EU Grant Agreement number: 290529

Project acronym: ANTICORRP

Project title: Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited

Work Package: WP4, The anthropological study of corruption practices and ideas

Title of deliverable: D4.1) Report on institutional performance and corruption in the case studies.

INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL VALUES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (BiH)

Due date of deliverable: 30 June, 2014
Actual submission date: 30 June, 2014

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MAY 2014, BERGAMO

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Seventh Framework Programme		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	X
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	
Co	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

This country report presents result of a survey about performance of local instiutions and social values" carried out in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter BiH). It is a part of a wider research about corruption practices in this countryes approached with an innovative ethnographic metodology and "bottom-up persepctive". Results of the survey will be here treated not as mere statistical data but analyzed and commented with data deriving from interviews and participant observation.

Ethnographic research and survey in BiH started in a particular conjuncture marked by consequences of protests against corruption of institutions that took place in the whole country from the 4th of February 2014 and ended with the requests for resignment of local goverments.

Furthermore, the day of my arrival in Sarajevo (March the 12th) coincided with the beginning of the visit to the country of Catherine Ashton, the EU High Representative for the Foreign Affairs and Security policy, who declared the fight against corruption as the priority for the "road toward Europe" of BiH[1].

The same day some representatives of the BiH civil society organizations met some delgates of the Bosnian Parliament to propose amendaments to the Law of Public Procurement as well as to a set of laws which could improve transparency in the local politics. Eldin Karić, the president of the Anticorruption network (*Antikorupcijska mreža organizacija civilnog društva u BiH*) declared that politicians who will not have accepted the proposed amendments would have openly opted for corruption[2].

As this snapshots demonstrate, corruption practices and anticorruption initiatives are very actual issues that in BiH intersect norms, rethorics, interests and moralities of different subjects: citizens, activists, local and foreign institutions.

Notwithstanding the popularity the issue deserved in the public opinion and in the institutional life of the country, the study of corruption and anticorruption practices is visibly marked by a poor involvement of the local academic community while it benefits from the leading role of the NGOs and associations in producing informations, surveys and country reports. However, civil society organizations' work suffers from an instable foreign funding and their proposed plans for institutional change is very often framed in an unquestioned concept of corruption and corrupted practices. As anthropologists have shown, corruption is a changing phenomenon and in order to shed light on its socio-cultural roots a dyacronic analysis of concept of moralities and values is

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[1] Grabovac A. 2014, *Oslobođenje* 13 mart 2014:3
[2] Kamenica E. 2014, *Oslobođenje* 13 mart 2014:2

needed (Pardo I. 2004:2)[3]. This is particularly valuable in a transition country like BiH that is experienced systemic trasformation but also war dynamics. The latter sped up involvment of the countries in the context of globalization where "the nature and dynamics of corruption and abuses of power in contemporary society are increasingly strongly connected to national and international processes" (Pardo I. 2004:7)

Survey and participant observation thus became an occasion to explore in depth behaviours and social values etrenched with practices of corruption in this changing context.

METHODOLOGY, SAMPLING AND FIELD DESCRIPTION

The report presents results from a first period of fieldwork research begun the 12th of March 2014 and ended the 04th of May 2014.

During this period interviews were carried out with Eldin Karić the president of Anticorruption network of civil organizations.[4] It was also possible to participate to the annual meeting of its members.[5] This was a very useful experience to have an exaustive picture of the anticorruption activism in BiH. Interviews were also carried out with the spokepersons of protesters that after the February and March events continued to stand in front of the Bosnian Presidency building to denounce corruption of politicians and to ask for radical reforms. Particular attention have been paid to media discourses about corruption (social networks, channels of the national television, channels of cable television, printed newspapers and magazines).

Notwithstanding this, the main focus of this first part of the research was placed on the survey. The latter in many cases turned to be a starting point for in depth interviews with respondents which often have alternative answers to those offered by the survey texts or have examples of their lived life to quote and support their option choice.

Survey was carried out with inhabitants of the two neighbouring cities of Sarajevo and Eastern Sarajevo (*Istočno Sarajevo*)[6]. Sarajevo is the capital city of the state of BiH and occupies an urbanized area of 141,5 sqm and has 279,416 residents.[7] Eastern Sarajevo include pre-war suburb territory of Sarajevo that is now under the Republika Srpska administration. It has a wide area of

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[3] Pardo I. (2004), Introduction in Pardo I. (ed.), *Between Morality and the Law. Corruption, Anthropology and Comparative society*, London, Ashgate: 1-17
[4] Interview with Eldin Karić carried out 10th of April 2014
[5] The meeting was held on March the 28th in Hotel Saraj, Sarajevo.
[6] The new-born city was proclaimed in 1992 under the name of Serb Sarajevo but has been re-named Eastern Sarajevo in 2005 by The Bosnian Consitutional Court that considered it dicriminatory for the returnees of non-serb nationality.
[7] City of Sarajevo's official web site: http://www.sarajevo.ba/en/stream.php?kat=78

1450 sqm with a population of 100,00 residents .[8] Although after the Dayton Agreement Sarajevo and Eastern Sarajevo have been divided by administrative boundary between the Federation of BiH (Fbih) and the Republika Srpska (Rs),we will refer to those two cities with the collective definition of "Sarajevo area". They both were in fact part of the capital city of BiH in pre-war time so their citizens share a common past institutional experience. Furthermore past residence in Sarajevo still bring citizens of Eastern Sarajevo to deal with Sarajevo local instiutions competent for issuing documents. Although ethnonationalist parties presents local insitutions of Sarajevo and Eastern Sarajevo as respectively representative of Serbs and Croato/Musilms population, the distribution of State agencies and offices across the two cities territory justify the choice to not consider the research field delimited by the administrative boundaries that should remark ethnic divisions between the two cities.

This approach has entailed a careful translation of the survey text to be adapted to the local context.

The language standard had been a very sensitive issue in political and identitarian ethnonationalist politics in the 90s, so the translation has been conducted in collaboration with a local translation agency that assured the use of a local written standard of the language (*ijekavski*).

For a few words like "Municipality" a double version in Serbian and Bosnian language was included in the text ("*Opština/Općina*"). The survey was printed in Latin alphabet although 10 respondents (over 45) from Eastern Sarajevo wrote answers in Cyrillic.

The adaptation of the survey to the context involved also a multiplication of the listed institutions. As an effect of insitutional fragmentation of BiH set by the past socialist local self-managment (*lokalna samouprava*) and by the Dayton Pace Agreement, the expression "District Council" present in the original English version, had to be multiplicated in *Mjesna Zajednica* (Local Community); *Grad* (City) *Kanton* (Canton); *Entitet* (Entity). We will enter into details of competence of each of this insitutions in the following sections of the report. Here it is important to remark that the high number of local institutions highlight an abnorm growth of the public sector in post-war period that has been indicated as a fruitful background for corruptive practices as this organization amplifies the discretional power of politicians on passing laws and procedures at all levels of governmental and judicary powers. [9] Using political patronage and nepotisms, political elites occupy key postions in institutions (judiciary, media, academic community, etc..) and act as a closed circle of interests.

Respondents were selected in the personal social network of the anthropologist who had already carried out ethnographic research in the Sarajevo are and with the use of the "snowball" technique.

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[8] City of Istočno Sarajevo's official web site:
http://www.istocnosarajevo.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=106&Itemid=68
[9] Blagovčanin Srđan (2009) , *Korupcija u BiH*, Friederich Ebert Stiftung, Sarajevo, Juni 2009:4

Foreign nationality of the anthropologist (Italian) was not an obstacle in carring on the survey. It was indeed facilitated by the previously acquired knowledge of local language by the anthropologist. Generally it was possible to register disponibility to talk about bad experiences with local officers and about their corruption even in public places.

The sample of respondents encompassed 100 people which were a quite equal proportion male (49%) and female (51%). All of the respondents were over 18 years old. The majority of them were in the working age (between 18 and 65 years old).

Results form survey show the high education rate in the Sarajevo area. The majority of respondents (51%) has an high education degree or studies at the University (10%). The 30 % has a midlle school degree. Only two people declared to have finished the compulsory eight year schools (primary plus middle school). No one declared to have no education.

This particular high education standard can be explained by socialist governement investment in public education considered the marking feature of a urban working class employed in modern state companies (*preduzeće*) or insitutions and marked by a higher standard of living if compared to rural inhabitants. Furthermore, higher education rate is also supported by the post-war increasing number of public and private universities in the Sarajevo area.[10]

In this survey data regarding respondents' employment condition hihlighted a prevalence of employees in the public sector (35%) today costituted almost entirely by a huge number of public administration offices. The number of people whose income depends on the public budget is increased by retired people. Athough only 7 respondents in our survey were retired, in BiH this category is over represented if compared with employed people.[11] Furthermore part of retired people were still in the working age but entitled to pension as military disabled or as relatives of dead soldiers.

Among survey respondents 34 people were employed in the private sector but the majority of them were self-employed in their small buisness (grocers, photographers, drivers, cooks). 15% were employed in private sector with occupation that require expertise. Only two of them represented the local entrepreneurial class and generally directed small scale businness. The majority were employed in foreign firms or organizations as program manager or with other clerk functions.

Transition to the market economy, was followed by privatization of the wide public productive system. Privatization often implied corruption, deindustrialization and unemployment of the pre-war workers that very often became redundant and got fired by the new managment.[12]

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[10] *University of Istočno Sarajevo* (public); *Iternacionalni Universitet u Sarajevu* (private), *International BURCH University* (private), *Sarajevo School of Science and Technology* (private).
[11] http://www.seebiz.eu/u-bih-izjednacen-broj-zaposlenih-i-broj-penzionera/ar-55446/
[12] Following the February street protests that started from the industrialized areas of the country, members of Account asked the Bosnian politicians to revise process of privatization with the partecipation of NGOs and trade unions. See:

The Unemployed respondents in our survey were the14% . Half of the unemployed were comprised in the age range of 25-45 years old. Some of them did not openly declared to be unemployed but answered pointing out their education level that usually was an university degree that did not allow them to enter the labour market. The unemployed in the higher age ranges were also high qualified but differently from the younger ones lost their jobs after the economic crisis (35-45 years old) or because the last war (55-65) and were anable to re-enter the labor market. We also registered cases of respondents with high qualifications but helding positions for which no expertise is required as was the case of one young woman of 32 years old who completed her master study in Sociology but worked as merchant in a furniture shop.

Table 1.   Basic Characteristics of Survey Respondents

Gender	n.
MALE	49
FEMALE	51
Age	
15-25	16
25-35	25
35-45	23
45-55	21
55-65	8
65-	7
Education level	
Primary	0
Middle school	2
High school	30
College	51
Technical	17
None	0
Occupation	**%**
Employed in the public sector	35
Employed in the private sector	34
Retired	7
Student	10
Unemployed	14
Occupations that require expertise	47
White collars employee in the private sector	15
Self -employed-occupations that do not require expertise	14
Location: Sarajevo area (BiH)	
Sarajevo	55
Eastern Sarajevo (Istočno Sarajevo)	45

3. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

This section is made up of a set of 4 questions aimed at visualizing respondent indication of important insitutions for the public good; identification of public and private insititutions; trust in institutions; bad and good experience with institutions and motivation for choice.

3.1 Important Institutions

The repondents answered to the follwing questions:

"Which of the following institutions are **important** for the wellbeing of your community?"
Options given to respondents were: Not important =1; Fairly Important=2; Very Important=3

The question assumes a common understanding of concepts of "community" that on the contrary revealed perplexities and subjective interpretation. Some of the respondents included in the segment of highly educated, expressed incertitute over the meaning of the definition "your community" and objected that this can be attached several meanings in BiH (religious, ethnic, urban, national, neghbouring community).
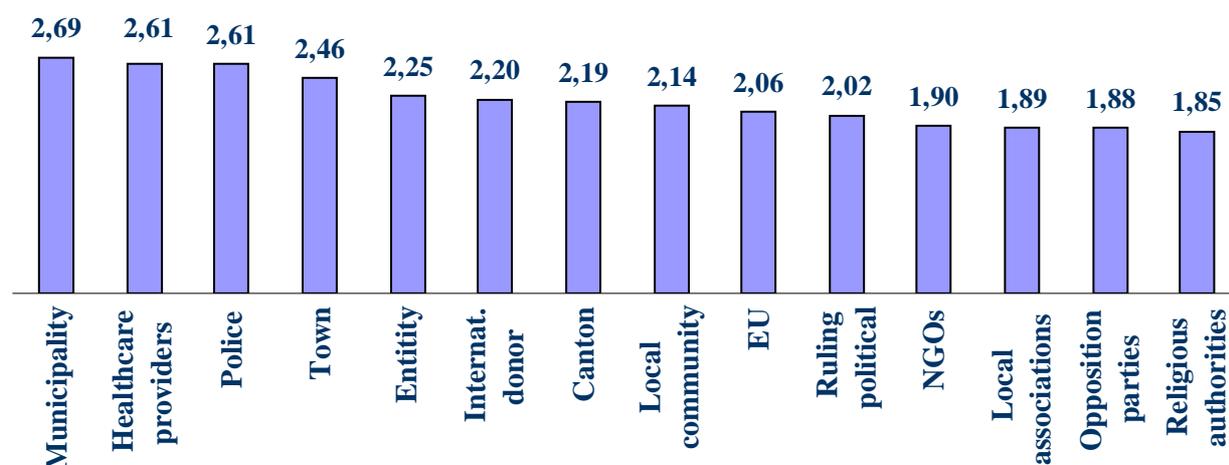
The complex and fragmented institutional architecture assigns to insitutions different functions and power on different administrative sectors and ethnic delimited territories. For this reason the administrative extension and socio-cultural identity of the community appeared to part of the respondents an essential element in order to evaluate the importance of the insitutions for the public wellbeing. In BiH State insitutions are responsible for Foreign policy and trade, customs and monetary politics, immigration policies, international communications facilities, Interentity cooperation in terms of transportation, air traffic control.[13] Entity and Cantons (in FbiH) are responsible for all the other administrative sectors in their territories which are governed through Municipalities and Local communities (*Mjesna Zajednica*).

