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MONITORING AND EVALUATION SUPPORT ACTIVITY (MEASURE-BIH)

DIFFERENCE IN DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES OF MALE VERSUS FEMALE POLITICIANS AND VOTERS: EVIDENCE FROM BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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ABBREVIATIONS

BDBiH	Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina
BFI	Big Five Inventory
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CEC	Central Election Commission
CLASP	Credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power
CSO	Civil society organization
DNS	Democratic National Alliance
ECA	Europe and Central Asia
EOS	Executive Opinion Survey
EU	European Union
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FFM	Five Factor Model
HDZ BiH	Croat Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina
IPIP	International Personality Item Pool
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MEASURE-BiH	USAID/BiH Monitoring and Evaluation Support Activity
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
RS	Republika Srpska
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDP BiH	Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina
SDS	Serb Democratic Party
SNSD	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats
TACSO	Western Balkans and Turkey Technical Assistance for Civil Society Organizations
TWG	Technical working group
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID/BiH	United States Agency for International Development, Mission in BiH

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women have made many strides globally over the past few decades in labor force participation, education, maternal health, and politics. Nevertheless, women are still underrepresented in political office at all levels of government, from local to national. The growing focus on the severe underrepresentation of women in politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) has provided the political will necessary to test and develop programs to increase women's participation in political decision making. Evidence has already been accumulated that when elected, female officials in particular can enhance the legitimacy of local government, improve service delivery, and facilitate communication with local populations.

This study provides rich, high-quality data on development priorities and personality traits of both local politicians and voters. Combining these two sources of survey data, this study not only offers detailed information on gender differences in development priorities in the context of the 2016 local elections in BiH, but also provides empirical evidence on political gender stereotyping and gender-related voting preferences and their determinants, which contribute to the underrepresentation of women in BiH local legislative bodies. Our findings on significant political gender stereotyping among voters, combined with direct information solicited from voters who did not vote for any female politicians, build a rigorous empirical evidence base for future gender programming. Our major findings include the following:

- There are significant gender stereotypes in BiH, expressed by both women and men. These stereotypes affect voters' and politicians' behavior and undermine gender equality in political participation and likely all aspects of political, economic, social, and private life.
- Gender stereotypes are present in all categories of the voting-age population, with voters who did not vote for female candidates expressing the strongest stereotypes, followed by voters who voted for female candidates, whereas non-voters are least likely to express gender stereotypes.
- Female politicians believe more frequently than male politicians that they have no influence on the development priorities of the political party to which they belong. At the same time, women on average make up only 30% of party membership in municipal/city branches. Among voters who did not vote for female candidates, the main self-reported reason for such a decision was that they did not know anything about the female candidates.
- Both male and female politicians list business environment improvement for job creation as the highest development priority, followed by transport, agriculture and rural development, general public services, and housing. The study found that, overall, both male and female candidates view economic affairs as the top development priority, which is in line with the top priority expressed by all voting categories of citizens of both sexes.
- Whereas business environment improvement and job creation remain the most frequent development priority choice both for voters and for politicians, health, social protection, and education, are areas frequently identified by voters of both sexes (with females putting a slightly higher priority on health than males) among the top five development priorities. However, they are not among the top five most frequent choices of political candidates.
- Female politicians are more likely than male candidates to prioritize health and youth issues over others, although neither male or female candidates chose them to be among the five most frequent priorities.
- Personality traits of all female and male politicians within the five dimensions of personality (credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power) dispute gender stereotypes (which, for example, assert that female politicians lag in the power dimension).
- Although we found the same pattern of gender difference in personality traits among the general population as among the political candidates, we found significant differences between voters who supported female candidates and those who did not in personality traits for two dimensions: accountability and credibility. Voters who supported female candidates, on

average, had higher accountability and credibility traits than the respondents who did not vote for any females.

- Demographic characteristics of female politicians differ from the characteristics of their male counterparts in that women are younger and more educated. At the same time, our comprehensive analysis of factors influencing voters' voting decisions, and an examination of relationships between these factors and voting outcomes, shows that both voters and non-voters report candidates' levels of education and perceived capabilities and credibility in fulfilling their promises as the two most important factors for all voting categories. In both these factors (education level and credibility), female politicians outperform their male counterparts, according to evidence from our study.
- Only 39% of voters report that they voted for at least one female candidate in the 2016 local elections. The main demographic difference between these and those who did not vote for any women is education level, with female-voting voters having significantly higher schooling levels than the voters who did not vote for any women. Voters for female candidates are also somewhat more likely to be females themselves and are more interested in politics—i.e., follow politics more closely.

Based on these empirical findings, we have made the following recommendations for policies and interventions aiming to improve gender equality in political representation and to fight gender stereotypes in BiH:

1. *Recommendations for fighting society's gender stereotypes in general:* All policies and interventions¹ in all sectors should include gender mainstreaming as one of the key principles. Gender analyses should analyze gender norms for both men and women. Moreover, more resources should be directed toward designing specific interventions with the objective to raise awareness about gender equality and gender issues targeting both men and women. This should include specific interventions in the education sector and media interventions, to ensure that gender stereotypes are transformed in formal education and in the media to actively deconstruct and avoid gender stereotypes.
2. *Recommendations on fighting gender stereotypes related to women's electability:* Interventions working with political parties and processes should be based on a gender equality approach to both empower women and engage women and men as supporters of gender equality. A gender analysis should be recommended in all policy making and policy advocacy interventions, as well as in media and political party interventions. Work on empowering female politicians to reach out to non-voters for future votes, as non-voters express a lower level of gender stereotypes than voters.
3. *Recommendations on a legal elections framework and political parties' procedures to ensure that more women get elected through (temporary) special measures:* Given existing voters' bias (with one-half of male and one-third of female citizens surveyed in this study still agreeing that men are better political leaders than women), measures to ensure that more women get elected should be considered and advocated. These measures could include: i) ensuring women and women's issues are meaningfully represented in political party leadership to increase gender sensitivity in political parties; and increasing overall gender sensitivity of political parties, for example, by conducting gender audits within parties, developing gender action plans, and establishing gender equality forums instead of women's forums; ii) ensuring women candidates are high on the lists through a proper zebra/zipper list; iii) limiting the open aspects of candidate lists; iv) introducing reserved seats etc. As supporting measures, interventions by civil society organizations (CSOs) could advocate for gender sensitivity measures by the political parties (as outlined above) and increased media coverage of female candidates and

¹ Defined as any potential future interventions/projects/programs, including any potential donor interventions, CSO interventions, government's interventions, or interventions implemented by political parties themselves.

women's issues, while also providing gender-sensitive voter and civic education. Civil society organizations can play an important role in raising public awareness on the importance of gender equality issues and representation in decision-making bodies. In doing so, they use the media as a powerful tool. Media interventions should avoid gender stereotypes and provide gender-sensitive coverage of elections and politics in general. They should increase coverage of women politicians and women's issues, noting that training of media professionals is needed to strengthen their capacities to report on gender equality during the election campaign and during the elections.

4. *Recommendations on political parties' procedures to increase gender equality within parties:* Support interventions that promote democratization of decision making within political parties and increased gender equality within the parties. Media campaign activities for female candidates need to be increased to present to the voting public the candidates' political platforms and development priorities, as well as their political and professional/expert achievements.
5. *Recommendations on women politicians' presentation of their top development priority – economic affairs:* To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, it should be communicated to the voters that there is no gender difference in politicians' prioritization of economic affairs as the top priority. Support interventions that encourage female politicians to engage in economic affairs issues by strengthening their capacities, and enable female politicians to present their stance on economic issues as the development priority area within their parties and to the public.
6. *Recommendations on politicians' presentation of health, social protection, and education priorities:* The evidence of the difference between politicians and citizens in terms of prioritizing health, social protection, and education should be communicated to the public. Furthermore, voters should be informed that female politicians prioritize health and youth issues higher than male politicians, in order to encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections. Support interventions that encourage both male and female politicians to focus more on health, social protection, and education, given the higher priority of these areas for voters compared to politicians. Also, support interventions that enable female politicians to present their platform on health within their parties and to the public and communicate to the public that female politicians give higher priority to health issues than male politicians. As supporting measures, interventions by civil society organizations need to advocate for political parties to increase their focus on health, as an area of special concern to women, while the media should also increase coverage of this area.
7. *Recommendations on fighting gender stereotypes related to personality traits of female versus male politicians:* To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, the absence of evidence of stereotypical gender differences in personality traits relevant for political leadership, as well as the higher credibility exhibited by female politicians, should be communicated to the public. Support interventions that enable female politicians to present themselves to the voters focusing on their credibility dimension and power dimension personality traits.
8. *Recommendations on targeting potential voters based on voters' personality traits of female versus male politicians:* Support interventions that enable female politicians to present themselves to the voters by presenting their values related to accountability.
9. *Recommendations related to demographic characteristics of female versus male politicians:* To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, evidence of female politicians having more education on average, should be communicated to the public, along with evidence of female politicians, on average, having higher credibility, as already mentioned in recommendation 6. Support interventions that enable female politicians to present their

education and professional backgrounds and credentials to voters.

10. *Recommendation on targeting potential voters based on voters' demographic characteristics:* Work on empowering female politicians to reach out to higher-educated and to female voters.
11. *Recommendation on expanding evidence from this study:* To expand on the evidence of this study, fund similar research ahead of the 2018 general elections in BiH.

I. BACKGROUND

Women have made remarkable strides globally over the past few decades in labor force participation, girls' education, maternal health, and politics. Data compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) shows that the proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments increased from 11.7% in 1997 to 23.2% in 2016. However, women still face many barriers to their political participation. As of January 2017, there are only 10 women serving as heads of state and nine serving as heads of government. Globally, there are 38 states in which women account for less than 10% of parliamentarians, including four chambers with no women at all.² At the current rate of progress, political parity will not be reached until 2080, making equality in politics the highest hurdle women face globally.

Women's political empowerment and equal representation in leadership positions are essential to achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Specifically, one of the nine targets within the fifth SDG, defined as "achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls," is to ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic, and public life. There is a growing body of evidence showing that women's leadership in political decision-making processes improves those processes.³ Research also shows that women demonstrate political leadership by working across party lines through parliamentary women's caucuses—even in the most politically combative environments—and by championing issues of gender equality, such as the elimination of gender-based violence, parental leave and childcare, pensions, gender-equality laws, and electoral reform.⁴

In the Western Balkan region, the proportion of females in legislative bodies is 28%.⁵ In BiH, despite the 40% quota legislated by the Election Law for the underrepresented sex on political parties' election lists and the 40% quota legislated by the Law on Gender Equality as minimum representation in government for each sex, women's actual representation is far below this share at all government levels, as shown in Exhibit I. Although the initial introduction of a legal quota for the underrepresented sex on the political parties' candidate lists initially resulted in an increase of the share of women, women's actual political representation in BiH overall has not improved much since 2000. The increase of the quota from 33% to 40% in 2013 did not result in any improvement of women's political representation, whereas the introduction of a semi-open candidate list system in 2000 decreased the political representation of women, as it allowed voters to change the positioning of candidates within a political party candidate list with their votes.

Currently, the female proportion is 23.81% in the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, 21.43% in the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FBiH), and 14.45% in the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska (RS). In the last general elections in 2014 compared to the 2010 general election, the State and FBiH Parliaments saw a slight improvement, while the RS Parliament saw a slight decrease. Similarly, we also observed low proportions of women elected in all 10 cantons and the Brcko District (Central Election Commission, 2014)⁶.

² Inter-Parliamentary Union (2017), "Women in National Parliaments."

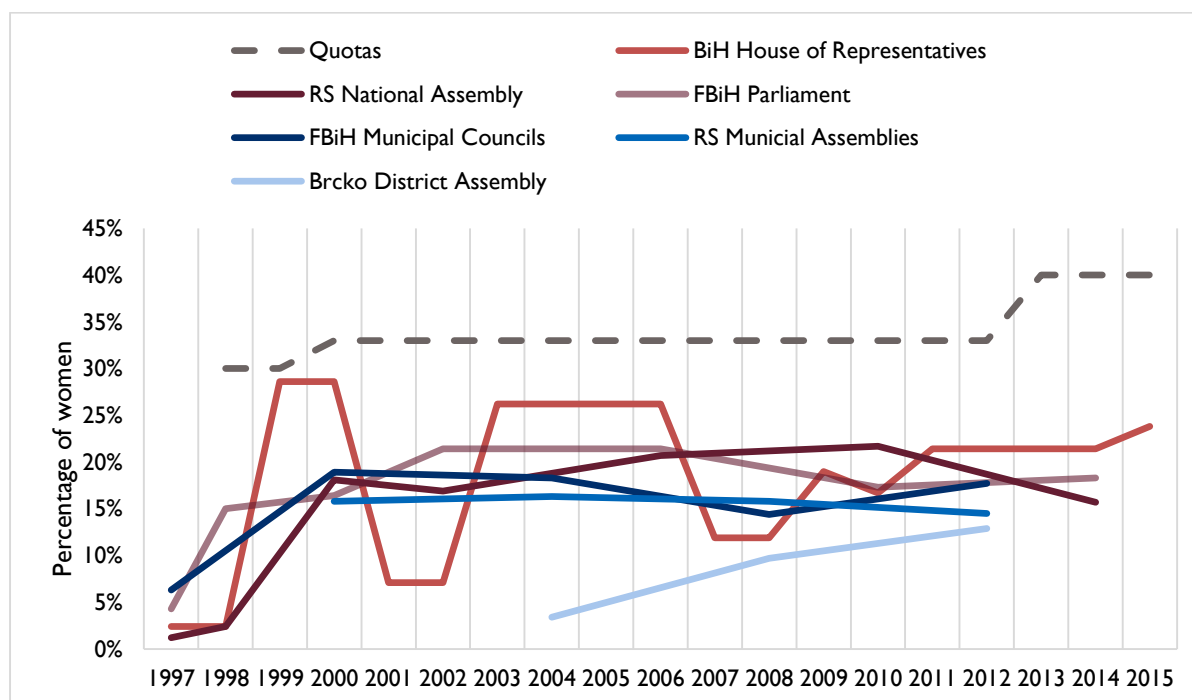
³ UN Women (2016), "In Brief: Women's Leadership and Political Participation."

⁴ Inter-Parliamentary Union (2008), "Equality in Politics: A Survey of Men and Women in Parliaments."

⁵ Inter-Parliamentary Union (2016), "PARLINE Database on National Parliaments."

⁶ Central Election Commission (2015), "Election Statistics 2002–2014."

Exhibit I. Quotas and Share of Women in the Legislative Branch in BiH, 1997-2015⁷



The executive governments also breach the 40 percent quota mandated by the Law on Gender Equality,⁸ with women's representation being below 25% (20% in the BiH Council of Ministers; 25% in the FBiH government; and 19% in the RS government). This still, however, represents a slight overall improvement compared to previous government mandates.⁹ In the judiciary branch, men and women are on approximately equal footing overall, although inequality emerges in the higher-level positions. A proportional representation exists in most of the lower-level courts and prosecutor offices among judicial officials and judges/prosecutors, where the share of women is 44.2%.¹⁰ However, proportional representation is not present at the level of higher courts (entities, state, and Brcko District), where males constitute a disproportionate majority of 87.5% among judicial officials.¹¹

As shown in Exhibit 2, according to the January 2017 IPU data, BiH ranks 67th out of 186 countries in the share of women in ministerial positions (at 22%). Forty-nine countries have a share of over 25%, including several countries from the ECA region, Africa, and South America. According to the same source, BiH ranks 84th out of 186 countries in share of women in parliament (at 21%). Forty-seven countries have a share of over 25%, including several countries from the ECA region, Africa, and South America, as shown in Exhibit 3.

⁷ USAID MEASURE-BiH (2016), "Gender Analysis Report for BiH."

⁸ Article 20 (Law on Gender Equality BiH, consolidated version, "Official Gazette of BiH," No. 32/10); the law states that all state bodies at all levels of organizations of authorities, and local self-government bodies, including legislative, executive and judicial authorities, political parties, legal persons with public authorities, legal persons that are in the state's property or under the state's control, entities, cantons, cities, or municipalities whose work is under control of a public body, shall ensure and promote equal gender representation in process of managing, decision making, and representation. This obligation shall exist for all authorized proponents during elections of representatives and delegations to international organizations and bodies and equal representation of women and men shall exist in case when one of sexes is represented with at least 40% in bodies.

⁹ USAID MEASURE-BiH (2016), "Gender Analysis Report for BiH."

¹⁰ High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of BiH (2015), "Annual Report."

¹¹ Ibid.

Exhibit 2. Women in Ministerial Positions¹²

Rank	Country	% Women	Women	Total ministers ±
50 to 59.9%				
1	Bulgaria	52.9	9	17
"	France	52.9	9	17
"	Nicaragua	52.9	9	17
4	Sweden	52.2	12	23
5	Canada	51.7	15	29
6	Slovenia	50.0	8	16
40 to 49.9%				
7	Rwanda	47.4	9	19
8	Denmark	42.9	9	21
9	South Africa	41.7	15	36
10	Albania	40.0	8	20
"	Iceland	40.0	4	10
"	Lichtenstein	40.0	2	5
35 to 39.9%				
13	Norway	38.9	7	18
14	Finland	38.5	5	13
"	Spain	38.5	5	13
16	Netherlands	37.5	6	16
17	New Zealand	37.0	10	27
18	Peru	36.8	7	19
19	Uganda	36.7	11	30
20	Uruguay	35.7	5	14
21	Colombia	35.3	6	17
30 to 34.9%				
22	Chile	34.8	8	23
23	Germany	33.3	5	15
"	Zambia	33.3	10	30
25	Dominica	31.3	5	16
"	Grenada*	31.3	5	16
27	Mauritania	30.8	8	26
"	Seychelles*	30.8	4	13
"	United Kingdom	30.8	8	26
30	Costa Rica	30.4	7	23
31	Andorra	30.0	3	10
25 to 29.9%				
32	Panama	29.4	5	17
33	Estonia*	28.6	4	14
"	Switzerland	28.6	2	7
"	Trinidad and Tobago	28.6	6	21
36	Italy	27.8	5	18
37	Ecuador	27.5	11	40
38	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	27.3	6	22
"	Honduras	27.3	6	22
"	Saint Lucia*	27.3	3	11
41	Ireland	26.7	4	15
"	United Arab Emirates	26.7	8	30
43	Serbia	26.3	5	19
"	Swaziland	26.3	5	19
45	Cuba*	25.9	7	27
46	Indonesia	25.7	9	35
47	Cabo Verde	25.0	3	12
"	Micronesia (Federated States of)*	25.0	2	8
"	Philippines	25.0	8	32
20 to 24.9%				
50	Mali	24.2	8	33

Rank	Country	% Women	Women	Total ministers ±
"	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	24.2	8	33
52	Australia	24.1	7	29
53	Namibia	24.0	6	25
"	Romania	24.0	6	25
55	Mozambique*	23.8	5	21
56	Bahamas*	23.5	4	17
57	Guinea	23.3	7	30
58	Austria	23.1	3	13
"	Belgium	23.1	3	13
"	Latvia	23.1	3	13
"	Tunisia	23.1	6	26
62	Congo	22.9	8	35
63	Burundi	22.7	5	22
"	Kenya	22.7	5	22
"	Poland	22.7	5	22
66	Angola	22.2	8	36
"	Bosnia and Herzegovina	22.2	2	9
"	Malawi*	22.2	4	18
"	Portugal*	22.2	4	18
"	Republic of Moldova	22.2	4	18
"	Suriname*	22.2	4	18
72	El Salvador	21.4	3	14
"	Lithuania	21.4	3	14
74	Greece	21.1	4	19
75	Cote d'Ivoire	20.9	9	43
76	Dominican Republic*	20.8	5	24
77	Croatia	20.0	4	20
"	Luxembourg	20.0	3	15
"	Monaco	20.0	1	5
"	Montenegro	20.0	4	20
"	Senegal	20.0	6	30
"	South Sudan	20.0	6	30
"	Togo	20.0	4	20
"	United Republic of Tanzania	20.0	4	20
15 to 19.9%				
85	Israel*	19.0	4	21
86	Guatemala	18.8	3	16
"	Timor-Leste	18.8	3	16
88	India	18.5	5	27
89	Lesotho	18.2	4	22
"	Sao Tome and Principe*	18.2	2	11
91	Gabon	17.9	5	28
"	Madagascar	17.9	5	28
93	Czechia	17.6	3	17
"	Maldives	17.6	3	17
95	Argentina	17.4	4	23
"	Central African Republic	17.4	4	23
"	Ghana*	17.4	8	46
98	Cameroon	17.1	7	41
99	Afghanistan	16.7	5	30
"	Eritrea*	16.7	3	18
"	Guyana	16.7	3	18
"	Jamaica	16.7	3	18
"	Nauru*	16.7	1	6

¹² The countries are ranked according to the percentage of women in ministerial positions, reflecting appointments up to 1 January 2017.

