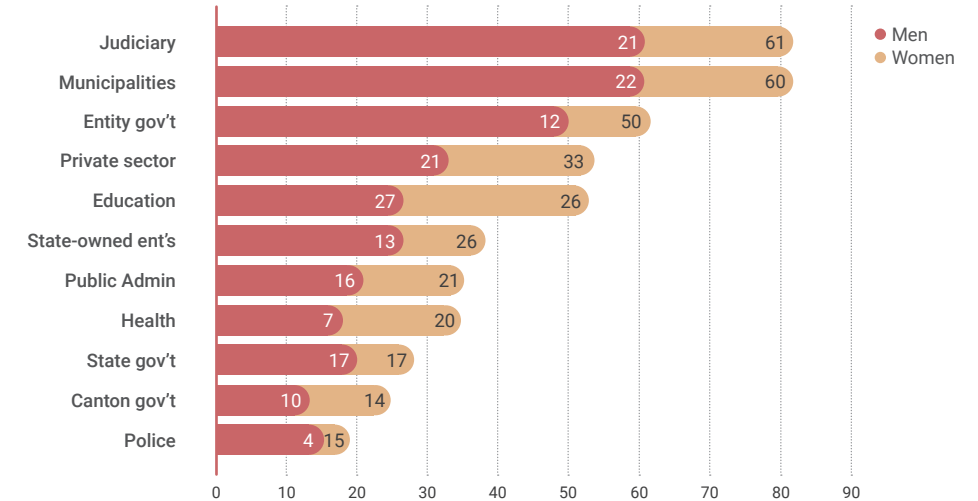
On a total scale, when the charts with the survey sectors as responded by the general population (where corruption is present, multiple options possible) with the ALAC submissions are compared, we see the following (note that for most sectors there was no gender gap):

Prevalence of corruption by sector, survey, all respondents



The ALAC submissions do not follow the same ranks:

Actual submissions by gender-known clients only

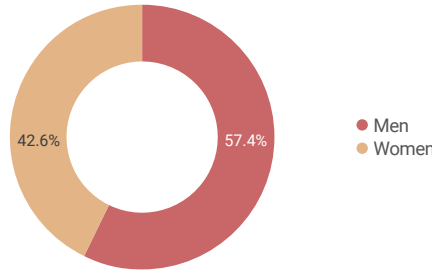


The ALAC chart distinguishes between the three government levels (state, entity and canton), which combined would have propelled governments to the first position. Political parties have not been subject to ALAC legal assistance, as their modus operandi does not warrant direct exposure to corruption. However, they are perceived as the driving force behind most institutions and even private sector entities, so in the eyes of the public they would be the corrupt enemy No.1 but in real legal life of BiH, they do not feature.

Turning now to two sample areas where the definitions and the selected cases are comparable – the judicial sector and local government-municipalities (also, two survey sectors where gendered responses differentiated beyond the statistical error). Just like in many other sectors, we see there is little difference in how men and women view corruption. Perhaps marginally more men tend to observe it and act upon it. Due to the actual frequency, there are somewhat more submissions in practical terms (by men), but the ratios do not differ greatly.



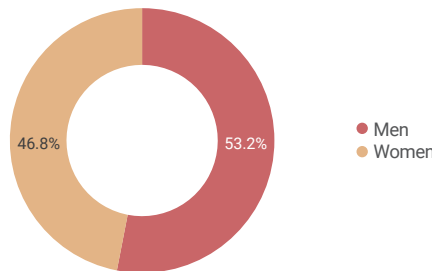
In your view, where is corruption most prevalent (multiple answers possible, by chosen sector) - JUDICIARY



Judicial sector - related cases reported to ALAC by gender (weighted)



In your view, where is corruption most prevalent (multiple answers possible, by chosen sector) - MUNICIPALITIES



Local government-related cases reported to ALAC by gender (weighted)

Ultimately, there is very little difference between gender on where they perceive corruption and how they act upon it. Both sexes are perfectly capable of determining what is corruption, where it occurs and what negative effects it has on society. There is no gender difference, given an opportunity, to react to corruption. Where women engage with specific sectors, they are equally critical of corruption in those sectors and exposed to its adverse effects. When they fall victims to corruption, both men and women are equally prepared to engage to fight it.

