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FOR

**OFFICE OF THE UN RESIDENT COORDINATOR IN BOSNIA AND  
HERZEGOVINA**

**PUBLIC OPINION POLL RESULTS  
ANALITICAL REPORT**

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BD	Brcko District
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Force
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal of former Yugoslavia
OHR	Office of the High Representative
RS	Republika Srpska
USA	United States of America

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## INTRODUCTION

From May 7 to May 22 2013 Prism Research, under commission and in consultation with Office of the UN Resident Coordinator in Bosnia and Herzegovina conducted a survey in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) for the purpose of informing the preparation of 2013 UN Common Country Assessment in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The method used for the survey was the administration of a standardized questionnaire, using the computer assisted personal (face-to-face) interviews. A total of 1500 interviews were conducted on a random sample of citizens of BiH.

This Report describes the main results affirmed in this survey.

June, 2013.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the opinions and attitudes of citizens of BiH regarding the current economic and political challenges in Bosnia and Herzegovina including the issues related to reconciliation, war, and the role of International Community in BiH, quantitative research method was used. Computer assisted personal (face to face) interview – CAPI - represents a quantitative method in this research.

Image 1 shows the basic information about research process.

Image 1. Basic information about research

<b>Period of research conduction</b>	7 <sup>th</sup> to 22 <sup>th</sup> of May, 2013
<b>Data collection method</b>	Personal interview in the telephone survey - CAPI
<b>Instruments</b>	Instruments used in this research are developed by the UN RCO, in collaboration with Prism Research
<b>Research sample</b>	Members of the general population of BiH
<b>Sample size</b>	1500 respondents, members of the general population
<b>Representativeness</b>	Random stratified sample, representative for the entities, geographic areas, municipality size, and type of settlement. Respondents are citizens of BiH who are older than 18.

### 2.1.1 Interviewing method

In order to significantly improve the quality of data collected by interviewers, Prism Research used face-to-face CAPI, Computer Assisted Personal interviewing method instead of traditional PAPI, Paper And Pencil Interviewing. In CAPI surveys, interviewers are using PDA devices to read questions, answer choices and to record responses. The flow of the questionnaire is controlled by specially designed software. CAPI method has been used by Prism Research for two years, so the interviewers are very familiar with it. Having in mind that the questionnaire flow is controlled by the software, logical control and consistency control of responses is done automatically, and the possibility of making mistakes is much lower in comparison to PAPI method.

## **2.1.2 Survey instrument**

The questionnaire was designed by the Client, and finalized in collaboration with Prism Research. The questions cover topics such as general feelings and satisfaction of the respondents, their level of trust towards different institutions, current problems, attitudes on reconciliation, attitudes on war, attitudes about future in BiH, and their opinions on the role of European Union and International Community in BiH.

## **2.1.4 Interviewers, Interviewing Process and Quality Control**

Fieldwork team for this survey consisted of 10 regional coordinators and 44 interviewers. Their selection was performed based on ability, previous experience, age, gender and region of residence. Each of the regional coordinators held a training session with interviewers from their area. This training consisted of interviewing procedures, analyses by questions and role-playing exercises.

Each interviewer, prior to starting the fieldwork, had to perform at least one interview in the presence of coordinator. The quality control of fieldwork was performed in several ways. Interviewers are obliged to share their data files with completed interviews every day after the fieldwork. Supervisors from Prism Research office checked these data files on regular basis to ensure the questionnaires were conducted properly. In addition, the phone controls were performed on 10% of interviews of each interviewer.

## **2.1.5 Data entry and analysis**

In CAPI survey, data entry is conducted at the same time as data collection. A specially designed Survey System database was used to program the questionnaire into PDA devices. The entire process of data analysis was performed in Prism Research offices in Sarajevo. The data was analyzed using PASW (Predictive Analytics Software), which was also used for database cleaning and logical control.

## **2.1.6 Results**

This report presents the results of the public opinion survey. Results of the survey have been presented by total, as well as disaggregated by ethnicity. Differences by other geographic or demographic variables were mentioned only if they reached the level of statistical significance. All the results are presented in percentages, including the results presented in the images in this report.

### 2.1.7 Geographic and socio-economic profile of the respondents

Considering the territory of BiH, the majority of the respondents who participated in this survey live in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Somewhat more than a third of the respondents live in Republika Srpska. Brcko District is the smallest part of the whole survey sample. Somewhat more than a half of the respondents are residents of rural areas, while the rest of them reside in urban settlements.

Analyzing demographic variables, it can be noted that the respondents are somewhat more often females than males. Almost a third of the respondents are between 18-35 years old. More than a quarter of the respondents are between 36 and 50 years of age, while the rest of them are older than 50. Considering their ethnicity, it is observable that more than a half of the respondents declare themselves as Bosniaks. Somewhat less than a third of the respondents declare themselves as Serbs, while slightly more than 10% of the respondents belong to Croat ethnic group. Bosnians and minorities make up approximately 3% of the sample. Concerning the educational background, more than half of the respondents have completed secondary education. It is notable that relatively high percentage of the respondents have not completed primary education or have completed only primary education.

Almost 40% of the respondents are unemployed, whereas 29% of them state they are employed. Other respondents are either retired, pupils/students or disabled. A half of their households earn between 300 and 1000 KM per month.

The table below provides more details as regards the geographic and socio-economic characteristics of the survey sample.

**Image 2. Geographic and socio-economic profile of the respondents**

	<b>N= 1500</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Entity</b>	FB&H	909	60.6
	RS	550	36.7
	BD	41	2.7
<b>Type of settlement</b>	Urban	660	44.0
	Rural	840	56.0
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Bosniak	805	53.7
	Croat	178	11.8
	Serb	462	30.8
	Bosnian/BiH	31	2.1
	Other	15	1.0
	Does not wish to answer	10	.6
<b>Gender</b>	Male	718	47.9
	Female	782	52.1
<b>Age</b>	18-35	494	32.9
	36-50	422	28.1
	51-65	342	22.8
	66+	242	16.1
<b>Education</b>	Incomplete primary education	149	9.9
	Primary education	304	20.3
	Secondary education	839	56.0
	Higher education	92	6.1
	University education	115	7.7
<b>Working status</b>	Employed	435	29.0
	Unemployed	582	38.8
	Retired	348	23.2
	Pupil, student	118	7.9
	Disabled	9	.6
	Does not wish to answer	7	.5
<b>Monthly income of the household</b>	Up to 100 KM	57	3.8
	From 101-200 KM	60	4.0
	From 201-300 KM	193	12.8
	From 301-500 KM	390	26.0
	From 501-1000 KM	359	23.9
	From 1001-1500 KM	111	7.4
	From 1501-2000 KM	31	2.1
	Over 2000 KM	19	1.3
	Does not know	39	2.6
	Does not wish to answer	241	16.1



## WELLBEING AND SATISFACTION OF THE CITIZENS OF BiH

In a transitional, post-war period, citizens of BiH went and are still going through tremendous changes. Changes in political, social and economic system were not running smoothly, but were accompanied by many obstacles. Today, BiH counts as a modern post transitional country, while many aspects of former structures are still immanent. Together with the war trauma, these changes are reflected in general satisfaction with life, with life standard, and sense of control and freedom of choice of BiH citizens.

The majority of citizens describe their state of mind over the past year in negative terms, mostly as lethargic. On the other hand, only 12% of citizens describe their state of mind in positive terms – as happy, satisfied, optimistic or content.

**Image 3: What is your state of mind over the last year? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Lethargic	50.2	54.1	41.0	46.3	53.5
Neither happy nor unhappy	13.8	12.3	9.9	18.2	12.9
Angry	9.4	10.5	14.8	5.6	6.5
Pessimistic	7.2	5.2	10.3	9.8	4.4
Satisfied	6.8	6.1	10.5	6.1	9.3
Depressed	4.8	5.6	5.5	3.4	4.4
Optimistic	4.4	3.2	5.9	6.3	2.0
Content	2.2	1.9	1.6	3.0	1.5
Happy	1.0	.8	.5	1.3	3.5
Frustrated	.2	.2	.0	.0	2.0

Slightly more than half of the respondents state that things in their life remained the same in this year compared to a year ago, but a large percentage of the respondents state that things have worsened in this period. Respondents from rural areas state more often (43.9%) than respondents from urban areas (34.1%) that things became worse over the last year.