Notwithstanding these preliminary considerations, answers to the survey demostrated a general understanding of the term "community" as a ethnically and religious neutral small-scale territorial community where the Municipality is considered the most important insitutions for assuring the public good. The latter in fact, deserved the higher avarage evaluation (2,69). Police and healthcare providers follow with 2,61 and highlight the importance of giving an adequate response to concrete problems that mark everydaylife of the small local community. Insitutions which are centres of powers at higher level are considered less important and religious authority are considered absolutely the less important (1,85).

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[13] Costitution of BiH: http://www.ccbh.ba/public/down/USTAV_BOSNE_I_HERCEGOVINE_engl.pdf

Graphic 1. Important Institutions

2,69 2,61 2,61 2,46 2,25 2,20 2,19 2,14 2,06 2,02 1,90 1,89 1,88 1,85

| Municipality | Healthcare providers | Police | Town | Entity | Internat. donor | Canton | Local community | EU | Ruling political | NGOs | Local associations | Opposition parties | Religious authorities |

Among foreign insitutions International donors and organizations get an higher evaluation (2,20) than EU (2,06). Non governative organizations were considered sligtly more important than local cultural associations. In the extra space given for alternative answers, 5 respondents particularly stressed the importance of education and cultural institutions for the wellbeing of the community and 3 persons indicated judges and magistrates.

Verbal comments to the question in some cases revealed radical criticism to the assumptions that underpinned the questions. One of the respondent (male, 38 years old) simply considered our question too idealistic because in BiH insitutions do not work for the common good but are moved by more nepotistic and personalistic interests.

Another repondent considered that the importance of insitutions is linked in BiH to the political or personal relations they have with to the ruling party:

"All the institutions as fairly important. Always there is an in-between option. The basic thing is who is on the governing position. Here all the institutions are important if they are connected with the ruling party. Institutions have influence only when is in question their possibility to dispose of an amount of money. They will have money only if they are partners, lovers or members of the ruling party. In this case the party will help. In different cases it will not" (Respondent n.33, male 50 years old).

Another respondent (female, 39 years old) supported this position by quoting some concrete examples from her community that underlined problems deriving from the system that she defined of **"partitical corruption"** (*partijska korupcija*) because "it acts at the lower levels of insitutional life". She explained that in her community economic development is blocked by the fight between the Party that rules the Municipal Council and the ruling party in the Town Government which is the same party who governs the Entity Government. Even if the two parties in questions share the same ethnonationalist ideology, clashes of interests arouse around people to put in key insitutional

places. She also explained that she had been working for a public firm founded and financed by the Town govenment and its ruling Party. After a couple of years, the firm had serious financial problems and the employees did not get their salaries for months. During the electoral campaign she decided to personally address the leader of the Entity government and president of the antagonist party but this resulted to be an unseccesful strategy. After this experience she concluded:

> "Here it is not a problem to talk even to the President of the Entity. I personally talked to him face to face during the electoral campaign. He promised that he would solve our situation but he didn't! The real problem is that our firm was not founded by his party. That's why he did not want to pay our debts".
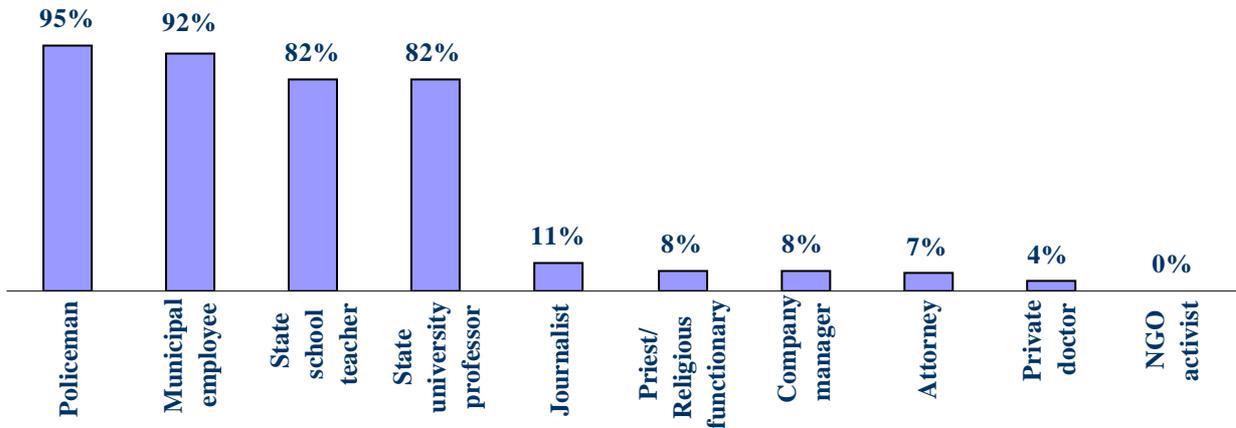
3.2 Identification of public officers

The second questions invited the respondent to mark categories that could be considered public officers.

Results clearly shows that people had no hesitation in acknowledging officers who has public functions. Notwithstanding this, for some jobs like "journalist", "attorney" or "company manager" we got specifications like "it depends if they are employed in Sate or private institutions or companies". During socialism, in fact, the public sector controlled the entreprise and media sectors that have been today highly but not totally privatized. Religious functionaries have also been indicated by a low percentage (8%) of respondents as well as private doctors (4%). Those two categories have been included on the logic that they carry out a public function. Public functions is here intended in its meaning of "doing somenthing for the public good". In this sense the category of people who work for the public good do not always coincide with people working for public institutions. Following this logic, one of the respondent pointed out that in Municipality only people who have an University degree (competences) can be considered public officers. The others are put there by the party and do not act for the common good (respondent n.63). Similar position was shared by an architect working with a permanent technical position in one of the Sarajevo area municipality. She pointed out the difference between professional and political role in public institutions, talking about the frequent querrels she has with her head of office that had been choosen by the ruling party and had no expertise in the field of urbanism. She told us:

> "My head of office has a degree in economy and very often want to sell portion of urban space to the investors on the reason that she wants to earn money for the Municipality. On the contrary I am aware that I have to organize the public space in the interests of citizens. When the ruling party will change and she will be substituted by a new head of office decided by another ruling party, I will have to deal with citizens complaints".

Graphic 2. Public officers

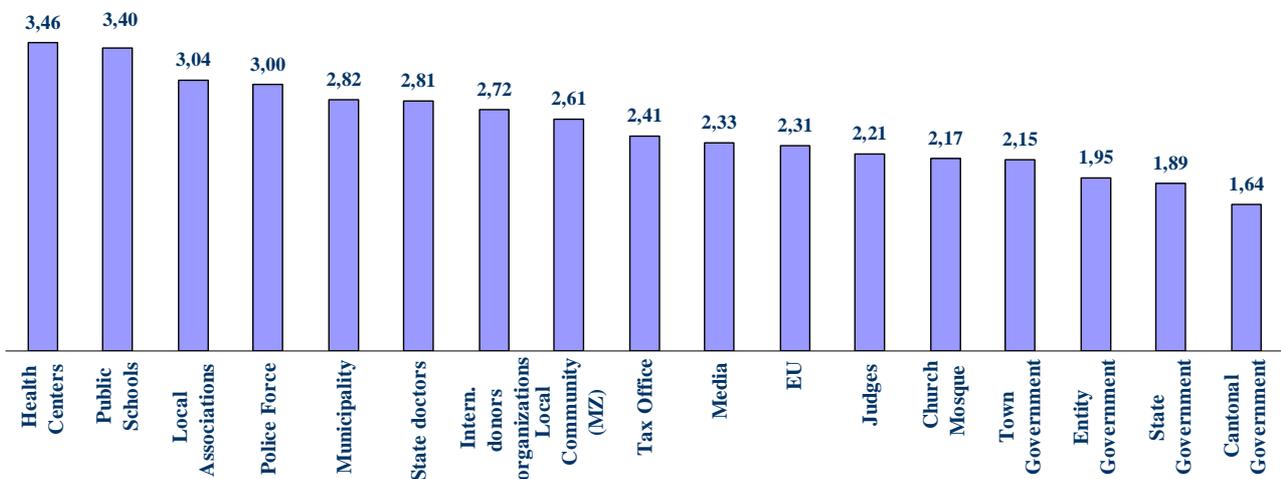| Policeman	Municipal employee	State school teacher	State university professor	Journalist	Priest/ Religious functionary	Company manager	Attorney	Private doctor	NGO activist
95%	92%	82%	82%	11%	8%	8%	7%	4%	0%

3.3 Trust in institutions

The respondent were asked the following question:

"How much do you **trust** the following institutions (from 1: lowest, to 5: highest trust)"

Graphic 3. Trust in Institutions

Health Centers	Public Schools	Local Associations	Police Force	Municipality	State doctors	Intern. donors organizations	Local Community (MZ)	Tax Office	Media	EU	Judges	Church Mosque	Town Government	Entity Government	State Government	Cantonal Government
3,46	3,40	3,04	3,00	2,82	2,81	2,72	2,61	2,41	2,33	2,31	2,21	2,17	2,15	1,95	1,89	1,64

As Davide Torsello illustrated trust dynamics are complex and can be constructed on both subjective and objective level (Torsello D. 2003:13). Furthermore he points out that trust melt together different variables like peoples' personal experiences, interests, moral values and emotions (Torsello D. 2003:14)[14].

The product of this complex dynamics, brought our respondent to place their higher degree of trust in the Private Health Centres with an everage mark of 3,46. Explainations of their answers was

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[14] Torsello D. (2003), *Trust, Property and Social Change in a Southern Slovakian Village*, Münster, Lit Verlag

supported by considerations linked to the quality of the service deemed higher than that offered by public insitutions. Health centers are perceived as depoliticized, which seems a warranty of professionality and kindness of the employed staff.

One of the respondent narrating the experience of her daughter first control after her birth, confessed that she had great expectations about the event which were disappointed by the treatment she get in the public hospitals. Doctor was neither cheerful nor careful with the baby. During the visit, that lasted a few minutes, he even used a very cold stethoscope that made the baby cry. After that she decided to go to a private health centre where, notwithstanding the high sum she had to pay, she was very satisfied by the service. Health centres are also able to offer a better service very quickly so that they are choosen by respondents who have to deal with serious health problems and/or simply have not time to go though the long lasting procedure required by the public health system. Furthermore, health centres are very often the solution to some restriction imposed by the Law on Healthcare service in the two Entities.[15]

In BiH attempts to nationalize public services led to an health insurance system that guarantee citizens the right to access cheaper public healthcare and low cost medication only in the territory of the Entity of residence. As confirmed by respondents, regardless of their degree of satisfaction with the local healthcare system, they could not go to the hospital or buy medication in public health centres located in neighbouring places or in places on the state territory which belong to the other Entity.

Although deserves the higher level of trust, private healthcare centres are not economically accessible to low-income categories of citizens which turn to the State doctors which got a quite high level of trust (2.81). Their good evaluation depends on a media of bed and good experiences the respondents had wih doctors in their lifetime. Furthemore, as one of the respondent highlighted, trust in doctors does not always go together with trust in the Bosnian healthcare system that is deemed responsible for the frequent disservices and scarce motivation of the staff.

A completely opposite discourse has been made for Public schools which are trusted at an avarage level of 3,40. In the education field, the public sector seem to offer more guarantees of a better service than private schools and universities whose service standards are considered arbitrary and not under the controll of state education public agencies. Local associations follow with an avarage mark of 3,04 considered unpoliticized and hardworking to solve some social problems and to protects the weak categories of citizens. Police is trusted with an avarage mark of 3,00 often motivated by policemens efficiency in protecting citizens from public disorders and petty criminality present in different neighborhoods of the surveyed area. Municipality also deserves a

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[15] Federation *Law on Health Insurance* (Federation BiH Official Gazette no. 30/97); *Law on Health Insurance* (Republika Srpska Official Gazette no. 18/99).

high level of trust (2,82) which is placed as a result of a frequent interaction and very often personal knowledge of employees. The same can be said for the Local community (2,61) while institutions at an higher level of the administrative architecture were placed by respondents at the bottom of their trust ranking. Town (2,15), Entity (1,95), State government (1,89), Cantonal government (1,64). Lack of frequent interaction with these instiutions tasked with specific functions, their instability caused by party clashes and frequent cases of corruption have been used by respondents to justify a low level of trust. Trust in International donors and organizations is placed at an avarage rate of 2,72 while EU is trusted at a lower level (2,31). This result anyway seems to be the effect of a contrasting evaluations. EU is looked on by many of the respondents because of the powerful political role it plays in BiH and of the pressure it makes on the local governments. One of the respondent alluded to a secret agreement between local corrupted politicians and EU functionaries at detriment of the citizens. He declared: "Every time EU makes some reforms, the consequences are felt on the income of the retired people or of the working class". Other (fewer) respondents, on the contrary, placed in the EU their higher degree of trust. EU is in these cases considered the only possibility to change the politics of the untrustworthy local governments.