Where the difference comes to life is with the younger and more educated women. As this newer generation less stigmatised by the 'traditional values' develops and takes on

more balanced roles in the society and economy, women are more present and involved in fighting corruption across the sectors. The gender gap in those demographic segments narrows almost entirely.

A common perception among men is that women would not be better leaders, while women disagree to a significant extent and believe the country would be better off and less corrupt too with them in a much larger share of power.

There is indeed little perceived difference as to which sex is fairer or more corrupt. Yes, men are seen as somewhat more frequently engaging in bribery and other corrupt practices, both when analysing the gender of perpetrators and in perception terms. However, this has more to do with the fact that men were given greater opportunities to be in the positions of power, where such acts can take place than the inherent behaviour of either sex. Not only are women discriminated against from the very access to education (particularly in the rural areas) but also when it comes to employment and correspondingly they need to economise resources, including their own time, often stretched between many activities at home and work. Therefore, in relative terms corruption hits women harder, but they also calculate the opportunity cost of reporting it – many a time foregoing complaints and possibly perpetual legal battles in favour of the other burning tasks.

It is considered that women care more for pro-social sectors. The opinion poll does not warrant that view. ALAC does, however, confirm that but when analysing the nature of women's interventions in education this is primarily around her rights, specifically employment-related. Somewhat similar is the health sector, where women filed cases more around the administrative matters than bribery and corruption of the medical profession, i.e. access to health services. In fact, the opposite appears true – men are marginally more interested in reacting as whistleblowers when they spot corruption or support the victim by reporting as a witness to corruption. View from a different angle is also key to understanding the data – litigating corruption in pro-social sectors is highly risky: cases take years and have very unpredictable outcomes in a captured society. The incentives by both sexes to report corrupt ethics of doctors, particularly in the smaller environments where citizens are likely to demand further health services, are extremely low in comparison to the potential benefits (which is why many more respondents are prepared to play along and bribe doctors, from the survey results). In pro-social sectors, by the very nature of these services, one is more likely to be a victim than a witness of corruption.

Looking at the totality of cases, BiH women victims of corruption are willing to fight it, but the remedies, alternatives, access to justice etc. are far more accessible to those women who are of higher or highest education, from cities, of working age and employed, therefore relatively economically secure. We have only limited case-study knowledge of how the poorest among women, a large number of illiterate women, particularly those in the traditional countryside, manage their problems when they appear. Some families and communities would shelter women from their exposure to such issues, but that does not take care of the most vulnerable among women, e.g. in single-parent families: divorced, widowed etc. The legal cases of women who stood up for their rights display an extraordinary amount of courage, as in a society like BiH, women have comparatively more to risk by standing up to their rights than men, yet they are prepared to speak up as victims.

Less educated people can more easily fall prey to corruption and for one reason or an-

other are more likely to (have to) bribe, the survey shows. But understanding the value of highest education, that same demographic segment is more likely to bribe for their child to enrol to university than the unskilled workers, equally among men and women. There are areas in which rural people appear more likely to corrupt, while in the other the urban population is more prepared to break the rules. Again, it appears to be a matter of exposure.

Traditionalism plays a key role and the more obsolete views come from the older, particularly rural respondents, except where they appear more ready to trust women in leadership, which probably derives from the fact that in these communities women generally take care of how the home is run and are therefore leadership 'trustworthy' in the eyes of the related respondents. Whether or not there are more traditional areas and ethnic groups is an interesting sociological and anthropological issue that this study will not entertain, although certain patterns do emerge. Some future study could look into the influence of urban development, education and religion over time on how these groups form their collective thinking. It does have a gender impact, but even the traditional values are being overcome with a sufficient degree of education of the population. There are no particular reasons why women refuse to comply with a corrupt proposal compared to men. They seem to understand better that they have the right to that service irrespectively and demand their rights (and the fact that they had paid for it through the tax system, fees or otherwise). Women stand for their rights also as they seek legal aid. It certainly does not appear as though they will step aside and silently overlook the injustice. But that step between experiencing it and acting upon it requires not only the courage, which women undoubtedly have equal to men, but also the social empowerment: education and economic standing that provides the space required to engage.