Somewhat less than half of the respondents believe the things will not change in a year from now, and a third of the respondents believe things are going to get worse. One out of five respondents are optimistic, stating that things are going to get better in a year from now. Serbs state more often than Bosniaks that things are going to get better, while Bosniaks hold the opposite opinion more often than Serbs.

The expectations in a year from now are more often positive in urban areas compared to rural areas. People with university education are less prone to state that things are going to get worse in a year from now, in comparison to respondents with lower level of education.

Image 4: Compared to year ago, overall are things in your life ... ? – Comparison by the ethnicity

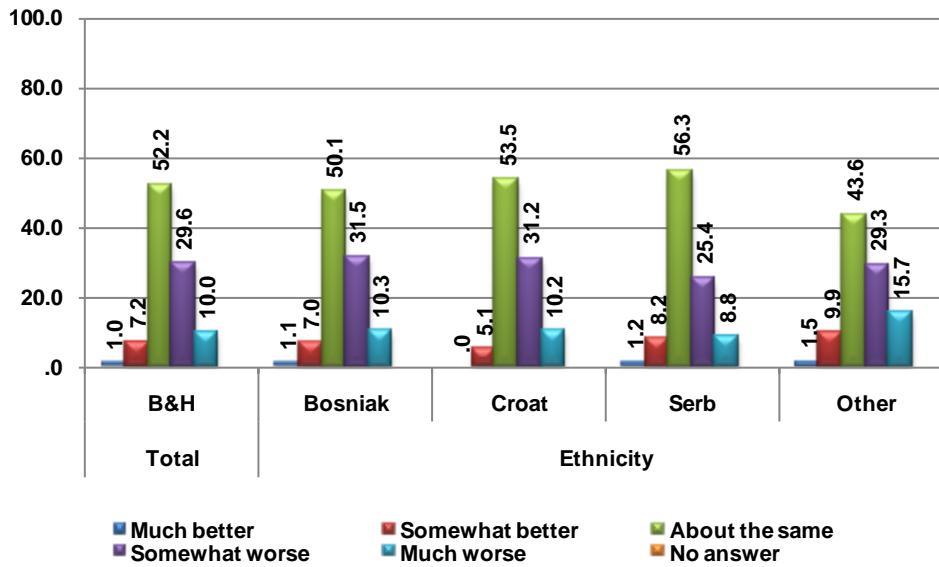
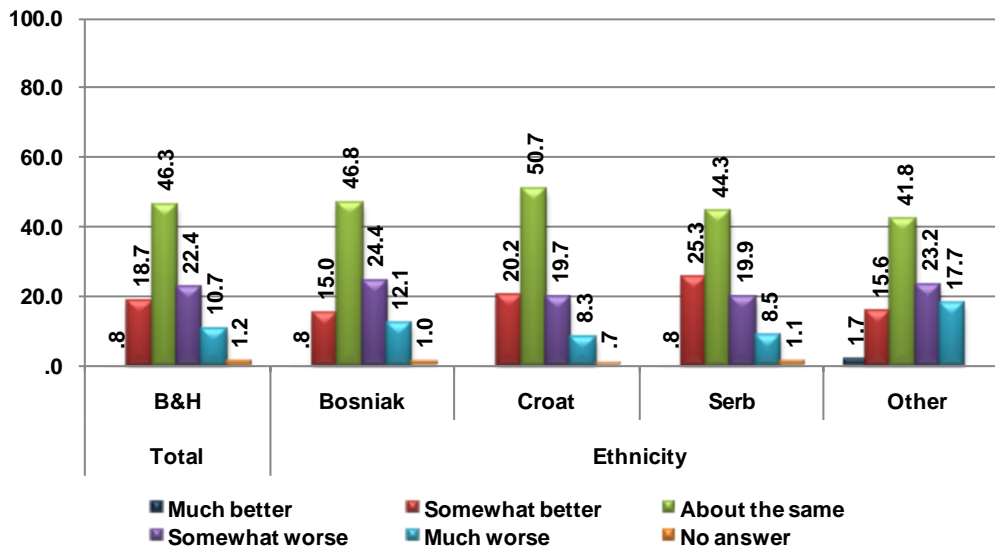


Image 5: What is your expectation for how things in your life will be overall in a year from now? – Comparison by the ethnicity



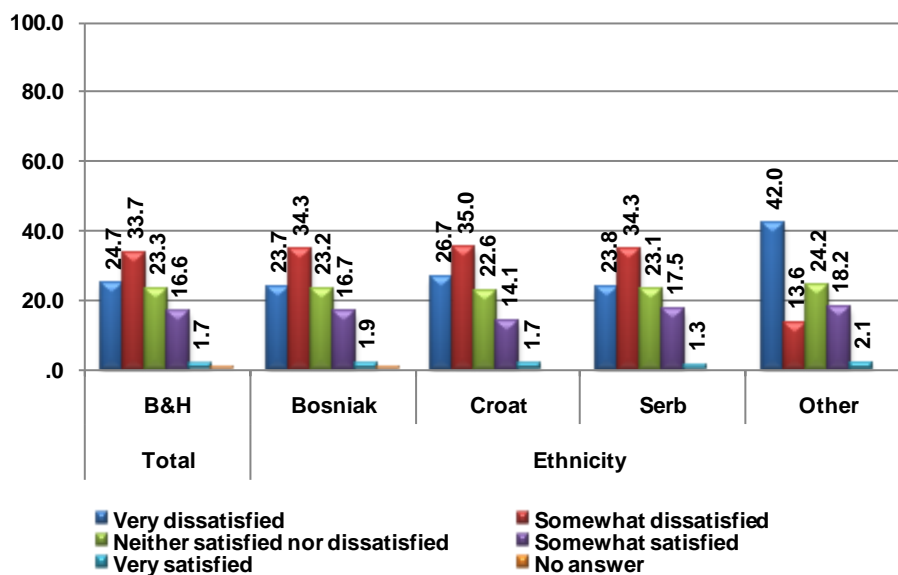
**Image 6: What is your expectation for how things in your life will be overall in a year from now? – Comparisons by type of settlement and education (Answers “Much better” and “Somewhat better” were combined in answer “Better”, and answers “Somewhat worse” and “Much worse” into “Worse”!)**

	Type of settlement		Education				
	Urban	Rural	Incomplete primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	University education
Better	22.5	17.1	12.4	15.7	21.2	20.0	25.6
Same	45.6	46.9	47.7	45.1	45.0	44.2	58.6
Worse	31.4	34.3	39.0	37.2	32.6	34.9	15.8
No answer	.5	1.7	.8	2.0	1.2	.9	

More than half of the respondents state they are not satisfied with the current financial situation of their households. Less than a fifth reports satisfaction with their finances.

Respondents from rural areas state more often than respondents from urban areas that they are not satisfied with the financial situation of their households. Furthermore, respondents older than 35 years state dissatisfaction more often than younger respondents. Compared by the level of education, respondents with university education state dissatisfaction with their financial situation less often, compared to respondents who are less educated.