3.4 Experience with institutions

The following question has been asked in order to measure the experience with the insitutions:

"With which of the following institutions have you or members of your family recently encountered cases of **good service** or of **bad service**?"

As general remark it should pointed out that the concept of good and bad services vary among respondents. Furthermore, the good service not always is intended as the service provided in accordance with the law. In one extreme case, for example, the respondant evaluted the service of public healthcare providers as good with the motivations that they are willing to falsify bill of health to let people stay home from work.

Furthermore, as the graphic demonstrates, percentage of good/bad services received should be compared to the frequency with whom people turn to the listed institutions to solve their everyday problems.

The graphic shows numerous cases (marked with N/A) in which respondents avoided to answer basically because they did not have any experience about asking service to that insitution. Reasons for this are both of structural and practical order.

When the services given by the Canton are in question, the lack of evaluations by some respondent resident in Eastern Sarajevo is motivated by the absense of the Cantons in their Entity's territory that presents a different administrative structure with respect to Fbih.

More generally is it possible to observe that the very stratified administrative structure led people dealing with insitutions that are placed at higher level only if they cannot avoid it. People prefer to ask and get the needed service at the lower level that is the Municipality (only 13% had no experience with it) also because, as they explained, procedures to get a service from institutions at the Entity, Canton, State level imply more bureaucracy and last longer.

With reference the these specific insitutions perceived as higly politicized, some respondents highlighted that service are not asked because of a lack of trust determined by poor quality of the service received in the past or by insitutions unwillingness to provide services to people who have not personal knowledge of functionaries or do not dispose of sum of money to pay the functionary. Particularly people working as small scale entrepreneurs in private sector expressed the concept that is not worthwile to refer to insitutions because representative of the insitutions show disinterest for the citizens needs and everyday problems.

One of the respondent, owner of a small restaurant in Sarajevo, affirmed: "I do not ask for anything, I do not expect anything from them because even if I turned to them I won't get anything. So that I do not want to be disappointed. I work and I do not rely on anybody" (n. 52, female, 48 years old).

A similar concept have been expressed by the owner of a photo shop in Sarajevo. The owner of a fast food in Easter Sarajevo, told us:

"You can write my name and surname or, if you want, I will sign my declaration. I never get anything from the Municipality. I have to thank only my father who funded this shop. I have been to the Municipality only once to ask for a permission to widen my shop. They told me they I will get it but after one year my request is still there and I got no answer!".

In some cases however, the reason for complaining highlight a quite deceptive concept of "service" that overlaps with that of "help" (*pomoć*) that is theoretically underpinned by concept of humanity and with more personal treatment and discretionality with respect to service of public insitutions that should be given according to the rule of law and under the priciple of an equal treatment for all the citizens. From answers of this kind emerges the need to explore the variable concept of service also in relations to the respondents' perception of citizens rights in institutions that has probably been influenced by shifts through socialist and humanitarian experience of war.

It should be also observed that, the request of "help" insted of a "service" could be more comprehesible if directed towards institutions like Local associations, International donors organizations and Religious authorities that, anyway, are not so much addressed by the respondents. 46% of them had no experience of bad or good services from the Local associations and Church/Mosque; 48% from the International donors organizations. The reasons mentioned by respondents are of different kind. They though these insitutions "have no material resources"; "

are politicized or corrupted"; "work for personal interests at the same extent of the public insitutions".

For insitutions like judges, police forces or tax offices the lack of experience had been explained by the exceptionality of life cases in which people need to address to them.

The more frequent cases of good services seem to be experienced with the Public healthcare providers (49%) who were appreciated by participants for their constant effort or humanity in providing services in general practicioners offices or in public hospitals.

Notwithstanding this, a quite high number of respondents (37%) declared to have experienced bad service. Reasons for this are corruption, bribes, scarce quality of the service explained in terms of lack of kindness, professionality or knowledge and long waiting to get the service. One of the respondent denounced a case in which the doctor prescribed the wrong medicines.

Graphic 4. Experience with institutions
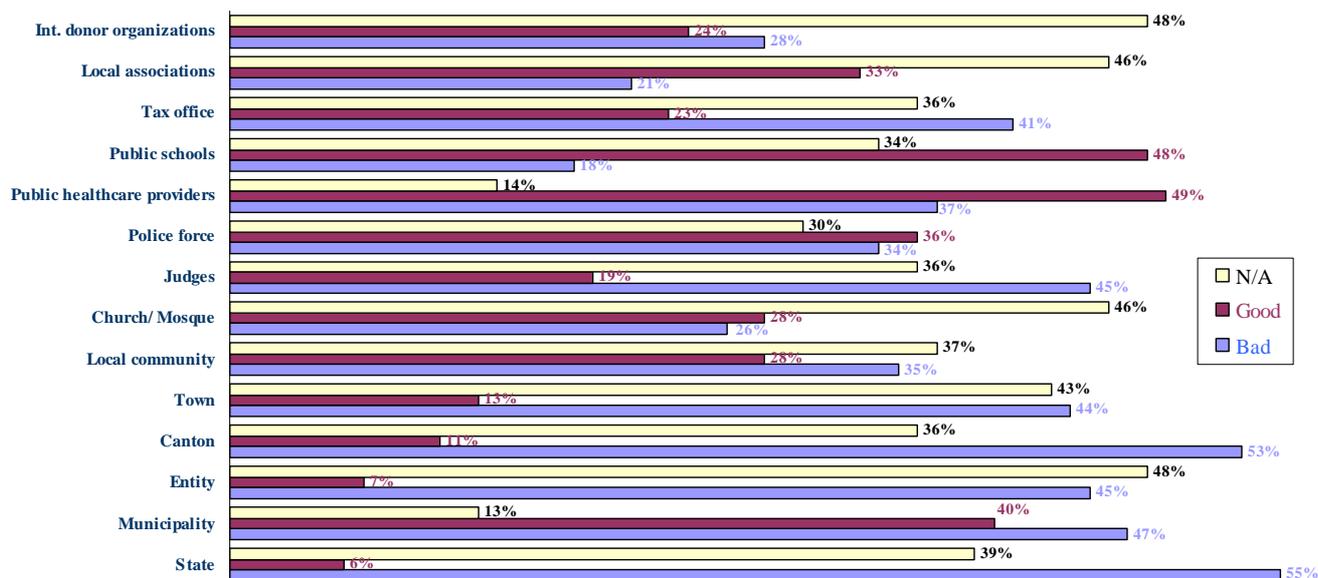
Also for the Muncipality we registered a high numer of satisfied people (40%) but a higher number of disappointment (47%) due to the incompetence of employees or long lasting burocratic procedures. Public schools (48%) were also praised by the major part of the respondent for the good service they offer and their efforts notwithstanding their scarce resources. Only the 18% declared to be dissatisfied.

The referred experiences with State institutions are marked by an evident gap between the few good services (8%) and the considerably high number of bad services (55%). Disappointment by respondent have been motivated by corruption, disinterests for citizens, instability of the

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institution and inefficiency of the employed people and as one respondent put it "formalism instead of substance" that stand for long-lasting beaurocratic procedure.

Ultimately it should be remarked that in all the mentioned reasons for satisfation or dissatisfaction with the services provided by the institutions, the respondents did not reported to discrimination on the bases of citizens ethnic identity. Only in one case (respondent 23), the bad service received by Canton has been motivated with the statement "They hate Serbs".
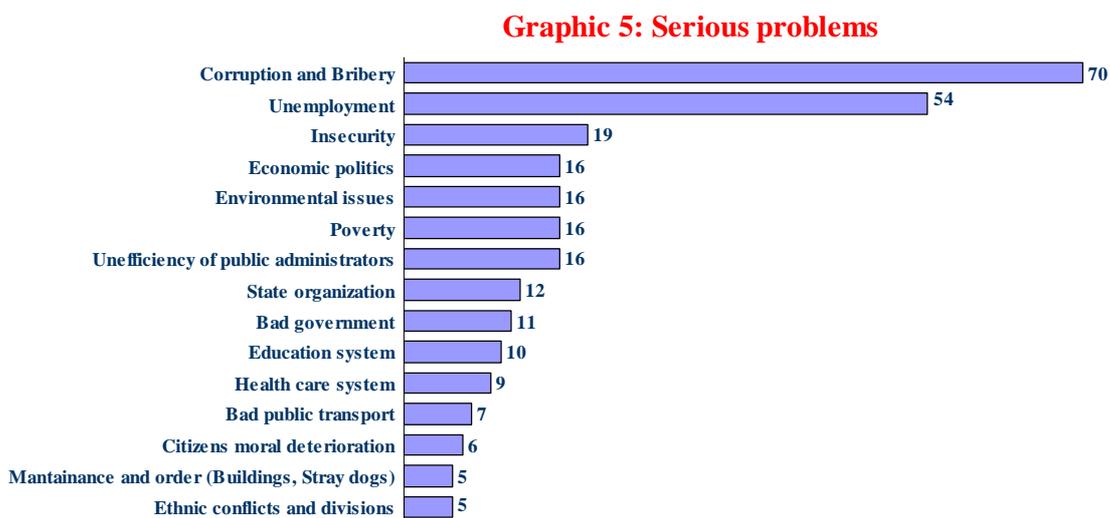
4.LOCAL ISSUES

This section of the survey asked respondents to identify main problems in their community and to explore available and preferred resolutions. Efficiency of institutions to resolve the felt problems but also people perception of the efficency of the resolutions procedures made available by the insitutions.

4.1 Serious probems in community

To this puropse participants in the survey where first asked:

"What in your view are the most serious **problems** in your community? List at least three starting from the most important".

Graphic below shows the number of times the problem has been mentioned by respondents regardless of the order in which they mentioned it.

Graphic 5: Serious problems

Problem	Count
Corruption and Bribery	70
Unemployment	54
Insecurity	19
Economic politics	16
Environmental issues	16
Poverty	16
Unefficiency of public administrators	16
State organization	12
Bad government	11
Education system	10
Health care system	9
Bad public transport	7
Citizens moral deterioration	6
Mantainance and order (Buildings, Stray dogs)	5
Ethnic conflicts and divisions	5

As the graphic above shows Corruption in public insitutions in its different forms of bribery or nepotism has been mentioned by 70 respondents over 100.

However, it is worth to point out that Unemployment has been indicated as first (and then more serious) problem by the 32% of the respondents while Corruption has been indicated by the 24%.

As regarding the problem of Unemplyment, not many specification were given. One respondent just expressed concerns for unemplyoment caused by the high number of employee in the public insitutions that leave no room for the turn-over. Another participant lamented particularly the unemployment of the more educated segment of the population.

When we come to corruption, the complaints regard different dynamics and violations of the law in different political and economic sectors. Participants to the survey mentioned bribery in the healthcare sector as in the construction one. They denounced the habits "of giving and keeping bribes (*mito*)" an lamented the uncapability of the law to protect citizens from illegal request of money. Respondent n. 39 referred about a more concrete case regarding the Sarajevo water supply Company that "extort money to people (*reketira*) who ask for certifications". Corruption of police forces was also denounced in one case. Respondent n.36 mentioned corruption entailed by employment of people along political lines. In other cases nepotism was mentioned with reference to the employment system. Furthermore, in several cases corruption was intended with the word "Thieves" or "Theft" to which somebody added "in the institutions" or one other specified with the expression "misuse of public money". "Political parties occupy everything" according to one respondent. "They are irresponsible" for a participant in the survey who made reference to the uncontrolled way in which politicians borrow money from the International Monetary Fund with high costs for citizens. The uncontrolled public expense was also mentioned as well as the lack of transparency in the administrative procedures and the poor rule of law in BiH.

Other categories of problems can also be linked to corruption like "the Unefficiencies of public administration" where according to respondents procedures are too slow and the employed people, hired along political or nepotistic lines, have not the adequate knowledge and expertise.

The Bad economic policy has been another of the mentioned problems in the concrete form of the lack of a economic development plan and a poor managment of the privatization issue. The blind sale of public entreprise have been often entranched with cases of corruption.

Unsecurity denounced by 19 respondents have been linked to the presence of criminals and the poor protection of people and their properties.

Environamental issues is a problem for 16 respondents one of which talked about "ecologic crisis" in Sarajevo. Principal mentioned problems were waste, dirtiness of public spaces, and the uncontrolled and progressive erosion of green spaces in the urban area to build up malls funded by foreign investors.

16 people also mentioned poverty intended strictly as lack of cash money (*bezparica*) or by a bad living standard caused by unemployment and lack of social warranites for the vulnerable categories.

The State organization is a problem for 12 people who believe that the governing structure do not facilitate cohordinations among institutions and causes tardiness of interventions. The election of the head of government by politics was another reason of concern.

The bad goverment has been quoted by 11 peoples one of which considered the social distance between citizens and representatives of institutions: "They do not know us. They do not have the clear picture of society". Laziness, delinquency and government instability were also mentioned.

