

**GENDER ASPECTS OF CORRUPTION
IN HIGHER EDUCATION
IN UKRAINE**

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1 INTRODUCTION

Higher education institutions are establishments that, as well as standing at the forefront of research in all areas of activity, train the future elite of a country. They are the places where knowledge is transferred and values are shaped. Consequently, any deviation in the functioning of these institutions from the highest standards of probity will have far-reaching impacts on the future of a society. In the case of corruption, the young generations' acquisition of core ethical values may be undermined during the formative years that are critical to the promotion of integrity and accountability in a given society. The consequences can be severe, widespread and long-lasting. Corruption has negative impacts on the cost, volume and quality of education services, reducing public confidence and ultimately affecting learning outcomes and their potential contribution to long-term social and economic development.¹ When it involves professional certification, corruption in education can have devastating consequences for public health and safety by allowing incompetent doctors, teachers and other professionals to purchase their qualifications to practise.²

Corruption in higher education is recognized to be pervasive in Ukraine. According to a major study conducted in 2009,³ the majority of respondents who had interactions with representatives of institutions of higher education within the previous 12 months had experienced some sort of corruption. However, research on corruption in higher education in Ukraine remains limited and focused mainly on the admissions process. Research in many other areas, including on the interaction of gender and corruption in higher education, is virtually non-existent. It therefore seemed important to help fill this information gap by examining the subject more closely. This report examines aspects of the interaction between gender and corruption in higher education. In particular, it looks at the differentiated impact of corruption on the male and female genders, referred to as men and women respectively. The ultimate aim and practical value of the report should be self-evident: an increased understanding of this issue could improve the effectiveness of the fight against corruption and its ability to address the different experiences and perspectives of women and men in higher education institutions.

The study was carried out in three phases. In the first phase, researchers conducted a review of existing literature. Studies on corruption in higher

education were reviewed, as were law enforcement agency reports, governmental statistics reports, and press coverage of the issue.

In the second phase, researchers conducted 15 in-depth interviews with faculty members (55 respondents: 30 women and 25 men) and students (60 respondents: 30 women and 30 men) and four focus group interviews, two with faculty members and two with students. These interviews occurred between 20 September and 30 October 2009 in nine universities and academies in the cities of Kharkiv and Odessa. The findings of this report give special weight to institutions that have obtained their fourth level of accreditation from the Ministry of Education and Science, which include state-owned, communal and private universities and academies, but not technical schools and colleges.

In the third phase of the study, researchers conducted a national survey of members of the public (2,027 respondents: 55% women and 45% men) between 1 June and 1 July 2010 in 15 of the 24 oblasts of Ukraine.

Further details about the methodology employed are provided in the Annex.

For the purpose of this study, the following definition of corruption was used: "the unlawful use of authority to obtain personal benefits for oneself or other persons, and the unlawful promise, offer or acceptance of such benefits."

2 CORRUPTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

2.1 Signs of the prevalence of corruption

A number of empirical findings indicate that corruption is particularly prevalent in higher education. This can be seen to confirm the need to study corruption in the higher education system.

- According to the findings of the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, 47% of those dealing with administrations and faculty of higher education establishments in 2007 gave bribes further to a request and 29% initiated bribes themselves.⁴
- The same organization examined changes in these figures over time and found that the percentage of those who believe that there is corruption in admissions to higher education has increased from 65% in 2008 to 73% in 2009 among high school students, and from 68% in 2008 to 79% in 2009 among students' parents.⁵
- The Ministry of Interior reports that it has recorded 493 corruption cases in the education sector in the first nine months of 2009. Violations were mainly recorded in higher education establishments, including 14 bribery cases in undergraduate- and graduate-level academic institutions, compared with only 4 cases reported in pre-school facilities and schools.⁶
- The results of surveys conducted among law enforcement officers show that the size of bribes involved in this sector can be quite large. According to some experts, a higher education establishment in a typical regional centre with an average of 5,000 students might produce roughly \$2 million a year in corruption income.⁷
- In the national survey of 2,027 members of the public (the third phase of the study), 386 respondents or 19% of members of the general public reported experiencing corruption in the education sector in the previous 12 months.

The prevalence of corruption in higher education is disturbing for society as a whole, as the habit of turning to corruption in the course of education is virtually certain to increase the probability of corrupt behaviour after graduation.

2.2 Characteristics of corruption

Corruption is able to proliferate in the particular context of higher education when parties to a corrupt transaction have complementary roles, interests and capabilities. Many sources document how professors are chronically underpaid to such an extent that academics have to take extra jobs in order to make ends meet.⁸ In 2003, the Ukrainian education minister noted that the average professorial wage was so low that it would take "126 years without eating and drinking to save up enough money to buy a flat."⁹

Students, in turn, must navigate an elaborate and highly opaque system. For example, they are typically required to pass a large variety of subjects in order to proceed from one academic year to the next. Informal payments can be used to guarantee the necessary passes to proceed to the next academic year. Because of the one-on-one oral format in which tests can be administered, there is little regulation or oversight of the marks that are given. Payments can be made to retake or adjust the marks received on written exams or to overlook the use of course books or notes during exams.¹⁰ Another commonly documented occurrence is for students to be offered extra "private lessons" for a fee, which in practice are required to progress in the degree program.

Certain characteristics of the Ukrainian education system make it vulnerable to particular corruption practices. Students are typically organized each year into course groups that might contain about 20 students each. The leader of the student group is responsible for maintaining relations with the course administrator to obtain such essential information as course dates, times and examination information.¹¹ According to the focus groups, gifts from student groups, coordinated by the group leader, have developed into a common form of bribery, as is the purchase of textbooks or other publications written by lecturers and professors. One focus group transcript reports: "In most cases, before the exam, a student group leader would come to a lecturer and offer to buy some essential books for the department. The lecturer would either refuse or accept the offer and refer him/her to a procedures advisor [методистів] who would sell the books." "Our group donated a microwave to a department, as requested by a procedures advisor." The group leader acts as a student intermediary to facilitate these and other corrupt practices. In addition to the student group leaders, staff intermediaries also coordinate interactions between students and faculty, as discussed more fully later.

The fact that there are well-established routes for engaging in corruption illustrates how institutionalized corruption has become. Bribery and

extortion have also become highly structured and take place through standard procedures, with fixed rates for various services and a multi-level network of intermediaries. For instance, in 2000, the press revealed "price lists" for services provided by low-level officials, including college and university lecturers. According to these accounts, one had to pay the equivalent of \$30–\$50 for a good exam grade in local colleges and universities, with group rates as low as \$10 per student and premium rates of \$80 for students who had previously failed the exam.¹² In 2007, the media reported a case of a price list being circulated offering \$10 for a "satisfactory" grade of "C"; \$20 for a good grade of "B"; and \$30 for an "excellent" grade of "A."¹³

Within the university structure, different groups provide specialised corruption-related services for which they can charge money. For instance, procedures advisors of extramural departments (which conduct courses outside the regular course of study at a university) can have lists of "virtual" students who pay a fee in order to never show up for class. Department heads can charge money for various purposes: recruitment of employees, admission to post-graduate programs and successfully passing Candidate's Degree examinations. Deans and deputy deans can make money during admission exams. University rectors, provosts and related senior officials do not necessarily engage students directly but can misappropriate public funds and off-budget money "behind the scenes." The Ministry of the Interior has documented 91 such cases by university officials in the period January-September 2009.¹⁴ Most often, these cases involve the misuse of funds allocated for routine maintenance (e.g. capital repairs of premises) or the procurement of goods.¹⁵

As for how corruption-related services are remunerated, the vast majority of applied studies focus on bribes. This appears to be the most prevalent form of corruption payment, but it is certainly not the only one, as some of the examples above have already illustrated. Findings of systematic studies conducted in Ukraine and a number of post-Soviet states show that nearly half of the cases of faculty corruption during examinations did not involve direct acceptance of unlawful benefits. For instance, a study conducted in Azerbaijan shows that less than one half (48%) of students who rely on corruption during exams actually give bribes to faculty members. The majority of students in fact employ so-called *tapsh* or connections, an equivalent of the Soviet-era *blat*.¹⁶ On this approach, exam grades are negotiated by other individuals (such as deans, administrators, off-campus officials, relatives or friends) through various means of influence. Indeed, anthropological studies of the post-Soviet era have revealed that bribery and the use of personal connections are often

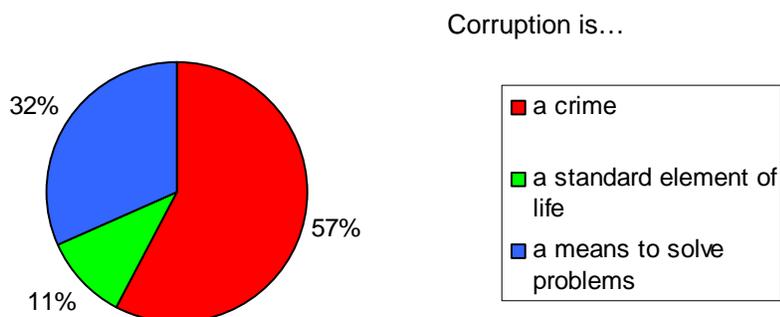
employed together in complex ways.¹⁷ Findings from in-depth interviews support the proposition that a similar situation exists in Ukraine.

Prior to 2008, admission committees at higher education institutions could select applicants on the basis of a general competition, out-of-competition provisions, a special purpose selection or a special competitive examination for particular groups of entrants. In particular, scores attained in secondary school graduation exams and on institution-specific admission exams received considerable attention.

Applicants who engage in corruption to gain admission benefit from an unfair advantage, while those resist corruption face considerable difficulties.¹⁸ Perhaps because of this, those admitted to university have a perceptibly more tolerant attitude toward corruption. 35% of recent high school graduates strongly believe that no form of corruption is justified to achieve admittance to higher education institutions, but only 29% of students in their first or second year of study at a higher education institution believe so.¹⁹

In general, corruption is widely accepted among higher education students. In one survey, 32% of respondents of higher education students pragmatically accepted corruption as a means of solving problems. 11% went even further and agreed that corruption is a standard element of life (Figure 1).²⁰ The tolerance for corruption in higher education may even be on the rise. Between 2008 and 2009, the ratio of those willing to justify corruption in university admissions on the basis that "others do it, too" increased from 31% to 37% among high school students and from 32% to 39% among students' parents. Many in Ukraine adopt this "go with the flow" mentality as a psychological defence and justification for engaging in corruption.²¹

Figure 1 - PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATURE OF CORRUPTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION²²



The most recent major initiative to fight corruption in higher education has been the introduction of Standardized External Testing (SET) to promote a fairer and more impartial university admissions process in Ukraine. Starting in 2008, higher education institutions began taking into account scores received on standardized, independent tests organized by the Ukrainian Centre for Educational Quality Assessment (UCEQA). Alternative or hybrid admission processes exist for specified categories of people who fall into socially protected groups or who have obtained certain distinctions. There can also be different processes or additional criteria for admission to specialized programs.