**Image 7: How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

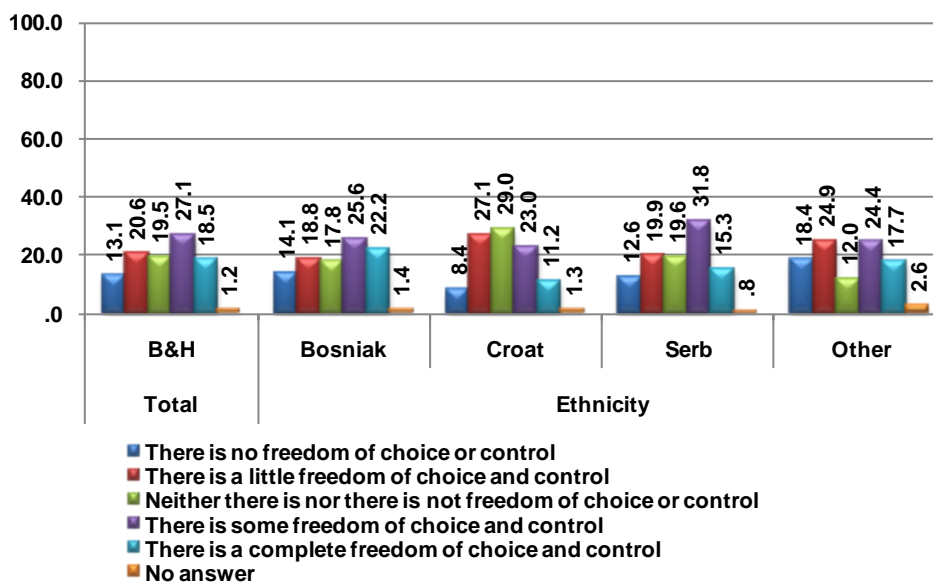


**Image 8: How satisfied are you with the financial situation of your household? – Comparison by type of settlement, age and education** (Answers “Very dissatisfied” and “Somewhat dissatisfied” were combined into answer “Dissatisfied”, and answer “Very satisfied” and “Somewhat satisfied” were combined into answer “Satisfied”)

		Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Satisfied	No answer
Type of settlement	Urban	55.0	25.4	19.5	.1
	Rural	61.1	21.6	17.3	
Age	18-35	47.5	29.8	22.7	
	36-50	59.5	21.3	19.1	.2
	51-65	67.0	17.8	15.2	
	66+	66.5	21.4	12.1	
Education	Incomplete primary	66.6	22.3	11.1	
	Primary education	68.8	19.2	12.0	
	Secondary education	57.4	23.9	18.6	.1
	Higher education	53.2	19.9	26.8	
	University education	31.1	34.5	34.5	

Despite of the fact that they see things in their life mainly as negative and that their expectations from life are not very bright, relatively large percentage of the respondents – somewhat lower than half – believe that they have either some or complete freedom of choice and control over their lives.

**Image 9: How much freedom of choice and control you feel you have over the way your life turns out? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Overall, the majority of the respondents describe their state of mind over the past year using negative or neutral terms (lethargic, pessimistic, neither happy nor unhappy...). The largest percentage of the

respondents perceive either no changes or negative changes in their life compared to a year ago, and they do not believe that any positive changes are going to come soon. Furthermore, the majority of the respondents are not satisfied with their current financial situation. However, despite of the general pessimism, a large percentage of the respondents believe to a certain degree in freedom of choice and control over life.

## **THE MAIN PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES FACING BiH**

As mentioned before, it is well known that BiH society has faced many problems during the post-war period. This chapter presents the public perception of the main problems and challenges of the country, including the responsibility for such problems and positive influences on their resolution.

Corruption has been identified as the main problem in the country at present by the largest percentage of the respondents, followed by the economy and politics. Different ethnic groups identify different problems and challenges. Bosniaks mention politics, legislation and constitution, corruption and mentality as problems more often than Serbs. Compared to Croats, Bosniaks identify politics and crime more often as important problems in the country. In this context, Croats mention Government/administration and economy more frequently than Bosniaks, and legislation/Constitution and economy more often than Serbs. On the other hand, Serbs consider the International Community as a problem more often than Bosniaks. They also state more frequently that the International Community and crime are the main challenges of the country, compared to Croats.

Compared by entities, respondents from FBiH mention legislation and constitution, corruption and mentality as problems more frequently than respondents from RS. Respondents from RS see ethnic and religious relations, International Community and regional/global influences as problems more often than respondents from FBiH. Furthermore, respondents from urban and rural settlement identify different problems in BiH. While respondents living in urban areas mention ethnic/religious relations, legislation and constitution and mentality more frequently than respondents from rural areas, respondents settled in rural areas mention more often corruption, crime, and the International Community in this context.

Considering respondents' education, respondents who completed secondary (14.6%), higher (20.0%) and university education (18.8%) mention the rule of law as a problem more often than respondents who completed only primary education (8.2%)

**Image 10: In your opinion, what are the biggest problems and challenges in the country at present? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Government, administration	27.0	24.1	35.7	30.5	11.9
Ethnic, religious relations	10.0	9.1	7.5	13.1	4.0
Politics	50.5	54.9	39.5	46.6	46.5
Rule of law	13.4	13.2	13.5	13.8	16.2
Legislation and constitution	9.4	11.8	11.2	4.6	11.6
Corruption	72.4	75.3	74.9	66.3	74.5
Mentality	6.1	7.9	2.9	3.6	9.9
Economy	59.0	57.2	74.8	56.0	62.0
Crime	33.9	34.5	23.0	37.0	37.2
International community	4.6	1.5	1.6	11.6	1.7
Regional and global influences	1.6	.9	2.1	2.6	2.0
Other	3.8	3.8	6.4	2.6	4.9
No answer	.6	.3	.0	1.4	1.9

**Image 11: In your opinion, what are the biggest problems and challenges in the country at present? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
Government, administration	26.2	29.3	13.1	29.4	25.1
Ethnic, religious relations	8.0	13.6	3.2	14.6	6.4
Politics	51.9	48.5	46.6	47.7	52.7
Rule of law	14.4	12.2	8.1	15.4	11.9
Legislation and constitution	11.1	5.4	25.1	11.6	7.7
Corruption	75.0	66.9	89.5	65.7	77.7
Mentality	7.5	2.9	17.1	8.9	3.8
Economy	60.4	55.2	80.6	55.0	62.2
Crime	33.4	36.5	11.4	29.7	37.3
International Community	1.2	10.3	5.2	5.2	4.2
Regional and global influences	.8	3.0	.0	1.8	1.5

The largest percentage of the respondents hold the Government and politicians responsible for the problems in the country. Bosniaks consider politicians and youth responsible more often than Serbs. Croats state that private sector and business community are accountable more frequently than Bosniaks. Finally, Serbs blame the International Community and citizens more often than both Bosniaks and Croats.

**Image 12: Who do you hold most accountable for those problems? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Government	79.3	78.3	85.6	79.3	73.2
Politicians	86.2	89.5	87.1	80.7	82.5
Intellectuals, artists	3.2	3.2	4.0	3.5	.0
Civil Society	4.3	4.3	5.6	3.8	6.2
Media	6.2	5.6	10.0	6.6	.0
International community	33.5	25.6	30.9	48.5	35.3
Regional players,	10.5	11.9	12.1	8.0	6.4
Religious leaders	4.7	5.4	5.4	3.4	5.2
Private sector, business	8.4	7.0	15.2	8.8	3.7
Youth	17.7	19.6	16.8	13.0	34.3
Citizens in general	10.1	8.7	4.6	14.5	14.3
Other	.6	.2	2.8	.4	.0
No answer	.8	.5	.0	1.8	.0

Disaggregated by entity, it is notable that respondents from FBiH believe that politicians and citizens are responsible for the problems in the country more frequently than respondents from RS. On the other hand, respondents from RS state more often than respondents from FBiH that the International Community is responsible for the existing problems. Considering the type of settlement, respondents from urban areas blame government and youth for the problems of the country more often than respondents from rural settlements. On the contrary, respondents living in rural areas hold politicians and private sector responsible more often than the respondents from urban areas.

Gender differences have been affirmed when it comes to holding private sector and youth responsible for the problems in BiH. Males consider private sector responsible more frequently (10.1%) than female respondents (6.8%), as well as the youth (19.8% of males and 15.7% of females). Observing respondents' age, older respondents (66+) hold the media responsible for the problems of the country more often than younger respondents do. Furthermore, respondents who are more than 35 years old blame the International Community for these problems more frequently than younger respondents.