The bad Institutional performance in the education and in the health care system was considered a problem by respectively 10 and 9 people due to lack of investments in these sectors and the presence of private universities.

Infrastructures and quality of the urban public transport were indicated by 7 people while problems like building mantainance and stray dogs were mentioned by only 5 people. 6 respondents referred to problems of moral deterioration of citizens, lack of education, lack of trust in insitutions and in other fellow citizens.

Only 5 people mentioned as a problem the presence of ethnic conflicts and divisions. All the respondent listed it as third order problem that was presented in 4 cases as an obstacle to the community well being and institutions efficiency. In one single case "ethnic and religious hate" has been deemed a problem as it is a cause for individual discrimination.

4.2 Ability to obtain service from institutions relying exlusively on own means

This question was meant to explore the possibility of citizens to get service from institutions relying exclusively on procedure provided by the law.

"With which of the aforementioned institutions do you feel that you are not able to settle a matter/obtain a service with **your own resources**?"

High percentage of respondent left the space blank for some insitutions due to the specific request of the answer to mark only cases in which people were unable to obtain the desired service on their own. Blank spaces however cannot be interpreted automatically as "possibility to obtain". Several respondents in fact commented that they had no experience in turning to the listed insitutions for reasons already mentioned in paragraph 3.4.

Graphic 6. Unability to obtain the required service
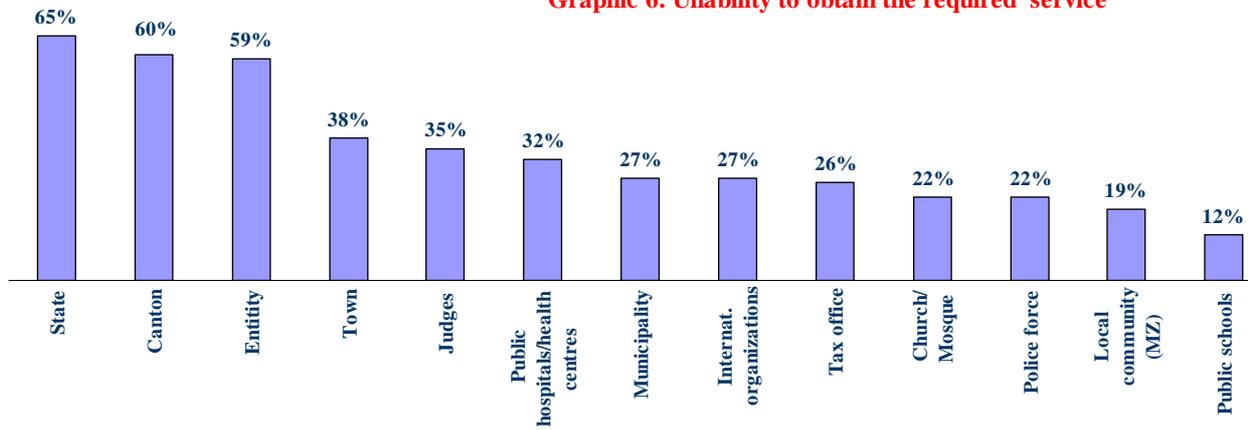
Graphic demonstrates that respondents were more frequently unable to obtain the required service with their own resources by insitutions placed at higher level of administrative hierachy (State 65%, Canton 60%, Entity 58% and Town 38%). Surprisingly Judges, who should assure the rule of law, follow (35%) and are placed in a worst positions than the Public hospitals (32%). Municipality, International organizations (27%) and Tax office (26%) are presented as quite problematic. At a lower extent is not possible to get the service with legal procedure from Church/Mosques (22%), Police forces (22%) and the Local community - MZ (19%). Public schools (12%) and Local associations (11%) are considered the less problematic.

Answer of the impossility to get service with their own resources were frequently followed by accounts of a very developed bribery system that affect all the insitutions.

One of the respondent also suggested that by "own resources" in BiH it should be intended "money". He stated: "If we intend by 'one own means' money and you have it, than you can obtain whatever you want. Nowadays this has become normal here but it should not be like this" (respondent n.49, male 52 years old).

Another respondent commented on this question:

"It is impossible today to get even the humble jobs if you do not know someone and if you do not go to the general practicioners office with the white enveloppe [with money] they will book your medical examination by specialists after a lot of time". (Respondent n.44, female, 49 years old)

We were also referred that in BiH:

"You have to buy everything and if you do not have money, then you get nothing. My daughter works as a nurse in an hospital and to get a permanent position she should pay someone." (respondent n.55, female, 64 years old).

What is interesting in some comments is that moral condemnation of bribery did not entailed reference the principle of integrity and transparency that should rule the public sector. Condemnation was rather grounded on the the fact that in the bribery system, the access of key

resources like job or healthcare are linked to the availability of cash money which is indeed a scarce resource for many of the interwiees.

In some cases paying a bribe is also considered an investment when important things or persons are in question. In a country like BiH where unemployment represents one of the biggest problem, to get a stable job in the public institution is considered a great deal and a way to have stable income and living standars in a very instable context. One of the respondent referred of a case of friend who decided to invest 5000 KM (2500 EUR) to pay a bribe in order to get her son employed in the Post Office. The woman explained that the invested money will be repaid in a few months because her son will earn 800 KM monthly and an additional sum for meals.

Another respondent of 38 years old unemployed and in search of a job, informed me that for posts in public insitutions it even exist an informal price list. He also considered that investing money for getting job is very risky because you give money under the counter and it happens that the bribe taker took the money and did not give the job back.

A young woman of 37 years old, confessed that when her father had seriuos health problems, she "obviously" looked for the best surgeon in the hospital and immediately paid him the requested amount of money. As she made clear: "I knew it was illegal but when important things like lives of the loved ones are in danger you do not think about the law".

When cash money is lacking, knowing the right persons can be an alternative strategy. Respondent n. 55 referred that she asked for the help of his brother's friend who is a doctor, in order to find a place in the overcrowded public hospital for her mother who was affected by a cancer.

A young unemployed participant to the survey contested that the use of connections could be labelled as corruption when the search of a job is in question.
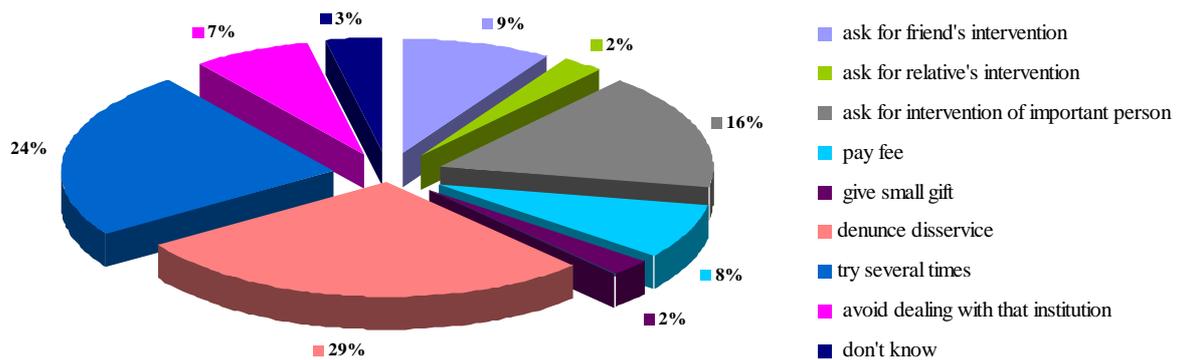
> "I think that the use of connections is corruption when it is in question the use of private resources (money, bribe) but when is job in question then we are not speaking of corruption. I would use connections to make my CV examined by employers as they always select only four or five which belong to persons they know".

4.3 Preferred problems resolution techniques

This question is aimed to identify people's preferred problems resolution techniques when dealing with insitutions. To this scope the repondent is requested to figure out the resolution technique he/she would advice a friend who faces disservice. The posed question is the following:

"How would you advice a person who can't successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem? (more than one answer possible)"

Graphic 7. Preferred problems resolution techniques

Legend:
- ask for friend's intervention
- ask for relative's intervention
- ask for intervention of important person
- pay fee
- give small gift
- denunce disservice
- try several times
- avoid dealing with that institution
- don't know

How the graphic shows, preferred resolution techniques indicated by respondents have been "Denounce disservice" (59%) and "Try several times (51%)". In a global reading of the survey results, thos two options seem to be preferred as they are deemed solution consistent wiht the legal procedure and then considered "the right thing to do". However, these two solutions were ticked together with other strategies which, on the contrary, represent informal or illegal way out of the problem.

One of the respondent clarify this apparent contradiction by establishing a cronological oder among the solution he would advice/ or put in place in the suggested situation. He would thus try first the legal ones and then the remaining ones. The graphic suggest that among the alternative solutions the preferred ones would have been those in which the social resources are mobilized. Options like "Ask for friend's intervention"; "Ask for a relative's intervention"; "Ask for the intervention of an important person" were all together indicated by the 59% of the respondents. The mobilization of economic resources suggested by the option "Give a small gift" or "Pay a fee" are an option chosen by a lower percentage of repondents. Respectively 5% and 17%. These are probably considered the last options and/or reserved to solve problems of great or vital importance, due to moral condemnation reserved to people who ask money to offer public services and given the general bad economic condition of people (see paragraph 4.2).

"Avoid dealing with that insitutions" is the choice of disillusioned people which do not even turn to institutions to solve their problems (see paragraph 3.4).

It is useful to point out that the preferred resolution technique of "Denounce disservice" seems to be less feasible on the bases of answers to the question 15 of the survey in which respondents where asked:

" Do you feel you have the means to express dissatisfaction when the services provided by your local practitioner/service provider are not appropriate? If yes, what are they?"

70% of the respondents considered they do not have means to express dissatisfaction. Only 30 % think that means are available. Among the quoted means they dispose of we find: presenting a written complaint to national competent authorities; pursue the functionary, denounce the disservice to professional associations and chambers, Ombudsman or NGOs for the safeguard of human rights which provide legal advisory service, alert media. Notwithstanding, even people who think that some means exist, are not sure about the efficacy of these. Frequently a difference is made between the means existing according to the law and the the means available in practice. One of the respondet affrmed "In practice I do not dispose of efficient way to express dissatisfaction though in every pubic institutions a complain procedure exists" (respondent n.100). Similarly another one, affirmed that the existing means are difficult to put in practice. Respondent n. 70 wh listed some of the possible way to express dissatisfaction, specified that they are only attempts that normally do not have any results. Reasons for that massive lack of trust in the rule of law, become evident in the motivations added by some participants even though not required by the survey. Some of their statements are: "I tried before but now I realized that I do not have any"; "I do not have any because employed cousins and uncles in the governing structure"; "I feel I do not have means for the fight against this apparatus". In the perceived general situation of inexistence of means provided by the law to claim their rights, some of the respondents seem to rely on their own possibilities. They thus listed as the only means available to them: verbal face to face protests (respondent n. 95), boicotting the service (respondent n.63), fights (respondent n.93), influent relatives (respondent n. 80). One respondent ironically even answered "God" (respondent n.92).

It is also worth to point out that in the specific conjuncture of the survey marked by streets protests and fights during which institutional buildings like Bosnian Presidency buildings have been set in fire, media and activists of the anticorruption organizations in BiH have explained the phenomenon with the principle "people have no other ways to express dissatisfacion about insitutions". A similar thought was also shared by the president of Account in the interview we carried out in Sarajevo[16].

Similar positions had to be evaluated also on the base of the widespread bad judgment citizens give of public officials work as apppear from answers to question:

"In your experience how true is the following statement: "public sector officials who provide services to my community do not act the way they should"?

For the 53% of the respondents this statement is "often true" and for the 16% it is "always true". 23% thinks it is "occasionally true" while only for the 6% of respondent this is "rarely true" and for the 2% is "not true".

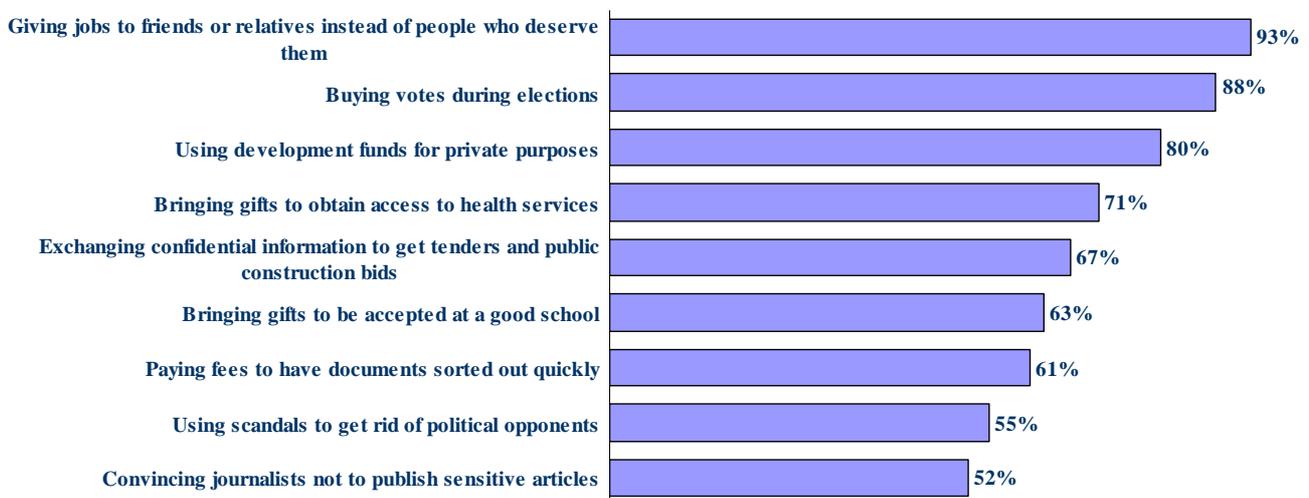[16] Interview carried out 10th of April 2014

These statemennts are also consistent with accuses of irresponsability, inefficiency, lack of knowledge and expertise, lack of transparency to insitutions representatives seen in the paragraph 4.1

4.4 Practices against good society

In this section aimed at identifying issues that are perceived as a problem for the local community's common good, the respondent have been asked the following question:

"In general which of the following practices are, in your opinion, spoiling the good development of a society?"