Rank	Country	% Women	Women	Total ministers ‡
104	Niger	16.2	6	37
105	Zimbabwe	16.1	5	31
106	Botswana	15.8	3	19
"	Japan	15.8	3	19
"	Liberia	15.8	3	19
"	Mexico	15.8	3	19
110	Fiji*	15.4	2	13
"	Paraguay	15.4	2	13
"	Samoa	15.4	2	13
10 to 14.9%				
113	Benin	14.3	3	21
"	Chad	14.3	4	28
"	Kyrgyzstan	14.3	3	21
"	Slovakia	14.3	2	14
"	Tuvalu*	14.3	1	7
118	Sierra Leone	13.8	4	29
119	Algeria	13.3	4	30
"	Mongolia	13.3	2	15
121	Burkina Faso	13.0	3	23
"	Morocco	13.0	3	23
"	Ukraine	13.0	3	23
124	Nigeria	12.0	3	25
125	Barbados*	11.8	2	17
"	Egypt	11.8	4	34
127	Democratic Rep. of the Congo*	11.6	5	43
128	Sudan*	11.4	4	35
129	Armenia*	11.1	2	18
"	Georgia	11.1	2	18
"	Saint Kitts and Nevis*	11.1	1	9
"	Thailand	11.1	3	27
133	Iraq	10.5	2	19
134	Bhutan	10.0	1	10
"	China	10.0	3	30
"	Ethiopia	10.0	3	30
"	Marshall Islands	10.0	1	10
"	Mauritius	10.0	2	20
5 to 9.9%				
139	Equatorial Guinea*	9.7	3	31
"	Iran (Islamic Republic of)*	9.7	3	31
"	Russian Federation	9.7	3	31
142	Cambodia	9.1	3	33
"	Cyprus	9.1	1	11
"	Republic of Korea	9.1	2	22
"	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*	9.1	1	11
146	Malaysia	8.3	3	36
147	Antigua and Barbuda*	7.7	1	13
148	Lao People's Democratic Republic	7.4	2	27
149	Jordan	7.1	2	28
150	Kuwait	6.7	1	15

Rank	Country	% Women	Women	Total ministers ‡
"	Somalia*	6.7	2	30
152	Bangladesh*	6.3	2	32
"	Malta	6.3	1	16
"	Oman	6.3	2	32
"	Qatar	6.3	1	16
156	Syrian Arab Republic	6.1	2	33
157	Tajikistan	5.9	1	17
158	Djibouti	5.6	1	18
"	Kazakhstan	5.6	1	18
160	Yemen	5.4	2	37
161	Singapore	5.3	1	19
162	Myanmar*	5.0	1	20
2 to 4.9%				
163	Bahrain*	4.5	1	22
164	Solomon Islands*	4.3	1	23
"	Sri Lanka	4.3	2	47
166	Viet Nam	4.2	1	24
167	Brazil	4.0	1	25
168	Turkey	3.8	1	26
169	Nepal	3.7	1	27
170	Belarus*	3.6	1	28
171	Lebanon	3.4	1	29
172	Papua New Guinea	3.1	1	32
173	Turkmenistan*	2.9	1	34
0%				
174	Azerbaijan*	0.0	0	26
"	Belize*	0.0	0	14
"	Brunei Darussalam	0.0	0	13
"	Comoros	0.0	0	10
"	Guinea-Bissau*	0.0	0	24
"	Hungary	0.0	0	11
"	Kiribati*	0.0	0	14
"	Pakistan	0.0	0	27
"	Palau*	0.0	0	8
"	San Marino	0.0	0	7
"	Saudi Arabia	0.0	0	29
"	Tonga*	0.0	0	13
"	Vanuatu*	0.0	0	12
Information not available				
	Democratic People's Republic of Korea			
	Gambia			
	Haiti			
	Libya			
	The FYR of Macedonia			
	United States of America			
	Uzbekistan			

‡ The total includes deputy prime ministers and ministers. Prime ministers/heads of government were also included when they held ministerial portfolios. Vice-presidents and heads of governmental or public agencies have not been included. Source: IPU. Data obtained from national governments, permanent missions to the United Nations and * publicly available information.

Exhibit 3. Women in Parliament¹³

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper house or Senate	
		% Women	Women/Seats	% Women	Women/Seats
50 to 65%					
1	Rwanda	61.3	49/80	38.5	10/26
2	Bolivia	53.1	69/130	47.2	17/36
40 to 49.9%					
3	Cuba	48.9	299/612	-	- / -
4	Iceland	47.6	30/63	-	- / -
5	Nicaragua	45.7	42/92	-	- / -
6	Sweden	43.6	152/349	-	- / -
7	Senegal	42.7	64/150	-	- / -
8	Mexico	42.6	213/500	36.7	47/128
9	Finland	42.0	84/200	-	- / -
10	South Africa*	42.0	167/398	35.2	19/54
11	Ecuador	41.6	57/137	-	- / -
12	Namibia	41.3	43/104	23.8	10/42
35 to 39.9%					
13	Mozambique	39.6	99/250	-	- / -
"	Norway	39.6	67/169	-	- / -
15	Spain	39.1	137/350	38.0	101/266
16	Argentina	38.9	100/257	41.7	30/72
17	Ethiopia	38.8	212/547	32.0	49/153
18	Timor-Leste	38.5	25/65	-	- / -
19	Angola	38.2	84/220	-	- / -
20	Belgium	38.0	57/150	50.0	30/60
"	Netherlands	38.0	57/150	34.7	26/75
22	Denmark	37.4	67/179	-	- / -
23	Germany	37.0	233/630	39.1	27/69
24	Slovenia	36.7	33/90	7.5	3/40
25	Burundi	36.4	44/121	41.9	18/43
"	United Republic of Tanzania	36.4	143/393	-	- / -
27	Costa Rica	35.1	20/57	-	- / -
30 to 34.9%					
28	Portugal	34.8	80/230	-	- / -
29	Belarus	34.5	38/110	30.4	17/56
30	Serbia	34.4	86/250	-	- / -
31	Uganda	34.3	154/449	-	- / -
32	New Zealand	34.2	41/120	-	- / -
33	Grenada	33.3	5/15	15.4	2/13
34	Zimbabwe	32.6	88/270	47.5	38/80
35	Switzerland	32.5	65/200	15.2	7/46
36	Andorra	32.1	9/28	-	- / -
"	El Salvador	32.1	27/84	-	- / -
38	Guyana	31.9	22/69	-	- / -
39	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	31.7	38/120	-	- / -
40	Algeria	31.6	146/462	7.0	10/143
41	Tunisia	31.3	68/217	-	- / -
42	Cameroon	31.1	56/180	20.0	20/100
43	Italy	31.0	196/630	28.4	91/320
"	Trinidad and Tobago	31.0	13/42	29.0	9/31
45	Austria	30.6	56/183	31.1	19/61
46	Sudan	30.5	130/426	35.2	19/54
47	United Kingdom	30.0	195/650	25.8	209/809
25 to 29.9%					
48	Nepal	29.6	176/595	-	- / -
49	Philippines	29.5	86/292	25.0	6/24
50	Australia	28.7	43/150	40.8	31/76
51	South Sudan	28.5	109/383	12.0	6/50
52	Luxembourg	28.3	17/60	-	- / -
53	Poland	28.0	129/460	14.0	14/100

¹³ The countries are ranked and color-coded according to the percentage of women in unicameral parliaments or the lower house of parliament, reflecting elections/appointments up to 1 January 2017.

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper house or Senate	
		% Women	Women/Seats	% Women	Women/Seats
54	Afghanistan	27.7	69/249	30.9	21/68
“	Peru	27.7	36/130	-	- / -
56	Israel	27.5	33/120	-	- / -
“	Lao People's Dem. Republic	27.5	41/149	-	- / -
58	Kazakhstan	27.1	29/107	6.4	3/47
59	Dominican Republic	26.8	51/190	9.4	3/32
60	Estonia	26.7	27/101	-	- / -
“	Viet Nam	26.7	132/494	-	- / -
62	Canada	26.3	88/335	43.0	43/100
63	France	25.8	149/577	27.3	95/348
“	Honduras	25.8	33/128	-	- / -
“	Turkmenistan	25.8	32/124	-	- / -
66	Suriname	25.5	13/51	-	- / -
67	Iraq	25.3	83/328	-	- / -
68	Mauritania	25.2	37/147	14.3	6/56
69	Dominica	25.0	8/32	-	- / -
“	Lesotho	25.0	30/120	24.2	8/33
20 to 24.9%					
71	Somalia	24.2	64/264	22.6	12/53
72	Equatorial Guinea	24.0	24/100	15.7	11/70
73	Singapore	23.8	24/101	-	- / -
74	China	23.7	699/2949	-	- / -
75	Cabo Verde	23.6	17/72	-	- / -
76	Montenegro	23.5	19/81	-	- / -
77	San Marino	23.3	14/60	-	- / -
78	Albania	22.9	32/140	-	- / -
79	Republic of Moldova	22.8	23/101	-	- / -
80	Ireland	22.2	35/158	30.0	18/60
“	Venezuela	22.2	37/167	-	- / -
82	Eritrea	21.9	33/150	-	- / -
83	Guinea	21.4	25/114	-	- / -
84	Bosnia and Herzegovina	21.3	9/42	13.3	2/15
85	Lithuania	21.2	30/141	-	- / -
86	Seychelles	20.8	7/33	-	- / -
87	Monaco	20.7	5/24	-	- / -
88	Romania	20.6	68/329	14.7	20/136
89	Pakistan	20.5	70/340	18.3	19/104
90	Morocco	20.3	81/395	11.7	14/120
91	Bangladesh	20.3	71/350	-	- / -
“	Cambodia	20.3	25/123	14.8	9/61
93	Uruguay	20.2	20/99	29.0	9/31
94	Czechia	20.0	40/200	18.8	15/80
“	Slovakia	20.0	30/150	-	- / -
“	United Arab Emirates	20.0	8/40	-	- / -
15 to 19.9%					
97	Croatia	19.9	30/151	-	- / -
“	Saudi Arabia	19.9	30/151	-	- / -
99	Indonesia	19.8	111/560	-	- / -
100	Kenya	19.4	68/350	26.5	18/68
101	Bulgaria	19.2	46/240	-	- / -
“	Kyrgyzstan	19.2	23/120	-	- / -
“	Madagascar	19.2	29/151	20.6	13/63
104	United States of America**	19.1	83/435	21.0	21/100
105	Tajikistan	19.0	12/63	21.9	7/32
106	Colombia	18.7	31/166	21.6	22/102
107	Greece	18.3	55/300	-	- / -
“	Panama	18.3	13/71	-	- / -
109	Sao Tome and Principe	18.2	10/55	-	- / -
110	Zambia	18.0	30/167	-	- / -
111	Cyprus	17.9	10/56	-	- / -
112	Togo	17.6	16/91	-	- / -
113	Jamaica	17.5	11/63	23.8	5/21
114	Gabon	17.1	20/117	17.6	18/102
“	Mongolia	17.1	13/76	-	- / -
116	Niger	17.0	29/171	-	- / -
“	Republic of Korea	17.0	51/300	-	- / -
118	Azerbaijan	16.8	21/125	-	- / -
119	Barbados	16.7	5/30	23.8	5/21

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper house or Senate	
		% Women	Women/Seats	% Women	Women/Seats
“	Malawi	16.7	32/192	-	- / -
“	Saint Lucia	16.7	3/18	27.3	3/11
“	Dem. People's Rep. of Korea	16.7	112/687	-	- / -
122	Fiji	16.3	8/50	-	- / -
123	Georgia	16.0	24/150	-	- / -
“	Latvia	16.0	16/100	-	- / -
“	Libya	16.0	30/188	-	- / -
“	Uzbekistan	16.0	24/150	17.0	17/100
128	Chile	15.8	19/120	15.8	6/38
“	Russian Federation	15.8	71/450	17.1	29/170
130	Jordan	15.4	20/130	15.4	10/65
10 to 14.9%					
131	Egypt	14.9	89/569	-	- / -
“	Turkey	14.9	82/550	-	- / -
133	Paraguay	13.8	11/80	20.0	9/45
134	Guinea-Bissau	13.7	14/102	-	- / -
135	Saint Kitts and Nevis	13.3	2/15	-	- / -
136	Bahamas	13.2	5/38	25.0	4/16
“	Syrian Arab Republic	13.2	33/250	-	- / -
138	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	13.0	3/23	-	- / -
139	Chad	12.8	24/188	-	- / -
“	Ghana	12.7	35/275	-	- / -
“	Guatemala	12.7	20/158	-	- / -
142	Malta	12.5	7/72	-	- / -
“	Palau	12.5	2/16	15.4	2/13
144	Sierra Leone	12.4	15/121	-	- / -
145	Liberia	12.3	9/73	10.0	3/30
“	Ukraine	12.3	52/423	-	- / -
147	Liechtenstein	12.0	3/25	-	- / -
148	India	11.8	64/542	11.0	27/245
149	Mauritius	11.6	8/69	-	- / -
150	Cote d'Ivoire	11.5	29/253	-	- / -
151	Antigua and Barbuda	11.1	2/18	29.4	5/17
152	Burkina Faso	11.0	14/127	-	- / -
153	Djibouti	10.8	7/65	-	- / -
154	Brazil	10.7	55/513	14.8	12/81
155	Nauru	10.5	2/19	-	- / -
156	Malaysia	10.4	23/222	22.1	15/68
157	Myanmar	10.2	44/433	10.4	23/221
158	Hungary	10.1	20/199	-	- / -
159	Samoa	10.0	5/50	-	- / -
5 to 9.9%					
160	Armenia	9.9	13/131	-	- / -
161	Botswana	9.5	6/63	-	- / -
162	Gambia	9.4	5/53	-	- / -
163	Japan	9.3	44/475	20.7	50/242
164	Brunei Darussalam	9.1	3/33	-	- / -
“	Marshall Islands	9.1	3/33	-	- / -
166	Dem. Republic of Congo	8.9	44/493	4.6	5/108
167	Mali	8.8	13/147	-	- / -
168	Central African Republic	8.6	12/140	-	- / -
169	Bhutan	8.5	4/47	8.0	2/25
170	Bahrain	7.5	3/40	22.5	9/40
171	Congo	7.4	10/136	19.4	14/72
172	Benin	7.2	6/83	-	- / -
173	Tuvalu	6.7	1/15	-	- / -
174	Kiribati	6.5	3/46	-	- / -
175	Swaziland	6.2	4/65	33.3	10/30
176	Comoros	6.1	2/33	-	- / -
177	Iran	5.9	17/289	-	- / -
“	Maldives	5.9	5/85	-	- / -
179	Sri Lanka	5.8	13/225	-	- / -
180	Nigeria	5.6	20/360	6.5	7/108
0.1 to 4.9%					
181	Thailand	4.9	12/247	-	- / -
182	Tonga	3.8	1/26	-	- / -
183	Belize	3.1	1/32	30.8	4/13
“	Kuwait	3.1	2/65	-	- / -
“	Lebanon	3.1	4/128	-	- / -

Rank	Country	Lower or single house		Upper house or Senate	
		% Women	Women/Seats	% Women	Women/Seats
186	Papua New Guinea	2.7	3/111	-	- / -
187	Haiti	2.6	3/117	0.0	0/22
188	Solomon Islands	2.0	1/50	-	- / -
189	Oman	1.2	1/85	16.5	14/85
0%					
190	Micronesia	0.0	0/14	-	- / -
"	Qatar	0.0	0/35	-	- / -
"	Vanuatu	0.0	0/52	-	- / -
"	Yemen	0.0	0/275	1.8	2/111

Another global instrument that inter alia uses to measure women's political representation, is the Global Gender Gap Index. It was developed by the World Economic Forum in 2006 to „capture the magnitude of gender-based disparities and track their progress over time¹⁴.“ The index has been calculated on an annual basis ever since and provides an easy cross-country comparison of gender impartialities. It relies on three basic concepts: 1) it focuses on measuring gaps rather than levels; 2) it captures gaps in outcome variables rather than gaps in input variables; and 3) it ranks countries according to gender equality rather than women's empowerment.

The index is comprised of four sub-indices representing four different categories (economic, educational, health, and political outcomes) in which the gap between men and women is measured. Each sub-index is comprised of several indicators presented in Exhibit 4.