**Image 13: Who do you hold most accountable for those problems? – Comparison by entity, type of settlement and age**

	Entity			Type of settlement		Age			
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
Government	80.1	80.0	50.8	83.1	76.2	78.2	82.7	78.2	76.8
Politicians	89.7	81.7	67.7	82.8	88.8	83.8	87.3	88.3	86.3
Intellectuals, artists	3.0	3.0	12.6	3.8	2.8	2.3	2.3	3.9	6.0
Civil Society	4.5	3.7	8.9	4.1	4.5	5.8	3.8	3.5	3.6
Media	4.8	7.5	19.2	6.7	5.8	5.2	4.5	5.6	12.0
International community	24.8	48.0	30.7	31.5	35.0	26.8	35.0	37.0	39.4
Regional players, neighbouring states	10.7	7.5	45.7	10.3	10.7	11.1	9.4	10.4	11.4
Religious leaders	4.9	3.5	15.7	4.9	4.6	5.7	4.7	4.5	3.0
Private sector, business community	8.6	8.3	5.4	6.7	9.7	11.3	6.9	6.5	7.6
Youth	22.0	11.2	7.5	20.1	15.7	18.7	20.2	18.1	10.3
Citizens in general	7.8	13.5	15.2	8.6	11.3	7.7	8.5	12.8	13.9
Other	.8	.2	.0	.5	.6	.5	1.5	.0	.0
No answer	.4	1.7	.0	.7	.9	.3	.2	1.1	2.7

Most of the respondents think that the citizens, especially youth, could make positive changes and successfully cope with the existing challenges. Bosniaks are more convinced than Croats that the Government could make positive changes, and more convinced than Serbs that the youth are able to change things. Croats believe in the power of civil society when it comes to solving problems more than other ethnic groups. Furthermore, Croats believe in neighboring countries and private sector as the possible catalysts for positive changes more often than Bosniaks do, and in neighboring countries and International Community more often than Serbs. Serbs believe in the power of Government to be such catalyst more often than both Bosniaks and Croats. In addition, Serbs mention intellectuals and artists in this context more frequently than Bosniaks do, and citizens in general more often than Croats.



**Image 14: Who do you believe may be the catalysts for positive changes in the country? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Youth	63.0	68.2	58.6	54.8	67.2
Citizens in general	50.5	49.8	40.1	55.8	57.1
Intellectuals, artists	26.1	24.1	24.0	31.1	24.4
International community	24.2	24.4	33.1	21.3	20.0
Government	21.6	18.7	9.6	32.0	16.9
Politicians	19.3	17.7	17.2	23.7	15.1
Private sector, business community	15.6	13.8	23.3	16.6	12.3
Civil Society	12.8	13.0	25.0	8.3	7.0
Regional players, neighbouring states	7.9	5.7	22.2	5.5	16.3
Media	7.3	6.2	10.0	9.0	.0
Religious leaders	4.5	3.6	7.0	4.9	6.5
No answer	3.8	4.2	.8	3.8	6.7
Other	2.5	2.4	5.3	1.7	1.8

Respondents from FBiH believe that civil society groups and youth have the power to make positive changes more often than respondents from RS. On the other hand, respondents from RS are convinced that the media, intellectuals and artists and the Government can make such changes more often, compared to respondents from FBiH. Respondents living in rural areas stress out the value of youth in this context more often (65.2%), compared to respondents living in urban areas (60.1%).

**Image 15: Who do you believe may be the catalysts for positive changes in the country? – Comparison by entity**

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
Government	16.9	28.5	33.5
Politicians	17.5	20.8	39.8
Intellectuals, artists	22.3	32.8	21.4
Civil Society	15.3	7.9	21.0
Media	4.9	9.6	27.5
International community	23.0	25.8	31.8
Regional players, neighbouring states	7.6	5.6	46.5
Religious leaders	3.8	4.7	15.2
Private sector, business community	16.0	14.3	24.3
Youth	69.8	55.1	17.3
Citizens in general	48.6	55.7	21.7
Other	3.1	1.7	.0
No answer	3.9	4.0	.0

In total, the problem of corruption has been identified as the major problem facing BiH at the present, followed by the economy and politics. As regards these problems, the Government and politicians are

considered the most responsible. Most of the respondents believe that the citizens themselves, especially the youth, could successfully cope with these challenges.

## READINESS TO MAKE A CHANGE

Residents of BiH are not very socially active. In general, surveys have shown that they are rarely active in NGOs, humanitarian, political or other types of organizations. Furthermore, social protests and demonstrations are rarely seen in this country, which is an additional proof for the low level of participation in social groups and gatherings.

Within the survey, respondents were asked to assess if they are willing to take the following activities: to vote in the elections, join a political party, join citizens' action group, demonstrate, use violence or force if it becomes necessary or leave BiH. More than half of the respondents state they are willing to vote in the elections. One out of three citizens state they are willing to leave the country, and somewhat less than a third of citizens would demonstrate. Respondents are much less willing to join a political or citizens' action groups. Relatively low percentage of citizens state they are ready to use force or violence if necessary. Croats and Serbs state more often than other ethnic groups that they are willing to vote in the elections. They also seem to be more ready to join a political party, compared to Bosniaks. According to results, Croats are willing to demonstrate more frequently than Bosniaks and Serbs. In addition, compared to Bosniaks, Croats are more ready to use violence and to leave BiH.

**Image 16: To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Voting at elections	52.4	46.4	66.4	60.1	31.0
Joining a political party	17.1	13.2	23.6	22.1	12.4
Joining a citizens' action group	16.4	14.9	22.5	17.4	12.1
Taking action such as	26.7	26.9	40.6	21.2	30.0
Using violence or force if it	6.5	5.5	11.8	6.5	3.7
Leave BiH	36.3	32.2	46.0	38.3	56.2

As regards the entities, respondents living in FBiH state more often than those from RS that they are willing to demonstrate. Respondents from RS state more often than respondents from FBiH that they would join a political party. Certain differences were also affirmed when it comes to type of settlement. Respondents from urban areas state more frequently than respondents from rural areas that they would vote in the elections (55.9% in urban areas compared to 49.6% in rural areas) and join a political party (19.3% in urban areas compared to 15.4% in rural areas).

Compared by gender, men seem to be more ready for the social participation, but also to leave the country, in relation to females. Male respondents state they would vote in the elections, join a political party, join citizens' action group and leave BiH more often than females. Finally, considering respondents'

age, respondents older than 65 are somewhat different from the younger respondents. They seem to be less prone to demonstrate and to leave BiH, in comparison to younger respondents.

**Image 17: To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? – Comparison by entity, gender and age**

	Entity			Gender		Age			
	FB&H	RS	BD	Male	Female	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
Voting at elections	53.8	53.4	4.8	54.9	50.0	49.9	55.2	54.2	49.6
Joining a political party	14.5	22.0	8.9	21.0	13.5	21.6	17.9	14.6	9.9
Joining a citizens' action group	16.7	16.9	3.1	19.1	14.0	21.0	16.9	14.8	8.6
Taking action such as demonstrating	31.1	21.2	4.6	31.3	22.5	30.5	31.0	24.7	14.5
Using violence or force if it becomes necessary	6.6	6.6	1.9	7.5	5.6	8.6	6.3	5.0	4.6
Leave BiH	34.5	40.0	26.2	41.9	31.2	49.9	41.4	26.4	13.9