Graphic 8. Practices against good society

Practice	Percentage
Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them	93%
Buying votes during elections	88%
Using development funds for private purposes	80%
Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services	71%
Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids	67%
Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school	63%
Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly	61%
Using scandals to get rid of political opponents	55%
Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles	52%

It should be generally observed that a wide moral condemnations of the listed practices have been shown. 41 respondents over 100 selected indiscriminately all the options with the comment "All these are spoiling the good development of society".

Notwithstanding this, the higher number of respondents indicated as practices against the good society, practices whose promoters and main beneficiaries are usually politicians at detriment of citizens who do not have insitutional functions. In this logic, "Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them" was indicated by the 93% of the respondents which considered unemplyoment as a main problem of their community (see paragraph 4.1). "Buying votes during elections" (88%) and "Using development funds for private purposes" (80%) belong also to the polticial practices that had been at the centre of numerous political scandals (*aferi*) and are thus well known to the Bosnian public opinion. These practices were often summed up under the category of corruption ("*korupcija*") that was imbued in moral condemnations and was often referred to others', usually political elites' abuse of power. The respondents made clear this concept with

particular reference to the option "Using development funds for private purposes" that represented a particularly sensitive issue after wartime flow of humanitarian aids and post-war recovery funds.

In particular two of the respondents (n.66 and n.65) agreed on the fact that the last war had a sort of socio-economic levelling function as people lost everything and were equally poor. Both of them wonder how some people and particularly politicians could become so rich "all at once" ("*preko noci*"). Explanation they suggested is linked to illicit appropriation of funds for economic development of the country at the detriment of population by people with political function who have been labelled "*profiteri*" (profiteers) or "*sanaderi*" in explicit reference to the Croatian former Prime Minister Ivo Sanader convited for war profiteering and corruption.[17]

This position was also common to a spokenpersons of protesters that agreed to be interwieed during while demonstrations in front of the Bih Presidency building. He stated:

> " Since 20 years, this State has been carrying on criminal operations at detriment of its people. This population has received donations and credits and all the possible forms of aids for 20 years. It has been estimated that 80 billions dolars entered BiH. Two commissions were formed by the government but when they arrived to count donations for 40 billions dollars, they stopped because of fear. This State is corrupted and they [politicians] made reforms of the Justice, prosecutors and police and today they govern together. In this state all is done to rob this country. They [politicians] have dual citizenships and all of them have their secret properties".[18]

Other practices listed in the survey like "Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles" and "Using scandals to get rid of political opponents" (respectively 52% and 55%) were chosen by a lower number of respondents because they are less known by the wider public opinion and thus perceived as less frequent.

For all the others listed options a quite high disapproval was registered though in lower percentage in respect to the before mentioned practices openly labelled as "corruption"

"Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services", "Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school", "Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly", "Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids" belong to a category of practices in which citizens who do not have public functions can be the promoters and from which they could decide to benefit.

4.5 Institutions important for improving well-being

In this section respondents have been aslo asked:

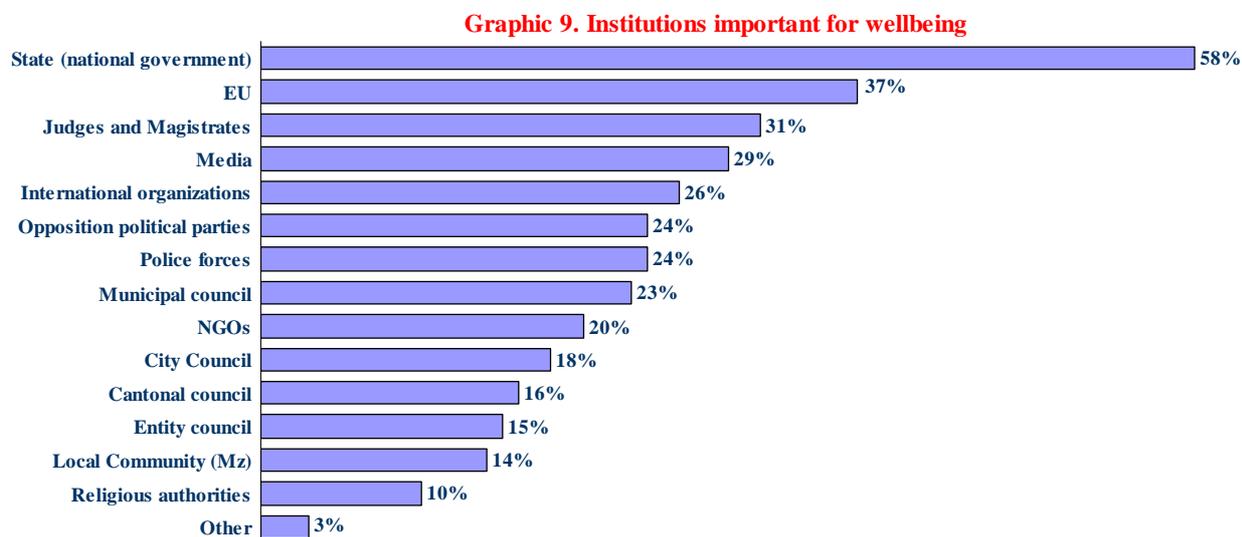"Who do you think could help to improve the general wellbeing of your community?"

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[17] For more details: Ivo Sanader convicted of corruption,
http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26533990
[18] Interview with a spokenperson of the protesters carried out on 21 April 2014 in fron of the BiH Presidency building.

Answers to this question shown by the graphic demonstrate that domestic subjects are considered crucial in improving well being. Indeed, respondents which opted for them prevail on respondents which opted for foreign or international subjects.

Graphic 9. Institutions important for wellbeing

Institution	Percentage
State (national government)	58%
EU	37%
Judges and Magistrates	31%
Media	29%
International organizations	26%
Opposition political parties	24%
Police forces	24%
Municipal council	23%
NGOs	20%
City Council	18%
Cantonal council	16%
Entity council	15%
Local Community (Mz)	14%
Religious authorities	10%
Other	3%

Furthermore 63% of participants in the survey considers that "Citizens themselves" can be the promoters of the improvement. Street protests and the organization of plenum of citizens in different towns of BiH expressed a deep dissatisfaction about the work of governing bodies at different administrative level and culminated with a project of political insitutional reform of the existing insitutions.[19] Although none of the respondents in this survey took part to the protests, sometimes considered a too extreme reaction, their answers prove that they also belive in a political initiative that should be taken out of any existing institutional body.

Dissatisaction for the status quo appeared also by the 58% of the respondents who indicated the State as an instiution capable to improve wellbeing. Here an explicit reference has been made by respondents to the need of reforming the Dayton constitution and to assign the responsibility of the key administrative sectors to the State and not to the Entities. The constitutional structure designed at Dayton is seen as a cause of fragmentation, political conflictuality and unefficiency of the State in a country with a prevalence of ethno-nationalist parties (see also paragraph 4.2). In some of the respondents' opinion, the role of the State as last and superpartes level of governing structure, distant from the micro-local context could assure more equal and efficient policies.

The preference for EU that has been given by 37% of the respondents should be read in the perspective of the reform of domestic politic and institutions. Some of them though about EU as as

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[19] Informal informative web page about the activities of BiH plenums:
http://bhplenum.info/

external actor able to make pressure on local politicians and transform the Constitution into a more European statute. Others considered that EU can provide investments or funds to speed up change.

5. SOCIAL NORMS

5.1 Importance of customs

The participants of the survey have been asked to evaluate the importance of some customs below on the scale

"Very Important"; "Fairly Important"; "Not Important"

Graphic n.10. Important customs
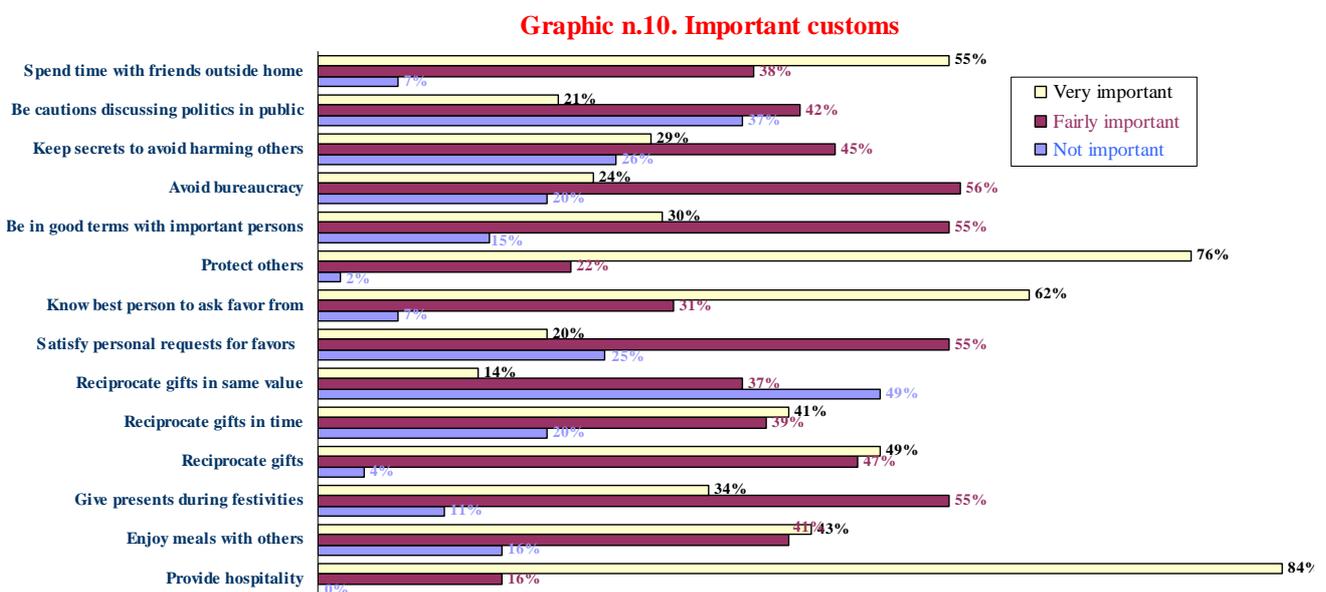
Results from the survey highlight a grat importance given to customs that allow people to establish social relations, manage and mantain them in everydaylife.

"Provide hospitality" is very important for the 84% of the respondents, "Protect others" for the 76%. Spend time with friends outside home is very important for the 55% of respondents and fairly important for the 38%. Enjoy meals with others is very important for 43% of the respondents and fairly important for the 41%.

Sometimes the manteinance of social relations is deemed more important than assuring the rule of law: 29% of participants considered "very important" and 56% fairly important to "Keep secret to avoid harming others even if this is against the law". Justification provided by some of the respondents was that the law not always assure the common good that should be pursued by citizens themselves showing solidarity and providing help one another as experience in wartime.

Importance given to customs that allow to create social networks, does not automatically imply that these are deliberatetely used to be gain a priviledged access to public resources.

In a society like the BiH marked by political and material instability, social relations can have a relevant protective function as demostrated by the words of a young respondent enhancing the importance of neighbourhoods:

> " My neighbour brought me some pie she made and I though that even if I will never be able to find a job, at least I will not starve untill I have my neighbours. When you have neighbours you always have someone to turn to even if in Sarajevo the custom to be in good terms with your neighbours has gone lost a little bit" (repondent n.100)

In addition, as remarked by Cornelia Sorabji, neighbourhood in post-war Sarajevo can also provide for different kinds of support as it function as a frutiful context to establish connections (*veze*) more "useful" for example to find a job or to have different kinds of priviledged access to public resources.[20]

It is not surprising then that "be in good terms with important persons" had been evaluated by the 30% of the respondents as very important and by the 56% as fairly important.

If corruption ("*korupcija*") deserved moral condamnations as it was often referred to elites, concept of "connections" "relations" ("*štele* " or "*veze*") was used by respondents in a more nuanced way when referred to their own experience with institutions. It was neither imbued with moral condamnation nor by completely legitimation. The widespred attitued was justification.

As some of the respondent explained the priviledged access to public resources is just aimed to getting in a short time some services they are entitled to, but that they should wait for longer if would follow the legal procedure. Slowness of services lamented by the participants (see paragraph 4.1) is not seen as a guarantee procedure but as the result of complicated bureaucratic proceduers resulting from the fragmented administrative structure of the country or by poor resources of public structures which are not able to provide the service to all those who require it.