Exhibit 4. Global Gender Gap Index Structure

Sub-index	Indicator
Economic Participation and Opportunity	Labor force participation
	Wage equality for similar work
	Estimated earned income
	Legislators, senior officials, and managers
	Professional and technical workers
Educational Attainment	Literacy rate
	Enrolment in primary education
	Enrolment in secondary education
	Enrolment in tertiary education
Health and Survival	Sex ratio at birth
	Healthy life expectancy
Political Empowerment	Women in parliament
	Women in ministerial positions
	Years with female head of state

Source: World Economic Forum, The 2016 Global Gender Gap Report

Input data is collected from different sources including the ILOSATA database, ILO KILM database, Inter-Parliamentary Union data, UNESCO Institute for Statistics Education indicators, World

¹⁴ World Economic Forum. *The Global Gender Gap Report 2016*. Retrieved from: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/>

Economic Forum calculations, and Executive Opinion Survey (EOS). This data is then converted into female-to-male ratios and truncated at the “equality benchmark.” In most cases the equality benchmark equals 1 and represents a complete parity between men and women. In the next step, sub-index scores are calculated based on the weighted average of the indicators within each sub-index. Sub-index scores may range between 0 and 1, where 1 represents the highest (parity) and 0 the lowest score possible (imparity). An un-weighted average of each sub-index score is used to calculate the overall Global Gender Gap Index score.

The first time it was calculated in 2006, the index covered 115 countries throughout the world. Ten years later, in 2016, it covered 144 countries with Bosnia and Herzegovina being one of the countries included for the first time.

The overall index score in 2016 was 0.68 (with 1 being the maximum score representing a complete gender parity). According to the index results, BiH surpasses the world average by 0.005 and is ranked 83rd in the world (0.685). When compared to neighboring countries, BiH has a lower gender gap score than most of the Western Balkan countries, including: Slovenia (0.786), Serbia (0.72), Albania (0.704), Croatia (0.70), and Macedonia (0.696). The only neighboring country included in the 2016 index and surpassed by BiH is Montenegro (0.681).

When considering gender gap sub-indices individually, the BiH ranking varies for each examined category, e.g. among 144 nations included in the index, BiH is ranked 50th according to the Educational Attainment sub-index and 76th according to the Health and Survival sub-index with an obtained score of 0.996 and 0.973, respectively. The lowest score is within the Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index (0.581), where BiH is the 113th ranked country out of 144 nations examined. Within this sub-index, the lowest-scoring indicators are estimated earned income (0.451; 119th country rank) and labor force participation (0.628; 113th country rank).

BiH ranks 62nd in the 2016 Gender Gap Index according to the Political Empowerment sub-index with a score of 0.191. Among three indicators included in this sub-index, the worst results are noted for the Women in ministerial positions. As the 2016 index findings are based on the year of 2015 when no female held ministerial position at the level of the Council of Ministers of BiH, the BiH score for this indicator is 0. Furthermore, BiH is ranked 68th in the index according to the Women in Parliament Indicator with score of 0.273, and 15th according to the Years with Female Head of State Indicator with score of 0.240.

A gender analysis conducted by USAID MEASURE-BiH in 2016 found that an understanding of the affirmative measure prescribed by the Law on Gender Equality is low among the politicians and that providing training only to women candidates on campaigning and communications has not been effective in increasing the numbers of elected women (according to interviews conducted within the Gender Analysis). A more transformative approach or one that promotes gender equality is needed to provide training and technical support to both male and female politicians on the standards of equality and non-discrimination.

Motivated by gender inequality in political representation in BiH and the low number of female politicians being elected despite legal incentives stipulated by the Election Law, this study examines the role of difference in development priorities of male vs. female politicians in the continued underrepresentation of women in BiH politics. In its first phase implemented in summer/fall 2016, this study provides the first set, to the extent that we know, of empirical evidence on the gender difference in development priorities among politicians and among voters, using data collected from the political candidates for municipal/city councils/assemblies and from voting-age citizens in the context of BiH local elections in 2016. We also analyzed how by political candidates’ perceived development priorities differ from the official priorities set forth by the municipal/city boards of the political parties that nominated them. In the second phase of the study, implemented in winter/spring 2017, development priorities as perceived by citizens who voted for female candidates are compared to those from voters

who did not vote for female candidates. This has expanded the knowledge base on the reasons that fuel the persistent gender inequality in the legislative branch in BiH. We also conducted an exploratory analysis of the personality traits among political candidates and voters that might contribute to the gender difference in development priorities and gender stereotypes.

Our study aims to inform any potential future interventions/projects/programs (including any potential donor interventions, CSO interventions, government interventions, or interventions implemented by political parties themselves) on how to create an environment where female and male politicians can advocate for development priorities within their parties on equal footing. This is important not only for the equal political participation of women, but also because, as research demonstrates, gender does influence policy decisions.¹⁵ In addition, women's participation in policy making affects policy decisions in ways that seem to better reflect women's preferences.¹⁶ This enables more sustainable and inclusive development.

This report uses data from the political candidate survey conducted before the 2016 local elections as well as follow-up, voting-age citizen data collected in early 2017 to assess the gender difference in development priorities, as well as gender personality traits and gender stereotypes. Chapter 2 of this report describes the study context of the 2016 local elections in BiH and our research questions. Chapter 3 summarizes the previous literature, and Chapter 4 describes our research design and data collection. Chapter 5 presents the main findings of the study, and Chapter 6 concludes and discusses some key lessons and considerations for any potential future donor/government interventions in the area of gender equality in political participation.

¹⁵ Chattopadhyay, R. and E. Duflo (2004), "Women as Policy Makers: Evidence from Randomized Policy Experiment in India," *Econometrica*, Vol. 72, No. 5, p. 1411.

¹⁶ Ibid.

II. STUDY CONTEXT AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Every citizen in BiH who is 18 years of age has the right to vote and be elected as a member to a representative body. For the 2016 local elections, more than 30,000 citizens were nominated¹⁷ by their political parties¹⁸ to run as their candidates for seats in the municipal/city council/assembly. There were, in total, 2,105 valid party candidates' lists (238 of which were led by women) in the 143 municipalities for the voters to choose from. Each of these party candidates' lists can have a maximum of five candidates more than the total number of mandates available.¹⁹ Most importantly, every candidate list includes both male and female candidates, whereby the underrepresented group (usually female) must account for at least 40% of the total number of the candidates on the list, as prescribed by the Election Law.²⁰

After the election, political parties (or coalitions, lists of independent candidates, or independent candidates) cannot participate in the allocation of mandates if they do not win more than 3% of the total number of valid votes in an electoral unit. This 3% threshold ensures that they will have at least one seat in the councils/assemblies. The allocation of mandates is based on the process of dividing the number of valid votes of each political party (or coalition, list of independent candidates, or independent candidate) with 1, 3, 5, 7, 11, etc. This is done until all mandates are allocated.

In addition to voting for the members of the municipal/city council/assembly during the BiH local elections, citizens, registered at the Central Voters Register, also vote for the mayor of the municipality/city. The mayoral candidate who receives the highest number of votes is elected as the municipal mayor. As announced by the Central Election Commission (CEC), 451 political entities²¹ participated in the election process. The final outcome of the 2016 local elections, with 53.9% voter turnout (Central Election Commission, 2016) shows that 81.9% of elected officials were males and 18.2% were females, as demonstrated in Exhibit 5, with some variations across the entities/BD.

Exhibit 5. 2016 BiH Local Election Results

	Total elected politicians	No. male	No. female	% male	% female
Total	3,114	2,549	566	81.86%	18.18%
FBiH	1,817	1,457	360	80.19%	19.81%
RS	1,268	1,065	204	83.99%	16.09%
BD	29	27	2	93.10%	6.90%

The results in Exhibit 5 are evidently not a consequence of a lack of women running for seats in the municipal/city councils/assemblies, as the Election Law of BiH clearly defines that each political party

¹⁷ There were 37 candidates running as independents (CEC).

¹⁸ The main political parties in BiH are the Croatian Democratic Union BiH (HDZ BiH), Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP), Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), and Party of Democratic Action (SDA).

¹⁹ The allocation of total number of mandates for the municipal/city council/assembly is defined as follows: (a) a municipality with fewer than 8,000 registered voters has 11 to 17 members, (b) a municipality with 8,000 to 20,000 registered voters has 17 to 25 members, (c) a municipality with more than 20,000 registered voters has 25 to 31 members.

²⁰ The minority gender candidates are distributed on the candidates list as follows: at least one minority gender candidate among the first two candidates; two minority gender candidates among the first five candidates, three minority gender candidates among the first eight candidates, and so on. Please see Annex 1 for more information.

²¹ The political entities were 102 political parties, 103 political party coalitions, 171 independent candidates, 17 lists of independent candidates, 52 independent candidates on behalf of 52 citizens' groups, and 6 independent candidates on behalf of 6 citizens' associations.

candidates' list must have at least 40% from the underrepresented group (Article 3.4); this threshold of 40% represents a gender quota.²²

However, the number of elected female mayors has increased by one (six, in comparison to five in 2012), as shown in Exhibit 6. In these six municipalities, four of them were led by a woman in the previous mandate, and voters chose the incumbent. The distribution of the municipalities/cities with female mayors between entities is uneven, with one of them belonging to the FBiH (Visoko), and five to the RS (Mrkonjic Grad, Istocni Drvar, Kalinovik, Jezero, and Novo Gorazde). Women are still underrepresented at the level of council/assembly members. Of the 3,144 elected council/assembly members, only 566 are women. This share of 18.2% represents a slight improvement in comparison to 16.2% in the 2012 local elections. Exhibits 7 and 8 describe the trends of the share of women in the municipal/city council/assembly seats and the share of women among municipality/city mayor positions over the last three local elections in BiH.

²² As defined by the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2013), "gender quotas are numerical targets that stipulate the number or percentage of women that must be included in a candidate list or the number of seats to be allocated to women in legislature."

Exhibit 6. Results of Female Candidates in Local Elections in BiH, 2016

2016: 18,2% of elected city/municipal council/assembly members are women

2012: 16,2% of elected city/municipal council/assembly members were women

2016: 6 female Mayors elected (Istocni Drvar, Jezero, Kalinovik, Mrkonjic Grad, Novo Gorazde, and Visoko)

2012: 5 female Mayors elected (Doboj Jug, Kalinovik, Mrkonjic Grad, Novi Grad, and Visoko)

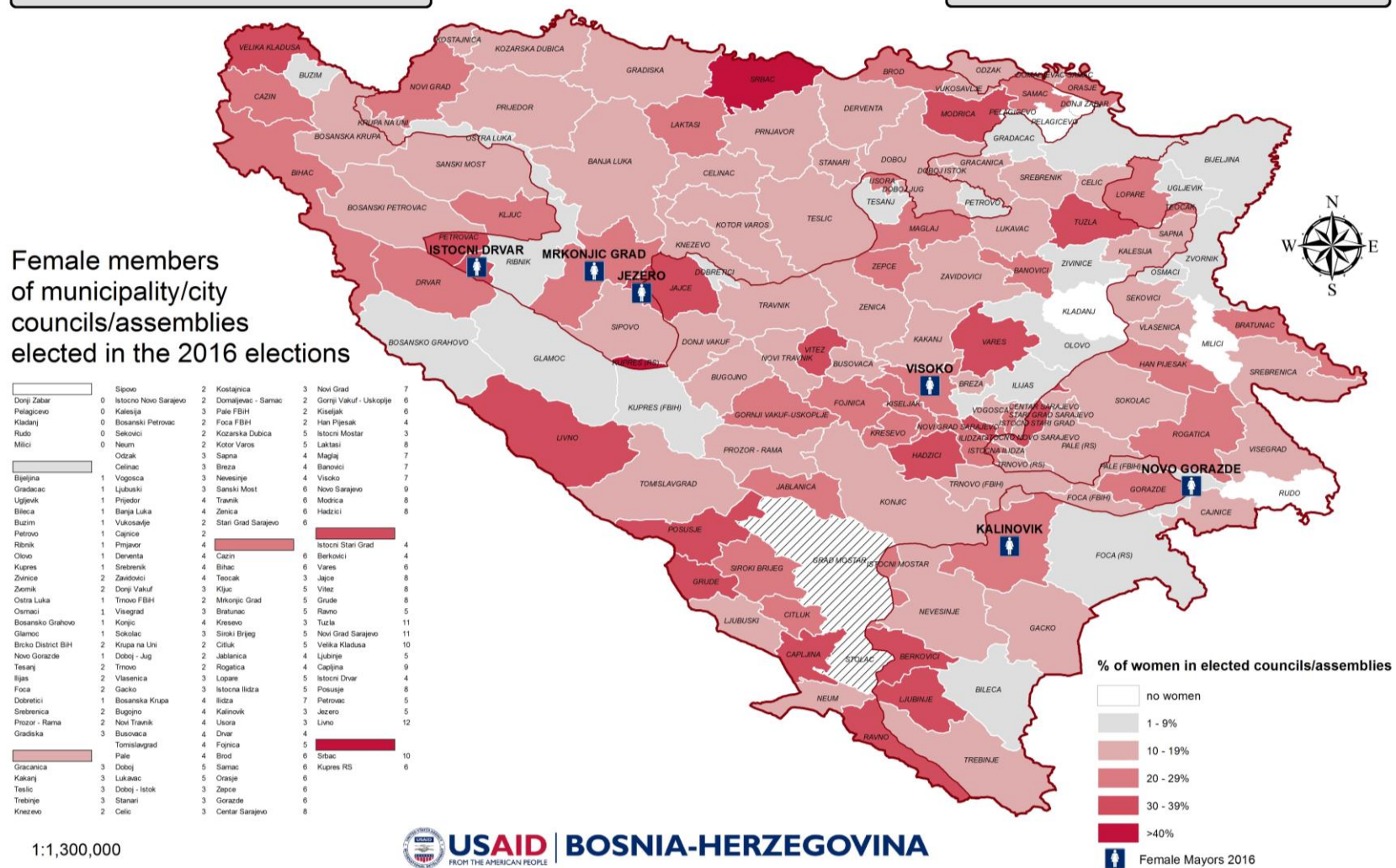
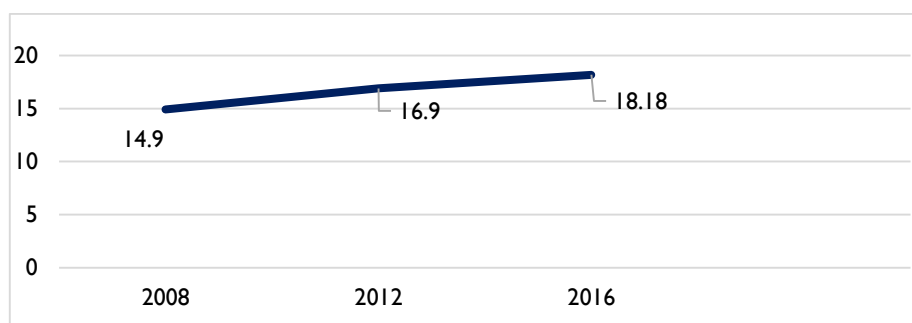


Exhibit 7. Female Share in Municipal/City Council/Assembly Seats, 2008–2016



Source: Central Election Commission, "Election Statistics"

Exhibit 8. Female Share in Municipality/City Mayor Positions, 2008–2016



Source: Central Election Commission, "Election Statistics"

To understand the depth and nature of the underrepresentation of women in the legislative bodies of BiH, our study was designed to answer the following key research questions:

1. Are there gender differences in local development priorities among politicians?
2. Are there gender differences in the match between politicians' and their parties' local development priorities?
3. Are there personality trait differences between male and female politicians?
4. Are there differences between priorities of politicians and priorities of citizens? Are there gender differences in citizens' development priorities?
5. Are there personality trait differences between politicians and citizens? Are there personality trait differences between male and female citizens?
6. Does political gender stereotyping affect citizens' voting decisions?

The study explores gender stereotyping by examining the personality traits of individual politicians and the general population. It examines whether differences in personality traits among political candidates contribute to a gender difference in development priorities, whether gender personality traits among politicians differ from gender personality traits among voters, and what specific political gender stereotyping affects voters' decisions to vote or not to vote for women. The exploratory analysis of personality traits loosely based on CLASP²³ (credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power), five policy-influencing principles developed by the Western Balkans and Turkey Technical Assistance for Civil Society Organizations (TACSO) project, and the Five Factor Model (FFM)²⁴ contributes to the literature of gender stereotyping in politics based on personality traits. It also helps us to understand whether bias on the part of party leaders or voters can explain the underrepresentation of women in elected offices in BiH.

²³ TACSO (2011). *Advocacy and policy influencing for social change*. Sarajevo, BiH: Roebeling and de Vries. CLASP principles have been used for CSO training on advocacy and policy change, but not in examining political candidates or gender differences.

²⁴ The Five Factor Model of personality is a hierarchical organization of personality traits in terms of five basic dimensions: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to experience. See Digman, J.M. (1990). Personality structure: emergence of the five-factor model. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 41, 417-440, and Goldberg, L.R. (1993). The structure of phenotypic personality traits. *American Psychologist*, 48, 26-34.

III. PREVIOUS STUDIES

III.1 WOMEN IN POLITICS

Equality between men and women is the prevailing model within the mainstream political discourse of all modern democracies. However, there is considerable variance between countries as to how much and what kind of equality does exist between men and women. Numerous reasons dictate why some countries and some policy areas are more gender equal than others. Even in the countries where there are no formal legal barriers, and legislation incentivizes women's political representation by some type of quota system, informal obstacles often prevail and prevent women from engaging in politics. The UN's 2005 Women & Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections²⁵ discusses the following main obstacles to women's active participation in politics: i) politics, traditionally male-dominant, is found unwelcoming or hostile to women; ii) societal, traditional, or patriarchal values disapproving of women in politics; iii) women having more practical barriers, such as less financial resources, education, access to information, political experience, fewer political networks, and more family obligations; iv) magnified barriers to women's political participation in post-conflict societies, where political parties are mostly based on prominent personalities associated with a faction in conflict than on issue-focused platforms and programs. Despite the numerous views of what is more important and more detrimental for equality among genders in politics, all discussions related to advancement of a more equal "playing field" start with the simple premise that more women in politics leads to a more equal society.

Our study examines whether interests represented by politicians actually differ between male and female politicians in BiH to see whether the theory claiming that female politicians represent the interests of women to a greater extent than male politicians can be confirmed. We do this by examining gender differences in development priorities and personality traits of politicians (credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power). Although this is the first study to examine women's underrepresentation in politics through the lens of gender differences in development priorities, a few papers have looked into gender-associated differences in the attitudes of elected officials regarding local development priorities. Vanderleefuw, Sandovici, and Jarmon (2011) found in their study of city leaders in Texas, that women differ little from men in terms of traditional economic development considerations, such as the importance of job creation and revenue generation. They also found that women, more than men, consider the influence of economic development efforts on a community's environment and aesthetics. In a report published by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) based on the UN's MY World survey, Bhatkal (2014) found that although there is considerable variation across countries, there are few gender-based differences in the most important development priorities in MY World, particularly in poorer countries.