» Key findings and policy level recommendations

The critical feature to understand the gender gap is the Bosnia and Herzegovina country context. This is a highly complex bureaucratized and corrupt country run by the political elites. In this environment, cronies prosper and there is a parallel grand corruption reserved for the political elites, where they syphon the accumulated wealth (and expand the external debt, thus hampering the development of the coming generations), and petty corruption – the administrative corruption hitting the individuals at the personal level and preventing them from accessing basic services or their constitutional and legal rights. BiH is corrupt to the extent that this affects all sectors and the vast section of the population is falling victim to it regularly on multiple levels.

In such a closed society run by crony networks, human rights are low priority and the gender gap flourishes. More recently the issue has gradually been improving with the empowering of young women, particularly by providing access to education, which the older generations were denied or it was very difficult, especially in the more traditional rural areas. Where that gap is significant the engagement of women with corruption differs:

1. 'Traditional' women are less educated and less exposed to a variety of services and sectors, therefore also less exposed to corruption in those. In such traditional environments, men are more likely to handle these.
2. Where women are on equal foot with men, they have exactly the same exposure to the sectors, deal with the same issues and encounter the same corruption. They act similarly and educated women even more than educated men stand up for their rights and defend justice. In other words, there are no specific sectors such as pro-social where women engage more, given the same socio-economic opportunities.
3. Limited average ability of women to engage forces her to be more selective, and they act where it hurts them most: when they themselves or their dependents fall victims to corruption, and they initiate actions that will help them remedy that situation. It is not the case that women are more self-centred and fail to act for the greater good, but in such harsh environments women are forced to make hard choices and help themselves and their families first. Men more often have the 'social luxury' to look beyond the injustice done to them and support other victims of corruption too. This has to do with the context of BiH, not a more pro-social sex.
4. Access to justice is equal across gender. There is no evidence that women are being discriminated against in courts, that their awareness of rights is any lesser, or that they find it more difficult to navigate the legal system, including the provision of legal aid through channels other than judiciary (e.g. TI BiH's ALAC). The case resolution rate is equally favourable to both sexes. Again, this is in nominal terms, because women coming from the more traditional backgrounds will find it much harder to enter and navigate the formal system or the alternative support network. Therefore, women from traditional backgrounds meet high barriers from the outset, by the very way in which the system is running.

5. This also explains the gender gap that ALAC is experiencing: women contact TI BiH less than men simply because it takes a certain amount of literacy (incl. computer) and awareness of the civil society to reach out appropriately. Because of the gender divide and notwithstanding all the above, there are fewer women beneficiaries and cases than men. By the time women contact ALAC, the 'traditionalist' selection had already played its role.
6. The perception that women (or men for that matter) are more or less likely to engage in corruption does not hold in BiH, nor that the country would be better off with female leadership. This perception might change as the country advances in democratic terms, the population gets better educated and has more even or equal opportunities to advance in various positions, tasks and agendas. This is when women are better positioned, selected based on merit (rather than appointed from among the crony networks) with much more space to focus on social justice and human rights. This is when women engage with corruption more forcefully, as global research shows. But BiH is not there yet.

Policy recommendations

Based on these key sets of conclusions, several long-term policy recommendations will positively affect the gender agenda and how corruption affects women and men alike:

1. Access to education must improve. When women get the equal opportunities to enrol in schools and universities and complete quality education in the same ratios as men, they will be empowered to access the same sectors and request the same level of rights and services for themselves and their dependents as men. Educated women will take care of a variety of sectors and will seek justice, not only of the pro-social ones.
2. Various crony networks that captured the BiH state expect women to comply with the rules of the political elites and once she is prepared to play along, she gets a chance to progress, but then is as complicit of corruption as the corrupt men. There is no evidence that either sex is more or less corrupt, given a chance, while the BiH society as a whole experiences a tremendously high level of corruption. Therefore, fight against organised crime and corruption is also the fight for a more gender-balanced society and equal opportunities for all.

In the short to medium run, several other actions can be taken:

3. Women victims of corruption are more vulnerable and they prioritise their own problems, given the limited options to redress justice. However, it is mostly younger and more educated women who will fight for themselves. Supposedly, significant groups of women exist who suffer the same problems but have fewer means of accessing justice and finding out about the possible solutions to their problems. There should be a carefully designed outreach programme to ensure these women too are empowered to stand up for themselves and their dependents.