Similar observations can be referred also to custom of "gift giving". As shown by the graphic this custom is deemed of great importance in social relations dynamics. Reciprocate gifts was considered Very important for the 49% of the respondents, To reciprocate in time was very important for the 41% of the respondents while, because of economic hardships, to reciprocate in the same value was considered very important only by the 14% and not important for the 49%. Giving presents during festivities was also very important for the 34% and fairly important for the 55%.

When gift giving to public officers is in question, some of the respondents made clear that giving gift for public services should not deserve the same condamnation as money giving. Furthermore, as respondent n. 64 argued, a gift given after the service has been provided is to be intended as a sign

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[20] Sorabji C. (2008), "Bosnian Neighbourhoods revisited: Tolerance, Commitment and Komšiluk in Sarajevo", Pine, F., & Pina-Cabral, (eds.), *On the margins of religion*. New York: Berghahn Books.

gratitude and praise for the good job of the officier. In similar cases gift giving follows the providing of services. The latter is usully charged by an emotional value as it relieves the person from a situation he/she perceives as a problem (working, health, economic). Conversely in some contexts a consolidated practice of gift giving make people feel obliged to make a gift in order to make sure they will get a good treatment in case they would need the service by the same officiers in the future. Some of the women participating in the survey explained that they were used to ask their husband to buy a gift to the doctor who assisted them in giving birth to their children. Although they did not approved this custom they justify it this a consolidated one and "It should be done because in the future you never know...".

5.2 Statement: gift giving related to better treatment/service

Similar contradictory statements were registered when the participants were openly asked:

"Do you agree with the following statement: "gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service next time they visit the clinic/office?"

Graphic n.11. Importance of gift giving
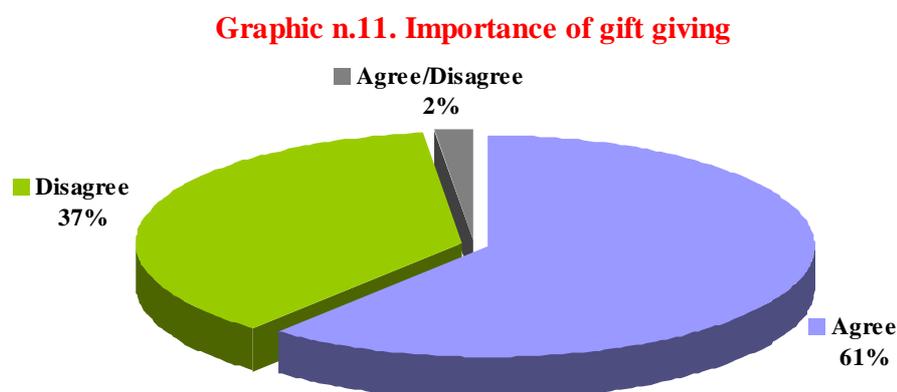
As the graphic shows, people who agreed to this statement are the majority (61%). Notwithstanding this, it should be pointed out that many "agree" do not reflect the moral approval by the respondent. Many of them expressed high criticism about the staus quo. 7 respondents added to their answer the word "unfortunately" ("*nažalos*t"). One of them stated "beause doctors are corrupted". A few of the participants specified that their answer expressed just what was true in the society they lived in ("In BiH, yes"). Simingly people who disagreed expressed the same concept by highlighting a gap between their moral values and those who inform the general practice. We than got answers like: "Unfortunately this is the practice", "I do not agree but in the practice it is like that", "I retain that it is neither ethically correct nor relevant, but in the practice is unfortunetely important".

The ambivalence between personal values and practices is also mirrowed by two respondents who added an in-between personalized answer ("agree/disagree") to this question.

Solutions to this dilemma suggested by some of the answers are twofold pessimis/resignation conveyed by expressions like "I do not agree but it is like that in practice and will be like this forever!" ; or conformist one like those expressed by one respondent's sentence "I agree because it does not exist an alternative way".

5.3 Statement: personal relations affect quality of service

Similar observations can be moved about the answers given to the question:

"Do you agree with the following statement: "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"

Graphic n.12 Importance of personal relations
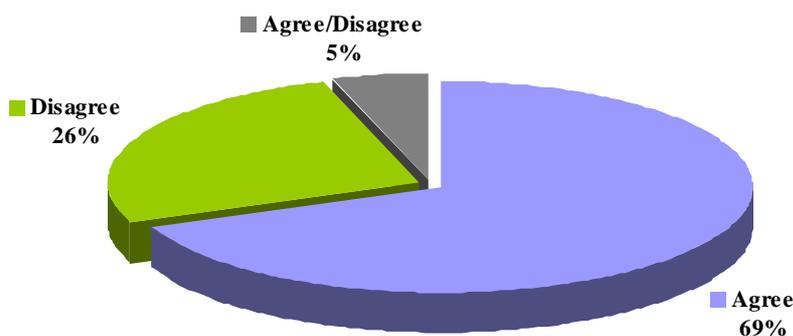
Here an higher number of respondents agreed with the sentence (69%) and 5% give the in-between answer Agree/Disagree. As for the previous question we find both people who agreed and disagreed which anyway expressed their moral condemnation for this value.

Among people who agreed one affirmed: "It is quite always like that. I made my compliments to those who are exceptions". Among those who agreed it should be noticed that a higher number of people considered also that the sentence is true only partially and that it is variable according to the examined cases. Among those who disagreed: "I disagree but there are enough of these examples" "I disagree but in the practice is like that".

## 5.4 Agreement/Disagreement with different scenarios

With the aim of understanding the social values that shape decisions and choices in everyday situations, five different scenarios were given to respondents which have been asked:

"The following stories have happened in other countries in the world. Please indicate if you would in principle agree with the behaviour of the characters (1. strongly disagree to 6. strongly agree)"

Below we report answers in percentage for each scenario. As it is possible to observe no neat approval or disapproval was expressed for the behaviour of each of the protagonists, even if for each scenario is it possible to visualize a main general trend.

Story A

"In the district council a new person has been appointed recently. This person is very hard-working and loves to do things transparently. He would never accept any fee or gift from citizens to sort out problems. For doing this he avoids people and lives a lonely life all by himself, not to be put under pressure for demands of favors. For this, local people avoid him".
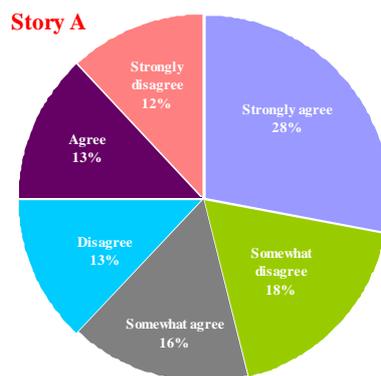
The main general trend for this scenario is Agreement (57%) even if the there is not a big gap with the disagreement "bloc" (43%). The main objection registered regarded the "lonly life" the character should live. Many of the respondents considered this unbearable

Story B

"Mario is a very resourceful person, he does what he can to help his friends and relatives and he knows a lot of people. When he needs a favor he always finds someone to turn to because he has always helped out. Unfortunately, last week he has been jailed for fraud and corruption. Most of the people who know him, however, still esteem and care for him".

Story B
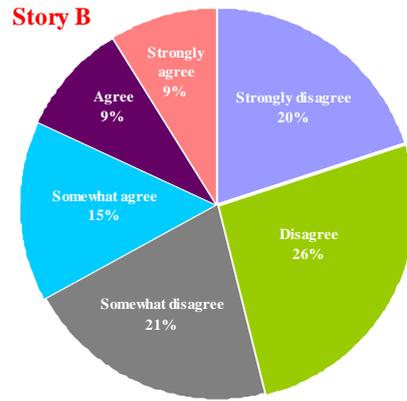
In this scenario the Disagreement (67%) decisively prevailed on the Agreement (33%). Comments of respondents highlighted that legal condamnation shown by imprisonment and words like "fraud" and "corruption" were enough to inspire their moral blame for the character unethical behaviour. The nuanced form of agreement were supported by moral justification that "he is always helping people so he is not a bad person". The first part of the scenario description made some participants deduce that Mario is somehow acting "for" and not "against" the common good.

Story C

"A family has plans to build a new house in another village. They have asked what the official procedure is and are ready to follow it carefully. After some months everything turns difficult and they realize they would not get ahead of it without paying some fee to the right person. They decide to leave the village and look for another where things are going according to the rules".


Story C
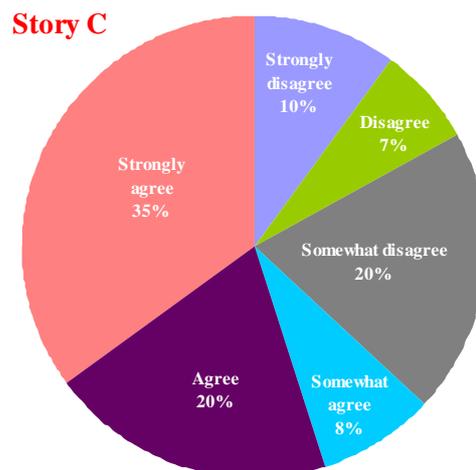
Also for this scenario we registered the prevalence of Agreement (63%) and the higher rate of decisive Agreement: 35% of respondents were for the "Strong Agree" option. It is useful to remind

that post-war reconstruction, the scenario described in the survey has been experienced by many of the dispossesed and displaced inhabitants of BiH. It is not surprising then, that the majority of participants in the survey considered building a house a right for the family and consequently approved its refuse to pay the fee, request that they found higly immoral. The 33% of respondent which expressed disagreement moved considerations linked to the relevance and necessity to building a house in a specific place.

Story D

" Peter has a small business in preparing sandwiches which he sells to local schools. Last year he was successful to win a tender and gained a contract in one local primary school. Unfortunately the school head has changed this year and his contract has expired. Before applying for the next tender he looks for an influential person who will introduce him the new school head.
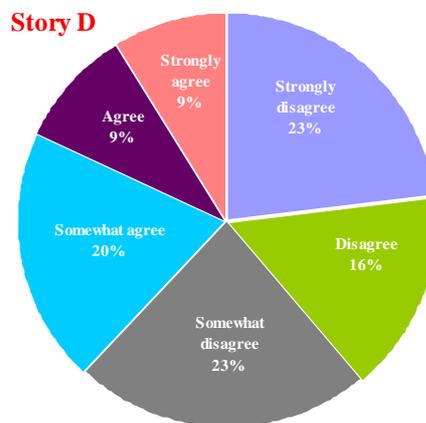
In this scenario Disagreement prevails (63%), even if a mild disagreement and strong disagreement have been expressed in the same percentage (23%). Comments by one of the respondents who opted for the disagreement may help in claryfing this. She considers that a similar scenario was going to happen to his son in law and to him she would have advised to go the new school head. Even if the character behaviour does not match what she deems to be the exemplar beahviour, in the case of the her son in law, the respondent knew how much he needed to find a job in BiH. She pointed out that wit no job he would be forced to go abroad and leave his wife and the their little baby.

Story E

"Lucy runs a local Ngo for human rights protection. She is very active and well established in the region, but she also has a lot of competitors. There was a large bid by an international donor last year so she applied, being one of the most successful in that field. In the end she failed because she was not aware that some politicians wanted a share of the money to approve the projects. Next time she will secure the proper agreement with them first".

Story E
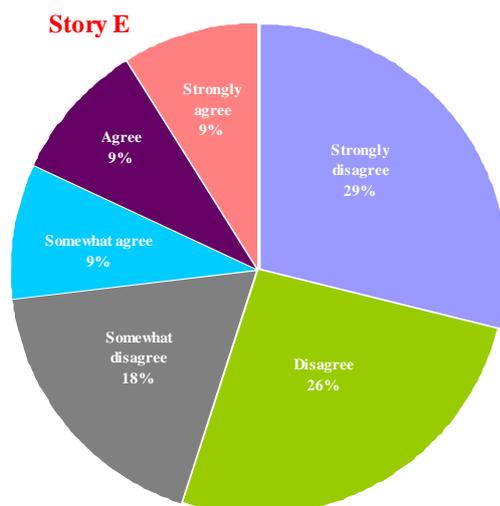
In this scenario Disagreement prevailed (70%) and we registred the higest rate of "Strong disagreement" (29%). Disagrement has been inspired by the character proclivity to bribe politicians which deserved the higher rate of distrust among the respondents. On the contrary, solidarity has been also expresses to the main character who embodied a person who is in need to work and even has the required expertise but cannot get the job because of "the system" dynamics. One of the respondent provided also a justification for the behaviour of the main character also "That Lucy was wrong but what she could do? She has to work!".
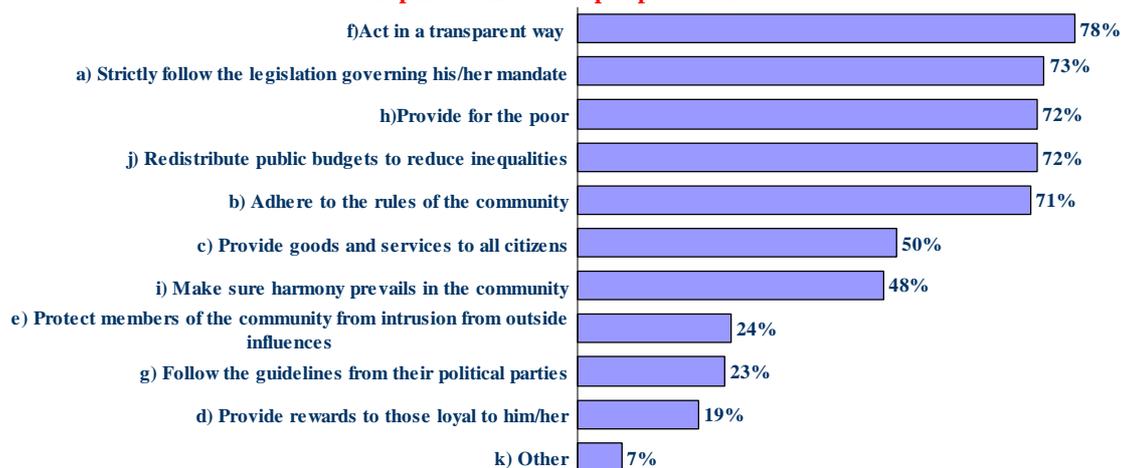
Participant observation during survey showed that is that in many cases respondents answered according to what they thought to be the exemplar behaviour. While in concrete examples concerning their own life their positions were slighlty, if not completely, different. Very often exceptions to examplar behaviour were morally justified in scenarios where the basic needs and resources are in question like job or housing.