III.2 POLITICAL GENDER STEREOTYPING

The element of culture and the prevalence of gender stereotyping in society is also an important aspect for equal gender participation in public life. Our study considers this as an important determinant for the equal participation of men and women in public life. Aronson and Pines (1988) defined stereotyping as the assignment of "identical characteristics to any person in a group regardless of the actual variation among members of that group." A gender stereotype consists of beliefs about the psychological traits and characteristics of, as well as activities appropriate to, men or women (Brannon, 2015). A number of studies focused on traits typically assigned to men or women as a result of stereotyping. For example, women are considered to be patient, sensitive, devoted, responsible, appreciative, timid, weak, and dependent. At the same time men tend to be perceived as strong, confident, firm, forceful, carefree, aggressive, bossy, superior, and rude (Ricciardelli and Williams, 1995). Moreover, "real men"

²⁵ UN (2005). Women and Elections: Guide to Promoting the Participation of Women in Elections.

are not supposed to feel or act afraid, sad, guilty, or vulnerable (Anderson, John, Keltner, and Kring, 2001).

Weisberg, DeYoung, and Hirsh (2011) stated that personality is the “extent to which someone displays high or low levels of specific traits.” This means that a person scoring higher on a particular trait will “exhibit psychological states” related to that specific trait more often and to a greater extent than a person who has a lower score (Weisberg, DeYoung, and Hirsh, 2011). The different traits demonstrated by male and female represent one of the main sources of gender stereotyping (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993). For example, men are considered to be more assertive and less anxious than women (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974), and women are more gregarious, agreeable, nurturing, altruistic, and trustworthy than men (Feingold 1994; Weisberg, DeYoung, and Hirsh, 2011). Our study not only relies on personality traits to measure propensity for advancing specific issues, but also uses them to identify whether there are any gender differences and how they shape the prevailing gender stereotypes.

IV. RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION

We seek to answer the research questions by collecting and analyzing survey data from political candidates and voting-age citizens in a representative sample of municipalities in BiH.

The research design was divided into two phases, with the 2016 local elections as the divider. The first phase, implemented prior to the local elections, addresses the first three research questions. In the second phase, our analysis was extended to the general voting-age population to examine whether gender differences among politicians were similar to those among voters in the selected municipalities. The voting-age population survey after the local elections also provides direct information on voting outcomes and voters' perceptions of female political candidates. In the early stages of the study, a technical working group (TWG), consisting of nine members selected from BiH researchers in the fields of psychology, sociology, political science, gender studies, and statistics, and staff from the BiH Agency for Gender Equality, was established to provide input to sampling methods and data collection instruments.

The information on local development priorities was collected through surveys from municipal/city party boards and political candidates during the first phase of the study, and from the general voting-age population in the second phase. The top five priorities were solicited from the party boards directly. When presenting the candidates with the priorities of the party boards, we also allowed the candidates to list development priorities that were not in the party's list. During the second phase, the respondents were provided 17 development priorities from which to choose their top five, as seen in Exhibit 9.

Exhibit 9. Development Priorities in the General Voting-Age Population Survey

Among the areas listed below, please choose 5 you consider to currently be the most important for the development of your municipality/city and rank them from 1 (highest priority) to 5 (lowest priority).	
1. Business environment improvement to create jobs	
2. Education	
3. Tourism	
4. Public order and safety (judiciary and police)	
5. Housing and community amenities (including urban planning, water supply, and street lighting)	
6. Energy	
7. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing (including subsidies), and rural development	
8. Recreation and sports	
9. Transport (including infrastructure) and communications	
10. Religion and other community services (including youth)	
11. General public services (including general administration, operation, and support of executive and legislative organs)	
12. Culture	
13. Social protection	
14. Environmental protection	
15. Mining, manufacturing, and construction (including subsidies)	
16. Health	
17. Defense (including civil defense)	

Working with the TWG, the data collection and analysis of political candidates' personality traits were guided by CLASP. We also developed separate but correlated aspects within each CLASP principle loosely based on the Five Factor Model (FFM) and used many items from the Big Five Inventory (BFI)²⁶ and International Personality Item Pool (IPIP)²⁷ to capture CLASP. Specifically, the CLASP principles include (1) credibility (which we measured using questions on integrity and competence); (2) legitimacy (sincerity, fairness, and traditionalism); (3) accountability (responsibility and teamwork); (4) service-orientedness (diligence and organization); and (5) power (boldness, conformity, docility, dominance, drive, leadership, locus of control, and forcefulness). During the second phase of the study, we adopted a shortened version of the personality traits instrument, with 50 questions to measure these five dimensions in the general voting-age population. In both surveys for political candidates and voting age population, we also administered a battery of questions that provided us a wide array of demographic and socioeconomic characteristics such as age, education, and employment.

Prior to the data collection, a sample of municipalities that would participate in the study had to be determined in order to identify the political parties and individual politicians that would be surveyed. The study sample of 19 municipalities/cities was selected through a two-stage sampling procedure from the list of municipalities/cities enumerated by the BiH CEC. The two-stage sampling combined simple random sampling (first stage) and purposive replacement (second stage) to ensure the sample coverage of (1) both BiH entities and Brcko District; (2) variability between rural and urban areas; (3) variability between municipalities/cities in representativeness of political parties; and (4) other variables that may affect women's and men's political position within parties (such as unemployment and inactivity rates for men and women). Within each study municipality/city, we used the results of the 2012 local elections to identify the political party that had the most representatives in the municipality/city council/assembly composition. This approach ensured that the parties selected were largely representative of the voter preferences in the study municipalities/cities. Following this sampling approach, six political parties were identified for further sampling of politicians: (1) the Party of Democratic Action (SDA); (2) the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP BiH); (3) the Croat Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH); (4) the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD); (5) the Serb Democratic Party (SDS); and (6) the Democratic National Alliance (DNS). To sample the political candidates within the study sample of municipalities/cities and parties, we selected the top five male and the top five female candidates from each party's list of candidates for the 19 selected municipality/city councils/assemblies. In total, the analysis sample included 185 political candidates, 96 of whom were females.

A random probability sample of both rural and urban voting-age citizens across the same 19 municipalities/cities was drawn in the second phase of the study during March and April 2017. A minimum of 100 respondents per municipality/city were surveyed, leading to a sample size of 1,985. Among these, 1,654 (around 83%) had voted in the 2016 local elections.

²⁶ John, O.P. and Srivastava, S. (1999). The Big-Five trait taxonomy: History, measurement, and theoretical perspectives, In Pervin and John (Eds.), *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research* (pp. 102-138), New York: Guilford Press.

²⁷ Goldberg, L.R. (1999). A broad-bandwidth, public domain, personality inventory measuring the lower-level facets of several five-factor models. In Mervielde, Deary, De Fruyt, and Ostendorf (Eds.), *Personality Psychology in Europe* (pp. 7-28). Tilburg, Netherlands: Tilburg University Press.

V. STUDY FINDINGS

Gender difference in social, economic, and political characteristics among political candidates

As illustrated in Exhibit 10, there were gender differences in social, economic, and political characteristics among the politicians running for seats in local legislative bodies in 2016. For example, female candidates were younger, with an average age of 39 years compared to the male candidates' average age of 43 years; this difference is statistically significant at the 5% level. Female political candidates had a higher level of schooling (75% with higher education) than male candidates (67% with higher education). On average, female candidates were less likely to be married (female 58.3% vs. male 74.2%), less likely to hold a full-time job (female 69% vs. male 76%), and more likely to be employed part-time (female 5% vs. male 1%). Conditional on being employed, female candidates are slightly more likely to work in government institutions (female 49% vs. male 45%).

Exhibit 10. Selected Characteristics of Female and Male Candidates

	Female Candidates	Male Candidates
Age	38.7	42.7
Education: high school or less	25.0%	32.6%
Education: college or higher	74.9%	67.3%
Married	58.3%	74.2%
Single	36.4%	23.6%
Full-time employment	68.7%	76.4%
Part-time employment	5.2%	1.1%
Work in government (conditional on being employed)	49.2%	44.8%
Partty tenured	8.9	13.1
N	96	89

We also found that a significantly higher percentage of female candidates (female 27% vs. male 17%) think that they do not have any influence on the party's development priorities, keeping in mind that only 30% of municipal/city party board members are female. Exhibit 10 also shows that male candidates have much higher party tenure than female candidates (male 13 years vs. female 9 years); this difference is statistically significant at the 5% level.

How politicians' development priorities match parties' official development priorities

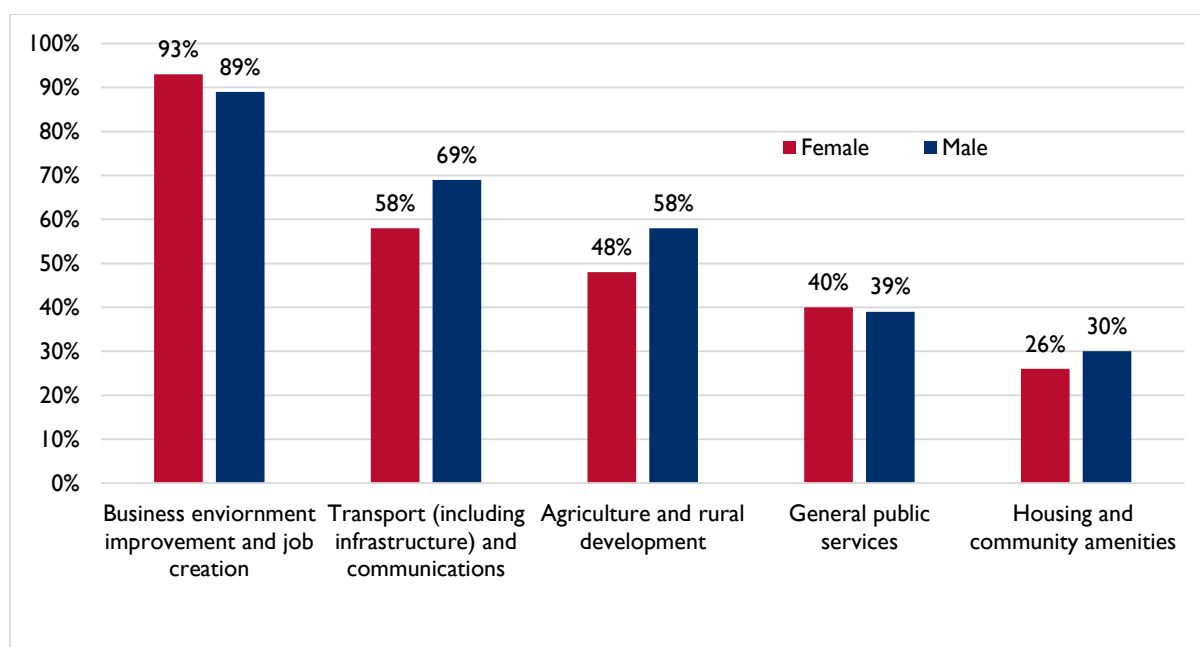
We found that female candidates are slightly more likely than male candidates to list their own development priorities in the top five rather than using the ones prescribed by their party board. Overall, when asked to list their top five development priorities for their municipality/city, 60% of the political candidates in our sample used only their party priorities.

Our mismatch analysis also revealed that female candidates' priorities and their ranking differed more from their party's priorities and ranking compared with male candidates. Meanwhile, candidates' priorities and ranking differed more from the parties' priorities in the FBiH than in the RS.

Gender difference in development priorities among politicians

As seen in Exhibit 11, we did not find significant differences between what male and female politicians identified as their top five development priorities, a finding that is broadly consistent with the previous literature such as Bhatkal (2014). When we grouped development priorities listed by the candidates into broad categories/sectors, business environment improvement and job creation was by far the top development priority for both male and female candidates (93% of female candidates listed priorities in this category within their top five priorities versus 89% of male candidates). This is followed by transport, including infrastructure, and communications (58% for female candidates and 69% for male candidates); agriculture and rural development (48% for female candidates and 58% for male candidates); general public services, including general administration and operations, and fiscal and external affairs (40% for female candidates and 39% for male candidates); and housing and community amenities (26% for female candidates and 30% for male candidates). Thus, contrary to the stereotype that typically asserts that female politicians prioritize social protection over economic affairs, the study found that overall, both male and female candidates similarly prioritized economic affairs.

Exhibit 11. Development Priorities Identified by Female and Male Candidates



However, we also found that female candidates were more likely than male candidates to prioritize health and youth issues over others, whereas male candidates were more likely than female candidates to prioritize defense issues over others, although on average none of these issues fall into the five most frequent priorities chosen by either male or female candidates.

Personality traits and gender stereotypes among politicians

Our exploratory analysis of the personality traits of all candidates in the sample was done to assess their political capacity to influence their parties' development priorities and any associated gender gaps. We found no significant gender difference in personality traits for any of the five CLASP dimensions (credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power) except in the credibility dimension. Our principal component analysis indicated that female candidates, on average, have higher credibility than male candidates. Among the two sub-dimensions related to credibility—competence and integrity—integrity was consistently higher for female candidates than male candidates. No significant difference in competence was noted across gender. We found no evidence that traits related to the power dimension differed across gender.

Social, economic, and political characteristics among voters and non-voters

Exhibit 12 presents selected characteristics of voters and non-voters gathered from the voting-age population survey we conducted after the local elections. Over 84% of the sample was self-reported voters during the 2016 elections; among the voters, 39% claimed that they voted for female political candidates and 32% said they did not vote for any female candidates. Demographic characteristics are quite similar between voters and non-voters, with a slightly higher female proportion (60% vs. 54%) among the non-voters. Compared to voters, non-voters were more likely to be younger (46 years of age vs. 49 years of age), less likely to be married (54% vs. 60%), and less likely to be from rural communities (39% vs. 49%).

Exhibit 12. Selected Characteristics of Voters and Non-Voters

	Voters	Non-Voters	Total
Female	54.4%	60.2%	55.3%
Age	49	46.3	48.6
Married	60.4%	53.5%	59.3%
Single	24.1%	31.2%	25.3%
Rural	49.3%	38.9%	47.7%
Education: high school or higher	73.4%	73.4%	73.4%
Employed	25.0%	25.2%	25.1%
Unemployed	42.6%	44.3%	42.8%
N	1654	314	1985

Turning to the voter population in the 19 study municipalities/cities as described in Exhibit 13, we found that BiH citizens who voted for female candidates in the 2016 local elections had a much higher schooling level (80% with high school or post-secondary education) compared to those who did not vote for any female candidates (66% with high school or post-secondary education). Moreover, the voters who voted for female candidates are also more likely to be female themselves (58% vs. 52%) and slightly more likely to be employed during the period the survey was carried out (27% vs. 24%).

Exhibit 13. Selected Characteristics of Voters by Voting Outcome

	Voted for Female	Not Voted for Female
Female	57.6%	52.3%
Age	48.4	48.7
Married	60.7%	60.9%
Single	25.6%	23.7%
Rural	49.5%	44.7%
Education: high school or higher	79.6%	66.3%
Employed	27.2%	24.1%
Unemployed	44.6%	44.0%
N	641	532

When asked how interested they are in politics, over 18% of the respondents who voted in the 2016 local elections reported that they were either “quite” or “very” interested; the corresponding percentage for the non-voters was less than 9%. Among the voters, over 22% of the respondents who

voted for female candidates expressed that they were either “quite” or “very” interested, whereas 15% of those who did not vote for any female candidates were “quite” or “very” interested.

Voting preference and gender stereotyping

We gathered extensive information on factors influencing voters’ voting decisions, especially factors that are related to perceptions of female political candidates. Correlating these preference factors with actual voting outcomes directly solicited in the survey provides us unique insights into the underrepresentation of women in BiH legislative bodies at the local level. Exhibit 14 presents the main reasons quoted by the respondents who did not vote in the 2016 local elections. Of the 314 non-voters, more than a quarter of them reported that the main reason they did not vote is that they did not believe that their votes could change anything.

Exhibit 14. Main Reason for Not Voting

Main reason did not vote in 2016	
There is no difference between candidates/parties	12.7%
I believe I cannot change anything with my vote	25.5%
I believe votes are being manipulated	8.6%
I planned to vote, but could not go to the polling station/I did not have time	17.2%
Other reasons	24.5%
Refused to answer	11.5%
N	314

We also asked all respondents to rank the potential factors that their voting preferences are based on. As shown in Exhibit 15, overall, candidates’ level of education and perceived capabilities, and confidence in candidates’ personal credibility in fulfilling their promises, were the two most important factors for all voter categories. We also found that there were a few significant differences across these voter categories. For example, the party that the candidates belong to played a much more important role in voting preference for the voters compared to non-voters; more than 10% of the voters listed it as the most important factor, whereas the corresponding percentage was 5.4% for non-voters. This finding was consistent with the higher proportion of voters (3.2%) who listed “candidates’ party in power” as the most important factor compared to the non-voters (1.6%). Moreover, 7.7% of the voters reported that knowing the candidate personally was the most important determinant of their voting behavior; only 3.8% of the non-voters reported the same preference factor.

Exhibit 15. Most Important Factor in Voting Preference

	Voters	Non-Voters	Voted for Female	Not Voted for Female
Candidate's physical appearance	0.4%	1.3%	0.3%	0.8%
Candidate's level of education and perceived capabilities	19.1%	22.6%	24.8%	15.2%
Confidence in candidate's personal credibility in fulfilling his/her promises	26.5%	21.3%	25.1%	27.6%
Candidate's personal program/priorities and familiarity with local issues	11.4%	10.8%	10.8%	11.5%
Candidate's record of previous political engagements	9.7%	9.9%	5.6%	12.6%
The party the candidate belongs to and that party's program and cadre	10.2%	5.4%	9.5%	9.8%
The fact that the candidate's party was in power	3.2%	1.6%	3.3%	2.6%
Familiarity with candidate through his/her media appearances	3.2%	2.6%	2.3%	4.1%
Good communication with citizens	5.3%	6.1%	5.5%	5.3%
Knowing candidate personally	7.7%	3.8%	9.8%	8.8%
Candidate's gender	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%
Refuses to answer	3.2%	14.7%	2.8%	1.7%
N	1654	314	641	532

More relevant to our study, we found that almost 13% of all responding voters who did not vote for any female candidates reported that previous political engagement was the top factor in their voting preference, whereas the 5.6% of the voters who voted for female candidates reported the same top factor. A higher proportion of the respondents who did not vote for female candidates listed media appearances as the most important factor in their voting preference (4.1% vs. 2.3%), whereas a much higher percentage of voters who voted for women listed the level of education and perceived capabilities as the determining factor (24.8% vs. 15.2%). Overall, only one respondent in our sample reported that the candidates' gender was the most important actor in voting preference.