The implications of the introduction of SET remain to be seen. The rank necessary to effect any change in university admission scores has risen, which may mean that the number of bribes will decrease while their value increases, but such an effect has yet to be documented. At the same time, it is clear that the introduction of SET has generated new forms of abuse, such as forgery of papers in order to qualify for the special treatment intended for students with disabilities, orphans and residents of the Chernobyl Zone. These and other categories of prospective students are given priority and privileges in university admissions. Corruption therefore seems to have shifted to securing the required certificates that confirm the privileged status: bribes go to the officials who are authorized to issue these certificates and to admissions officials who turn a blind eye to suspicious documents or who consult on how to bypass the student selection system.²³

At the empirical level, the signals are also mixed as to the impact of SET. The proportion of those who believe that the higher education admissions system is corrupt has grown from 65% in 2008 to 73% in 2009 among high school students and from 68% in 2008 to 79% in 2009 among parents.²⁴ In 2009, more than one third of the population (35%) believed that the introduction of SET would not affect the degree of corruption in this particular area; 32% could not answer the question about the impact of SET on the level of corruption; and high school graduates continued to report low levels of trust in the SET process. On the positive side, extremely few of those surveyed who have participated in SET have reported any direct experience of corruption in it. The overall impact of SET on higher education admissions therefore remains to be seen.²⁵

To conclude, the distinctive features of corruption in the current system of higher education include the following:

- corruption is systematic, institutionalized and ingrained;
- corruption takes many forms;

- each layer of the bureaucratic hierarchy is characterized by different ways of rewarding corruption-related services, not limited to simple bribery; and
 - corruption schemes involve networks of intermediaries.
- These matters are examined more closely in the next section.

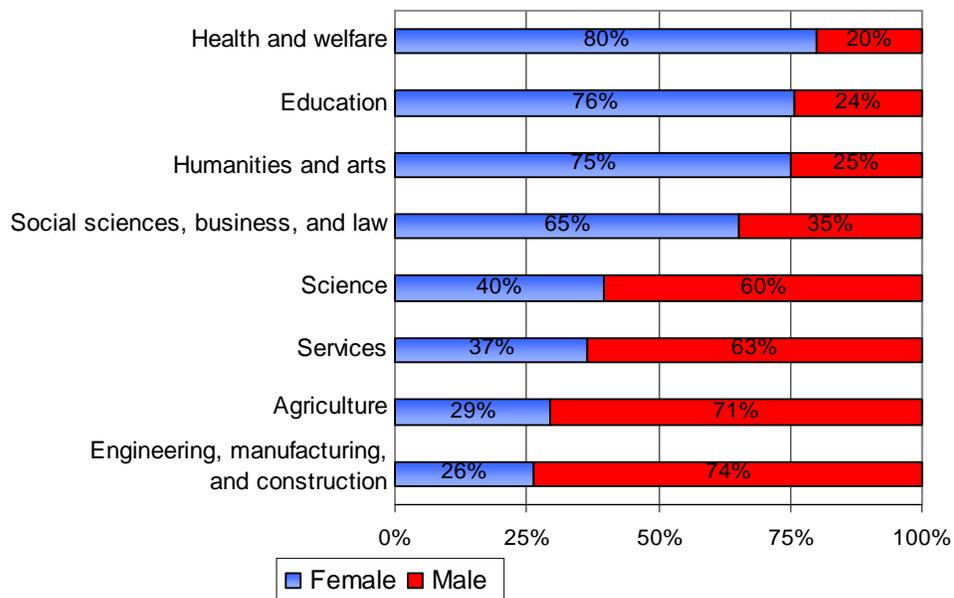
3 GENDERED ASPECTS OF CORRUPTION

3.1 Gender, rank, and corruption

This section examines the different contexts in which men and women experience corruption as a consequence of the different positions they typically occupy in higher education institutions.

Although women constitute roughly 55% of the student body in higher education institutions,²⁶ gender differentials continue to persist. Most evidently, female students continue to be under-represented in some faculties while over-represented in others. Indeed, Ukraine has been described as having one of the highest levels of gender segregation in its system of education, compared with other European countries.²⁷ Higher degrees of horizontal gender segregation in education have been associated with higher degrees of occupational segregation in the work force.²⁸

Figure 2 - GENDER DISTRIBUTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION BY AREA OF STUDY IN 2009²⁹



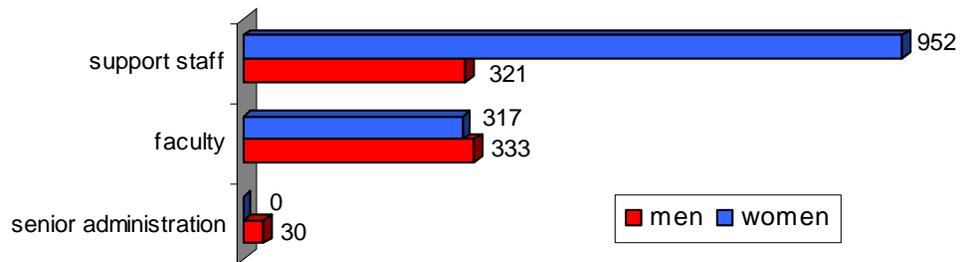
Gender disparities are also apparent within the administration of higher education institutions. Corruption in education occurs in a context in which men dominate the senior-level positions of higher education

institutions and women are over-represented in academic and general support staff roles. The levels occupied by different genders in the hierarchy of academic institutions shape their different experiences of corruption.

Gender stratification of employees in higher education institutions

The analysis of gender statistics in one Ukrainian law school, the National Yaroslav Mudryi Law Academy of Ukraine, provides a typical example of the correlation between gender and rank. The ratio of men in this school ranges from 25% at the academic support staff level to 51% at the faculty level to 100% at the level of the senior academic administration (Figure 3). On this basis, one could label these levels "female-dominated," "mixed" and "male-dominated" respectively. The concentration of men at the higher levels of the administration and women at the lower levels is common in many academic institutions. Gender distribution at the middle level can vary depending on the type of institution.³⁰

Figure 3 - GENDER STRATIFICATION BY RANK IN THE NATIONAL YAROSLAV MUDRYI LAW ACADEMY OF UKRAINE



There are a number of potential explanations for the gender differences in the organizational hierarchy of higher education institutions, but institutional stereotyping is one factor contributing to gender disparity. If there is a choice to be made within a higher education establishment between a male and female candidate to fill an administrative position, the position will most likely be given to the male due to gender-biased stereotypes. Based on the findings of the Ukrainian Institute of Social Studies, patriarchal stereotypes about both genders hinder the participation of women in business and professional spheres. For instance, the qualities that 26% of men and women associate with leadership are the very same qualities these people associate with the image of a "real man." Only 5% of men and 8% of women surveyed believe that the qualities of an "ideal woman" include being able to perform leadership roles. It is also commonly believed that leadership positions involve higher workloads

and are therefore not compatible with the childcare and housekeeping responsibilities typically borne by women.³¹

Both men and women interviewed observed that women face more resistance in advancing into higher-level academic, administrative and managerial positions. For men, it appears sufficient to have a relevant academic degree and appropriate connections in order to secure appointments. Female respondents, in contrast, find that appointments require not merely relevant degrees and connections but often bribes of various forms (money, salary kickbacks, gifts and the performance of sexual services).³²

Experiences and opportunities for corruption by rank

How corruption is engaged in depends on the rank of those involved. Each rank tends to engage in particular types of corruption transactions possessing particular purposes or "objects." The disproportionate distribution of gender in the organizational hierarchy of education institutions therefore means that different genders will typically be exposed to different types of corruption opportunities and experiences.

In order to understand the different experiences of corruption that women and men face, it makes sense to deconstruct the types of corruption that exist at different levels. To that end, Table 1 shows what appear to be the most widespread forms of corruption transactions at different ranks within the higher education institution. It also illustrates the elaborate system of intermediaries involved.

Table 1 – COMMON CORRUPTION PATTERNS

Corruption area	Object of corrupt exchange	Means of corrupt payment	Source of demand for favour	Rank of supplier of favour
Admissions	To register admission applications, including forged certificates of preferential rights	Cash	Parents, influential friends and relatives	Directors of Admissions
Studies	To adopt a lenient attitude or give a good grade for an exam or essay	Cash, gifts, favours	Students and their intermediaries	Faculty members
		<i>Blat</i>	Students and parents	
		Professional connections	Other faculty Members	
		Administrative pressure	Academic administrators (deans, deputy deans, department heads and deputy heads)	
	To prepare essays, tests, research papers and dissertations	Cash	Students and their intermediaries	Faculty members, support staff
To provide falsified transcripts, certificates, and graduation diplomas, as well as letters of reference and other benefits (e.g. campus accommodations)	Cash, gifts, favours, <i>blat</i>	Students, their parents and influential friends and relatives, intermediaries among faculty members	Dean's Office and other administrative offices	
Post Graduate Studies (PhD I and PhD II)	To admit into post-graduate programs (Candidacy and Doctorate)	Cash, gifts, connections, favours, administrative pressure	Influential friends and relatives of applicants	Pro-rector, department heads
	To pass Candidacy exams	Cash, gifts, connections, favours, administrative pressure	Post-graduate students, group leaders	Department heads and professors
	For manuscript of author's abstracts, the drafting of applications for submission to the academic council, academic council hearings	Cash, gifts, connections, favours	Post-graduate students	Academic secretary, department head, members of the academic council
	For recruitments, promotions, vacations, business missions	Cash, gifts, connections, favours	Employees and influential friends and relatives	Department heads, pro-rectors
Economic and Administrative Activities/ Procurement	For loyalty to certain companies or banks	Cash, connections, administrative pressure	Representatives of banks, construction companies, production and commercial companies	Rector's Office

More concrete illustrations follow of corruption practices at different levels in higher education institutions.

- Senior administrative officers in the office of the Director of Admissions

Parents and their influential friends will approach senior administrative officers in the office of the Director of Admissions in order to influence the admissions decisions of higher education institutions. Such senior administrative positions are statistically dominated by men.

- Senior officials in the Office of the Rector

The business activities of universities allow a range of corruption schemes generally related to the purchase of goods and services, such as the construction or renovation of academic premises or the procurement of software.

- Administrative staff in the Dean's Office and related offices

Administrative staff in the Dean's Office and elsewhere may be approached with cash, gifts and other offerings in order to secure falsified transcripts, certificates confirming completion of training, and graduation diplomas. This type of corruption in academic administrations is particularly complex and covert. In 2009, only six unlawfully issued graduation diplomas were discovered and reported by the National Service for Control of Economic Crime of the Ministry of Interior, although the actual prevalence of such transactions is believed to be much higher.