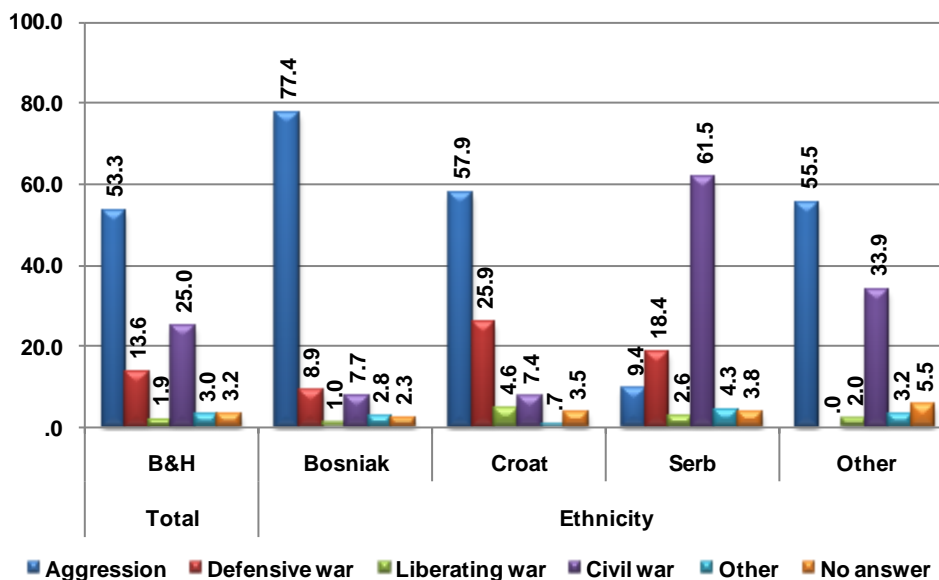
Altogether, when it comes to social participation, respondents are not very active. More than half of the respondents are willing to vote in the elections, but the majority of them are not ready to demonstrate, join a political party or citizens' action group. One out of three respondents state they are willing to leave their country. Only a small percentage of the respondents are ready to use force or violence if necessary.

## SENTIMENTS ON WAR, VICTIMS AND MONOETHNIC SOCIETIES

Thinking about BiH, it is inevitable to get to the period from 1992-1995 – a war period. Four years of war have left deep traces on BiH citizens, and on the society as a whole. Considering the ethnic, national, religious, and cultural diversity of this country, and its role during and after the war, the attitudes and sentiments regarding the war vary. This chapter provides broader insight into this issue.

On the BiH level, more than half of the respondents state they think that the war in BiH had the character of the aggression. One out of four respondents believe that it was a civil war. Observing ethnic groups separately, many different opinions arise. Bosniaks state more often than other ethnic groups that the war in BiH was an aggression. Croats share the opinion of Bosniaks, but they are more likely to state that the war in BiH was a defensive or liberating war. On the contrary, Serbs state more often than other ethnic groups that the war in BiH was a civil war.

**Image 18: What was in your view nature of the BiH war 1992-5? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



As regards the entities, respondents from FBiH claim more often than those from RS that the war in BiH had the nature of aggression. Respondents who reside in RS mention defensive war and civil war in this context more often than those from FBiH.

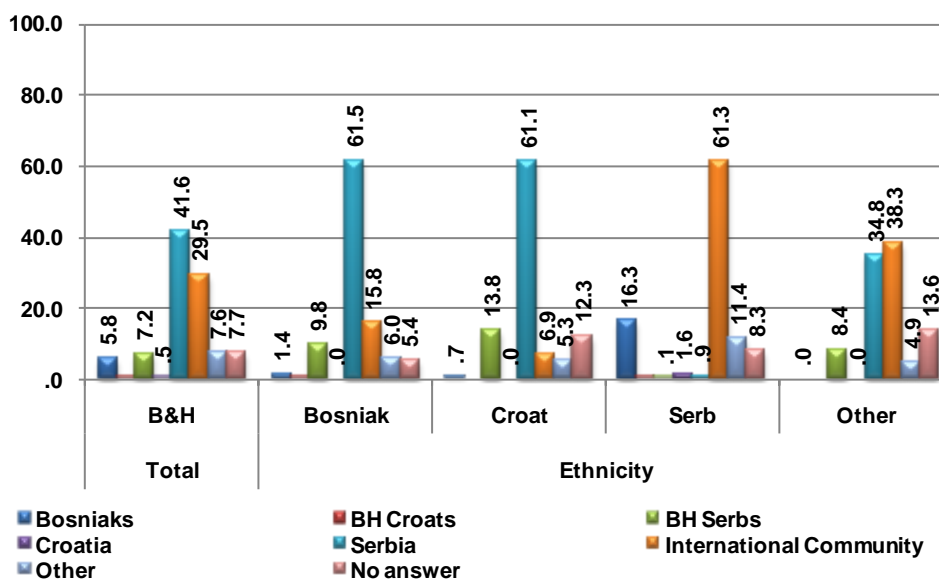
**Image 19: What was in your view nature of the BiH war 1992-5? – Comparison by entity**

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
Aggression	76.9	13.9	57.3
Defensive war	11.7	16.2	19.5
Liberating war	1.7	2.4	2.2
Civil war	4.2	59.6	21.0
Other	1.6	5.6	.0
No answer	3.9	2.3	.0

The majority of Bosniaks and Croats hold Serbia responsible for the war in BiH, whereas the majority of Serbs claim that the responsibility lies upon the International Community.<sup>1</sup> Bosniaks and Croats blame BH Serbs and Serbia for the BiH war more frequently than Serbs do.

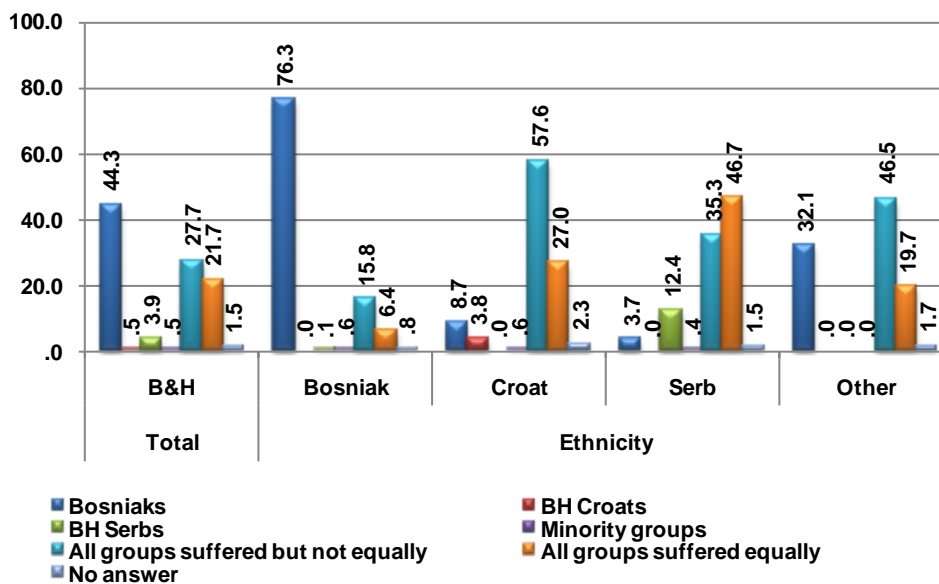
<sup>1</sup> Answer „Other“ understands mainly the attitudes that all ethnic groups are responsible for the war, or that the responsibility lies upon the authorities and politicians that were in power at the time.

**Image 20: Who do you find mostly responsible for BiH war 1992-5? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



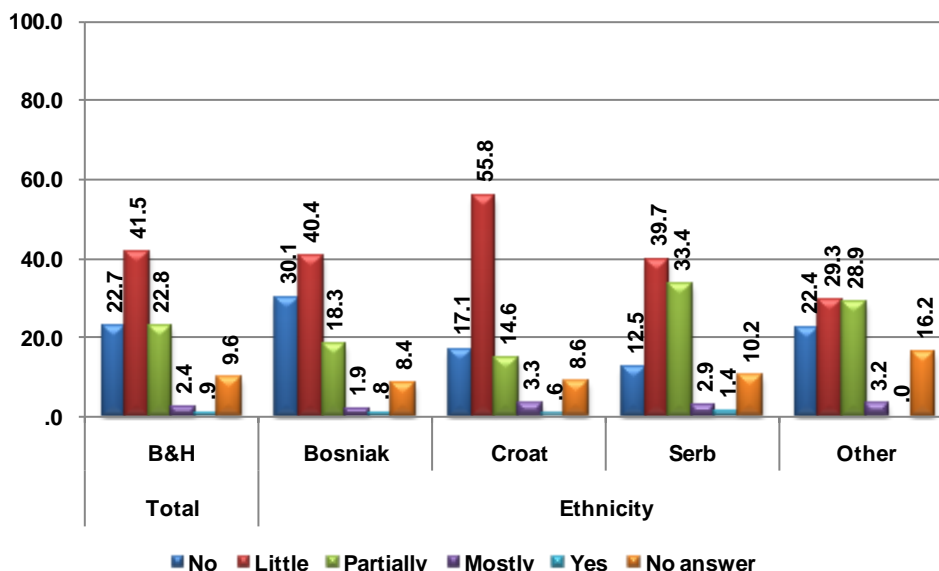
Assessing the level of suffering, Bosniaks are convinced that their ethnic groups suffered the most. Croats and Serbs mainly think that everyone suffered. Serbs states more often than Croats that everyone suffered equally, while Croats are, compared to Serbs and Bosniaks, more prone to state that everyone suffered but not equally.