To further help us understand the low representation of women among the elected local officials during the 2016 local elections, we solicited responses directly from the voters who voted for female candidates as to the reasons behind their support for female politicians. Consistent with the findings in the general voting preference, Exhibit 16 shows that level of education and perceived capabilities formed the single most important reason that these respondents voted for female candidates. Additionally, more than 15% of respondents stated that giving women more opportunities in politics was the motive behind their support for female candidates. The other most important reasons cited were knowing the candidate personally (17.9%) and confidence in the candidates' credibility to fulfill their promises (16.4%).

Exhibit 16. Most Important Reason to Vote for Female Candidates

	Voted for Female
Because of her physical appearance	0.3%
Because of her level of education and perceived capabilities	20.0%
Because of my confidence in her personal credibility in	16.4%
Because of her personal program/priorities and familiarity	5.0%
Because of her record of previous political engagements	4.4%
Because of the party she belongs to and that party's program	8.1%
Because her party was in power	1.4%
Because of her media appearances	0.3%
Because of her good communication with public	6.2%
Because I know her personally	17.9%
Because women should be given more opportunities in politics	16.4%
I chose her name randomly	0.8%
Refuse to answer	2.8%
N	641

We also assessed the reasons for not voting for female candidates for respondents who self-reported that they did not vote for any female politicians; results are shown in Exhibit 17.

Exhibit 17. Reasons Not to Vote for Female Candidates

	Not Voted for Female
Because in general, women are not good in politics and only men should be politicians	9.9%
Because there were more skilled and competent candidates on the list to vote for	31.8%
Because I do not consider her program/priorities as the most important ones	8.5%
Because her name did not sound familiar and I do not know anything about her	38.7%
Other	11.1%
N	532

Among the 532 voters who fell into this category, 40% of them reported that the main reason was that they did not know anything about the candidates. This is an important finding of our study that has policy implications for the political parties. To increase the representation of women in politics in BiH, the parties should increase the media campaign activities for female candidates to inform the voting public of the candidates' political platforms and their local development priorities. We also found that less than 10% of the voters who did not vote for female candidates expressed the perception that females are not good in politics.

Within a separate block of questions asked on stereotypes within our survey, shown in Exhibit 18, gender stereotypes are present in all categories of the voting-age population, with voters who did not vote for female candidates expressing the strongest stereotypes, followed by voters who voted for female candidates, whereas non-voters are least likely to express gender stereotypes. Although less than 10% say that the reason for not voting for females is their belief that females are not good in politics (as shown on the previous slide), within the block of stereotypes, 33% of non-voters, 42% of female-voting voters, and 49% of voters who did not vote for any women actually agree that men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women.

In political gender stereotyping among voters, a higher fraction of voters (61.7%) believed that the priority sectors of male politicians' platforms are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, whereas female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health, compared to non-voters (49.4%).

Overall, about half of the male respondents believed that men make better political leaders and should be elected, whereas less than 30% of male respondents disagreed with this perception. On the contrary, within female respondents, half of them disagreed with this statement, whereas a little over 30% agreed. For voters who voted for female political candidates in the local 2016 elections, almost 60% of the males believed that males are more emotionally suitable for politics than women; the corresponding percentage in women was just over 40%.

Exhibit 18. Political Gender Stereotyping

		All	Voters	Non-Voters	Voted for Female	Not Voted for Female
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women	Agree	40.8%	42.3%	33.4%	41.2%	48.5%
	Neither agree nor disagree	18.0%	17.4%	20.7%	15.1%	14.7%
	Disagree	39.5%	38.9%	43.0%	42.8%	34.8%
Public life activities are closer to men, and private life activities to women	Agree	51.2%	52.7%	44.0%	55.5%	56.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	22.3%	22.1%	23.9%	18.7%	19.9%
	Disagree	24.4%	23.3%	29.3%	24.2%	21.2%
The needs of the family are more important than the personal ambitions of women	Agree	70.1%	71.6%	62.7%	72.5%	79.1%
	Neither agree nor disagree	15.6%	15.1%	18.2%	14.8%	10.5%
	Disagree	14.1%	13.2%	18.2%	12.6%	10.2%
Priority sectors of male politicians' are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, whereas female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health	Agree	59.5%	61.7%	49.4%	66.9%	65.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	23.9%	23.8%	24.5%	20.0%	20.7%
	Disagree	14.2%	12.3%	22.9%	11.7%	10.5%
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women	Agree	51.2%	52.8%	44.6%	49.6%	59.2%
	Neither agree nor disagree	14.6%	14.1%	16.6%	12.5%	14.5%
	Disagree	33.2%	32.5%	36.6%	37.1%	25.8%
On the whole, female politicians are more liberal than male politicians	Agree	55.0%	55.0%	55.7%	63.7%	49.1%
	Neither agree nor disagree	25.5%	26.6%	20.1%	22.0%	28.8%
	Disagree	16.0%	15.2%	18.8%	11.1%	18.8%
On the whole, female politicians are more democratic than male politicians	Agree	60.3%	60.2%	60.5%	68.6%	56.2%
	Neither agree nor disagree	21.4%	22.4%	16.2%	18.1%	22.9%
	Disagree	16.1%	15.5%	18.8%	11.9%	18.8%

		Male	Female	Male Voters	Female Voters	Male Non-Voters	Female Non-Voters
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women	Agree	49.9%	33.3%	50.7%	35.2%	45.6%	25.4%
	Neither agree nor disagree	19.2%	17.1%	18.9%	16.0%	20.0%	21.2%
	Disagree	28.8%	48.3%	28.5%	47.7%	30.4%	51.3%
Public life activities are closer to man, and private life activities to women	Agree	55.6%	47.7%	56.4%	49.5%	50.4%	39.7%
	Neither agree nor disagree	23.0%	21.8%	22.8%	21.6%	24.8%	23.3%
	Disagree	19.8%	28.1%	19.1%	26.9%	24.0%	32.8%
The needs of the family are more important than the personal ambitions of women	Agree	71.5%	68.9%	73.0%	70.4%	63.2%	62.4%
	Neither agree nor disagree	16.4%	15.0%	15.2%	14.9%	22.4%	15.3%
	Disagree	12.1%	15.7%	11.7%	14.6%	14.4%	20.6%
Priority sectors of male politicians' are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, whereas female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health	Agree	60.4%	58.7%	61.6%	61.7%	53.6%	46.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	25.0%	23.0%	25.0%	22.7%	24.0%	24.9%
	Disagree	12.9%	15.3%	11.8%	12.8%	20.0%	24.9%
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women	Agree	58.3%	45.5%	60.0%	46.7%	49.6%	41.3%
	Neither agree nor disagree	14.8%	14.4%	15.0%	13.4%	13.6%	18.5%
	Disagree	26.2%	39.0%	24.5%	39.2%	34.4%	37.6%
On the whole, female politicians are more liberal than male politicians	Agree	52.5%	56.9%	52.3%	57.3%	54.4%	56.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	26.9%	24.4%	28.9%	24.7%	16.0%	22.8%
	Disagree	18.0%	14.3%	16.6%	14.1%	25.6%	14.3%
On the whole, female politicians are more democratic than male politicians	Agree	55.2%	64.3%	55.1%	64.5%	56.8%	63.0%
	Neither agree nor disagree	23.1%	20.0%	24.4%	20.8%	15.2%	16.9%
	Disagree	19.6%	13.2%	18.9%	12.7%	23.2%	15.9%

		Male Voted for Female	Female Voted for Female	Male Not Voted for Female	Female Not Voted for Female
On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women	Agree	51.8%	33.3%	52.4%	45.0%
	Neither agree nor disagree	16.2%	14.4%	15.8%	13.7%
	Disagree	30.5%	51.8%	29.1%	39.9%
Public life activities are closer to man, and private life activities to women	Agree	59.6%	52.6%	58.7%	54.7%
	Neither agree nor disagree	17.3%	19.8%	22.1%	18.0%
	Disagree	21.0%	26.6%	17.7%	24.5%
The needs of the family are more important than the personal ambitions of women	Agree	73.9%	71.5%	81.1%	77.3%
	Neither agree nor disagree	13.2%	16.0%	9.1%	11.9%
	Disagree	12.9%	12.5%	9.5%	10.8%
Priority sectors of male politicians' are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, whereas female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health	Agree	68.0%	66.1%	63.4%	67.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	19.9%	20.1%	22.4%	19.1%
	Disagree	10.7%	12.5%	11.8%	9.4%
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women	Agree	58.1%	43.4%	62.6%	56.1%
	Neither agree nor disagree	11.0%	13.6%	15.4%	13.7%
	Disagree	30.5%	42.0%	21.3%	29.9%
On the whole, female politicians are more liberal than male politicians	Agree	61.8%	65.0%	48.4%	49.6%
	Neither agree nor disagree	22.1%	22.0%	30.7%	27.0%
	Disagree	12.9%	9.8%	19.3%	18.4%
On the whole, female politicians are more democratic than male politicians	Agree	64.3%	71.8%	52.4%	59.7%
	Neither agree nor disagree	19.1%	17.3%	21.3%	24.5%
	Disagree	15.1%	9.5%	24.8%	13.3%

Breaking down the data by the gender of the voting-age population, political gender stereotyping can easily be detected by comparing male respondents' answers to these questions to those of female respondents, even within narrowly defined voter categories. For example, overall, about half of the male respondents believed that men make better political leaders and should be elected, whereas less than 30% of male respondents disagreed with this perception. On the contrary, within female respondents, half of them disagreed with this statement, whereas a little over 30% agreed. For voters who voted for female political candidates in the local elections of 2016, almost 60% of the males believed that males are more emotionally suitable for politics than women; the corresponding percentage in women was just over 40%.

Gender stereotyping among the voting-age population is further examined in Exhibit 18, in which the respondents were asked to associate certain key words with male or female politicians. The results speak directly to gender stereotyping, which exists widely among the voting-age population in BiH. For example, male respondents are more likely to associate terms such as “decisive”, “competent” and “hardworking” with males.

Looking through the columns of Exhibit 19, it is clear that our findings on the general public's gender stereotyping are broadly consistent with their voting behavior. For example, voters who voted for female candidates are much more likely to associate terms like “decisive”, “tough”, “moral and high integrity”, and “keep promises”, with females compared to respondents who did not vote for any female candidates. More than 55% of the voters who voted for females associated “responsible” with females, whereas less than 48% of the respondents who did not support any female candidates reported the same association.

Exhibit 19. Gender Stereotyping among Voting-Age Population

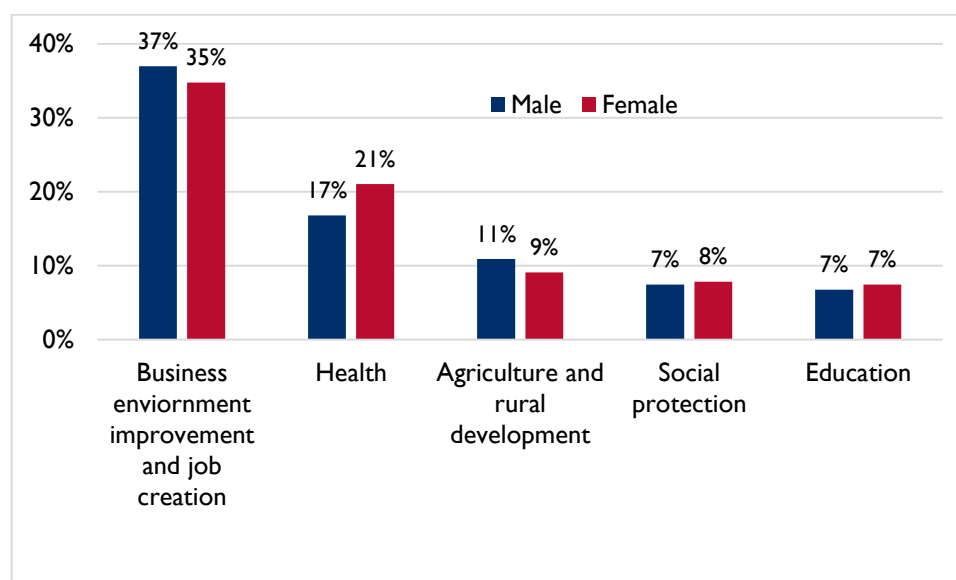
Which of the following words and phrases you generally associate more with male or female political candidates?		All	Male	Female	Voters	Non-Voters	Voted for Females	Not Voted for Female
Decisive	Female	39.70%	27.62%	49.45%	38.60%	46.80%	44.60%	33.30%
	Male	50.90%	62.91%	41.26%	52.70%	40.50%	46.20%	57.10%
Stand up for what they believe	Female	53.10%	42.84%	61.38%	52.80%	56.40%	58.40%	47.20%
	Male	36.10%	46.00%	28.14%	37.10%	29.60%	30.90%	41.90%
Emotionally stable	Female	41.40%	31.45%	49.36%	41.20%	43.30%	45.60%	35.50%
	Male	49.60%	59.53%	41.53%	50.60%	43.30%	45.20%	56.00%
Tough	Female	35.70%	24.92%	44.44%	36.20%	34.10%	42.30%	31.40%
	Male	53.30%	64.37%	44.44%	53.90%	49.70%	46.00%	59.60%
Compassionate	Female	70.10%	63.13%	75.77%	70.40%	71.30%	73.30%	69.60%
	Male	22.10%	28.64%	16.76%	22.40%	18.20%	19.00%	22.90%
Handle family responsibilities while serving in office	Female	60.30%	50.73%	68.03%	60.20%	62.10%	63.70%	59.00%
	Male	31.10%	39.80%	24.04%	32.20%	24.50%	28.70%	33.30%
Work out compromises	Female	49.60%	39.57%	57.65%	49.20%	53.20%	54.90%	45.50%
	Male	40.10%	49.49%	32.42%	40.80%	35.00%	34.50%	44.00%
Take risk	Female	28.60%	19.05%	36.34%	28.20%	31.90%	32.50%	25.90%
	Male	60.10%	69.79%	52.28%	61.30%	53.50%	57.30%	63.70%
Misuse power	Female	14.10%	14.21%	13.93%	13.80%	15.90%	12.60%	14.70%
	Male	68.60%	68.66%	68.58%	69.30%	64.70%	71.10%	69.40%
Full of ideas	Female	50.10%	39.46%	58.65%	49.10%	56.70%	51.50%	46.20%
	Male	35.80%	45.66%	27.78%	37.20%	27.40%	34.60%	40.40%
Keep promises	Female	48.60%	38.33%	56.92%	48.30%	52.20%	53.80%	45.10%
	Male	33.70%	44.19%	25.14%	34.80%	26.40%	28.10%	39.70%

Which of the following words and phrases you generally associate more with male or female political candidates?		All	Male	Female	Voters	Non-Voters	Voted for Females	Not Voted for Female
Responsible	Female	50.00%	37.54%	60.11%	49.80%	53.50%	55.10%	47.70%
	Male	36.90%	49.15%	27.05%	37.80%	30.90%	33.20%	39.30%
Team player	Female	41.40%	26.27%	41.62%	33.40%	43.00%	35.00%	31.00%
	Male	49.60%	59.53%	44.63%	53.20%	40.80%	52.30%	54.90%
Competent	Female	39.70%	27.96%	49.27%	38.80%	46.50%	42.40%	35.00%
	Male	46.90%	58.85%	37.25%	48.80%	36.00%	44.50%	52.60%
Moral and high integrity	Female	44.10%	33.26%	52.82%	43.20%	49.70%	47.10%	38.90%
	Male	40.20%	51.07%	31.42%	41.60%	32.50%	36.20%	47.70%
Fair	Female	54.50%	44.98%	62.20%	54.10%	58.30%	59.90%	51.50%
	Male	30.10%	39.80%	22.31%	31.10%	23.90%	23.70%	35.70%
Sincere	Female	54.20%	42.73%	63.57%	54.50%	55.10%	60.40%	52.10%
	Male	31.00%	41.94%	22.22%	31.70%	26.10%	24.80%	36.10%
Bold	Female	37.80%	28.30%	45.45%	36.70%	43.60%	41.70%	32.30%
	Male	50.60%	60.88%	42.35%	52.70%	40.10%	47.10%	56.00%
Conform to others' opinions	Female	45.40%	37.54%	51.82%	45.40%	46.50%	48.40%	42.90%
	Male	39.80%	46.11%	34.79%	40.60%	35.70%	35.90%	42.20%
Dominant	Female	31.10%	21.98%	38.43%	29.40%	40.10%	32.30%	25.90%
	Male	59.00%	67.64%	52.00%	61.10%	48.10%	57.60%	63.90%
Hardworking	Female	53.00%	42.39%	61.66%	53.20%	54.50%	59.10%	48.30%
	Male	35.40%	45.55%	27.23%	36.10%	29.90%	30.90%	40.00%
Organized	Female	52.90%	40.59%	62.84%	52.20%	58.00%	56.30%	49.10%
	Male	35.90%	47.13%	26.78%	37.40%	26.80%	31.70%	41.70%

Development priorities among voting-age population

As seen in Exhibit 20, when asked to rank the 17 development priorities, the same five areas were identified as the most frequent priorities by male and females. There are no gender differences among the citizens, as both males and females rank the same five top priorities in the same order, with females putting a slightly higher priority on health than males.

Exhibit 20. Top Development Priorities Identified by Gender



Similarly, in Exhibits 21 and 22, the same five areas were identified as the most frequent top priority by all categories of the voting-age population: voters vs. non-voters, and voters who voted for female candidates vs. voters who did not vote for any female politicians in 2016. These five areas are business environment improvement and job creation, health, agriculture and rural development, social protection, and education. When we expanded to the top five priorities identified by the voting-age population, the same five areas emerged as the most frequent choices. Although we found no differences between voters and non-voters, and between voters who voted for female candidates and voters who did not vote for any female politicians, these five areas are different from the top five priorities identified by the political candidates. Although business environment improvement and job creation remained the most frequent top development priority choice for both voters and politicians, health, social protection, and education, are areas frequently identified by voters as top development priorities, but are not among the top five most frequent choices by the political candidates.