- Other types of personnel

In large higher education organizations, channels of communication are more formal and discrete. In these cases, as previously mentioned, an organized network of academic support staff develops to serve as intermediaries in corruption transactions for a fee that apparently can reach half the bribe amount in many cases. An elaborate system of favour/service exchange and a sophisticated network of intermediaries have therefore developed. The support staff involved include procedures advisors (методистів); teaching assistants; secretaries; clerks from the offices of human resources, deans, and the registrar; and even librarians. Through this arrangement, faculty members do not have to deal directly with students who are willing to settle various issues with money. As one example, it is common for subsection chiefs and teaching assistants to act as intermediaries in the sale of positive test results, essays, research papers

and dissertations. Such intermediary support staff roles are frequently occupied by women.³³

As another example, students may approach intermediary staff to seek exemption from tests and mid-term and term exams. In exchange for a commission, staff will use personal networks to make the necessary arrangements with the faculty. The numbers involved in this authorized absenteeism may reach dozens of students per supervisor and several hundreds among the procedures advisors of extramural departments. The level of corruption-generated money may reach hundreds of thousands of dollars per term, far in excess of formal salaries.³⁴

It should be recognized, though, that it is not just academic support staff who tend to act as intermediaries. It is also common for faculty to act as intermediaries with other faculty. In this context, faculty members may ask other faculty to provide a corruption-related service as a favour rather than in exchange for money. Refusing such requests is seen as somewhat unorthodox. Even deans and deputy deans may receive such requests. They, in turn, exert pressure on faculty members, thus abusing their position of authority. Bribing such high-level officials can be expensive. The Donetsk City Police Department recently laid charges alleging that the deputy dean of the law department of a higher education institution had, among other things, accepted \$500 from the husband of a student to guarantee that the student would receive two terms of good grades without attending any exams or classes.³⁵

- Faculty members

An assortment of strategies is used to get faculty members to guarantee good grades in end-of-term exams. Faculty members are bribed to mark leniently or to give a good grade for a student who is not even present. The nature of the transaction can vary based on the motivations of the players involved, who initiates the transaction, the form of bribery (cash, gifts or simply as a "favour" to a personal connection) and the number of players involved (e.g. a student club rather than an individual).

Conclusions

- Different genders have different experiences with corruption in higher education. One reason for this is that women and men tend to occupy different strata in the organizational hierarchy.
- Men dominate at senior levels and hence have greater opportunity to engage in the types of corruption enjoyed by senior-level officials.

Women, by contrast, are over-represented in the lower levels of the organization and accordingly tend to engage in smaller-scale incidences of corruption. They are also more likely to serve as intermediaries between students and those higher up in the administration.

- At the level of academic faculty, the distribution is about equal between men and women. In some ways, the experiences and perceptions of women and men are therefore more easily comparable at this level. This is explored further below.

3.2 Corrupt behaviour by gender

Corruption in education can be placed in two categories: corruption that involves students directly and corruption that has an indirect impact on them.³⁶ One consists of acts such as the giving of bribes for entering university or for obtaining good grades, as well as the illicit provision of student services such as dormitory placements and transcripts. The other covers the misuse of funds by the administration internally.

The remainder of this section focuses on corruption in the interaction between students and faculty. This area of corruption directly concerns the core academic function of higher education institutions. One could therefore argue that this type of corruption most profoundly affects the student body, how it is groomed to participate in society and the behaviours that are promoted in Ukraine's future leaders. These impacts are what most distinguish corruption in education from corruption in other public sectors.³⁷

The potential differences in how women and men engage in corrupt behaviour and how they are perceived to engage in such behaviour were explored. As corrupt behaviour is extremely difficult to observe directly, respondents were asked about their behaviour and perceptions, including their perceptions about the differences in corrupt behaviour between women and men.

Whether women are actually less prone to corruption than men has not been conclusively determined in the existing literature, notwithstanding attempts in recent years to establish such a linkage.³⁸ Women's attitudes have however been shown to vary significantly from country to country. One study found that, while there were no significant gender differences in attitudes towards corruption in three out of the four countries examined (Australia, India, Indonesia and Singapore), women in Australia were less

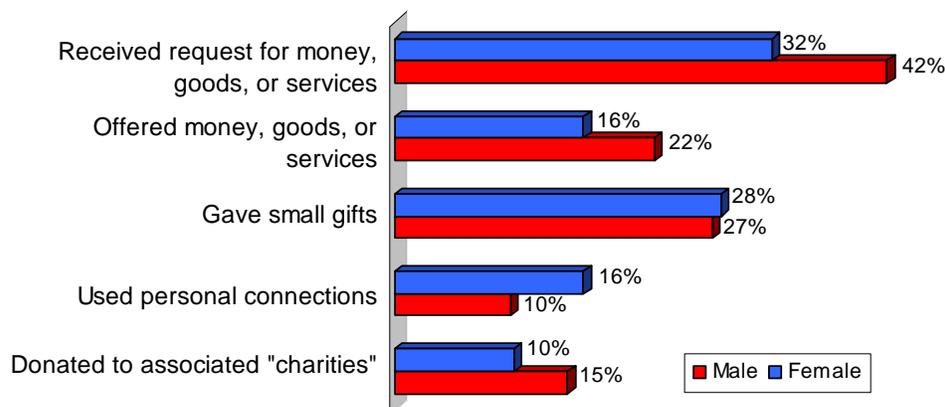
tolerant of corruption than men.³⁹ This highlights the importance of understanding the specific situation in whatever country is under examination.

Variations in type of corrupt behaviour by gender

Of the 2,027 respondents participating in the national survey, 386 reported having encountered corruption in the education sector in the past 12 months. These people were asked to specify what kind of interaction occurred. Significant differences were observed in the reported behaviour of men and women.

22% of men who had any corrupt dealings in the education sector reported initiating an offer of money, goods or services to an official in the last 12 months, compared with only 16% of women. 15% of men who had any corrupt dealings in the education sector reported that they paid into "charity funds" purporting to benefit the education institution from which they were seeking services, compared with 10% of women. Men therefore appear somewhat more likely to initiate a corruption payment.

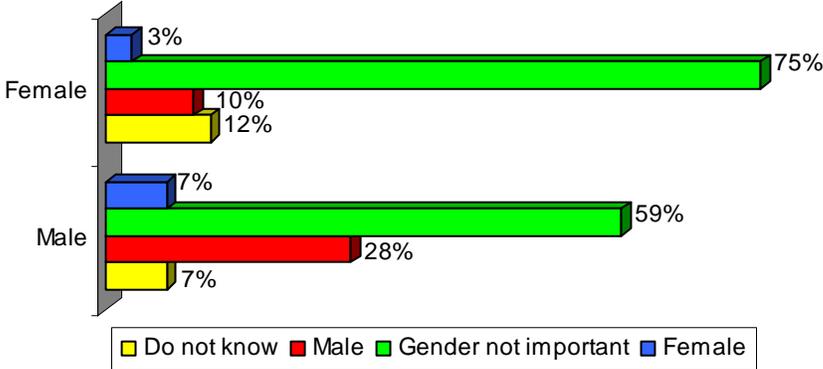
Figure 4 - NATIONAL SURVEY: TYPES OF CORRUPTION EXPERIENCED IN THE EDUCATION SECTOR (SELECTING ALL THAT APPLY)



In the in-depth interviews conducted at Kharkiv and Odessa universities, respondents were also asked, in various ways, to share their perceptions about the differences in corrupt behaviour of women and men. Such perspectives shed light both on what such differences are in practice and on the social expectations and assumptions that surround gender and corruption. In reviewing this material, it is important to keep in mind that these responses are not an exact reflection of personal experiences, gender stereotypes or secondary sources of information but a blend of all three.

With this consideration in mind, the majority of women and men interviewed (75% of women compared with 59% of men) do not believe that one gender takes part in corruption more than another. Significantly more men believe, however, that men are more likely to take part in corruption (28% of men compared with 10% of women).

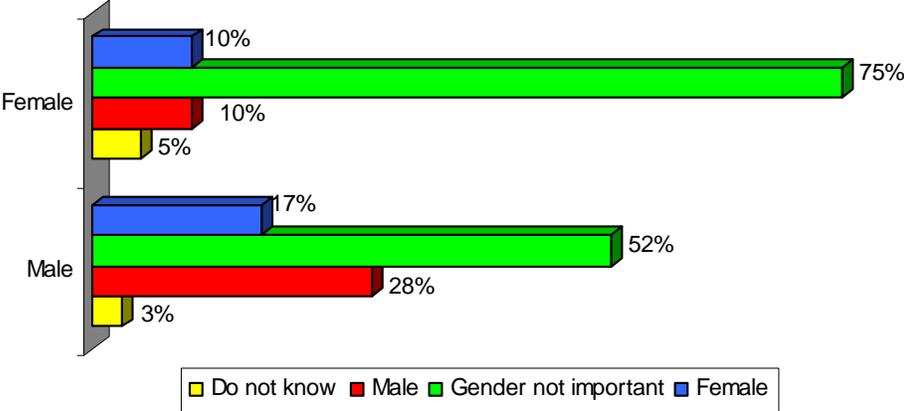
Figure 5 - WHO IS MORE LIKELY TO BE INVOLVED IN CORRUPTION?



Bribery

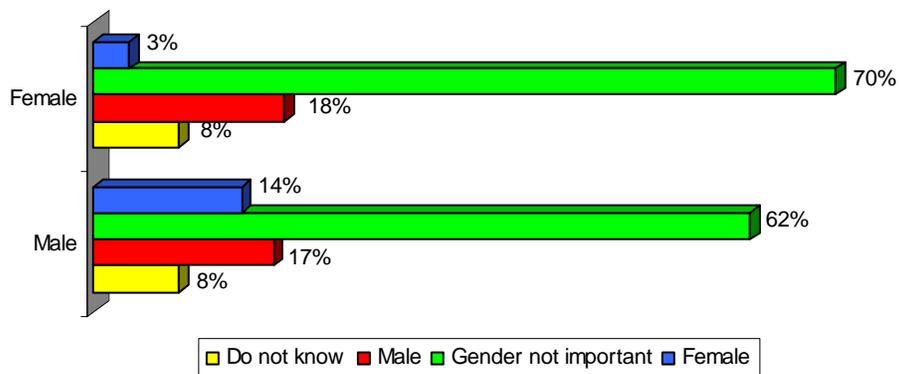
In terms of who is more likely to give bribes, most in-depth interview respondents, and women in particular, believe that gender does not matter. Men are considerably more likely to believe, however, that men give bribes more often.

Figure 6 - WHO GIVES BRIBES MORE OFTEN?