This study agrees with most related research that calls for amending or introducing new gender equity and equality regulation, conducting gender analyses in specific sectors (some of which are highlighted throughout this assessment), collecting and analysing gender-disaggregated data similar to how this paper has done it, raising awareness of such findings, etc.

Finally, the traditional role of women in BiH appears to be changing and that is good. There is and must be no prescribed role for any gender in contemporary society. This is purely an individual choice and as such must be respected, not imposed by family, community, religious or ethnic group or society at large.

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» Annex 1 - Literature review: What do we know about gender and corruption

1. The first set of issues assessed by gender and corruption research was whether or not there is a greater propensity for **women or men to engage in corrupt acts**. Is there a difference and is either sex more or less fair?

Earlier research strived to confirm the assumption that women, in general, perceive corruption levels as worse and are more likely to be in favour of punishing corrupt behaviour, compared to men (Agerberg, 2014). This has led to discussions on claims that women are less corrupt than men, and on whether there is reliable evidence of correlations between e.g. higher representation of women in government and lower levels of corruption (SIDA, 2015).

Women might be less involved in corrupt transactions than men (as claimed by Bauhr et al. 2018; Brollo and Troiano 2016; Dollar et al. 2001; Esarey and Chirillo 2013; Esarey and Schwindt-Bayer 2018; Swamy et al. 2001; Fišar et al. 2016). The first set of assumptions focused on differences between men and women in risk-aversion while the second looked at differences in gender role socialization.

One of the latest papers on the gender and corruption issues (Kubbe, Alexander and Wängnerud 2019) argues that women are less likely to consider bribery justifiable based on eight Western European cross-national public opinion surveys (Torgler and Valev 2010), and there is a positive correlation between female inclusion and levels of corruption across societal units (ratio of men and women in national legislatures and executives vs. level of corruption) in selected societies.

Yet another multilateral agency's research document compares studies on gender and corruption (UNDP, 2014) and, based on what data is available, makes very inconclusive statements on women's preparedness to engage in bribery or report it, demonstrating the challenges of such analyses.

2. This led a longer list of researchers to look for an answer if more **women in politics** means cleaner public affairs.

One such paper (Transparency International, 2016) attempts to address the very fundamental questions on gender and corruption: Are there gender-specific forms of corruption? Can women's empowerment be a relevant strategy in the larger fight against corruption? So, this composite research went to claim that:

- "With external factors such as *the risk of being caught* [...] women tend to behave more honestly than men and are more concerned about fairness in their decisions".
- It recalls a pioneer study in the field (Swamy et al, 2000) which concluded "that women are less involved in bribery and are less likely to condone bribe taking".
- But then TI poses a very valid question: do women have fewer opportunities to be corrupt?
- It then analyses the gendered impact on service delivery and the related corruption, also being one of the first to openly address the issue of 'sextortion', i.e. trading of sexual favours for public or private sector services.

- Women seem more afraid of the consequences, a survey shows.
- Hossain et al. 2009 claim that "women also often lack the necessary knowledge or means to report corruption or to file a complaint on the lack or quality of public service provided". TI very importantly concludes that "corruption may also create additional obstacles for women seeking redress" (TI 2016, p.8).
- Finally, on women in politics, the same TI paper quotes several sources that conclude: "corruption prevents women from getting into high-level posts in politics and business. Corruption and bad governance have a negative effect on women's participation in politics, trapping women in the vicious circle of gender inequalities, lack of empowerment and corruption. Research in 18 European countries shows that corruption, clientelism and political networking have a negative impact on the proportion of elected women in local councils, further reducing the opportunities for women's political participation. This is also true for women's participation in business and economic life."
- But in order to make more conclusive statements, TI primarily calls on a collection of reliable gender-disaggregated data.

Further demographically detailed assumptions are presented in a brief (U4, 2018) that analyses a possible reduced corruption if women were to be better represented in the governments by pinpointing that this perception is primarily experienced among women. However, despite that finding, the paper goes to recommend "increased representation of women in elected office [that] can reduce both petty and grand corruption" and that "women in elected office reduce the rate of bribery for public services, particularly for women" without much further substantiation. Even though the paper calls for a segregated demographics to better understand the motivation of the different strata of women, the conclusions that "women who attain public office seek to further two separate political agendas: 1) the improvement of public service delivery; and 2) the breakup of male-dominated networks" are based on the global indices that aggregate all women in national parliaments.