**Image 21: Who suffered the most during the BiH war? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



The majority of the respondents state that people from their ethnic groups were neither responsible nor involved in the war crimes. Compared to Croats and Serbs, Bosniaks are more likely to state that people from their ethnic groups were not involved in the war crimes. Croats are more prone to state that some people from their national group were a little responsible for the war crimes, in comparison to other ethnic groups. Finally, Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that some people from their ethnic group were partially responsible for the war crimes.

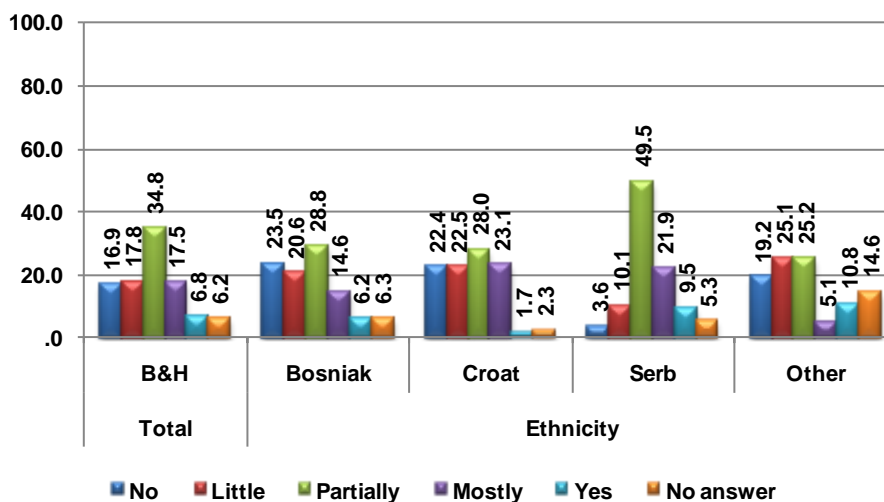
**Image 22: Were some people from your national/ethnic group also involved in/ responsible for war crimes? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Observing the differences between the entities, it is notable that respondents who reside in FBiH state more frequently (26.5%) that people from their ethnic groups were not responsible for the war crimes, in comparison to respondents from RS (15.6%). Respondents from RS are more prone to state (34.7%) that some of their people were partially responsible for the crimes during the war in BiH, compared to respondents from FBiH (15.5%).

More than half of the respondents state they think that their ethnic group is still threatened in BiH, at least partially. Bosniaks and Croats state more frequently than Serbs that they do not feel threatened in BiH. Serbs are more likely to state that their ethnic group is partially threatened in BiH, compared to other ethnic groups.

**Image 23: Do you think that your nation/ethnic group is still threatened today in BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

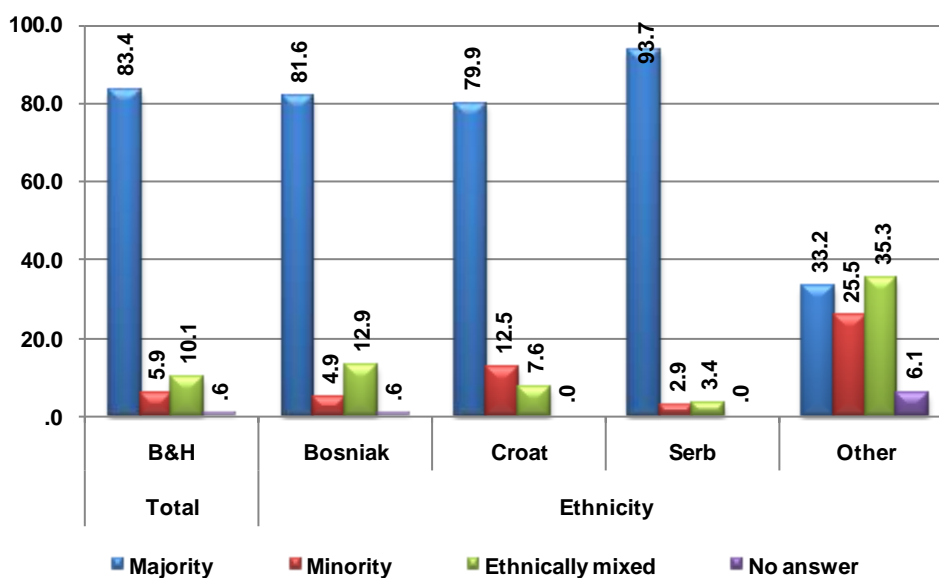


Respondents living in FBiH state more frequently (27.1%) than respondents from RS (1.2%) that they do not feel threatened in this country.

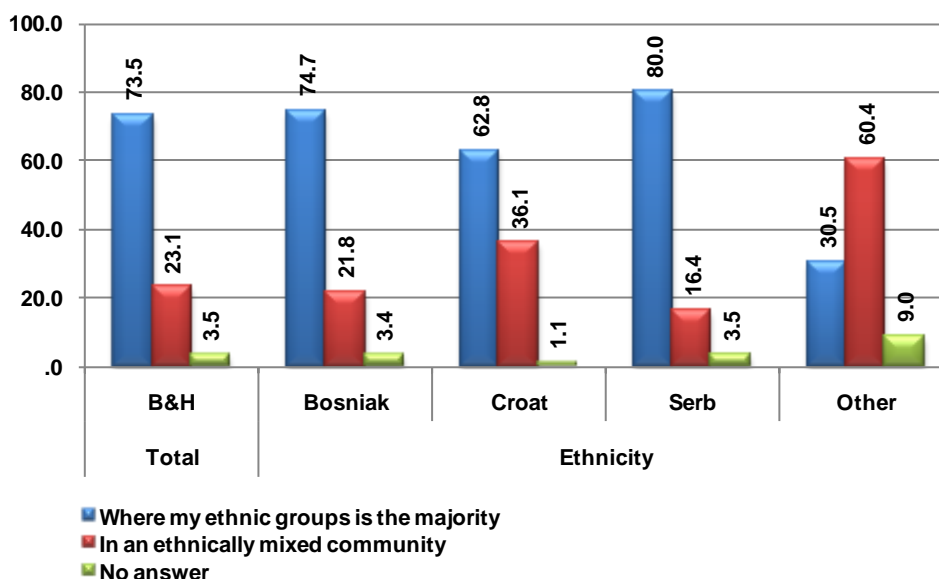
Compared by gender, female respondents state more often (19.9%) than males (13.8%) that their ethnic group is not threatened in BiH.

Most of the respondents reside in the areas where their ethnic group is the majority, and most of them prefer living in such settlements. Bosniaks and Serbs state they prefer to live in the places where their ethnic group is the majority more often than Croats and others ethnic groups. Croats state more often than Bosniaks and Serbs that they would prefer to live in an ethnically mixed area.

**Image 24: In the place where you live now is your ethnic group ...? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



**Image 25: Do you prefer living in the places where you ethnic group is the majority, or would you rather live in an ethnically mixed settlement? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Residents of FBiH state more often (29.4%) than residents of RS (12.1%) that they prefer to live in ethnically mixed communities. Considering the type of settlement, respondents from rural areas are more likely (79.1%) to state that they prefer to live in a place where their ethnic groups is the majority, compared to respondents who reside in urban areas (66.3%).