In terms of who accepts bribes more often, the majority of those interviewed do not believe there is a gender difference. Of those who believe there is a difference, though, large portions of both men and women believe men to be more corrupt (17% of men interviewed and 18% of women interviewed). Most of those who believe that women are more likely to accept bribes are men.

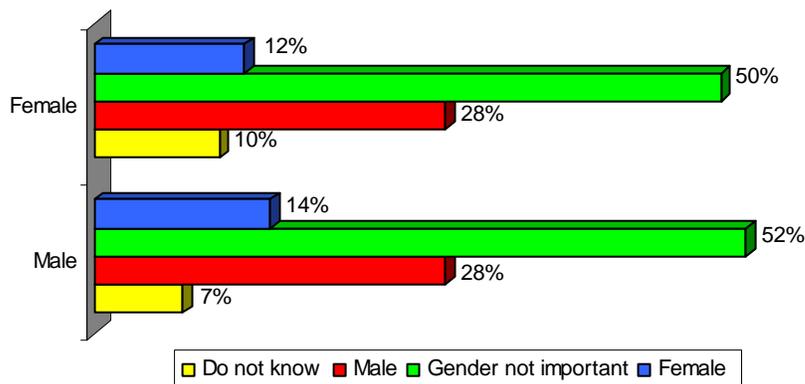
Figure 7 - WHO TAKES BRIBES MORE OFTEN?



Extortion

Male and female respondents share very similar views about extortion: half believe that neither gender is more likely to extort money. A third of respondents believe men are more likely; 10% think women are more likely.

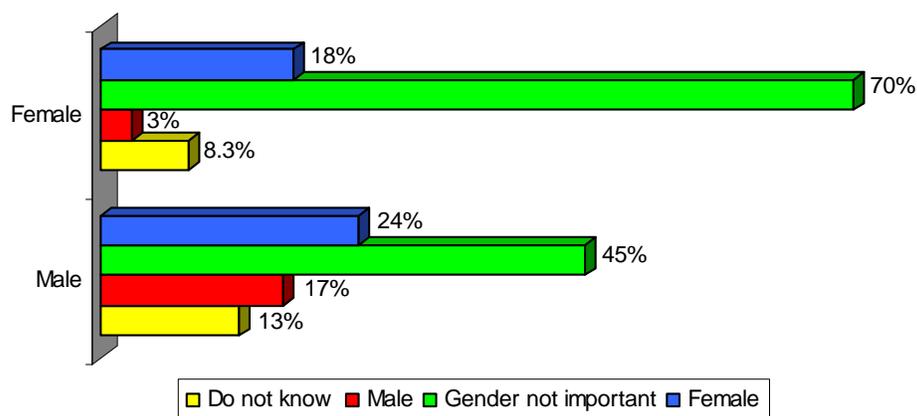
Figure 8 - WHO EXTORTS MORE OFTEN?



Use of personal connections

70% of women and 45% of men believe that gender does not matter when it comes to unlawful use of personal connections. Those who believe that gender does matter in this context tend to believe that women are more likely to engage in this behaviour. Virtually no women believe that men are more likely to misuse personal connections.

Figure 9 - WHO USES PERSONAL CONTACTS MORE OFTEN?



This perception is corroborated by national survey data, in which 16% of women who had dealt with corruption in education reported using personal connections, compared with only 10% of men.⁴⁰

Conclusions

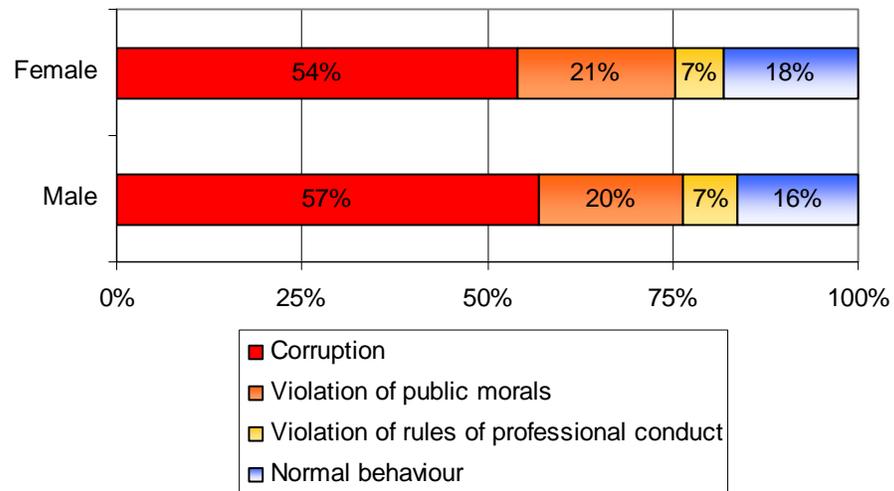
- The majority of women and men interviewed do not believe that one gender is more prone to corruption than another.
- At the same time, the perception exists that men are more likely to extort others for money and to accept bribes. Indeed, men were found to be somewhat more likely to initiate an offer of money, goods or services in the education sector and more likely to contribute to "charity funds" purporting to benefit the education institution from which they were seeking services.
- Conversely, women are perceived as more likely to misuse personal connections. This perception is borne out in self-reported behaviour. Women who experienced corruption in education reported misusing personal connections somewhat more often than men.

3.3 Influence of gender on how students and faculty are engaged in corruption

Around the world, women have reported perceiving higher levels of corruption than men. According to data from Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer, women around the world were more likely to judge institutions as "very corrupt" or "extremely corrupt" and to agree that corruption affects their lives to a large extent. Of note, out of 13 different institutions examined, this difference was most pronounced in the area of education.⁴¹

Moreover, in the context of Ukraine, there is at least one indication that the higher level of corruption perceived by women cannot just be attributed to a more expansive understanding of what constitutes corruption. When asked in the national survey whether hypothetically giving money or gifts to a professor before an exam constituted corruption, female respondents were not found any more likely to judge the scenario as corruption than male. Indeed, they were slightly less likely to see it that way.

Figure 10 - NATIONAL SURVEY: GIVING MONEY OR VALUABLE GIFTS TO A PROFESSOR BEFORE AN EXAM



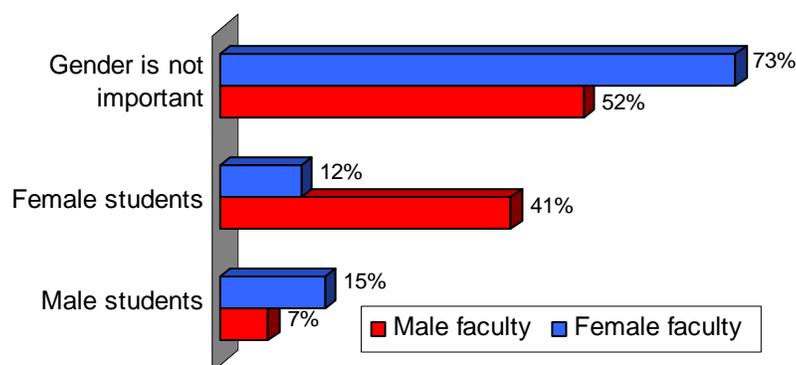
The fact that women perceive higher levels of corruption may therefore suggest, instead, that women are exposed to corruption more often than men. This is a matter that would have to be studied further.

Attitudes towards male or female students

It is worth looking at corrupt practices from both the perspective of students and the perspective of faculty. For instance, students and faculty have different opportunities and desires to initiate corrupt transactions. Members of the public who have experienced corruption in the education sector indicated that, a third of the time, they initiated an offer (of money, goods or services) while two thirds of the time the education official initiated such requests. This figure did not vary significantly by gender. According to one study by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology, faculty demand 44% of bribes, while students demand 32% and intermediaries 13%.⁴²

Given that faculty more often initiate such interactions, the question arises whether faculty tend to favour a particular gender. The majority of people interviewed believe that the gender of the student taking an exam does not affect the attitude of the faculty involved in marking the exam. Men were, however, significantly less certain of this. Only 52% of men agreed that this was the case, while 41% of men agreed that it could affect the attitude of faculty if the student were female. While men are more likely to believe that female students are favoured by faculty, women are more likely to believe that male students are favoured. In short, significant numbers of men and women believe faculty members are better disposed toward those of the opposite sex.

Figure 11 -WHICH GENDER, IF ANY, DO FACULTY TEND TO FAVOUR WHEN MARKING AN EXAM?

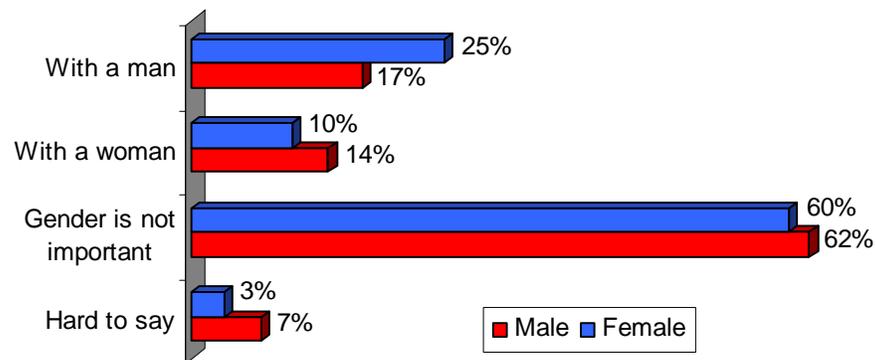


A large proportion of faculty also believe that the gender of a student does not affect the decision whether to agree to do him or her a favour. Again, though, more female faculty believe this than male (60% compared with only 48%).

Attitudes towards male or female faculty

To discern differences in attitude towards male or female faculty, respondents were asked which gender is easier to deal with when trying to resolve a problem in higher education. About 60% of respondents answered that gender is not important. Of those who believe gender matters, more tend to believe that dealing with a man would more likely lead to a "deal" being struck. As one participant explained, the perception is that "It is more difficult to predict a woman's behaviour. Mood is an important factor."

Figure 12 - WHO IS IT EASIER TO COME TO TERMS WITH WHEN YOU NEED TO SETTLE A PROBLEM IN HIGHER EDUCATION?



In negotiating a corruption exchange, in-depth interviews indicate that, when respondents are forced to differentiate between genders, it is perceived to be easier to come to an agreement with male faculty than with female. Dealing with male students is also believed to be more likely to result in agreement on a corruption deal than dealing with female students.