Ultimately Kubbe et al. (2019, p. 13) conclude that "Alatas et al. (2009) should not be taken as an indicator that gender plays a limited role in relation to corruption. Most contemporary studies discuss effects on levels of corruption from female representation in elected arenas such as parliaments and local councils. The important contribution of the study is that it found little evidence of risk-aversion among women as an explanation for their differences in behaviour compared to men." It, therefore, suggests the forthcoming studies should delve deeper into the role of pro-social versus self-regarding behaviour in analyses of effects of gender on corruption.

3. Research has then turned to if and **how corruption affects women differently to men** since it became increasingly obvious such a difference exists.

A donor policy brief searches for evidence that distinguishes between direct and indirect victimisation, making it reasonable to assume women suffer more, and differently than men. A review of the scarce research at the time on the direct impacts of corruption qualifies this claim to some extent (U4, 2015).

More specifically, a survey of 500 people (with 400 women vs. 100 men) conducted in Sierra Leone (TI SL, 2014) as largely an opinion poll of women. It finds *inter alia* that "women are highly likely to be faced with corruption issues when accessing basic services and most often they are expected to pay in kind (through the body currency, i.e. 'sextortion')"

than in cash” and also that “women can make a huge difference in the anti-corruption campaign as they are most vulnerable to corruption” without disclosing details on how that can be achieved.

A similar publication based on Ukraine (UNDP Ukraine, 2018) combines findings of several public opinion polls (with no details of the sample sizes) and also makes certain assumptions such as: “women tend to consider themselves to be less aware of corruption, making them relatively less likely to identify its manifestations in everyday life”, without specifying the context: demographics of women, the environment in which they work and live etc. Nonetheless, it acknowledges that “the negative effects of domestic corruption are more likely to affect women’s welfare due to the following reasons: 1) social norms place the responsibility of caring for minors and disabled family members on women, so they are more dependent on access to public services; 2) the vulnerability of women abused by officials is conditioned by the need for specific medical services related to birth and childcare in the early years of their lives; 3) women prevail among the low-income and socially vulnerable groups of the population, whose standard of living is largely determined by targeted justice and generosity of the country’s social policy”. It also finds that women and men have different experiences of corruption when interacting with various service providers and accessing the job market, and it calls on further segregation of gendered data to investigate the root causes of that. Yet, contrary to some of the earlier works, their surveys conclude that “men of younger and middle ages show relatively more readiness to pursue active anti-corruption measures than women”. This casts one of the rare but very specific shadows of doubt that women might be equally or even less interested in pursuing the anti-corruption agenda. The paper would have benefitted from a single survey that is sufficiently large to disaggregate the Ukrainian society, so as to enable more definitive demographic conclusions and roots to some of these assumptions.

In addition, a large scale survey of the Swedish citizens (Wängnerud, 2018) examines the gender effects and shows that femininity is linked to pro-social values” and suggests for future research to focus more on indirect effects on corruption resulting from the inclusion of women in political organisations.

4. As research progressed, it became obvious that both the gender and corruption issues need to be contextualised, therefore the focus turned on the **environment in which the gender gap occurs**.

One of the most comprehensive research on the matter (Esarey, Chirillo, 2013) contextualises such gender gap, and how it manifests differently, which is a critical variable to understand social behaviour. The democratisation of society is critical in empowering women and thus permitting their decision-making in the situations where corruption is likely to occur, and it is also correlated with wealth. That said, by examining a vast body of evidence, the authors conclude that:

- Women’s disapproval of bribe-taking is greater than men’s, but only in countries with democratic institutions.
- In consolidated democracies, whose institutions discourage corruption, women are (on average) more disapproving of corruption than men. In autocratic countries, where corruption is a part of daily life, the difference between women and men is considerably smaller.
- Similarly, the participation of women in government is unrelated to corruption in

autocracies but negatively related to corruption in democracies.