Observed by level of education, it is notable that respondents with higher and university education state more often than respondents with lower level of education a preference to live in ethnically mixed places.

**Image 26: Do you prefer living in the places where you ethnic group is the majority, or would you rather live in an ethnically mixed settlement? – Comparison by education**

	Education				
	Incomplete primary education	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher education	University education
Where my ethnic groups is the majority	84.0	79.4	72.9	55.2	62.7
In an ethnically mixed community	14.6	17.3	23.4	42.6	31.3
No answer	1.4	3.2	3.7	2.3	6.0

In general, more than half of the respondents believe that the war in BiH was the aggression by its nature. However, Bosniaks share this opinion more often than other ethnic groups. Croats are more likely to think of defensive or liberating war in this context, compared to Bosniaks, whereas Serbs state more frequently than other ethnic groups that the war in BiH was actually a civil war. The majority of Bosniaks and Croats hold Serbia responsible for the war, while the majority of Serbs blame the International Community. Assessing the level of suffering, Bosniaks are convinced that their ethnic group suffered the most during the war, while the Croats think that everyone suffered but not equally, and Serbs that everyone suffered equally. The majority of the respondents state that people from their ethnic groups were not responsible for the war crimes, and Bosniaks are more convinced in this than Serbs and Croats. Although in total more than half of the respondents state that their ethnic group is still threatened in BiH, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state the opposite opinion about their ethnic groups, compared to Serbs. Most of the respondents reside in the areas where their ethnic groups are the majority, and most of them prefer to live in such areas. Croats are more tolerant when it comes to this issue – they are more ready to live in ethnically mixed areas than Bosniaks and Serbs are.

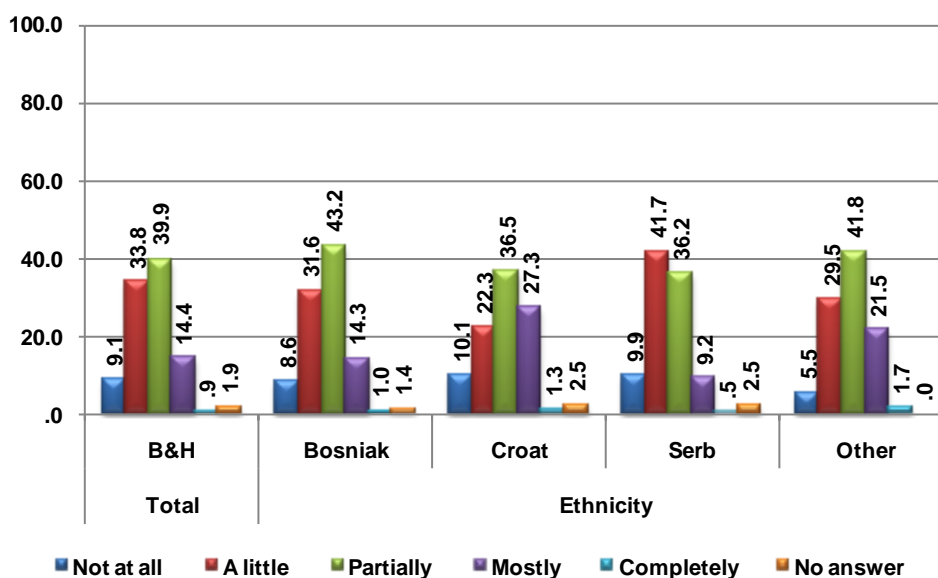


## RECONCILIATION

One of the issues often raised considering BiH is the issue of reconciliation between ethnic groups in this country. Almost 20 years after the end of the war, ethnic tensions are still immanent in BiH society. Within the survey, respondents were asked some questions in regards to this process – how they perceive the current state on this issue, what they think that needs to be done to end it successfully and how much time this process would take.

In general, respondents do not think that the process of reconciliation in BiH has been completed. The majority of the respondents think either that there was no reconciliation in BiH, or they describe the extent of reconciliation as small or partial. Serbs are more prone to state that reconciliation had no or had only a little progress in BiH, in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats. On the contrary, Bosniaks and Croats state more often than Serbs that there is a certain progress in reconciliation in this country, whereby Croats are more convinced in this than Bosniaks.

**Image 27: To what extent do you think that there has been a reconciliation in BiH and normalization of relations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, from the end of the war until now? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



The differences between the entities follow the differences between ethnic groups that reside in these entities. Therefore, respondents from FBiH are more convinced that there has been a reconciliation between ethnic groups than respondents from RS, while respondents from RS more often hold the opposite view. Considering the type of settlement, respondents from rural areas claim that there has been a little or no reconciliation in BiH more often (45.8%) than the respondents from urban areas do (40.6%).

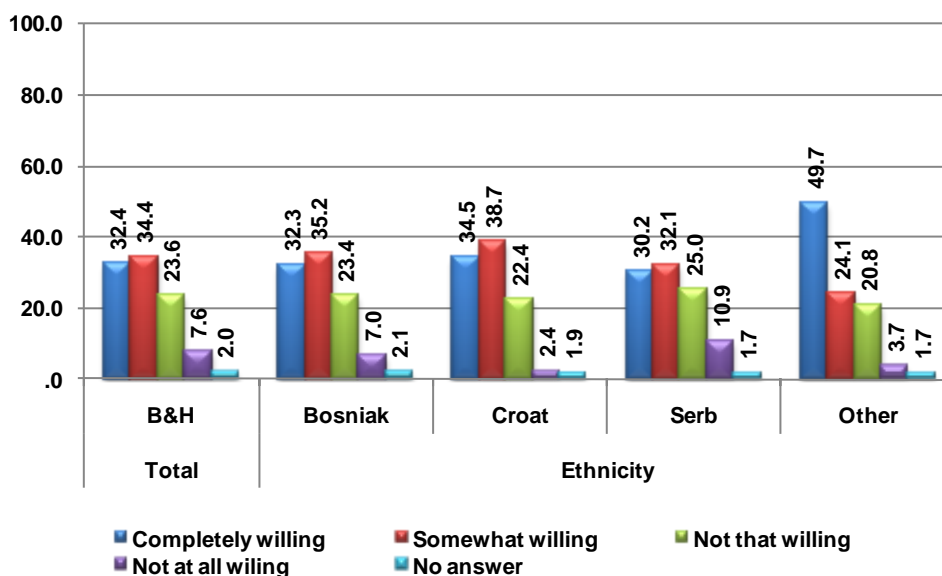
Compared by gender, females believe in reconciliation more often than males. They state more frequently (17.4%) than males (12.9%) that there has been complete or somewhat reconciliation in this country.

**Image 28: To what extent do you think that there has been a reconciliation in BiH and normalization of relations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, from the end of the war until now? – Comparison by entity** (Answers “Not at all” and “A little” were combined, as well as the answer “Completely” and “Mostly”)

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
Not at all/a little	39.7	49.2	27.7
Partially	38.2	42.0	49.8
Completely/mostly	20.3	6.4	22.5
No answer	1.7	2.4	.0

Two out of three respondents state they are willing to discuss the past war with people from other ethnic groups. Serbs state they are unwilling to discuss the past war with other ethnic groups more often than Croats.

**Image 29: To what extent are you willing to discuss the past war with people from other ethnic groups? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Considering the entities, respondents from FBiH state more often (72.3%) than those from RS (59.3%) that they are willing to discuss the war with people belonging to other ethnic groups. Respondents from RS hold the opposite view more frequently (39.0%) than the respondents from FBiH (25.3%).

Respondents hold different views when it comes to what should be done for ethnic groups in BiH to reconcile. The largest percentage of the respondents, somewhat less than a third, state that people should reach the common truth about their past grievances.