5.5 Leadership expectations

To highlight which values were considered morally approved for a poltitical leader, the following question have been posed:

" What is a leader in your community expected to do? (check all that apply)

Graphic 13. Leadership expectations

Option	Percentage
f) Act in a transparent way	78%
a) Strictly follow the legislation governing his/her mandate	73%
h) Provide for the poor	72%
j) Redistribute public budgets to reduce inequalities	72%
b) Adhere to the rules of the community	71%
c) Provide goods and services to all citizens	50%
i) Make sure harmony prevails in the community	48%
e) Protect members of the community from intrusion from outside influences	24%
g) Follow the guidelines from their political parties	23%
d) Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her	19%
k) Other	7%

Answers to this question show that transparent behaviour is the main expectation respondents have from their leaders (78%), "following the legislation governing her/his mandate" is considered also very important (73%). "To adhere to the rules of the community" was also indicated by the 71% and "Provide for the poor" by 72%. Provide for goods and services to all citizens (50%), "Make sure harmony prevails in the community" (48%).

As the main problems indicated in section 4 of the survey coincided with corruption and unemployment, it possible to understand respondents expect for their leaders to act in order to solve those they feel as urgent common needs. They also expect from them a behaviour which is quite the contrary of that they actually have. The already mentioned gap between principle and practice, ideal and real political system has been recalled also here by 5 respondents who declared that the above mentioned exemplar behaviours are recalled by (political) leaders only during the electoral period when false promises are made to the citizens.

"Provide rewards to those loyal to him/her" (19%) and "Follow the guidelines of their political party" (23%) have been deemed less desiderable options but closer to the local reality ("*naša stvarnost*"). Some of the respondents also affirmed that they have choosen these options because they mirrow what, on the basis of experience, they "really" expect from the leaders of their community.

6. VALUES

6.1 Self identification with character from "True of myself" to "Not at all true of myself"

Participant were asked to what extent they self-identify with 10 different personalized characteristics:

"From 1 (not similar) to 6 (very similar) can you tell me how similar do you think this person is to you?"

Below we report detailed results for each character but an overall analysis shows that a high percentage (48%) of the respondents think they are autonomous and try to not ask for other people help. The other 52% expressed at different extents that they rely on others' support or help which is consistent with the importance of social resources to reach individual scopes alredy mentioned in this report.

43% considered that they respect the rules to convey order in society. 57% expressed (in different degrees) that they have also proclivity to break the rules. Comments of respondents to this answer referred to the not always overlapping legal rules and moral ones.

38% of the respondents think that tradition should be respected and 32% that the younger generations should listen the advices of the elders.

Religion is not considered particularly valuable for the respondents. Only 10% acknowledged the important element in social life. 38% of the respondents considered not acceptable of themselves practices of discrimination and exclusions of the strangers from the community.

To have an intense social life in the domestic space is true for the 23% of the respondents while 28% considers this slightly true for themselves due to the scarce material and time resources they have. Being loyal to superior or boss is not considered of fundamental importance by the participants to the survey (only 10% considered this "true of themselves"). Reticence about expressing feelings in public as not to appear egocentric is true for only the 8% of the respondents. Avoiding to show their own economic standard in public to avoid jealousy, has been considered true for the 14% of people. The majority of people considered this not true of themselves beacause their economic standard is not so good and would not inspire others' jealousy.

Character a.

"He lives his life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible".
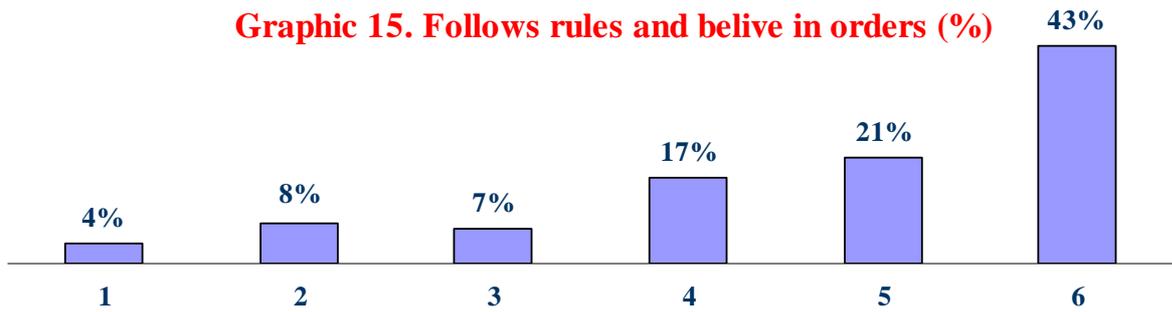
Graphic 14. Autonomous individual (%)
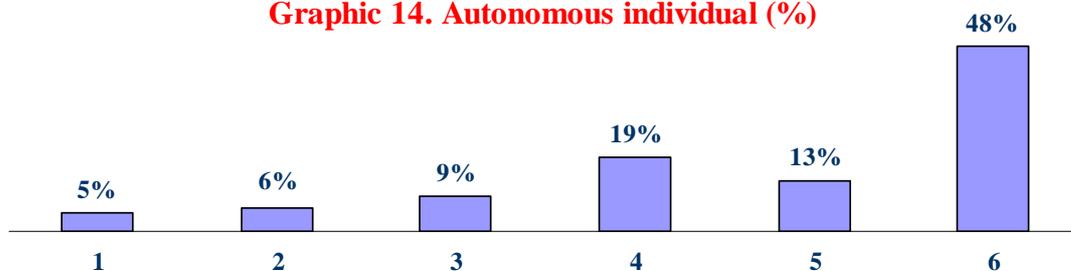
Character b.

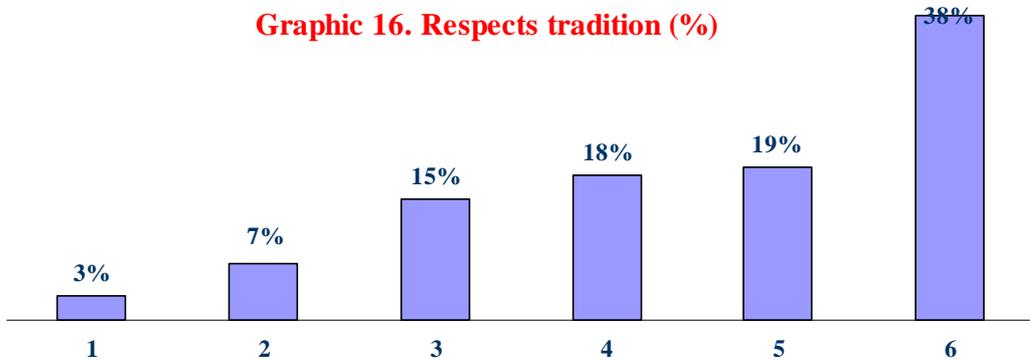He would not break the rules because rules are what make order in a society

Graphic 15. Follows rules and belive in orders (%)

4%	8%	7%	17%	21%	43%
1	2	3	4	5	6

Character c.

He thinks that traditions must be respected because they make up one person´s culture.

Graphic 16. Respects tradition (%)

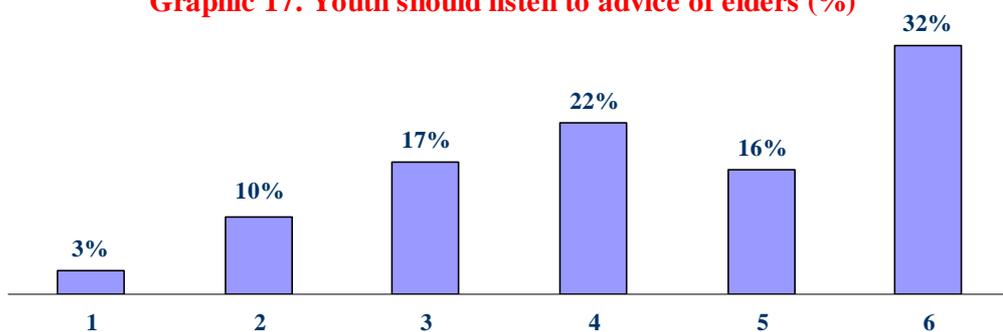|					
3%	7%	15%	18%	19%	38%
1	2	3	4	5	6

Character d.

He believes that young generations should learn more from listening to the advices from elderly people

Graphic 17. Youth should listen to advice of elders (%)

3%	10%	17%	22%	16%	32%
1	2	3	4	5	6

Character e.

He is very religious because religion helps people to be part of a community and get together regularly.

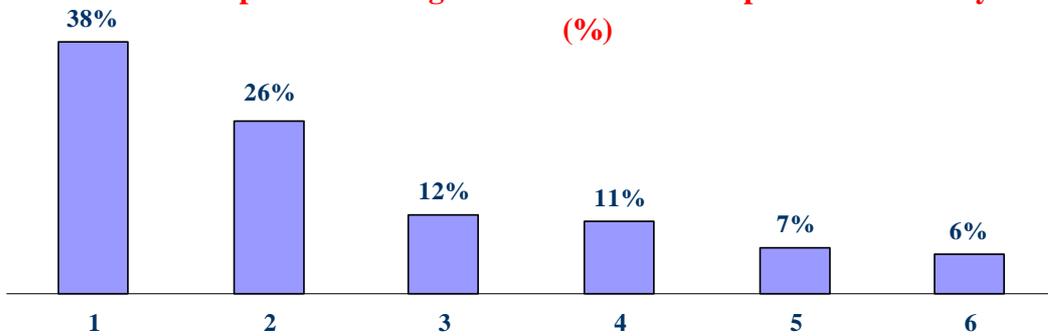**Graphic 18. Is very religious because religion brings people together in community (%)**

21% 21% 28% 7% 13% 10%

1   2   3   4   5   6
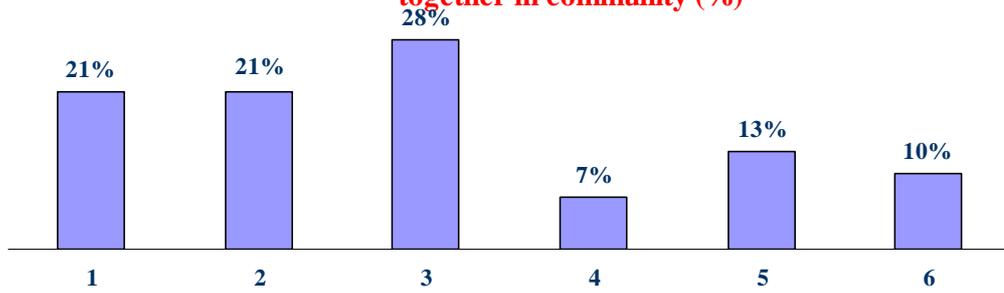
Character f.

He thinks that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so

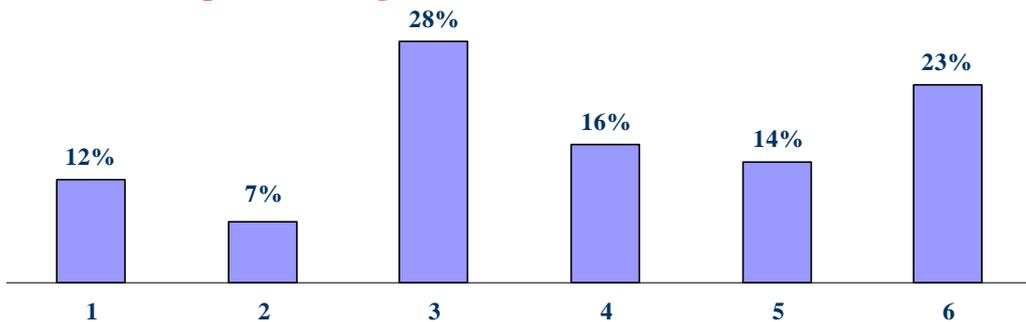**Graphic 19. Strangers should not be accepted in community (%)**

38% 26% 12% 11% 7% 6%

1   2   3   4   5   6

Character g.