Exhibit 21. Top Development Priorities Identified by Voting-Age Population

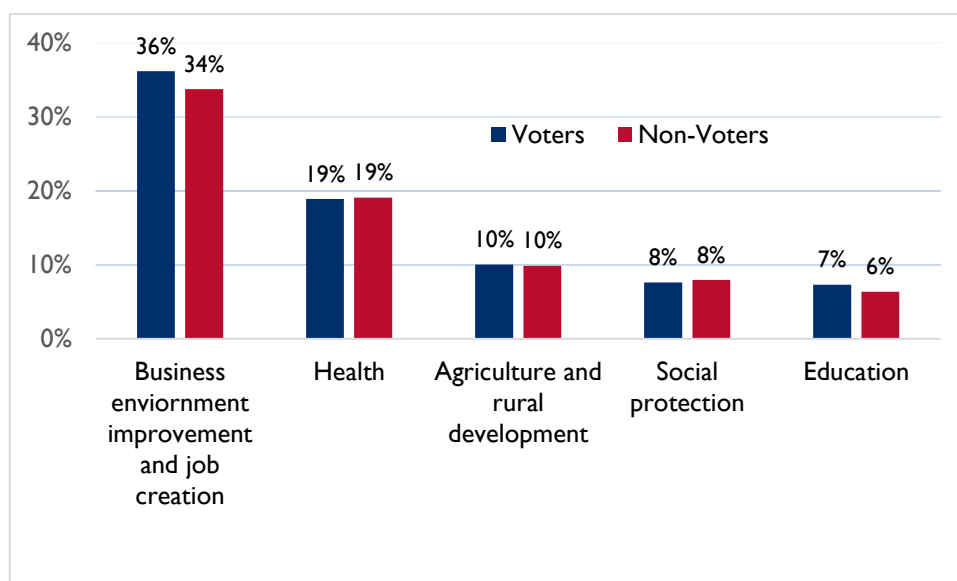
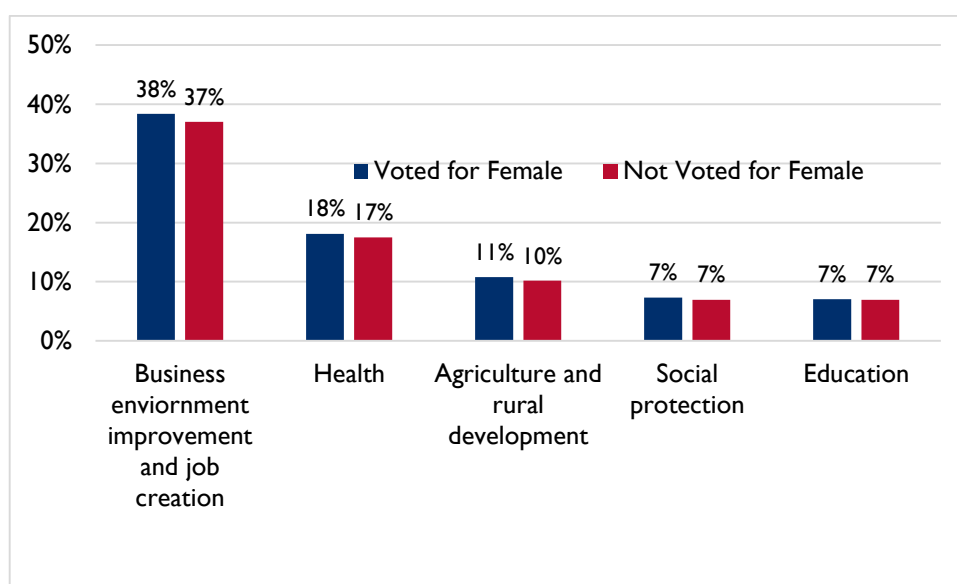


Exhibit 22. Top Development Priorities Identified by Voters



Specifically, 36% of the voters chose business environment improvement and job creation as their top development priority, whereas 19% of them selected health. Very similar proportions can be seen in the non-voter population. Looking across voters divided by whether they voted for female candidates in 2016, 38% of the respondents who voted for females and 37% of the voters who did not vote for any female candidates chose business environment improvement and job creation as their top development priority. The percentages for social protection and education areas were 7% for both groups.

Personality traits among voters

We administered a simplified set of questions informed by the BFI and the IBIB on the voting-age population to assess the five CLASP dimensions and examine their relationship with actual voting behavior. Our principal component analysis revealed the same pattern of gender difference in

personality traits measured through the five CLASP dimensions between male and female voting-age citizens as the difference between male and female political candidates. Female candidates, on average, have higher credibility than males, and the integrity sub-dimension is consistently higher for females than males. This pattern is consistent with the gender differences in traits within voters, non-voters, and other voter categories.

We found significant differences between voters who supported female candidates and those who did not in personality traits for two CLASP dimensions: accountability and credibility, a much stronger result than the comparison of personality traits between male and female politicians. The assessments indicated that voters who supported female candidates, on average, have higher accountability and credibility traits than the respondents who did not vote for any females. Within the dimension of credibility, the competence sub-dimension is consistently higher for voters who voted for female candidates; no significant difference in integrity was noted across the two groups. We also found that the voters who supported female candidates demonstrated higher responsibility and teamwork traits (the two sub-dimensions within the accountability dimension) compared with voters who did not vote for any female candidates. In summary, our exploratory analysis based on CLASP principles provided suggestive evidence that personality traits related to accountability and credibility might offer some explanations for different voting behavior between the two groups of voters, one that voted for female candidates and the other one that did not.

VI. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Women's participation in political processes and policy making is fundamental to effective governance and improved human development outcomes. The growing focus on the severe underrepresentation of women in politics in BiH has provided the political will necessary to test and develop programs to increase women's participation in political decision making. There is already accumulated evidence that when elected, female officials in particular can enhance the legitimacy of local government, improve service delivery, and facilitate communication with local populations.

Our study provides rich, high-quality data on development priorities and personality traits of both local politicians and voters. Combining these two sources of survey data, this study not only offers detailed information on gender differences in development priorities in the context of the 2016 local elections in BiH, but also provides empirical evidence on political gender stereotyping and gender-related voting preferences and their determinants, which all contribute to the underrepresentation of women in BiH local legislative bodies. Our findings on the significant political gender stereotyping among voters, combined with direct information solicited from voters who did not vote for any female politicians, build a rigorous empirical evidence base for future gender programming.

Based on the findings of our study,²⁸ we propose the following conclusions and recommendations for policies and interventions aiming to improve gender equality in political representation and to fight gender stereotypes in BiH:

1. This study finds significant gender stereotypes in BiH, expressed by both women and men, with 72% of men and 69% of women believing that the needs of family are more important than the personal ambitions of women. **Recommendations for fighting society's gender stereotypes in general: All policies and interventions²⁹ in all sectors should include gender mainstreaming as one of their key principles. Gender analyses should analyze gender norms for both men and women. Moreover, more resources should be directed toward designing specific interventions with the objective to raise awareness about gender equality and gender issues targeting both men and women. This should include specific interventions in the education sector and media interventions, to ensure that gender stereotypes are transformed in formal education and in the media to actively deconstruct and avoid gender stereotypes.**
2. When it comes to gender stereotypes that may be particularly important for women's political participation and electability, there is a clear pattern of stereotypes being present in all categories of the voting-age population, with voters who did not vote for female candidates expressing the strongest stereotypes, followed by voters who voted for female candidates, whereas non-voters are least likely to express gender stereotypes. Specifically, 50% to 70% of citizens believe that (1) public life activities are closer to men while private life activities are closer to women; (2) men are better emotionally suited for politics than women; (3) priority sectors of male politicians are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, whereas female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health; and (4) women are less: decisive, emotionally stable, tough, competent, bold, and dominant than men. This gender stereotyping evidence implies that the low electability of women candidates may be partially a result of both citizens who are comparatively more liberal when it comes to gender stereotypes not voting at all in elections, and of the fact that a majority of voters show the strongest gender stereotyping and do not vote for women. **Recommendations on fighting gender stereotypes related to women's electability: Interventions working with**

²⁸ Several of the outlined recommendations also lean on the "Gender Analysis Report for BiH" conducted by USAID MEASURE-BiH in 2016.

²⁹ Defined as any potential future interventions/projects/programs, including any potential donor interventions, CSO interventions, government's interventions, or interventions implemented by political parties themselves.

political parties and processes should be based on a gender equality approach to both empower women and engage women and men as supporters of gender equality. Gender analysis should be recommended in all policy making and policy advocacy interventions, as well as media and political party interventions. Work on empowering female politicians to reach out to the non-voters for future votes, as non-voters express a lower level of gender stereotypes than voters.

3. Although the initial introduction of a legal quota for the underrepresented sex on the political parties' candidate lists initially resulted in an increase of the share of women, women's actual political representation in BiH has not improved since 2000. An increase of the quota from 33% to 40% in 2013 did not result in overall improvement of women's political representation in BiH, indicating that the main obstacle is the semi-open candidate list system introduced in 2000, which decreased the political representation of women, as it allows voters to change the positioning of candidates within a political party candidate list with their votes. **Recommendations on legal elections framework and political parties' procedures to ensure that more women get elected through (temporary) special measures:** Given existing voters' bias (with one-half of male and one-third of female citizens surveyed in this study still agreeing that men are better political leaders than women), measures to ensure that more women get elected should be considered and advocated. These measures could include: i) ensuring women and women issues are meaningfully represented in political party leadership to increase the gender sensitivity of the political parties, and increasing overall gender sensitivity of political parties by, for example, conducting a gender audit within parties, developing gender action plans, and establishing gender equality forums instead of women's forums; ii) ensuring women candidates are high on the lists through a proper zebra/zipper list; iii) limiting the open aspects of candidate lists; iv) introducing reserved seats, etc. As supporting measures, interventions by civil society organizations (CSOs) could advocate for gender sensitivity measures by the political parties (as outlined above) and increased media coverage of female candidates and women's issues, while also providing gender-sensitive voter and civic education. Civil society organizations can play an important role in raising public awareness on the importance of gender equality issues and representation in decision-making bodies. In doing so, they use media as a powerful tool. Media interventions should avoid gender stereotypes and provide gender-sensitive coverage of elections and politics in general. They should increase the coverage of women politicians and women's issues, noting that training media professionals to strengthen their capacities to report on gender equality during the campaigns and elections is needed.
4. Female politicians believe more frequently than male politicians that they have no influence on the development priorities of the political party to which they belong. At the same time, women, on average, make up only 30% of the membership in party municipal/city branches. Among voters who did not vote for female candidates, the main self-reported reason for such a decision is that they did not know anything about the female candidates. **Recommendations on political parties' procedures to increase gender equality within parties:** Support interventions that promote democratization of decision making within political parties and increased gender equality within the parties. Media campaign activities for female candidates need to be increased to present the candidates' political platforms, development priorities, and political and professional/expert achievements to the voting public.
5. Both male and female politicians listed business environment improvement for job creation as the highest development priority, followed by transport, agriculture, and rural development, general public services, and housing. Thus, contrary to the stereotype that typically asserts

that female politicians prioritize social protection over economic affairs (which was confirmed in our study, with 60% of citizens agreeing with this stereotype), the study found that, overall, both male and female candidates view economic affairs as the top development priority, which is in line with the top priority expressed by all voting categories of citizens of both sexes.

Recommendations on women politicians' presentation of their top development priority – economic affairs: To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, it should be communicated to the voters that there is no gender difference in politicians' prioritization of economic affairs as the top priority. Support interventions that encourage female politicians to engage in economic affairs issues by strengthening their capacities, and enable female politicians to present their stance on economic issues as the development priority area within their parties and to the public.

6. Whereas business environment improvement and job creation remain the most frequent top development priority choice both for voters and for politicians, health, social protection, and education are areas frequently identified by voters of both sexes (with females putting a slightly higher priority on health than males) among the top five development priorities. They are not, however, among the top five most frequent choices of the political candidates. At the same time, female politicians are more likely than male candidates to prioritize health and youth issues over other issues, although these are not among the five most frequent priorities chosen by either male or female candidates. ***Recommendations on politicians' presentation of health, social protection, and education priorities:*** The evidence of the difference between politicians and citizens in terms of prioritizing health, social protection, and education should be communicated to the public. Furthermore, voters should be informed that female politicians more highly prioritize health and youth issues than male politicians, in order to encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections. Support interventions that encourage both male and female politicians to focus more on health, social protection, and education, given the higher priority afforded to these areas by voters in comparison to politicians. Also, support interventions that enable female politicians to present their platform on health within their parties and to the public, and communicate to the public that female politicians give higher priority to health issues than male politicians. As supporting measures, interventions by civil society organizations need to advocate for increased focus by political parties on health, as an area of special concern to women, whereas media should increase coverage of this area.
7. Personality traits of all female and male politicians within the five dimensions of personality traits (credibility, legitimacy, accountability, service-orientedness, and power) dispute gender stereotypes (which, for example, assert that female politicians lag in the power dimension), as it is shown that there are no significant gender differences, except in the credibility dimension, in which female politicians exhibit higher integrity. ***Recommendations on fighting gender stereotypes related to personality traits of female versus male politicians:*** To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, the absence of evidence of stereotypical gender differences in personality traits relevant for political leadership, as well as the higher credibility exhibited by female politicians, should be communicated to the public. Support interventions that enable female politicians to present themselves to the voters focusing on their credibility dimension and power dimension personality traits.
8. We find suggestive evidence that citizens' personality traits related to accountability and credibility might offer some explanations to different voting behavior. Although we found the same pattern of gender differences in personality traits among the general population as among the political candidates, we found significant differences between voters who supported female candidates and those who did not in personality traits for two dimensions: accountability and

credibility, with voters who supported female candidates on average having higher accountability and credibility traits than the respondents who did not vote for any females. **Recommendations on targeting potential voters based on voters' personality traits of female versus male politicians:** Support interventions that enable female politicians to present themselves to the voters by presenting their values related to accountability.

9. Demographic characteristics of female politicians differ from the characteristics of their male counterparts in that women are younger and more educated. At the same time, our comprehensive analysis of factors influencing voters' voting decisions, and an examination of the relationships between these factors and voting outcomes shows that both voters and non-voters reported that both candidates' level of education and perceived capabilities, and credibility in fulfilling their promises, are the two most important factors for all voting categories. In both of these factors (education level and credibility), female politicians outperformed their male counterparts, according to evidence from our study. **Recommendations related to demographic characteristics of female versus male politicians:** To encourage potential voters to consider female candidates in elections, evidence of female politicians, having more education, on average, should be communicated to the public. Evidence of female politicians having, on average, higher credibility, as already mentioned in recommendation 6 should also be communicated. Support interventions that enable female politicians to present their education and professional backgrounds and credentials to voters.
10. Only 39% of voters reported that they voted for at least one female candidate in the 2016 BiH local elections; the main demographic difference between them and those who did not vote for any women is education level, with female-voting voters having a significantly higher schooling level than the voters who did not vote for any women. Female-voting voters were also somewhat more likely to be females themselves and were more interested in politics—that is, they followed politics more closely. **Recommendation on targeting potential voters based on voters' demographic characteristics:** Work on empowering female politicians to reach out to more highly educated voters and to female voters.
11. This study provides empirical evidence on the role of development priorities, political gender stereotyping, and voter preferences in the under-representation of women in politics in BiH. The dissemination of study findings before elections would provide useful information for political parties and voters. **Recommendation on expanding evidence from this study:** To expand on the evidence of this study, fund similar research ahead of the 2018 general elections in BiH.

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ANNEX A. PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MUNICIPAL/CITY PARTY BOARDS

DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES – MUNICIPAL/CITY PARTY BOARD

Q1. We are interested in your opinion about the development priorities for your municipality/city. Please list up to five development priorities your party will advocate in the Municipal Council /Municipal Assembly/City Council/City Assembly. The priorities should be listed in the order of importance, 1 – Most important and 5 – Least important.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Q2. Further, we are interested in your prioritization of the government functions in the coming period. Please rank all the priorities below from 1 to 10 scale, whereby 1 is the highest and 10 is the lowest priority.

	1 - 10
a. Defense (including civil defense)	
b. Public order and safety (judiciary; police; fire services)	
c. Economic affairs (agriculture; forestry and fisheries; energy and fuel; mining, manufacturing and construction; transport; infrastructure and communication; and other industries and economic matters)	
d. Environmental protection (water management, waste water management, air pollution, protection of biodiversity)	
e. Housing and community amenities (including urban planning, water supply, street lighting)	
f. Health	
g. Recreation, culture and religion (recreation and sport, culture, broadcasting and publishing services; religion)	
h. Education	
i. Social protection (disabled persons and other persons unable to work, older people / pensioners, war veterans, families of the dead / killed; families with children, the unemployed, social housing)	
j. General public services which cannot be classified under the above functions (including general administration, operational activities, support the work and the work of executive and legislative bodies, as well as general financial, fiscal, and external affairs of the government sector)	

Q3. What is the number of men and number of women in the municipal/city party board:

Number of men: _____

Number of women: _____

ANNEX B. PRE-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR POLITICAL CANDIDATES

CLASP Questions

INSTRUCTION: Here you can find statements relating to personality traits. We kindly ask you to carefully read each statement and select (put X in print form) to what extent you agree that the statement reflects your personality and/or opinion. For each statement 5 optional answers are available with the following meaning:

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree	Mainly disagree	Not sure	Mainly agree	Fully agree

.....