Conclusions

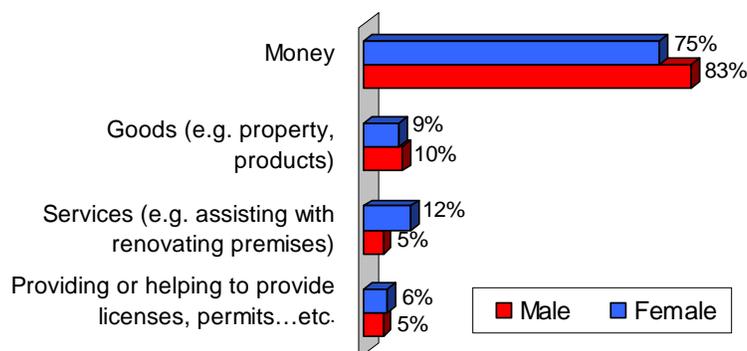
- At least in one scenario, women and men were found to share the same understanding of what constitutes corruption. Giving money or valuable gifts to a professor before an exam is seen by two thirds of both men and women as being corruption.
- Other things being equal, respondents are more likely to believe it is easier to come to a corruption deal with a man than with a woman. There is therefore reason to believe that men may be approached to engage in corruption deals over women, excluding the latter from participation in these processes.

3.4 Form and size of corruption payments

The "objects" of corruption transactions in higher education include: good grades, passed exams, enrolment, qualification for term exams and exemption from attendance. Corruption payments for these include money, goods ("gifts") and favours.

Do women tend to pay in different forms than men? According to the national survey, members of the public engaged in corruption in education were most likely by far to pay with money. That said, of those who did provide services to education officials, significantly more of these tended to be women than men.

Figure 13 - NATIONAL SURVEY: TYPES OF CORRUPTION PAYMENTS MADE TO EDUCATION OFFICIALS

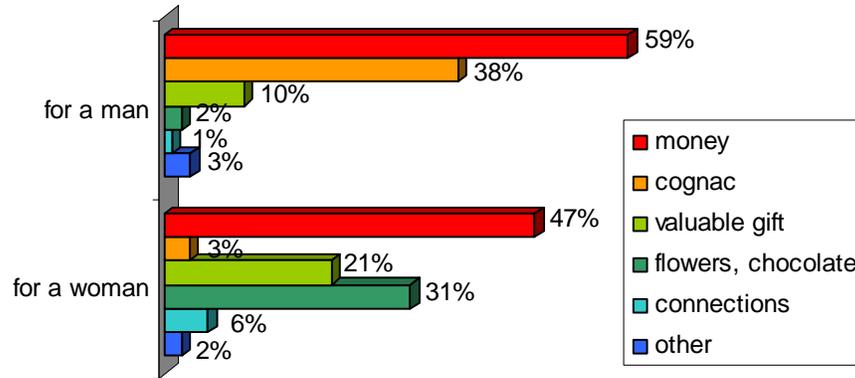


A second, related question is whether women are perceived to appreciate different forms of corruption payments than men. How do the benefits offered to women differ from those that are offered to men?

To gauge this, students were asked how they would "express appreciation" to a member of the faculty from whom a favour was being asked. Respondents could choose from a range of options. These included money, "valuable gifts" and the kind of nominal gifts typically offered to teachers in higher education in Ukraine as a matter of courtesy, i.e. flowers and chocolates.

According to respondents, money is by far the preferred expression of gratitude toward both women and men. That said, there is a stronger tendency to give money to men. Men are also much more likely to be given cognac, while women are much more likely to receive flowers and chocolates.

Figure 14 - WHAT FORM OF EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE WOULD YOU CHOOSE TO ASK A FACULTY MEMBER FOR A FAVOUR? (SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)

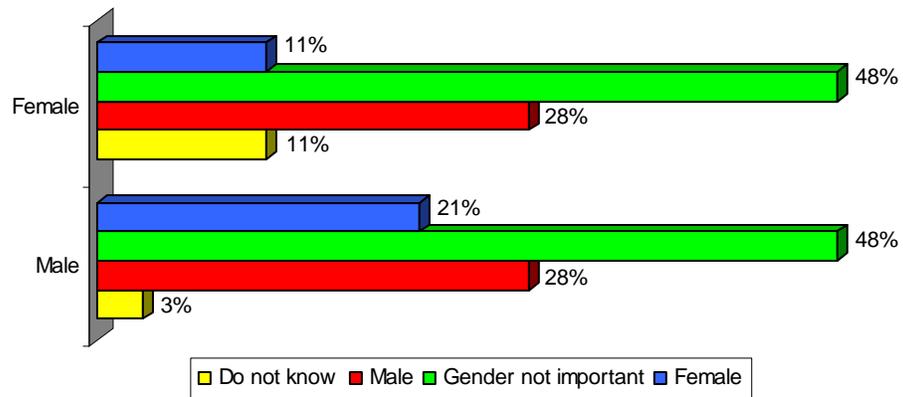


Focus group transcripts offer some clues as to the reasoning behind the different tactics employed on different genders. According to one participant, "It's more difficult to offer money to women. They stress out too much." Another participant noted that "Women appreciate attention. A female faculty member told us about her granddaughter. For the exam, we brought her a beautiful infant winter gown and a toy. She could not resist." According to another, "Bouquet arrangement, words, manners, candour and appearance are very important."

One hypothesis that could emerge from such responses is that students seeking corruption-related services from female faculty may be more likely to try to develop a positive, personal relationship with the faculty member rather than directly offering a bribe.

As for the size of corruption payments, half of all respondents believe that men and women charge similar amounts of bribes; a third of respondents believe that men charge larger amounts; and about half of that believe women charge larger amounts.

Figure 15 - WHO CHARGES LARGER AMOUNTS OF BRIBES?



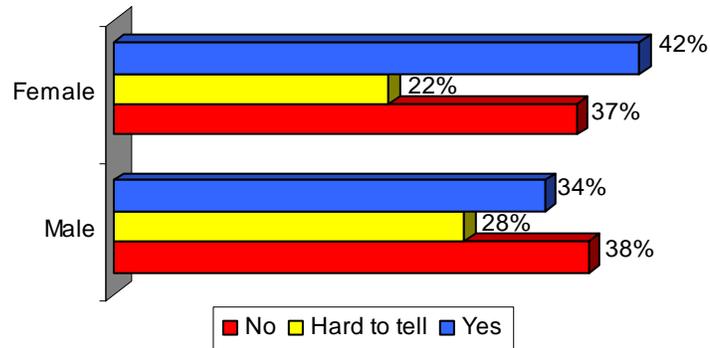
Sexual services

In-depth interview respondents believe that, in general, attractiveness and sexual appeal are of great importance in obtaining favourable treatment from faculty. Good appearance, provocative outfits and charming smiles are believed to make a good impression on a faculty member or official of the opposite sex. Not surprisingly, women are seen to employ this factor more actively than men.

Female students in one focus group explained the tactics employed to take advantage of such attention from male faculty: "If you look good, the response will be positive even if the answer is weak." Other focus group participants had different perspectives, however. According to one, "When I dress up better than other women, everything goes wrong."

The specific use of sexual favours as corruption benefits has not been studied in any depth. Thus, respondents were asked about the actual prevalence of this phenomenon. 42% of women and 34% of men claimed to know of cases where sexual services were used as corruption benefits. However, the same proportion, roughly 37% of both men and women, replied that they had never heard of such cases. One in five respondents skipped this question.

Figure 16 - DO YOU KNOW ABOUT CASES WHEN SEXUAL SERVICES WERE USED AS CORRUPTION BENEFITS?



Other studies also indicate the significance of sexual services as a means of corruption payment. For instance, according to an article in the *Zerkalo Nedeli*, a Ukrainian weekly, sociologists in Lviv have found that sexual services account for more than 10% of corruption payments made by men and women.⁴³

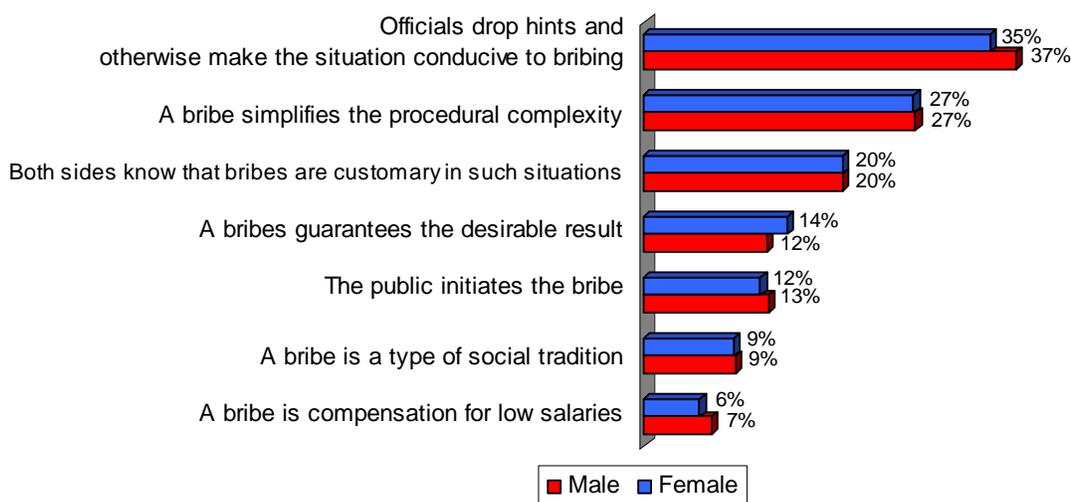
Conclusion

- Money remains the predominant form of payment made by both men and women, though women were significantly more likely to report paying in the form of providing services.
- In terms of how education officials of different genders are perceived, men are thought to appreciate cognac more, while women are more likely to be offered other gifts, typically of lesser value.
- Although half of respondents believe that there is no difference in how much each gender charges, a third of respondents believe that men typically charge more.
- Overall, it appears that male faculty tend to be offered money somewhat more frequently and paid larger amounts than female.
- About 40% of respondents reported being aware of cases when sexual services were used as corruption benefits. This form of corruption appears significant and would seem to merit further study.

3.5 Motivations for engaging in corruption

To explore motivations for engaging in bribery, the general public was asked for the reasons, in general, why bribes are given. The most popular reason chosen was the inducement of officials, followed by the need to simplify procedural complexity and the customary nature of bribes in such situations. No significant variation by gender was found in these responses.