His house is often visited by guests and he has an intense social life

Graphic 20. Has guests and intense social life (%)

12% 7% 28% 16% 14% 23%

1   2   3   4   5   6

Character h.

He thinks that being loyal to one's superior or boss is a very important virtue

Graphic 21. Importance of being loyal to superior or boss (%)

19% 19% 23% 17% 12% 10%
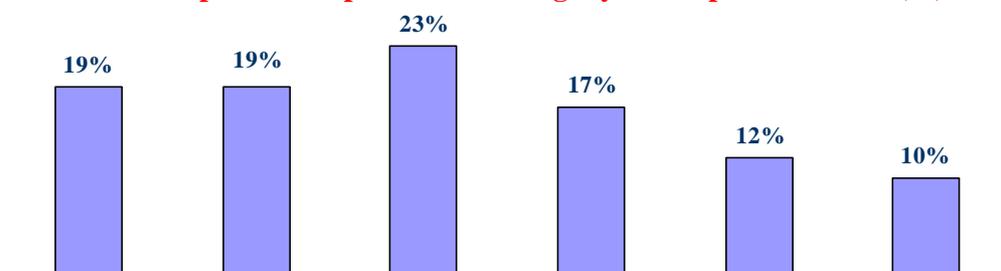
Character i.

He will try not to show his true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric

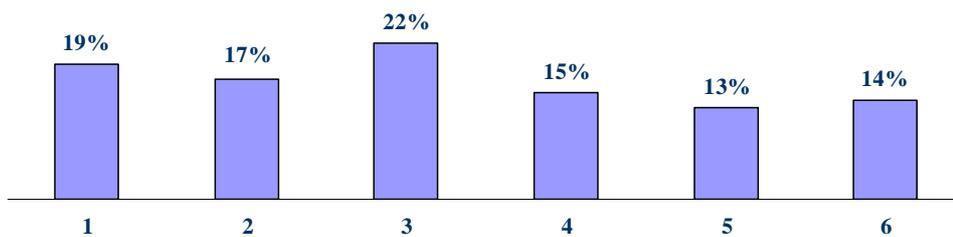**Graphic 22. Will not express feelings in public as does not wish to appear selfish or egocentric (%)**

1	2	3	4	5	6
23%	21%	28%	7%	13%	8%
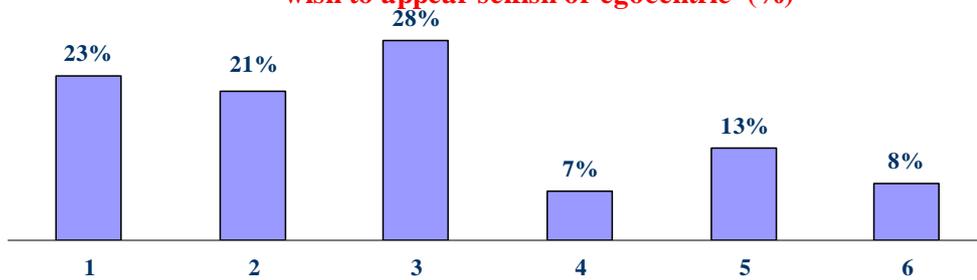
Character j.

He prefers not to show to others his economic standards of living to avoid jealousy

Graphic 23. Does not show economic standard to avoid jealousy (%)

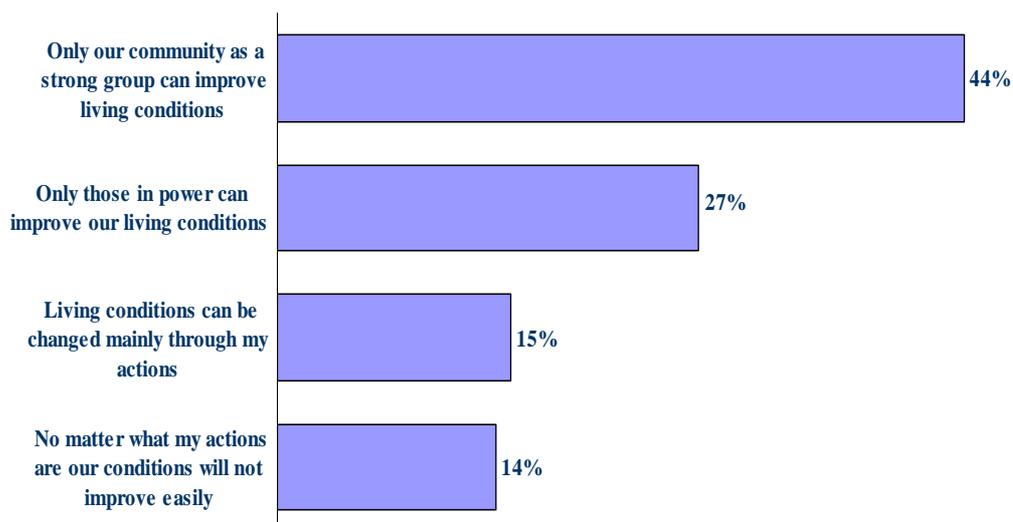| 1	2	3	4	5	6
19%	17%	22%	15%	13%	14%

6.2 Choose from the following list the statement that is most appropriate to you
The participant to the survey were asked to:

"Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you"

Graphic 24. Most appropriate statement (%)

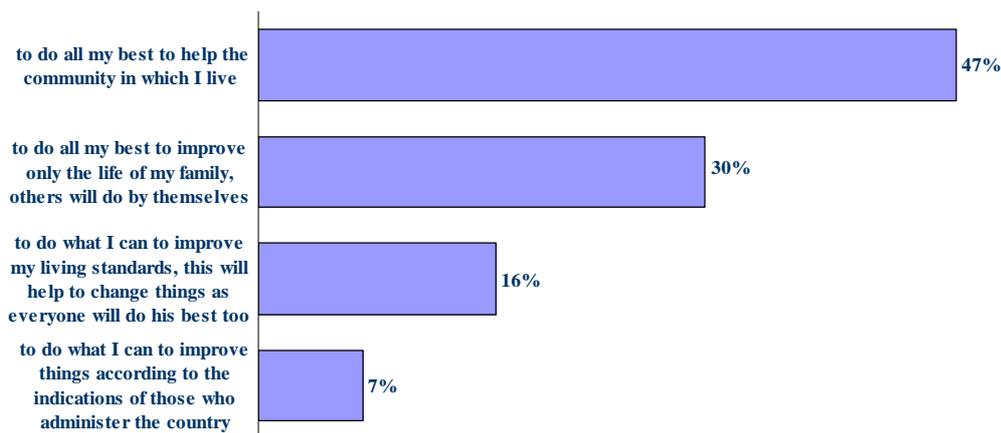|	
Only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions	44%
Only those in power can improve our living conditions	27%
Living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions	15%
No matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily	14%

As the graph shows the prevalent answers highlight quite opposite solutions for improving living conditions. The most popular one expresses self-confidence in citizens to improve living conditions. (44%) This is followed by the "only those in power can improve our living conditions" that, indeed, entail no hope for bottom-up initiatives.

6.3 Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you

"Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you"

Graphic 25. Most important statement (%)

to do all my best to help the community in which I live	47%
to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves	30%
to do what I can to improve my living standards, this will help to change things as everyone will do his best too	16%
to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of those who administer the country	7%

As the graph shows quite the half of the respondents declared to do all their best to help the community in which they live. 30% of the respondents choose as most important to them the statement "to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves" . The less popular option has been "to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of

those who administer the country" that reflects the low degree of trust respondents have in administrative institutions and in their work for the public well being (see paragraph 4.5)

Conclusion

The report is focused on corruption practices focused on Insitutional performances and social values in the cities of Sarajevo and Easten Sarajevo (*Istočno Sarajevo*). The fieldwork activity in this first part of the ethnographic reseach about corruption in BiH, consisted in a survey on this topic submitted to 100 respondents. The target group and the fieldwork area has not been delimited by ethnical principles but has taken into consideration the space (present and past) of insitutional experience of the respondents which, during the war, were in large part displaced in different neighbourhoods of the Sarajevo area.

Fieldwork activity begun in a very stimulating conjuncture of steet protests caused by high level of political corruption in the country.

The actuality of the issue make not difficult to talk with respondents about corruption in public places. Research was carried out in a very complex context for the number of subjects a (national, international, governative, non governative) and processes (war dynamic, democratization, transition, privatization, globalization etc..).

Survey and participant observation thus became an occasion to explore in depth behaviours and social values etrenched with practices of corruption in this changing context.

It should be pinted out that participant observation did no imply the direct observation of corruptive practices but the observation of behaviours and moral evaluations of customs (proper or others') that legitimate, shape or condemn corruption practices.

Although a modest amount of interviews with NGOs and other civil society organization spokenpersons have been carried out in this phase, this report focus mainly on result of survey and participant observation with people who do not have any insitutional functions. The target group was identified manly in people in the working age, though a limited amount of retired and students was included. It resulted that participants presented an high level of education even if some of them were marked by downward socio-economic mobility .

The respondents were generally asked to evaluate insitutions and the service they provided with reference to the effect on their community public good.

Answering to the question respondents made reference to a ethnically neutral community made of people living on the same territorial unit (Municipality or local community). The evaluation of institutions importance was also made on the basis of the need to solve practical everyday problems that resulted in Municipality as the most important insitution followed by police and healthcare providers.

Results of the survey also showed that respondents do not have neither experience nor trust in insitutions placed at higher level of the very fragmented BiH insitutional architecture (State, Entity, Canton, Town). The very stratified administrative structure led people dealing with insitutions that are placed at higher level only if they cannot avoid it. Furthermore, people prefer to ask and get the needed service at the lower level that is the Municipality also because procedures to get a service from institutions at the Entity, Canton, State level imply more bureaucracy and last longer.

With reference the these specific insitutions perceived as higly politicized, some respondents highlighted that service are not asked because of a lack of trust determined by poor quality of the service received in the past or by insitutions unwillingness to provide services to people who have not personal knowledge of functionaries or do not dispose of sum of money to pay the functionary.

To this regard, it emerges that the respondents perceived corruption as the most important problem in their community to which are connected a set of other burning problems (unemployment, bribes, unefficiency of insitutions, bad economic politics, ecologic crisis, etc..)

Particularly interesting resulted the explanation of a specific type of corruption defined ""partitical corruption (*partijska korupcija*) that "acts at the lower levels of insitutional life". In this kind of local corruption, political parties control insitutions and material resources of which they can dispose. Partitical corruption seems to have a transethnic dynamic and to move around the control of insitutional and scarce economic resources especially cash money. The appointment of people linked to the party in key institutions is a the bases of the fight among parties even if they represent the same ethnic or ethnonationalist group.

On the bases of these considerations, we registered a review of the identidìfication of public officers intended by the respondents in its originary menaning of "as person who works for the common good". This figure does not necessarily overlap with a person working in public institutions.

Another consequence of the low level of trust in insitutions controlled by political parties is the higher level of trust is placed in private health centres perceived as more depoliticizes and thus more efficient.

In general a very low level of trust was shown in political initiatives for change taken within the existing local insitutions. Citizens by themselves are considered the subject able to promote the common wellbeing and the other viable option is indicated in a reformed State. Here an explicit reference has been made by respondents to the need of reforming the Dayton constitution and to assign the responsibility of the key administrative sectors to the State and not to the Entities. The constitutional structure designed at Dayton has been often blamed as a cause of fragmentation, political conflictuality and unefficiency of the State in a country with a prevalence of ethno-

nationalist parties (see also paragraph 4.2). In some of the respondents' opinion, the role of the State as last and superpartes level of governing structure, distant from the micro-local context could assure more equal and efficient policies. Another of the superpartes insitutions, whose role is anyway debated, is EU.

In our survey International insititutions and donor organizations, did not deserve a consistently higher level of trust by the participants in or survey. The same can be said for the non governamental associations. Illicit appropriations of humanitarian aids and development funds by local politicians seemed to have rised doubts also about the morality and legality of some of the their international or local partners.

Survey highlighted a very neat domain of illegal and morally unacceptable pratices labelled as corruption (*korupcija*). A term that is often referred to others' actions, usually to political elites' abuse of power that is considered at the grassroots of social inequality in BiH.

Indeed, section about social norms and values showed that, i f corruption ("*korupcija*") deserved moral condamnations as it was often referred to elites, concept of "connections" "relations" ("*štele*" or "*veze*") to get priviledged access to resources or services was used by respondents in a more nuanced way and referred also to their own experience with institutions. Notwithstanding it was neither imbued with moral condamnation nor by completely legitimation. The widespred attitued was justification.

Moral justification often was provided by the gap between an exemplar (not necessarily legal) behaviour respondents are aware of, and "practice" often shaped by hardship of the socio-economic context.

Although legal means are known to respondents and also experienced, the mobilization of social capital established and mantained also by gift giving practice is often deemed a more valuable resource in resolving issues charged with emotional value or in satisfying basic needs like jobs, healthcare or housing.

 To bribe public institutions to get services or opportunitieshas been often justified on the basis of cultural concept of "necessity" or with the absence of alternatives practices. The role of money in this system of values is controversial. In situations considered particularly important, it can be used to fuel access to resources and be considered an investment for an improvment of an otherwise bad living standard. In other situation the use of money can be morally condamned because Giving money, considered a scarce resource, is then condemned as way to fuel the corruptive system and social and economic inequalities between political elite and common citizens.