- The more democratic a state, the more apparent the relationship (otherwise statistically less significant): more women in parliament is associated with a cleaner government. Interdependency of these variables or what comes first is not entertained by the study. Similarly, higher participation of women in government is not associated with government cleanliness for autocratic countries. Increasing participation of women in government in states where women were legally, culturally, and/or economically unequal is not expected to reduce corruption.
- Women are more averse to the risks of violating political norms and because gender discrimination makes violating institutional norms a riskier proposition for women than men. Where corruption is stigmatised, women will be less tolerant of corruption and less likely to engage in it compared to men. Therefore, the culture of corruption in a society is a variable that also needs to be examined.
- Finally, the study calls on a more detailed assessment of women in power, by suggesting that the women who gain office through a top-down, party- or government-directed initiative would be disparate than a group of women who won an open and competitive election – not derived from such crony networks, one expects them to have systematically different attitudes toward corruption.

» Annex 2 - Opinion poll methodology and demographics

TI BiH initially asked the polling agency Partner to work with the sample of 1300 respondents but following the quota sampling corrections, it arrived at 1315 respondents as the final sample that needed to be processed to allow for statistically relevant samples across the different demographic and regional segments. The sample is representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on the last census carried out in 2013. The margin of error of this chosen sample is 2.7%. The agency has been following its general rules and procedures of such engagements, respecting all the legal and disclosure requirements as well as the professional sampling and processing standards. The survey was carried out in late 2019 (November-December).

Key demographic breakdown

Sex/Gender	No. of respondents	% of respondents
M	642	48.9
W	672	51.1
Total	1314	100.0

Age	No. of respondents	% of respondents
18 - 25	139	10.6
26 - 40	401	30.5
41 - 50	372	28.3
51 - 65	263	20.0
66 >	116	8.8
Refuses	23	1.8
Total	1314	100.0

Region	No. of respondents	% of respondents
RS	484	36.8
FBIH	780	59.4
Brcko	50	3.8
Total	1314	100.0

Urbanisation level	No. of respondents	% of respondents
Urban	831	63.2
Rural	483	36.8
Total	1314	100.0

Education	No. of respondents	% of respondents
Unskilled labour	18	1.4
Skilled labour	115	8.8
High school	734	55.9
Uni education	355	27.0
MSc and higher	39	3.0
Refuses	53	4.0
Total	1314	100.0

Nationality	No. of respondents	% of respondents
Serbs	467	35.5
Croats	204	15.5
Bosniacs	632	48.1
Other	11	0.8
Total	1314	100.0

» Annex 3 - ALAC operations and workflow

ALAC is an effective citizen participation tool where the incentives for action in the person's and public interest are brought together. Thus, TI BiH provides citizens with mechanisms to protect their rights and empowers them to report corruption, mobilises them to stand up to corruption, be this at the local level or with the top decision-makers. Assistance is provided through the following means:

1. informing citizens on their rights and mechanisms to report corruption;
2. providing legal assistance by acting towards relevant institutions based on individual citizens reports;
3. monitoring the action of institutions upon citizens reports using all legal means available; and
4. holding institutions accountable through public pressure, as the means of last resort.

Citizens contact the ALAC through a toll-free hotline (0800-55555), web-based corruption form, e-mail, social media or via postal address. ALAC staff are online and available from 8-16 hrs. Beneficiaries reach out to get basic information regarding the protection of their rights, ad hoc legal advice, referrals to relevant institutions or NGOs, explanations of legal procedures and protection mechanisms, awareness on how to make use of applicable laws etc. The hotline is used for reporting all past or potential future cases of corruption throughout the country (three landline and three mobile phone operators have merged efforts to allow this country-wide service and a unique number). However, information that citizens provide must be credible and supported by basic facts and documents. All personal data delivered to the Centre through the hotline or other means of communication are strictly confidential and the individual can remain anonymous if they so wish.

Through tremendous capacities established this way, TI BiH dedicated an additional line of ALAC work to reaching out to other local CSOs and media and providing them with legal advice and support, especially in terms of their ability to access relevant information, but also in terms of protecting their rights to freedom of association, sometimes including the provision of legal aid against political pressure.

Complaint/case flow

The toll-free telephone line's primary purpose is to enable the initial contact point between citizens and the ALAC. Based on that initial contact, ALAC staff decide whether the reported case can be qualified as corruption. If so, the person reporting corruption is invited to provide evidence for it in writing, if such evidence exists, or in the form of his/her statement or the witness's statement. The toll-free hotline also provides citizens with advice if the reported case is not within the Centre's scope of operations. While beneficiaries are told how to protect their rights and which institution is competent in their case, it is not as simple to navigate the complex BiH system.