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
1.	Am able to cooperate with others	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Complete tasks successfully	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Don't pretend to be more than I am	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Am trusted to keep secrets	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Am quick to correct others	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Impose my will on others	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Follow through on my commitments	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Admire a really clever scam	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Dislike having authority over others	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Believe in sexual modesty	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Am easily discouraged	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Am not concerned with making a good impression	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Come up with good solutions	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Switch my loyalties when I feel like it	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Do less work than I should	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Am not bothered by messy people.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Don't consider myself attractive	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Am exacting in my work	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Want to form my own opinions	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Just know that I will be a success	1	2	3	4	5
21.	Want to be in charge	1	2	3	4	5
22.	Break my promises	1	2	3	4	5
23.	Know how to apply my knowledge	1	2	3	4	5
24.	Am not always what I appear to be	1	2	3	4	5
25.	Love order and regularity	1	2	3	4	5
26.	Don't think it's important to socialize with others	1	2	3	4	5
27.	Would never take things that aren't mine	1	2	3	4	5
28.	Am never at a loss for words	1	2	3	4	5
29.	Know that I am not a special person	1	2	3	4	5
30.	Rarely confess to others	1	2	3	4	5
31.	Am good at making impromptu speeches	1	2	3	4	5
32.	Like to take it easy	1	2	3	4	5
33.	Feel I must respect the decisions made by my group	1	2	3	4	5
34.	Know how to get things done	1	2	3	4	5
35.	Am full of ideas	1	2	3	4	5
36.	Appreciate people who respect me	1	2	3	4	5
37.	Don't talk badly to outsiders about my own group	1	2	3	4	5
38.	Take advantage of others	1	2	3	4	5
39.	Spend time reflecting on things	1	2	3	4	5
40.	Know my strengths	1	2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
41.	Guide my life using religious scriptures		2	3	4	5
42.	Don't like to draw attention to myself		2	3	4	5
43.	Listen to my conscience		2	3	4	5
44.	Don't miss group meetings or team practices		2	3	4	5
45.	Keep my promises		2	3	4	5
46.	Can talk others into doing things		2	3	4	5
47.	Hang around doing nothing		2	3	4	5
48.	See difficulties everywhere		2	3	4	5
49.	Would never circumvent the law		2	3	4	5
50.	Dislike myself		2	3	4	5
51.	Would never go hang-gliding or bungee jumping		2	3	4	5
52.	Let myself be used		2	3	4	5
53.	Would be afraid to give a speech in public.		2	3	4	5
54.	Am indifferent to the feelings of others		2	3	4	5
55.	Take pride in not exaggerating who or what I am		2	3	4	5
56.	Try to forgive and forget		2	3	4	5
57.	Like to take responsibility for making decisions		2	3	4	5
58.	Would not regret my behavior if I were to take advantage of someone impulsively		2	3	4	5
59.	Pay attention to details		2	3	4	5
60.	Feel crushed by setbacks		2	3	4	5
61.	Am not highly motivated to succeed		2	3	4	5
62.	Have a good work for everyone		2	3	4	5
63.	Believe in one true religion		2	3	4	5
64.	Seldom notice details		2	3	4	5
65.	Try to lead others		2	3	4	5
66.	Try not to think about the needy		2	3	4	5
67.	Am not always honest with myself		2	3	4	5
68.	Feel like an imposter		2	3	4	5
69.	Treat everyone the same		2	3	4	5
70.	Get others to do my duties		2	3	4	5
71.	Pust myself very hard to succeed		2	3	4	5
72.	Like order		2	3	4	5
73.	Detect mistakes		2	3	4	5
74.	Doubt the value of religion		2	3	4	5
75.	Am good at helping people work well together		2	3	4	5
76.	Support my teammates or fellow group members		2	3	4	5
77.	Do a lot in my spare time		2	3	4	5
78.	Am not good at taking charge of a group		2	3	4	5
79.	Put little time and effort into my work		2	3	4	5
80.	Am less capable than most people		2	3	4	5
81.	Would feel very badly for a long time if I were to steal from someone		2	3	4	5
82.	Rarely look for a deeper meaning in things		2	3	4	5
83.	Seek danger		2	3	4	5
84.	Feel comfortable with myself		2	3	4	5
85.	Pay my bills on time		2	3	4	5
86.	Loose respect for leaders if I disagree with them		2	3	4	5
87.	Believe that honesty is the basis for trust		2	3	4	5
88.	Let people push me around, to help them feel important		2	3	4	5
89.	Cheat on people who have trusted me		2	3	4	5
90.	Have an eye for detail		2	3	4	5
91.	Like a leisurely lifestyle		2	3	4	5
92.	Believe that events in my life are determined only by me		2	3	4	5
93.	Know how to get around the rules		2	3	4	5
94.	Act according to my conscience		2	3	4	5
95.	Am very pleased with myself		2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
96.	Try to make my group members happy	1	2	3	4	5
97.	Readily overcome setbacks	1	2	3	4	5
98.	Find it difficult to manipulate others	1	2	3	4	5
99.	Pretend to be concerned for others	1	2	3	4	5
100.	Am hard to understand	1	2	3	4	5
101.	Act like different people in different situations	1	2	3	4	5
102.	Can't stand on my own	1	2	3	4	5
103.	Try to follow the rules	1	2	3	4	5
104.	Like to take responsibility for making decisions	1	2	3	4	5
105.	Remember my failures more easily than my successes	1	2	3	4	5
106.	Handle tasks smoothly	1	2	3	4	5
107.	Often forget to put things back in their proper place	1	2	3	4	5
108.	Like to look at my body	1	2	3	4	5
109.	Have little to contribute	1	2	3	4	5
110.	Like to exaggerate my troubles	1	2	3	4	5
111.	See myself as a good leader	1	2	3	4	5
112.	Seldom feel blue	1	2	3	4	5
113.	Always admit it when I make a mistake	1	2	3	4	5
114.	Find it easy to manipulate others	1	2	3	4	5
115.	Make well-considered decisions	1	2	3	4	5
116.	Am told that I am down to earth	1	2	3	4	5
117.	Excel in what I do	1	2	3	4	5
118.	Make people feel uncomfortable	1	2	3	4	5
119.	Have a low opinion of myself	1	2	3	4	5
120.	Am told that I am a strong but fair leader	1	2	3	4	5
121.	Don't pay attention	1	2	3	4	5
122.	Can be trusted to keep my promises	1	2	3	4	5
123.	Am devoted to religion	1	2	3	4	5
124.	Take others' interests into account	1	2	3	4	5
125.	Attract attention from the opposite sex	1	2	3	4	5
126.	Know that my decisions are correct	1	2	3	4	5
127.	Turn my back on others	1	2	3	4	5
128.	Don't mind being the centre of attention	1	2	3	4	5
129.	Work hard	1	2	3	4	5
130.	Get confused easily	1	2	3	4	5
131.	Do just enough work to get by	1	2	3	4	5
132.	Stop when work becomes too difficult	1	2	3	4	5
133.	Dislike taking responsibility for making decisions	1	2	3	4	5
134.	Am afraid that I will do the wrong thing	1	2	3	4	5
135.	Quickly lose interest in the tasks I start	1	2	3	4	5
136.	Don't consider myself religious	1	2	3	4	5
137.	Put people under pressure	1	2	3	4	5
138.	Feel threatened easily	1	2	3	4	5
139.	Dislike looking at my body	1	2	3	4	5
140.	Am not embarrassed easily	1	2	3	4	5
141.	Am not an extraordinary person	1	2	3	4	5
142.	Do more than what's expected of me	1	2	3	4	5
143.	Want to control the conversation	1	2	3	4	5
144.	Am resigned to my fate	1	2	3	4	5
145.	Am concerned about others	1	2	3	4	5
146.	Leave mess in my room	1	2	3	4	5
147.	Demand quality	1	2	3	4	5
148.	Like having authority over others	1	2	3	4	5
149.	Turn plans into actions	1	2	3	4	5
150.	Am easily intimidated	1	2	3	4	5
151.	Try to outdo others	1	2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
152.	Like to look at myself in the mirror.	1	2	3	4	5
153.	Take charge	1	2	3	4	5
154.	Want to amount to something special in others' eyes	1	2	3	4	5
155.	Bottle up my feelings	1	2	3	4	5
156.	Wait for others to lead the way	1	2	3	4	5
157.	Lie to get myself out of trouble	1	2	3	4	5
158.	Put on a show to impress people	1	2	3	4	5
159.	Complete tasks successfully	1	2	3	4	5
160.	Am polite to strangers	1	2	3	4	5
161.	Try to make sure everyone in group feels included	1	2	3	4	5
162.	Give up easily	1	2	3	4	5
163.	Have a strong need for power	1	2	3	4	5
164.	Demand explanations from others	1	2	3	4	5
165.	Put up with anything	1	2	3	4	5
166.	Am not good at planning group activities	1	2	3	4	5
167.	Like to be ahead of others	1	2	3	4	5
168.	Love to help others	1	2	3	4	5
169.	Won't take the blame for something that's not my fault	1	2	3	4	5
170.	Am told by friends that they do not really know who I am	1	2	3	4	5
171.	Get started quickly on doing a job	1	2	3	4	5
172.	Think ahead	1	2	3	4	5
173.	Take the initiative	1	2	3	4	5
174.	React quickly	1	2	3	4	5
175.	Lay down the law to others	1	2	3	4	5
176.	Don't care what others think	1	2	3	4	5
177.	Find it difficult to approach others	1	2	3	4	5
178.	React slowly	1	2	3	4	5
179.	Misrepresent the facts	1	2	3	4	5
180.	Am apprehensive about new encounters	1	2	3	4	5
181.	Believe that leaders should let everyone have a say in what the group does	1	2	3	4	5
182.	Will agree to anything	1	2	3	4	5
183.	Try to surpass others' accomplishments	1	2	3	4	5
184.	Conform to others' opinions	1	2	3	4	5
185.	Believe in the power of faith	1	2	3	4	5
186.	Am not easily bothered by things	1	2	3	4	5
187.	Have a strong personality	1	2	3	4	5
188.	Set high standards for myself and others	1	2	3	4	5
189.	Want everything to be „just right“	1	2	3	4	5
190.	Like to get lost in thought	1	2	3	4	5
191.	Have little to say	1	2	3	4	5
192.	Hate to seem pushy	1	2	3	4	5
193.	Am true to my own values	1	2	3	4	5
194.	Must try to maintain harmony within my group	1	2	3	4	5
195.	Am quick to correct others	1	2	3	4	5
196.	Am not embarrassed easily	1	2	3	4	5
197.	Feel it's OK that some people don't like me	1	2	3	4	5
198.	Make people feel welcome	1	2	3	4	5
199.	Tell the truth	1	2	3	4	5
200.	Look for hidden meaning in things	1	2	3	4	5
201.	Break rules	1	2	3	4	5
202.	Am not bothered by disorder	1	2	3	4	5
203.	Keep in the background	1	2	3	4	5
204.	Am an extremely loyal person	1	2	3	4	5
205.	Am very pleased with myself	1	2	3	4	5
206.	Do things according to a plan	1	2	3	4	5
207.	Don't understand things	1	2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
208.	Believe that unfortunate events occur because of bad luck	1	2	3	4	5
209.	Let other people take the credit for my work	1	2	3	4	5
210.	Misjudge situations	1	2	3	4	5
211.	Misuse power	1	2	3	4	5
212.	Believe that by working hard a person can achieve anything	1	2	3	4	5
213.	Feel that my life lacks direction	1	2	3	4	5
214.	Have an intense, boisterous laugh	1	2	3	4	5
215.	Like to show off my body	1	2	3	4	5
216.	Tell people about it when I'm irritated	1	2	3	4	5
217.	Don't let others take credit for my work	1	2	3	4	5
218.	Feel that my life lacks direction	1	2	3	4	5
219.	Feel short-changed in my life	1	2	3	4	5
220.	Always know why I do things	1	2	3	4	5
221.	Am the life of the party	1	2	3	4	5
222.	Cheat to get ahead	1	2	3	4	5
223.	Never talk about sex	1	2	3	4	5
224.	Don't talk a lot	1	2	3	4	5
225.	Want to be different from others	1	2	3	4	5
226.	Excel in nothing at all	1	2	3	4	5
227.	Tend to vote for conservative political candidates	1	2	3	4	5
228.	Challenge others' points of view	1	2	3	4	5
229.	Have already gotten more than I deserve	1	2	3	4	5
230.	Am willing to try anything once	1	2	3	4	5
231.	Am considered attractive by others	1	2	3	4	5
232.	Feel comfortable around people	1	2	3	4	5
233.	Easily resist temptations	1	2	3	4	5
234.	Lack the talent for influencing people	1	2	3	4	5
235.	Work hard	1	2	3	4	5
236.	Don't always practice what I preach	1	2	3	4	5
237.	Do what others do	1	2	3	4	5
238.	Feel that I am unable to deal with things	1	2	3	4	5
239.	Examine my motives constantly	1	2	3	4	5
240.	Take no time for others	1	2	3	4	5
241.	Keep things to myself	1	2	3	4	5
242.	Am not concerned with making a good impression	1	2	3	4	5
243.	Like to take it easy	1	2	3	4	5
244.	Am sure of my ground	1	2	3	4	5
245.	Am always on the go	1	2	3	4	5
246.	Put people under high expectations	1	2	3	4	5
247.	Tell other people what they want to hear so that they will do what I want them to do	1	2	3	4	5
248.	Believe that my success depends on ability, rather than luck	1	2	3	4	5
249.	Am not good at working with a group	1	2	3	4	5
250.	Break rules to achieve goals	1	2	3	4	5
251.	Believe that the world is controlled by a few powerful people	1	2	3	4	5
252.	Have leadership abilities	1	2	3	4	5
253.	Know how to enjoy myself	1	2	3	4	5
254.	Like to stand during the national anthem	1	2	3	4	5
255.	Speak softly	1	2	3	4	5
256.	Seek adventure	1	2	3	4	5
257.	Tell the truth	1	2	3	4	5
258.	Believe some people are born unlucky	1	2	3	4	5
259.	Return extra change, when a cashier makes a mistake	1	2	3	4	5
260.	Talk a lot	1	2	3	4	5
261.	Take risks	1	2	3	4	5
262.	Try to follow the rules	1	2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
263.	Believe that we should be tough on crime		2	3	4	5
264.	Feel comfortable with myself		2	3	4	5
265.	Seldom daydream		2	3	4	5
266.	Would never take things that aren't mine		2	3	4	5
267.	Leave my belongings around		2	3	4	5
268.	Pretend to be concerned for others		2	3	4	5
269.	Always know why I do things		2	3	4	5
270.	Do just enough work to get by		2	3	4	5
271.	Sometimes have trouble making up my mind		2	3	4	5
272.	Have a low opinion of myself		2	3	4	5
273.	Prefer to do everything alone		2	3	4	5
274.	Like to be of service to others		2	3	4	5
275.	Set high standards for myself and others		2	3	4	5
276.	Believe there is never an excuse for lying		2	3	4	5
277.	Enjoy being reckless		2	3	4	5
278.	Use sear words		2	3	4	5
279.	Try to examine myself objectively		2	3	4	5
280.	Use others for my own ends		2	3	4	5
281.	Worry about what people think of me		2	3	4	5
282.	Would never make a high risk investment		2	3	4	5
283.	Have sometimes have to tell a lie		2	3	4	5
284.	Avoid dangerous situations		2	3	4	5
285.	Work best when I am alone		2	3	4	5
286.	Believe that our human nature brings us together to work for common goals		2	3	4	5
287.	Want to have a good reputation in others' eyes		2	3	4	5
288.	Plunge into tasks with all my heart		2	3	4	5
289.	Have a pleasing physique		2	3	4	5
290.	Get back at others		2	3	4	5
291.	Enjoy being part of a group		2	3	4	5
292.	Dislike looking at myself in the mirror		2	3	4	5
293.	Need the approval of others		2	3	4	5
294.	Am easily hurt		2	3	4	5
295.	Use flattery to get ahead		2	3	4	5
296.	Am always busy		2	3	4	5
297.	Obstruct others' plans		2	3	4	5
298.	Have a natural talent for influencing people		2	3	4	5
299.	Cheat to get ahead		2	3	4	5
300.	Question my ability to do my work properly		2	3	4	5
301.	Am easily offended		2	3	4	5
302.	Anticipate the needs of others		2	3	4	5
303.	Don't worry about things that have already happened		2	3	4	5
304.	Play a role in order to impress people		2	3	4	5
305.	Have difficulty getting others to work together		2	3	4	5
306.	Am constantly reflecting about myself		2	3	4	5
307.	Can manage many things at the same time		2	3	4	5
308.	Don't try to figure myself out		2	3	4	5
309.	Am likely to show off if I get the chance		2	3	4	5
310.	Don't see the consequences of things		2	3	4	5
311.	Steal things		2	3	4	5
312.	Look down on others		2	3	4	5
313.	Let things proceed at their own pace		2	3	4	5
314.	Like order		2	3	4	5
315.	Question my ability to do my work properly		2	3	4	5
316.	Find it necessary to please the people who have power		2	3	4	5
317.	Do the opposite of what is asked		2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
318.	Tend to vote for liberal political candidates	1	2	3	4	5
319.	Put little time and effort into my work	1	2	3	4	5
320.	Go straight for the goal	1	2	3	4	5

DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES

Q1. In the spaces below, please list your five priorities, ranking them starting with the highest priority (1). In listing your priorities, you can take into consideration the priorities selected by your political party, outlined in this card in no particular order. In other words, you can but do not need to use only these priorities when listing your own priorities, they are just for your reference.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Area A	Area B	Area C	Area D	Area E
--------	--------	--------	--------	--------

[the table should include randomly ordered municipal party branch priorities]

Q2. Please specify the importance of certain governmental functions for the development of your municipality/city in the coming period. Please rank all the priorities below from 1 (highest priority) to 10 (lowest priority) scale.

	1 - 10
a. Defense (including civil defense)	
b. Public order and safety (judiciary; police; fire services)	
c. Economic affairs (agriculture; forestry and fisheries; energy and fuel; mining, manufacturing and construction; transport; infrastructure and communication; and other industries and economic matters)	
d. Environmental protection (water management, waste water management, air pollution, protection of biodiversity)	
e. Housing and community amenities (including urban planning, water supply, street lighting)	
f. Health	
g. Recreation, culture and religion (recreation and sport, culture, broadcasting and publishing services; religion)	
h. Education	
i. Social protection (disabled persons and other persons unable to work, older people / pensioners, war veterans, families of the dead / killed; families with children, the unemployed, social housing)	
j. General public services which cannot be classified under the above functions (including general administration, operational activities, support the work and the work of	

executive and legislative bodies, as well as general financial, fiscal, and external affairs of the government sector)	
--	--

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Interest in politics

Q3. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you

- 1 Very interested
- 2 Quite interested
- 3 Hardly interested
- 4 Not at all interested
- 7 Refusal
- 8 Don't know (Do not read)
- 9 Refuses to answer (Do not read)

Trust in political parties

Q4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. In general, political parties in BiH can be trusted to do what is right	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Candidates should follow development priorities of the political party they are running for rather than their own.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Political efficacy

Q5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
a. People like me don't have any influence on the development priorities of the political party I am running for	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Attitude about LGBT

Q6. Do you think homosexual couples should, or should not, have the right to:

	Yes	No
a. Marry	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Live without getting married, but with equal rights as married couples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Adopt children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Inherit property from each other same way as married couples	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Q7. During the last 12 months, have you ever:

	Yes	No
a. Signed a petition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Donated money to charity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Donated money to a political campaign or a political cause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Volunteered for an organization or community or informal group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Attended a meeting in a local community regarding the community issues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Wrote and sent a letter to media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q8. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?

	Yes	No
a. Contacted a politician	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Contacted a government or local government official	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Worked without pay in a political party or action group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Volunteered in a CSO	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Signed a petition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Boycotted certain products (e.g. BUY LOCAL)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Been a member of a political party/group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
i. Volunteered to monitor/observe elections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
j. Posted a message with political content in social media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9. Which comes closest to your status in relation to your political party? You may select more than one option:

a. Not an official member of the party

- b. Official member of the party
- c. Official member of the municipal party board
- d. Official member of the cantonal party board [only in FBiH]
- e. Official member of the party's main board
- f. Employed in the party
- g. Appointed to public administration as representative of my political party
- h. Appointed to a public company as representative of my political party
- i. Appointed to a public institution as a representative of my political party
- j. Other, please specify _____

Q10. If you are officially a member of the party which nominated you in their list of candidates, when did you join this party, exactly in which year?

Q11. Have you been a member of MA/MC in the 2012 - 2016 period?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Q12. How long have you served as a member of an MA/MC altogether during your lifetime? Please use only years, not months.

_____ years

Q13. How often do you participate in political party education programs?

- 1. Always
- 2. Often
- 3. Sometimes
- 4. Rarely
- 5. Never
- 6. No answer

Q14. How many parties have you been a member of altogether in your political career?

- a. 0
- b. 1
- c. 2
- d. 3 and more

Q15. If you answered more than one party to the question above, please list the parties' full names, including the current one:

DEMOGRAPHY

Q16. What is your sex?