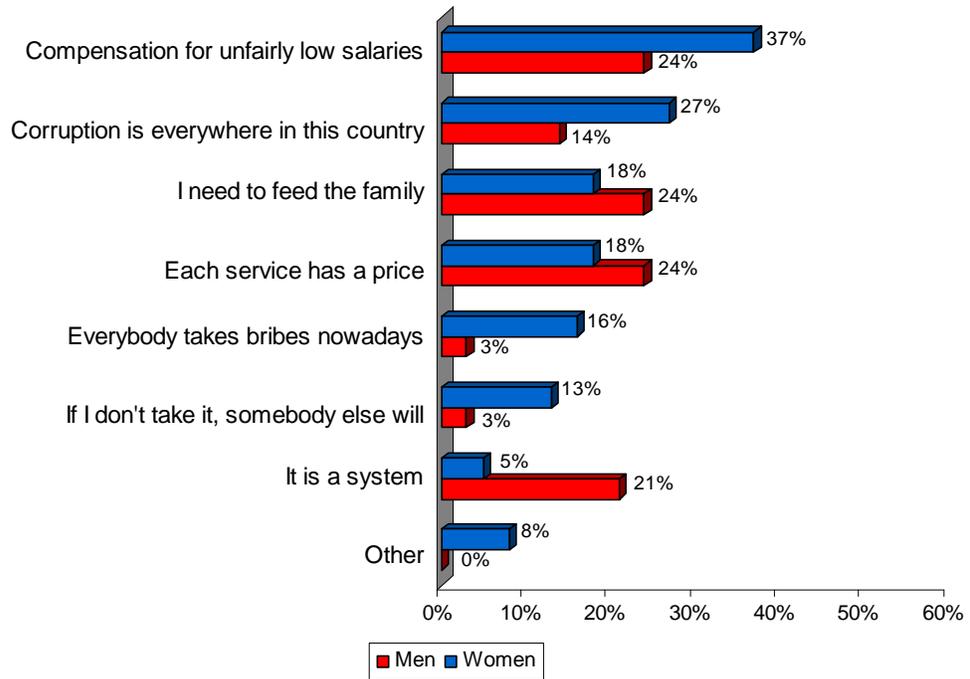
Figure 17 - NATIONAL SURVEY: REASONS CITED BY THE PUBLIC FOR GIVING BRIBES



University academic and teaching staff were also interviewed in order to assess, from their perspective, the motivations for taking bribes. Because the respondents may not actually take bribes themselves, or they may deny doing so to an interviewer, motivations were assessed indirectly, by asking respondents what the main motivations are for women and men, in general, to take bribes. As one effort to reduce the influence of gender stereotypes on people's responses, men's responses were only analyzed with regards to men and women's responses were only analyzed with regards to women.

It was found that women are more likely to believe that salaries are unfairly low and that corruption is everywhere in the country. Men, by comparison, are more likely to be motivated by the need to feed their families and by the belief that every service has a fixed price that must be paid, as well as by the unfairly low level of salaries.

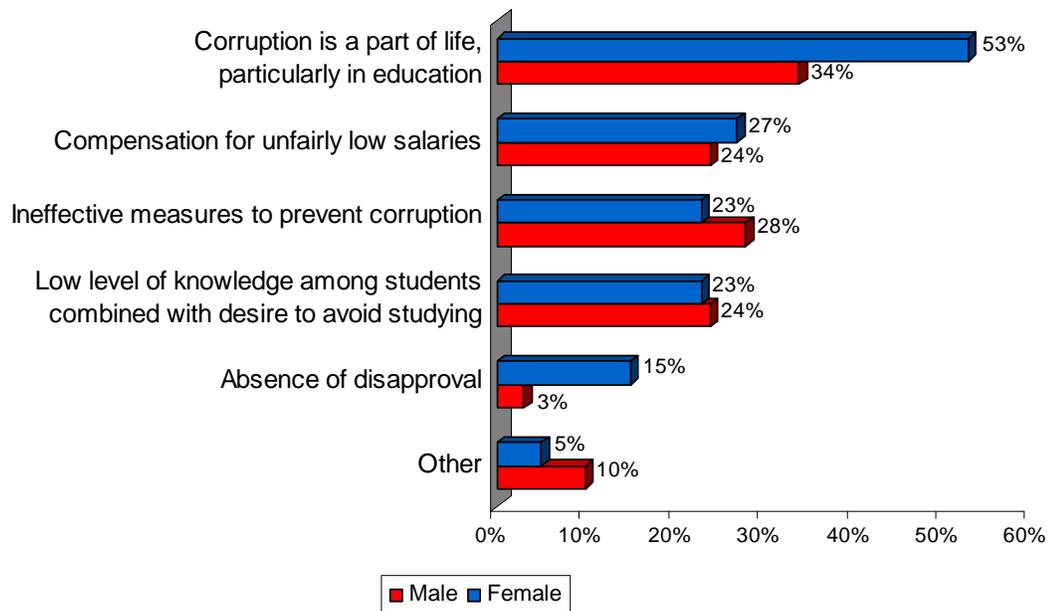
Figure 18 - WHAT ARE THE MAIN MOTIVATIONS FOR WOMEN AND MEN TO TAKE BRIBES?



As another method of assessing motivation, male and female faculty were asked to select from various options what they consider to be the leading reasons for corruption in higher education, in general.

It was found that, of the options available, female faculty are more likely to believe that corruption is just a part of life in Ukraine and that salaries are unfairly low. Men are likely to believe that corruption is a part of life in Ukraine and that corruption is the result of ineffective measures to prevent it.

Figure 19 -LEADING CAUSES OF CORRUPTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF FACULTY (SELECTING ALL THAT APPLY)



One trend that emerges from the foregoing is that female faculty seem more likely to justify taking bribes by reasoning that corruption is everywhere in the country anyway. Similarly, they are more likely to believe that corruption in higher education is simply a result of its pervasiveness throughout Ukrainian life.

Conclusion

- Male and female consumers of education services tend to cite similar reasons for engaging in bribery in general. They most often blamed officials for soliciting or otherwise inducing bribery. The need to simplify procedural complexity and the perception that bribes are customary in such situations were also popular reasons cited.
- When higher education faculty were asked, from their perspective, about the reasons for corruption in higher education, two of the most popular responses were that corruption is simply everywhere and that salaries are unfairly low.
- That said, significantly more female faculty than male faculty believe that the prevalence of corruption everywhere in Ukraine is what explains corruption in higher education and what motivates the taking of bribes.

3.6 Engaging both genders in anti-corruption efforts

Just as men and women experience and engage in corruption in different ways, there may also be different ways to effectively engage men and women in the fight against corruption.

A starting point is understanding the nature and extent of the discontent with corruption that men and women feel, which is of primary importance in the fight against corruption. Policy makers must be able to gauge the strength of potential support from students and faculty. In particular, if groups of women or men are particularly discontent about corruption, then these groups may be more easily engaged than others in initiatives to fight corruption.

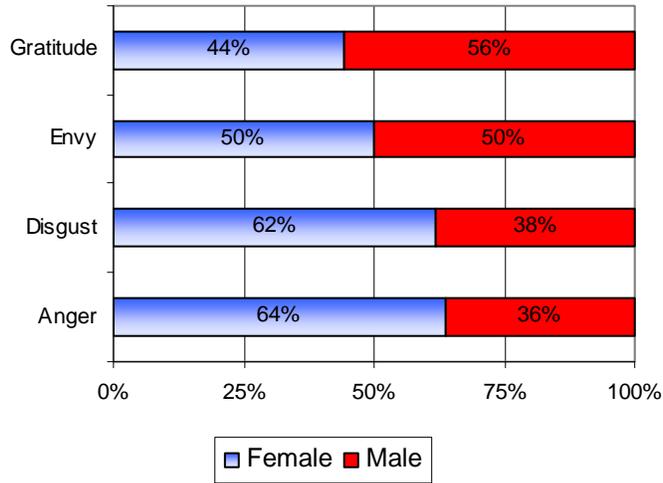
With this in mind, this section explores the respective discontent of women and men with corruption and their willingness to resist it. As the extent of discontent toward corruption cannot be measured directly, the following proxy indicators were employed:

- emotions experienced in the process of giving bribes;
- extent to which outrage is verbalized against the state of corruption in Ukraine;
- readiness to decline offers to engage in corruption;
- willingness to report instances of corruption to authorities; and
- optimism about the fight against corruption.

Emotions experienced in the process of giving bribes

First, the respondents' feeling about giving a bribe was examined. This was assessed indirectly, by asking what they thought a person feels when he or she must give a bribe. Female respondents were more likely to feel negative emotions compared with male.

Figure 20 - WHAT IN YOUR OPINION DOES A PERSON FEEL WHEN HE OR SHE HAS TO GIVE A BRIBE?

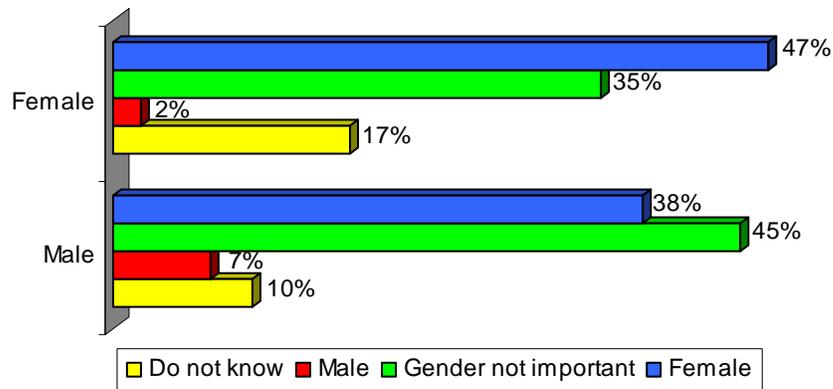


Outrage expressed against corruption

Respondents were also asked who more often voices outrage against the corruption rampant in Ukraine. This question recognizes that even those who participate in corruption may be frustrated with the situation and are complicit only as a matter of perceived necessity.

While a major proportion of respondents believe that the expression of outrage against corruption is not related to gender (45% of men and 35% of women), the overwhelming majority of those who believed that there is a difference in gender believed that women are more likely to speak up.

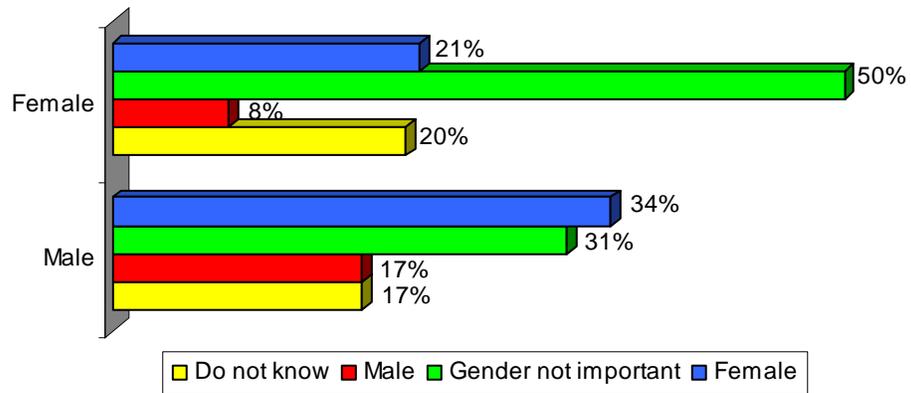
Figure 21 - WHO VERBALIZES OUTRAGE WITH RAMPANT CORRUPTION MORE OFTEN?