Citizens' complaints may result in the following outcome:

- rejected – the case is not related to corruption or is already presented in court
- accepted for support and then rejected – further data reveals a corruption unrelated case
- under analysis – the case fits the ALAC's mandate but needs further assessment
- submitted to the relevant authority – the case fits the ALAC's mandate and is submitted to the relevant authority for processing

Generally, when the ALAC staff address a specific institution, they request a detailed status of the case, to compare the records. Then, if ALAC is to act on the beneficiary's behalf, an appeal is made to the relevant agencies, e.g. inspection offices, financial police, or going as far as the public prosecution.

Any new record or changes to the file are dated and signed by the team member to keep the cases uniformed and accurate. Each case is monitored through a single file management system and as its status changes they can be internally rated as satisfactory or not (see below for details). However, as far as the beneficiary is concerned, there is no means of ensuring the beneficiary reports back to ALAC on the outcome of the given legal advice, so many of these cases have an unknown ultimate result (also elaborated on later in the text).

ALAC case flow



Case-based advocacy

Advocacy is a central part of the ALAC, acting as the link between individual cases and desired changes at the system level. As these individual cases reported provide a unique insight into how corruption works in practice, this information becomes invaluable for targeted advocacy. In cases where public institutions are open to reform and genuinely interested in improving the current complexities, advocacy takes place directly through meetings and conversations. Where there is less openness, the advocacy takes another shape. For example, based on the cases presented to the ALAC, advocacy is carried out to raise awareness about the sectors and institutions which are the subject of most complaints (e.g. justice, public administration), by calling for special attention to institutional and legal vulnerabilities and providing related recommendations.

ALAC database background

The ALAC database has been reformatted on several occasions. It used to be shared among TI National Chapters, but due to the sensitivity of data, once the entries became more than pure statistics and personal data was managed, it was taken offline and several changes have progressively been made to improve the collection, storing and processing of beneficiary information. The shape in which it is today was put together in 2015. From the outset, 2244 cases were entered in the database, but the current format was only applied to 802 cases handled from the start of 2015 until the cut-off date – 31 December 2019. Not much comparable data can be extracted to cover the cumulative period from 2003 until end-2019.

Of the 2244 cases handled until then we know that 1198 were men, 476 women and 570 were legal entities and anonymous beneficiaries. So, women contacted TI BiH in 21.2% of all cases lodged with ALAC (or 28.4% of cases where gender is known – are women).

ALAC database glossary

The new ALAC database format, applied in 2015 and carried on to-date aims to record each submission in as many details as possible, to permit qualitative, but also the quantitative assessment of the cases. While many reports have been well documented and presented to the general public and media in various formats (as stories, advocacy cases etc.) all of them have a common structure in the electronic archives. Every case that is formally accepted by the ALAC team receives its number and is processed with the following options selected and inputted in the specialised software. Given the uniformity of choices, this allows for the processing of data in various formats and focused on specific issues, with cross-comparisons of multiple variables.

The following are the fields each entry in the database carries:

- Gender of the beneficiary: man, woman, anonymous, legal entity
- Education level of the beneficiary: basic, intermediate, high, unknown
- Gender of the reported person/perpetrator: man, woman, legal entity, unknown
- Age of the beneficiary: <24, 25-39, 40-54, 55>, unknown
- Place of living of the beneficiary: village, town, city, unknown
- Method of report submission: telephone, e-mail, personally, telefax, post
- Reported sector: over 40 options (aiming to capture the microlevel)

- Government level: municipal, cantonal, entity, state, unknown
- Status of the beneficiary: victim, whistleblower, witness, other
- Beneficiary's awareness: low, medium, high
- Beneficiary's vulnerability: low, high, unknown
- Reported issue: approximately 200 options (aiming to capture the detail)
- Prior beneficiary's action: report to the relevant institution, report to the employer, court appeal, report to the legal entity/company, unknown
- Action taken by the relevant authority: responded to the beneficiary, processed the complaint, satisfactory, unsatisfactory, unknown
- ALAC case result (internally): satisfactory completion, unsatisfactory/incomplete, unknown. N.B. – Satisfactory completion has several sublevels, depending on the type of outcome and engagement with or on behalf of the beneficiary.



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