Male

Female

Other

Q17. What is your age in years?

Q18. Number of members in your household?

Q19. Number of dependents in your household?

Q20. Your highest level of education completed?

- a. Completed Primary school and below
- b. Completed Secondary school and below
- c. Completed College, BA, University (VŠŠ, BA, VSS)
- d. Completed Master and above

Q21. Your current activity status?

- a. Full-time employment
- b. Part-time employment
- d. Unemployed – have been employed before (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- e. Unemployed – seeking first employment (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- f. Everyday house work, looking after children or other persons (Houseperson) (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- g. Student/secondary school pupil (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- h. Unable to work (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- i. Pensioner (age-related and premature pension) (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)
- j. Other (*If this is your answer skip to question Q26*)

Q22. Do you work in:

- a. Private sector company
- b. Public sector company
- c. Government institution
- d. Civil society organization
- e. Other

Q23. Your status in employment:

- a. Working for others
- b. Self-employed (*if this is your answer skip to question Q25*)
- c. Self-employed with employees (*if this is your answer skip to question Q25*)

Q24. What is your type of employment contract?

- a. Fixed-term
- b. Permanent-term

Q25. What is your current occupation?

- a. High officials and members of legislative bodies, state high officials, directors
- b. Experts and scientists
- c. Technicians and other similar professions
- d. Clerks
- e. Service and trade professions
- f. Farmers, forestry workers and fishermen
- g. Non-industrial manufacturing professions
- h. Machine and vehicles operators, product assemblers
- i. Non-skilled professions
- j. Armed forces
- k. Other not specified

Q26. What is your marital status?

- a. Single/unmarried (*if this is your answer skip to question Q28*)
- b. Legally married
- c. Living together in informal marriage
- d. Divorced or separated (*if this is your answer skip to question Q28*)
- e. Widowed (*if this is your answer skip to question Q28*)

Q27. Your spouse's current activity status?

- a. Full-time employment
- b. Part-time employment
- c. Unemployed – have been employed before
- d. Unemployed – seeking first employment
- e. Everyday house work, looking after children or other persons (Houseperson)
- f. Student/secondary school pupil
- g. Unable to work
- h. Pensioner (age-related and premature pension)
- i. Other _____

Q28. Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often did you attend religious services in the past year?

- a. Every day
- b. More than once a week
- c. Once a week
- d. At least once a month
- e. Only on special holy days
- f. Seldom
- g. Never
- h. **(Do not read!)** Don't know

Q29. How much time in your typical working day you devote to unpaid work within your household?

Hours per day: _____

Q30. Do you belong to any of the following groups: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. No answer

ANNEX C. POST-ELECTION QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VOTING-AGE POPULATION

CLASP

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
1.	Am able to cooperate with others	1	2	3	4	5
2.	Don't pretend to be more than I am	1	2	3	4	5
3.	Follow through on my commitments	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Admire a really clever scam	1	2	3	4	5
5.	Come up with good solutions	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Know how to apply my knowledge	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Don't think it's important to socialize with others	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Would never take things that aren't mine	1	2	3	4	5
9.	Know that I am not a special person	1	2	3	4	5
10.	Am good at making impromptu speeches	1	2	3	4	5
11.	Feel I must respect the decisions made by my group	1	2	3	4	5
12.	Take pride in not exaggerating who or what I am	1	2	3	4	5
13.	Would not regret my behavior if I were to take advantage of someone impulsively	1	2	3	4	5
14.	Pay attention to details	1	2	3	4	5
15.	Feel crushed by setbacks	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Push myself very hard to succeed	1	2	3	4	5
17.	Support my teammates or fellow group members	1	2	3	4	5
18.	Would feel very badly for a long time if I were to steal from someone	1	2	3	4	5
19.	Believe that honesty is the basis for trust	1	2	3	4	5
20.	Cheat on people who have trusted me	1	2	3	4	5
21.	Act according to my conscience	1	2	3	4	5
22.	Act like different people in different situations	1	2	3	4	5
23.	Make well-considered decisions	1	2	3	4	5
24.	Can be trusted to keep my promises	1	2	3	4	5
25.	Take others' interests into account	1	2	3	4	5
26.	Do just enough work to get by	1	2	3	4	5
27.	Stop when work becomes too difficult	1	2	3	4	5
28.	Quickly lose interest in the tasks I start	1	2	3	4	5
29.	Put people under pressure	1	2	3	4	5
30.	Want to control the conversation	1	2	3	4	5
31.	Try to outdo others	1	2	3	4	5
32.	Lie to get myself out of trouble	1	2	3	4	5
33.	Demand explanations from others	1	2	3	4	5
34.	Get started quickly on doing a job	1	2	3	4	5
35.	Think ahead	1	2	3	4	5
36.	Have a strong personality	1	2	3	4	5
37.	Have little to say	1	2	3	4	5
38.	Am true to my own values	1	2	3	4	5
39.	Am an extremely loyal person	1	2	3	4	5
40.	Challenge others' points of view	1	2	3	4	5
41.	Feel comfortable around people	1	2	3	4	5
42.	Tell other people what they want to hear so that they will do what I want them to do	1	2	3	4	5
43.	Have leadership abilities	1	2	3	4	5
44.	Prefer to do everything alone	1	2	3	4	5
45.	Like to be of service to others	1	2	3	4	5
46.	Set high standards for myself and others	1	2	3	4	5
47.	Question my ability to do my work properly	1	2	3	4	5

STATEMENTS		RESPONSES				
48.	Anticipate the needs of others	1	2	3	4	5
49.	Play a role in order to impress people	1	2	3	4	5
50.	Find it necessary to please the people who have power	1	2	3	4	5

POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Q1. Did you vote in the 2016 local elections for the mayor and municipal/city assembly or council?

1. Yes (*Skip to VOTERS SECTION*)
2. No (*Skip to NON-VOTERS SECTION*)
3. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer (*Skip to Q3b in NON-VOTERS SECTION*)

QUESTIONS FOR VOTERS

Q3a. Did you vote for **any** female political candidate in the 2016 local elections?

1. Yes
2. No (*Skip to question Q5a*)
3. I voted at the party level only (*Skip to Q2a*)
3. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer (*Skip to Q2a*)

Q4a. Why did you vote for a female political candidate? (After this question move to QUESTIONS FOR ALL)

(SELECT ALL THAT APPLY AND RANK THEM FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT TO LEAST IMPORTANT)

1. Because of her physical appearance
2. Because of her level of education and perceived capabilities
3. Because I believe she will fulfill her promises
4. Because of her personal program/priorities and familiarity with local issues
5. Because of her record of previous political engagements
6. Because of the party she belongs to and that party's program and cadre
7. Because her party was in power
8. Because of her media appearances
9. Because of her good communication with citizens
10. Because I know her personally
11. Because women should be given more opportunities in politics
12. I chose her name randomly
13. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer

Q5a. Why didn't you vote for a female political candidate? (Move to QUESTIONS FOR ALL)

1. Because in general, women are not good in politics and only men should be politicians
2. Because there were more skilled and competent candidates on the list to vote for
3. Because I do not consider her program/priorities as the most important ones

4. Because her name did not sound familiar and I don't know anything about her
5. Other. Specify!

Q2a. For which party did you vote in the 2016 local elections?

1. DNS
2. Demokratska fronta
3. Građanski savez
4. HDZ BiH
5. HDZ-1990
6. HSP BiH
7. HSS-NHI
8. Naša stranka
9. NDP
10. PDP
11. SBB BiH
12. SDA
13. SDP
14. SDS
15. SNSD
16. Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu
17. Other party
18. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

QUESTIONS FOR NON-VOTERS

Q2b. What is the main reason why you did not vote in the 2016 local elections?
ROTATION

1. There is no difference between candidates/parties
2. I believe I cannot change anything with my vote
3. I believe votes are being manipulated
4. I planned to vote, but could not go to the polling station/I did not have time
5. Other. Specify: _____
6. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q3b. Hypothetically speaking, if you had voted, would you have voted for any female candidate?

1. Yes
2. No (*Skip to question Q5b*)
3. I would have voted at the party level only (*Skip to QUESTIONS FOR ALL*)
3. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer (*Skip to QUESTIONS FOR ALL*)

Q4b. If you would vote for a female political candidate, what would be the reason?

ROTATION, SHOWCARD ALL THAT APPLY AND RANK THEM FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT TO LEAST IMPORTANT)

1. Because of her physical appearance
2. Because of her level of education and perceived capabilities
3. Because of my confidence that she would fulfill her promises
4. Because of her personal program/priorities and familiarity with local issues
5. Because of her record of previous political engagements
6. Because of the party she belongs to and that party's program and cadre
7. Because her party was in power
8. Because of her media appearances
9. Because of her good communication with citizens
10. Because I know her personally
11. Because women should be given more opportunities in politics
12. I chose her name randomly
13. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer

Q5b. If you had voted, what would be the reason for you not to vote for a female candidate?

ROTATION

1. Because in general, women are not good in politics and only men should be politicians
2. Because there were more skilled and competent candidates on the list to vote for
3. Because I do not consider her program/priorities as the most important ones
4. Because her name did not sound familiar and I don't know anything about her
5. Other. Specify!

QUESTIONS FOR ALL

Q6. How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you:

1. Very interested
2. Quite interested
3. Hardly interested
4. Not at all interested
5. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer

Q7. Regardless of whether you voted, what are/would be your voting preferences based on

(SELECT ALL THAT APPLY AND RANK THEM FROM THE MOST IMPORTANT TO LEAST IMPORTANT):

1. Candidate's physical appearance
2. Candidate's level of education and perceived capabilities
3. Confidence in candidate's personal credibility in fulfilling his/her promises
4. Candidate's personal program/priorities and familiarity with local issues

5. Candidate's record of previous political engagements
6. The party the candidate belongs to and that party's program and cadre
7. The fact that the candidate's party was in power
8. Familiarity with candidate through his/her media appearances
9. Good communication with citizens
10. Knowing candidate personally
11. Candidate's gender
12. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	(Do not read!) Don't know/Refuses to answer
a. In general, political parties in BiH can be trusted to do what is right	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Candidates should follow development priorities of the political party they are running for rather than their own.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. People like me don't have any influence on the development priorities of our local communities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q9. Do you think that political parties are guided more by their own political interests or by the interests of the public? READ OUT THE ANSWER OPTIONS! NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!

1. Political interests-Strongly
2. Political interests-Somewhat
3. Both political and citizens' interests
4. Citizens' interest-Somewhat
5. Citizens' interest-Strongly
6. **(Do not read!)** Don't know/Refuses to answer

DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES

Q10. Among the areas listed below, please choose 5 you consider to currently be the most important for the development of your municipality/city and rank them from 1 (highest priority) to 5 (lowest priority). SHOWCARD

	1 - 5
a. Business environment improvement to create jobs	
b. Education	
c. Tourism	

d. Public order and safety (judiciary and police)	
e. Housing and community amenities (including urban planning, water supply, and street lighting)	
f. Energy	
g. Agriculture, forestry, and fishing (including subsidies), and rural development	
h. Recreation and sports	
i. Transport (including infrastructure) and communications	
j. Religion and other community services (including youth)	
k. General public services (including general administration, operation, and support of executive and legislative organs and general financial, fiscal, and external affairs)	
l. Culture	
m. Social protection	
n. Environmental protection	
o. Mining, manufacturing, and construction (including subsidies)	
p. Health	
q. Defense (including civil defense)	

Q11. Please rank the ten general functions of government from 1 to 10 according to your opinion of their importance, with 1 being the highest priority for BiH authorities at all levels to focus on and 10 being the lowest priority.
SHOWCARD

	1 - 10
a. Defense (including civil defense)	
b. Public order and safety (judiciary; police; fire services)	
c. Economic affairs (agriculture; forestry and fisheries; energy and fuel; mining, manufacturing and construction; transport; infrastructure and communication; and other industries and economic matters)	
d. Environmental protection (water management, waste water management, air pollution, protection of biodiversity)	
e. Housing and community amenities (including urban planning, water supply, street lighting)	
f. Health	
g. Recreation, culture and religion (recreation and sport, culture, broadcasting and publishing services; religion)	
h. Education	
i. Social protection (disabled persons and other persons unable to work, older people / pensioners, war veterans, families of the dead / killed; families with children, the unemployed, social housing, human rights)	
j. General public services which cannot be classified under the above functions (including general administration, operational activities, support the work and the work of executive and legislative bodies, as well as general financial, fiscal, and external affairs of the government sector)	

STEREOTYPES IN POLITICS

Q12. On the whole, men make better political leaders than women and should be elected rather than women

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q13. Public life activities are closer to man, and private life activities to women

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q14. The needs of the family are more important than the personal ambitions of women

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q15. Priority sectors of male politicians' are typically economic issues, infrastructure, and security/defense, while female politicians' priorities are social welfare, education, and health

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree

8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q16. Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q17. On the whole, female politicians are more liberal than male politicians

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q18. On the whole, female politicians are more democratic than male politicians

1. Strongly agree
2. Agree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Somewhat disagree
6. Disagree
7. Strongly disagree
8. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/refuses to answer

Q19. Which of the following words and phrases you generally associate more with male or female political candidate:

	F	M	(Do not read!) Refuses to answer
1. Decisive			
2. Stands up for what they believe			
3. Emotionally stable			
4. Tough			
5. Compassionate			

6. Handles family responsibilities while serving in office			
7. Work out compromises			
8. Take risk			
9. Misuse power			
10. Is full of ideas			
11. Keep promises			
12. Responsible			
13. Team player			
14. Competent			
15. Is moral and has high integrity			
16. Fair			
17. Sincere			
18. Bold			
19. Conform to others' opinions			
20. Dominant			
21. Hardworking			
22. Organized			

POLITICAL AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Q20. During the last 12 months, have you ever participated in following political activities:

	Yes	No
a. Signed a petition	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Taken part in a lawful public demonstration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Donated money to charity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Donated money to a political campaign or a political cause	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. Volunteered for an organization or community or informal group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Attended a meeting in a local community regarding the community issues	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Wrote and sent a letter to media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q21. During the last 12 months, have you ever participated in following civic activities:

	Yes	No
a. Contacted a politician	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. Contacted a government or local government official	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Worked without pay in a political party or action group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. Volunteered in a CSO	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

e. Boycotted certain products (e.g. BUY LOCAL)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Been a member of a political party/group	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
g. Volunteered to monitor/observe elections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
h. Posted a message with political content in social media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Q22. What is your sex?

Male

Female

Other

Q23. What is your age in years?

Q24. Number of members in your household?

Q25. Number of dependents in your household?

Q26. What is your marital status?

a. Single/unmarried

b. Legally married

c. Living together in informal marriage

d. Divorced or separated

e. Widowed

Q27. Your highest level of education completed?

a. No completed level of education

b. Completed Primary school

c. Completed Secondary school

d. Completed College, BA, University (VŠŠ, BA, VSS)

e. Completed Master or above

Q28. Apart from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often did you attend religious services in the past year?

a. Every day

b. More than once a week

c. Once a week

- d. At least once a month
- e. Only on special holy days
- f. Seldom
- g. Never
- h. **(Do not read!)** Don't know

Q29. How much time in your typical day you devote to unpaid work within your household?

Hours per day:

Q30. Do you belong to any of the following groups: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. No answer

The following few questions are on your employment status and financial resources available to you and your household. Please answer these questions taking in to account both your formal income from registered employed and any informal income you earn by your work. We guarantee you that all information you provide to us are confidential and that your name will never be mentioned or used, so please answer these questions honestly, as we are interested in how BiH citizens really live, work, and finance their needs.

Q31. Which of the following describes your working status in the last month, taking into account any work done for pay or profit, regardless of whether it is officially registered? **READ OUT THE ANSWER OPTIONS! NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!**

- a. Full time employment
- b. Part-time employment
- c. Intern/trainee
- d. Volunteer
- e. Unemployed, with occasional jobs, actively looking for work
- f. Unemployed, actively looking for work *(Skip to question Q37)*
- g. Unemployed, not looking for work *(Skip to question Q37)*
- h. Unpaid everyday house/farm work, looking after children or others, not looking for paid work *(Skip to question Q37)*
- i. Person with disability whose disability is the main reason for not working *(Skip to question Q37)*
- j. Pupil/student/in specialization *(Skip to question Q37)*
- k. Retired *(Skip to question Q37)*
- l. Military (recruit) *(Skip to question Q37)*
- m. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q32. Do you work for?

- a. Private sector company
- b. Public sector company or government/public institution
- c. Cooperative
- d. Civil society organization

- e. Other
- f. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q33. What is your status in employment??

- a. Employed in a foreign company/organization
- b. Employed in a BiH private company
- c. Employed in a BiH public sector company or government/public institution
- d. Employed in a civil society organization
- e. Owner/joint owner (self-employed)
- f. Farmer with own farm
- g. Other
- h. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q34. Do you have indefinite (permanent) or definite (temporary) work contract? READ OUT THE ANSWER OPTIONS! NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!

- a. Indefinite
- b. Definite
- c. I work without a contract
- d. **(Do not read!)** Refuses to answer

Q35. What is your current occupation? READ OUT THE ANSWER OPTIONS! NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!

- a. Legislators. Senior Officials and Chief Executives
- b. Scientists, Engineers and other professionals
- c. Technicians and associate professionals
- d. Clerical support workers
- e. Services and sales workers
- f. Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers
- g. Craft and related trades workers
- h. Plant and machine operators and assemblers
- i. Elementary occupations
- j. Armed forces occupations
- k. Other?
- l. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/Refuses to answer

Q36. How much in KM did you earn in net income in last month for your formal and informal (registered and unregistered) work?

Q37. What is the monthly net income of your household? NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!

- 1. No income in this month 1
- 2. Up to 100 KM 2
- 3. 101 to 200 KM 3

- 4. 201 to 300 KM 4
- 5. 301 to 400 KM 5
- 6. 401 to 500 KM 6
- 7. 501 to 600 KM 7
- 8. 601 to 700 KM 8
- 9. 701 to 800 KM 9
- 10. 801 to 900 KM 10
- 11. 901 to 1000 KM 11
- 12. 1001 to 1100 KM 12
- 13. 1101 to 1200 KM 13
- 14. 1201 to 1300 KM 14
- 15. 1301 to 1500 KM 15
- 16. 1501 to 2000 KM 16
- 17. 2001 to 3000 KM 17
- 18. Above 3000 KM 18
- 19. **(Do not read!)** Does not know/Refuses to answer 19

Q38. Has your household in addition to household's net income also received financial help from family or friends abroad (remittances)? NOTE DOWN ONE ANSWER ONLY!

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. (Do not read!) Don't know/Refuses to answer

**MONITORING AND EVALUATION
SUPPORT ACTIVITY (MEASURE-BiH)**

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