Resistance to corruption

Respondents were also asked who would be more likely to actually decline to offer or refuse to accept a bribe. 50% of women and 31% of men did not believe gender is a relevant consideration in this context, and 20% of respondents indicated that they simply did not know the answer. That said, 21% of women and 34% of men believe women would resist such opportunities for corruption more often than men.

Figure 22 - WHO REFUSES TO USE BRIBES AS A MEANS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS MORE OFTEN?

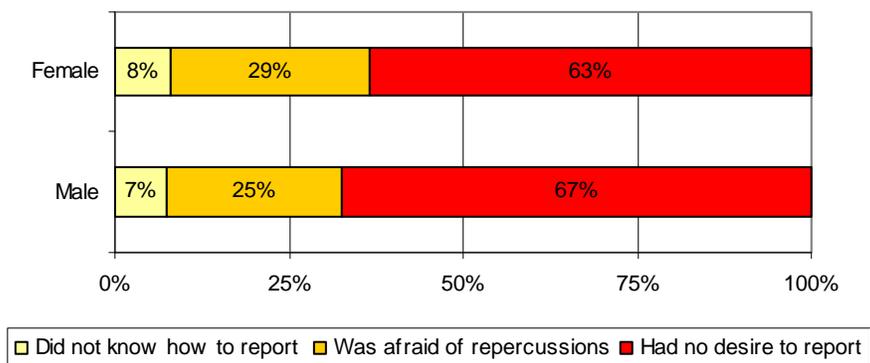


Comparing these perceptions with the behaviour reported in practice, however, one finds just the opposite. 41% of the men in the national survey who reported experiencing corruption indicated that they had refused requests for corruption payments, compared with only 32% of women.

Whistleblowing

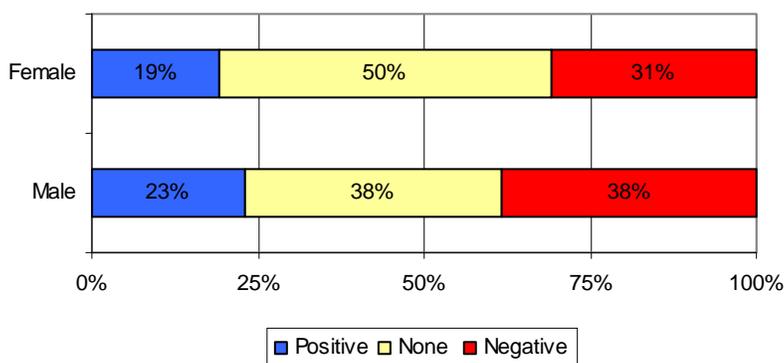
Similarly, when it came to actively reporting corruption to law enforcement or education authorities, 7% of men in the national survey who had the opportunity to report the extortion of a bribe did so, compared with only 4% of women. In explaining why they declined opportunities to report corruption, women were more likely to report being afraid of the repercussions.

Figure 23 - NATIONAL SURVEY: REASON FOR NOT REPORTING CORRUPTION IN EDUCATION



Female respondents who did report corruption, moreover, were more likely to indicate that their reporting had made no difference.

Figure 24 - NATIONAL SURVEY: CONSEQUENCES OF REPORTING CORRUPTION IN EDUCATION

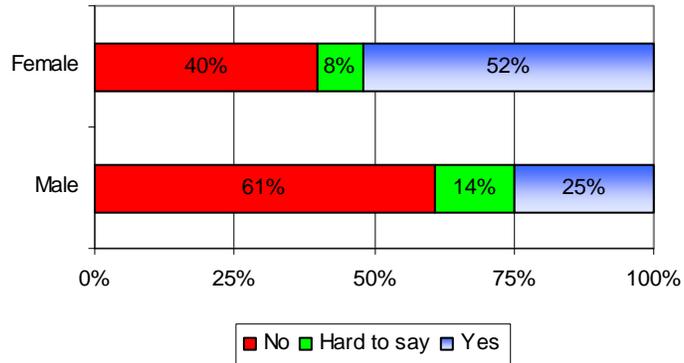


Overall, although there is an *impression* that women are more likely to resist corruption, they are more concerned about negative repercussions. It also seems that when they do report corruption, their complaints are more likely to be disregarded or ignored.

Optimism about the fight against corruption

Those who are cynical about the fight against corruption will be less likely to engage in this fight themselves. In this way, widespread cynicism can become self-fulfilling. Respondents were therefore asked whether it is even possible to get corruption in Ukraine under control. 52% of female respondents believe so, compared with only 25% of male.

Figure 25 - IS IT POSSIBLE TO TACKLE CORRUPTION IN TODAY'S UKRAINE?



Conclusion

- Women experience more negative emotions when paying bribes and are more optimistic about the fight against corruption.
- Women are perceived as more likely to resist corruption. They are perceived as speaking out against corruption more than men and being more likely to turn down opportunities to engage in corruption. In practice, though, fewer women than men have declined offers to engage in corruption or have reported corruption to the authorities. This difference in reporting can be accounted for by a greater fear of negative repercussions. In practice, though, women's reports of corruption appear more likely to be ignored than reports from men.

4 CONCLUSION

The analysis of corruption phenomena has too often proceeded on the assumption that men and women share the same experience of corruption. This assumption seems questionable. This study begins to examine the differences between male and female experiences of corruption, as well as the different perceptions that exist about how men and women engage in these processes. These findings have implications not only for the fight against corruption in higher education; they also provide insight into the broader process of developing a national anti-corruption strategy and evidence of the importance of including women's voices in this process. Particular findings that emerge from the research are as follows.

- *Female respondents are less likely to believe that gender influences how people engage in corruption.*

Interestingly, women were less likely to believe that gender influences the extent to which people engage in corrupt behaviour, for better or for worse. They were more likely to believe that both genders bribe equally as much; that neither gender is more likely to refuse to use bribes as a means to solve problems; that both genders use personal contacts for illicit gains equally as much; and that faculty do not favour a particular gender when marking exams.

There is no obvious explanation for this phenomenon. Indeed, it may be the result of various factors. The general effect of this finding, though, is to underscore two things: the limitations of conventional forms of studying corruption based on perceptions, at least when it comes to analyzing the comparative behaviour of different genders; and that much remains unknown or misunderstood about women's perspectives and experiences of corruption.

- *Women often engage in corruption in qualitatively different ways than men.*

The experiences of women and men are by no means uniform. Empirical findings indicate that women are more likely to use personal connections to obtain corrupt benefits. (16% of women who engaged in corruption in education used personal connections in the process, compared with only 10% of men.) Women are also more likely to provide services as a form of corruption payment (12% of women engaged in corruption in education

provided services as a form of payment, compared with only 5% of men.). Moreover, female faculty are more likely to be offered non-monetary forms of corruption payments, such as flowers, chocolates or other gifts. According to focus groups, this is at least in part because female faculty are thought to appreciate a more elaborate process of currying favour or "courting."

On this basis and without overstating the extent of these differences, there is reason to believe that the female experience of corruption can be quite distant from the immediately reciprocal bribery transactions that are perceived to be the norm and that often garner the most attention from researchers.

If corrupt transactions with female faculty are more often characterized by the developing of positive personal relationships, as was suggested in the focus groups, the full scope of incentives for engaging in such behaviour may be more complex than typically assumed; for instance, female faculty may be more motivated by sentiments of loyalty or other social obligations. From an anti-corruption standpoint, common prescriptions for fighting corruption premised on rational, utilitarian motives — such as increasing salaries⁴⁴ — would break down in this context.

These findings also suggest that women are more likely to engage in ongoing corrupt relations, rather than one-off corrupt exchanges. Such relations bring issues of reputation and trust into play, which also affect the motivations and conduct of participants. Further in-depth study is required in order to understand what women's use of "personal connections" and their provision of "services" as corruption payments mean in practice and, indeed, the extent to which these two things are linked.

- *Sexual services as a form of corruption payment remain poorly understood and under-studied.*

The reactions of respondents both in interviews and in focus groups reveal that the use of sexual services as corruption payment is real but poorly understood. 42% of women and 34% of men claimed to know of cases where sexual services were used as corruption benefits. It is important to note that one in five respondents skipped this question altogether.

The subject is worthy of its own detailed examination. Asking about "sexual services" in the abstract can cause confusion, dismissiveness or guardedness. Additional measures are required in order to be able to examine sexualized forms of corruption, over and beyond those techniques

normally employed in the study of corruption, to overcome the doubly taboo nature of this topic.

Studying how this form of corruption happens in practice and starting a dialogue on this issue would encourage greater openness; better understanding of this behaviour; and increased recognition when it is happening, both among policy makers and the public at large.

- *Women lack the same opportunities to benefit from corruption as men.*

Corruption, in its many forms, is a social phenomenon — or, more accurately, multiple social phenomena — that occurs in the context of embedded gender relations. Whether it is a case of bribery, extortion, misuse of personal connections, other illicit practices, or, as is often the case,⁴⁵ some combination of these, interactions are shaped by gendered norms and expectations. Attitudes that disadvantage women in other spheres hence also disadvantage them in the realm of corruption.

For example, gender affects the types of things a faculty member may request or be offered. According to students, men would more likely be offered money or cognac, while women are offered other types of gifts such as flowers and chocolates because they "appreciate the attention." When students are requested to perform services in exchange for illicit benefits, the types of services requested of them depend on the gendered roles they are expected to play. The literature documents cases where students are offered the chance to undertake manual work around the university over the summer in order to make up for failed exams or poor marks. One anthropological study details the case of a woman who provided domestic cleaning and cooking services in order to curry favour with an influential relative in the education sector.⁴⁶ In such ways, gender affects both the goods and the services that are offered or requested in exchange for illicit benefits.

Not surprisingly, the types of goods offered to female faculty tend to be of lesser value than those offered to male and, similarly, the types of services female students are able to provide are valued less than the types of services male students can provide.

On top of these disadvantages is the simple fact that women are more likely to occupy lower levels of the bureaucracy. They are accordingly less likely to engage in corrupt activity from a position of power or be able to dictate the terms of engagement. More often, they will be relegated to the role of intermediary or facilitator in a corruption deal whose terms may be dictated by faculty or chosen by students.

- *Women receive fewer offers to engage in corruption.*

There are a number of reasons why, other things being equal, women are less likely to be approached to participate in a corruption deal than men. Women are perceived as being more difficult to reach a corrupt deal with; more likely to turn down corruption offers (though this is not, in fact, the case); more likely to voice outrage against corruption; and more likely to report corruption to the authorities (which, again, is not entirely the case).

Not surprisingly, then, fewer women report receiving requests for money, goods or services in the education sector. For this reason, female faculty may be excluded from opportunities to profit from corruption that are available to men, and female students may have fewer opportunities to cheat the system than their male peers.

- *Women and women's groups form potentially powerful constituencies for change.*

From an anti-corruption perspective, the experience of the "losers" in a corrupt system is important because the groups disadvantaged by the current system can form natural constituencies for change.

To be clear, women were not found to be less corrupt. Although there was a tendency to believe that women are less involved in corruption, the majority of respondents tended to believe that men and women are about equally as involved. The full extent to which women are actually involved in corruption, as compared with men, is simply unknown,⁴⁷ especially in light of the findings of this report that women often tend to engage in different forms of corruption than men.

What is noteworthy, however, are the signs that, although women may currently feel compelled to engage in corruption, they may be more willing to actively resist it, given the proper incentives.

In particular, there were a number of indications that women are, if not resistant to corruption, at least reluctant in their complicity. Women were more likely to report feeling negative emotions about giving a bribe and to feel more optimistic about the possibility of fighting corruption in general. They were also considered far more likely to verbalize outrage against corruption and less likely to extort others for bribes. Women were also more likely to blame the prevalence of corruption in higher education on an absence of disapproval.

Interestingly enough, while fewer women than men had actually gone so far as to report corruption to the authorities, those few women who *had* reported corruption were significantly more likely to report that it had made no difference. Perhaps more women would be encouraged to report corruption if the reports that they did make were taken more seriously.

A national anti-corruption strategy should speak to the motivations and constraints that typify the female experience. This approach promises not only to be fruitful from the anti-corruption perspective; it also provides opportunities for real synergies with the struggle for gender equality. The fight against corruption in Ukraine is already seeking to become more community-driven and prevention-based, rather than reactive and state-enforced.⁴⁸ The sustained success of this approach hinges on the inclusion and participation of women.

A concrete example is illustrative. It was shown earlier that administrative and low-level teaching staff, who are typically female, often act as intermediaries between students and faculty engaged in corruption. Although women in these positions may face pressure from both students and faculty, they are also particularly well positioned to be able to disrupt established corruption networks. If these intermediaries could be empowered to act as "watchdogs" rather than facilitators of corruption, this new function could produce a ripple effect in exposing the corruption networks that permeate the higher education institutions.

At a minimum, a modern anti-corruption strategy should recognize women's diverse experiences of corruption and permit their meaningful participation in the struggle against it. This approach is necessary for two main reasons: the practical one of its potential to yield real dividends in the fight against corruption, and the more general principle of the intrinsic importance of incorporating the advancement of gender equality objectives in all processes of legal and social change.

NOTES

- ¹ U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, "Gender, Corruption and Education," U4 Expert Answer (14 July 2009) (<http://www.u4.no/helpdesk/helpdesk/query.cfm?id=209>).
- ² Nataliya Rummyantseva, "Taxonomy of Corruption in Higher Education," *Peabody Journal of Education* Vol. 80 Issue 1 (2005) pg. 84.
- ³ "Corruption in Ukraine. Comparative Analysis of National Surveys: 2007-2009," Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Threshold Country Plan in cooperation with Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS), executive partner in Ukraine (http://www.pace.org.ua/images/stories/Corruption_in_Higher_Education_Report-2009_ENG_Final.pdf).
- ⁴ Київський міжнародний інститут соціології, "Стан корупції в Україні: результати загальнонаціонального дослідження 2007 року," (http://www.pace.org.ua/images/survey/full_report_ukr_final.pdf), pg. 42.
- ⁵ "Corruption in Ukraine. Comparative Analysis of National Surveys: 2007-2009," MCC Threshold Country Plan in cooperation with KIIS (http://www.pace.org.ua/images/stories/Corruption_in_Higher_Education_Report-2009_ENG_Final.pdf), pg. 5.
- ⁶ Департамент Державної служби боротьби з економічною злочинністю МВС України, "Корупціонери від освіти найчастіше 'гріють руки' під час екзаменаційних сесій, будівництва та ремонту навчальних закладів," (22 September 2009) (<http://mvs.gov.ua/mvs/control/main/uk/publish/article/css/mai%20n/uk/publish/article/248748>).
- ⁷ Глибинні інтерв'ю, червень – листопад 2009р; but see Український тиждень, "Університети корупції," *Український Тиждень* (8 June 2010) (<http://www.ut.net.ua/art/166/0/4213/>). It is, of course, notoriously difficult if not impossible to ascertain the exact extent of money involved.
- ⁸ John Round and Peter Rodgers, "The Problems of Corruption in post-Soviet Ukraine," *International Journal of Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 2 (Summer 2009), pg. 83.
- ⁹ Ararat Osipian, "Higher Education Corruption in Ukraine as Reflected in the Nation's Media," Vanderbilt University Working Paper (http://mpr.aub.uni-muenchen.de/8464/1/MPRA_paper_8464.pdf), pg. 22.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pg. 89.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Донбасс (19 January 1999), Quoted by Corruption Watch, vol. 2, no. 3(24) (3 February 1999). (<http://www.ucipr.org.ua/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=1352>).

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⁴⁶ Rigi documents a case in Kazakhstan where a woman acquired a university job as departmental secretary through a distant relative but had to respond to his requests for such domestic assistance. *Ibid.*, pg. 106–107.

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ANNEX - METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted in three phases: a desk review; in-depth interviews; and, to supplement the findings from the in-depth interviews, a national survey.

Desk review

In the first phase, research included:

- an analysis of the existing national studies on corruption in Ukraine, including: *Corruption in Ukraine*, Institute of Applied Humanitarian Research (IAHR) (2004); *Corruption in Ukraine: National Study of Corruption 2007*, Kyiv International Institute of Sociology (KIIS); *Corruption in Ukraine. Comparative Analysis of National Surveys: 2007-2009*, Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) Threshold Country Plan in cooperation with KIIS; *Study of Corruption in Ukraine: Thoughts and Opinions of Ukraine's Population, June 2009*, US Agency for International Development, MCC, Management Systems International, KIIS;
- an analysis of law enforcement agency reports and statistical reports from the State Statistics Committee on gender distribution by occupation and level of education; and
- a review of corruption cases in Ukraine's universities, as reported in the press.

In-depth interviews and focus groups

In the second phase, in-depth interviews and focus groups were used to gather detailed, qualitative information.

Researchers employed a multi-stage sampling method that began by selecting universities that had obtained their fourth level of accreditation from Ukraine's Ministry of Education and Science. As the scope of the survey did not extend to include regional variation, only institutions in the cities of Kharkiv, which possesses the largest student population in Ukraine, and Odessa were involved.

Among the public and municipal universities, the following were targeted:

- The Kharkiv National Karazin University

- The National Yaroslav Mudryi Law Academy
- The Kharkiv National University of Internal Affairs
- The Kharkiv National Medical University
- The Kharkiv University of Civil Defence
- The Kharkiv Catering Academy
- The Kharkiv Academy of Construction and Architecture

Among the private universities, the following were targeted:

- The National Ukrainian Academy
- The Institute of Business and Management

Professors and students within these universities were then interviewed face-to-face by a trained interviewer. A snowball sampling technique was used: after the interview, respondents were asked to invite colleagues to participate, and those colleagues, in turn, were asked to invite others.

In total, between 20 September and 30 October 2009, researchers conducted:

- 115 in-depth interviews with faculty members (55 respondents: 30 women and 25 men) and students (60 respondents: 30 women and 30 men); and
- 2 focus groups with faculty members and 2 focus groups with students.

The raw data collected had the following characteristics:

Table 2 – DEMOGRAPHICS OF SAMPLE

		Professors	Students
Gender	Male	33%	45%
	Female	67%	55%
Age	Before 45	61%	70%
	After 45	39%	30%
Marital status	Married	79%	12%
	Unmarried	21%	88%
Economic condition	We lack money even for food.	4%	4%
	We have enough money for food, but it is difficult to buy clothes or shoes.	23%	19%
	We have enough money for food and clothes, and we can save something but not enough for refrigerator, stove...etc.	48%	52%
	We can buy some expensive things (such as a TV set or a refrigerator), but we cannot permit ourselves whatever we want.	26%	26%
	We can permit ourselves whatever we want.	0%	0%
Form of property ownership of associated university	Public	73%	70%
	Private	27%	30%

National Survey

In the third phase of research, a national survey was conducted that included questions on the public's experience of corruption in the education sector.

A multi-stage approach was taken to sampling. First, 15 oblasts (regions) were selected in Ukraine, taking into account the ratio of rural to urban populations in the country (39% rural/61% urban). The ratio of rural to urban respondents in each oblast was chosen so as to reflect the rural/urban ratio in the oblast as a whole, on the basis of data available from the State Statistics Committee.

Second, 5 rayons (districts) were selected in each oblast. Cities and villages were then randomly selected in each of these rayons. The total number of rural interviews required for a given oblast was distributed across rayons proportional to the size of the rayons.

Third, respondents were then selected based on fixed quotas for age, gender, education and place of settlement to ensure the sample population shares the same distribution of these characteristics as the Ukrainian population at large, on the basis of data available from the State Statistics Committee.

Interviewers selected households at random, approaching one house in every three, four or five. No more than one respondent was interviewed in the same household. Less than 2% of individuals within selected households refused or abandoned interviews before completion.

Interviews were conducted face-to-face by trained interviewers of the same gender as the respondent. Certain blocks of questions that were particularly personal in nature were answered in writing.

The national survey was conducted between 1 June and 1 July 2010. In total, there were 2,027 respondents (1,115 female and 912 male). Of these, 386 reported having encountered corruption in the education sector in the past 12 months.

The margin of sampling error is not more than 2.8% for figures close to 50%; not more than 2.1% for figures close to 25%; and not more than 1.3% for figures close to 10%, with a probability of 95%.

The raw data collected had the following characteristics:

Table 3 – DEMOGRAPHICS OF NATIONAL SURVEY RESPONDENTS

Gender	Male	45%
	Female	55%
Age	Before 45	47%
	After 45	53%
Marital status	Married	67%
	Unmarried	33%
Education	Primary or partial secondary	2%
	Secondary general	16%
	Secondary specialized (technical school)	35%
	Higher (university, academy, institute)	45%
	Doctoral (PhD I, PhD II)	2%
Economic condition	The family lacks money, even for food.	17%
	The family has enough money for food, but it is difficult to buy clothes or shoes.	44%
	The family has enough money for food and clothes and to save something, but not enough to own a refrigerator, stove...etc.	33%
	The family is able to buy some expensive things (e.g. a TV set or a refrigerator), but not whatever it wants.	6%
	The family can have whatever it wants.	1%
Type and size of settlement	Village	29%
	Urbanized settlement (town)	58%
	City	13%