**Image 30: Do you think that in order for ethnic groups in BiH to reconcile their past they should ...? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

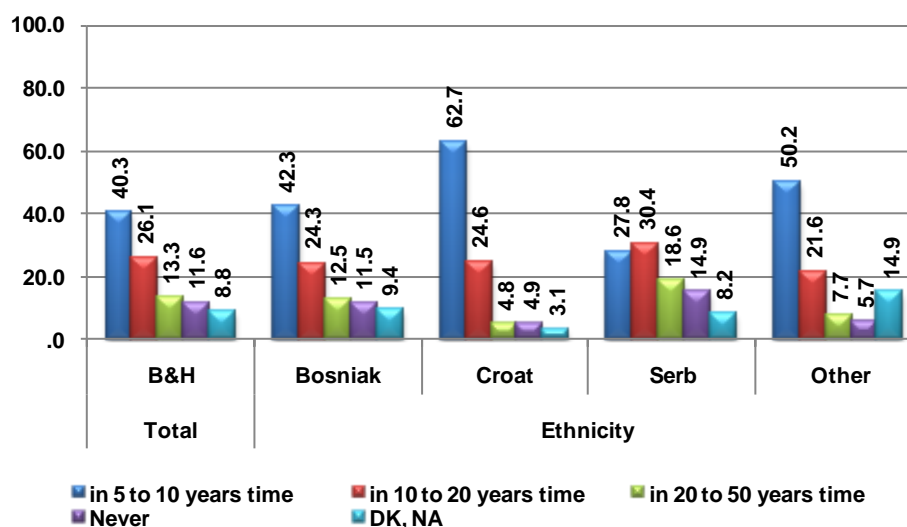
	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Reach common truth about their past grievances	30.2	33.3	26.8	27.2	21.7
Discuss their past grievances	13.6	13.3	12.8	13.4	21.2
Reconciliation is important	13.3	13.0	19.6	11.5	14.3
Reconciliation is possible	13.0	12.9	12.9	12.5	22.4
Ignore the past grievances and focus on the future	11.6	8.7	13.5	16.4	6.8
Forgive their past grievances	9.5	7.7	9.7	12.3	11.7
Remember their past grievances	5.2	7.2	2.3	3.3	.0
No answer	3.6	3.9	2.3	3.4	1.7

The largest percentage of the respondents think that reconciliation is possible in 5 to 10 years. Slightly more than a quarter of respondents think that it would take 10 to 20 years time. Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that reconciliation is possible in 5 to 10 years, compared to Serbs, whereby Croats are more likely to state this compared to both Bosniaks and Serbs. On the contrary, Serbs are more likely to state that reconciliation is possible in 20 to 50 years time, in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats.

Disaggregated by entity, respondents from FBiH state more often than respondents from RS that reconciliation is possible in 5 to 10 years time. Respondents from RS are more likely to state longer periods as necessary for reconciliation.

Compared by gender, females state more frequently (43.7%) than males (36.5%) that reconciliation is possible in 5 to 10 years time.

**Image 31: In your opinion, reconciliation is possible ... ? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



**Image 32: In your opinion, reconciliation is possible ... ? – Comparison by entity**

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
in 5 to 10 years time	49.8	25.8	22.4
in 10 to 20 years time	21.4	33.3	32.1
in 20 to 50 years time	9.7	18.2	25.6
Never	9.9	13.7	19.9
DK, NA	9.1	9.0	.0

In all, respondents are not convinced that the process of reconciliation in BiH has been completed. Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that at least some progress has been made so far as regards this issue, compared to Serbs who often believe that there was no reconciliation in this country. The majority of the respondents are willing to discuss the past war with other ethnic groups. When it comes to preconditions necessary to complete the process of reconciliation, the largest percentage of the respondents believe that ethnic groups in BiH should reach common truth about their past grievances in order to reconcile. Serbs are more likely to think that reconciliation would take a longer period of time, compared to Bosniaks and Croats.

## Experiences with Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) and BiH courts

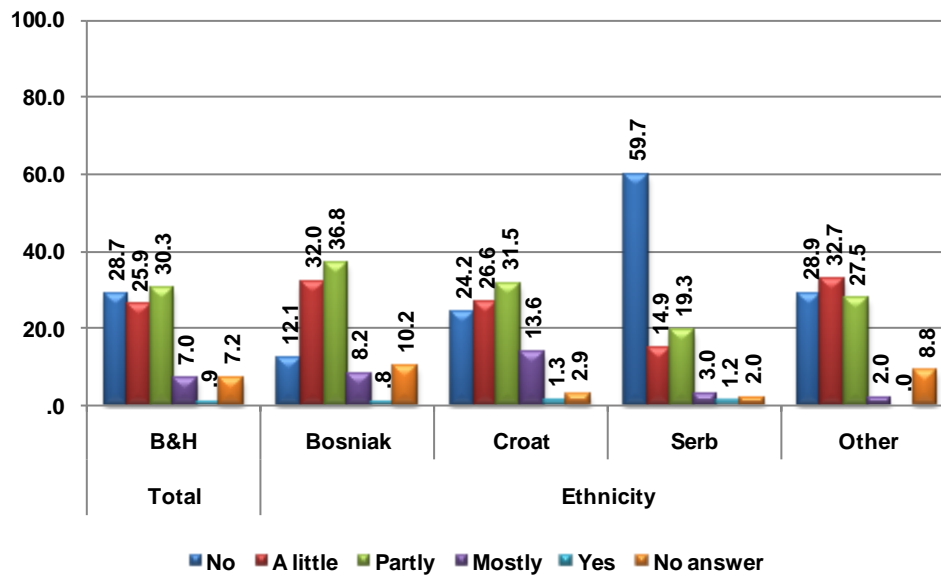
As regards the reconciliation process, respondents in this survey were asked about their experiences and opinions regarding the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Somewhat more than a quarter of the respondents believe that neither ICTY nor BiH courts contributed to reconciliation in BiH. More than half of the respondents state that their contribution was either small or partial, whereas relatively low percentage of the respondents state they had an important role in the process of reconciliation. Serbs are more likely to state that ICTY did not contribute to reconciliation in this country, compared to other ethnic groups.

Observing the entities, respondents from RS state more often (55.8%) than respondents from FBiH (12.7%) that ICTY did not contribute to the process of reconciliation in BiH. Responses in urban areas are somewhat different from the responses in rural settlements. Respondents living in urban areas are more prone (33.1%) to state that ICTY did not contribute to reconciliation, compared to respondents settled in rural areas (25.2%).

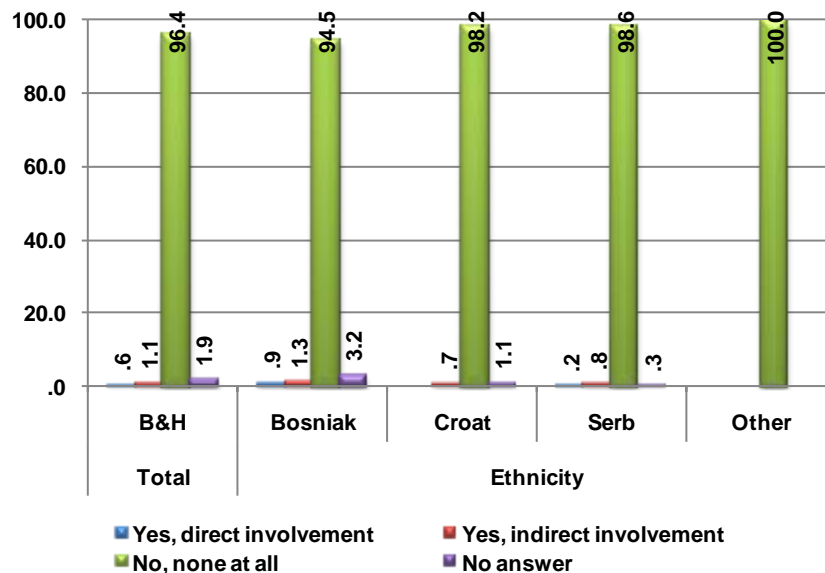
Compared by gender, males report more often than females the opinion that ICTY did not contribute to reconciliation in BiH (31.6% of males, compared to 26.1% of females).

**Image 33: Have ICTY/BiH courts contributed to reconciliation? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



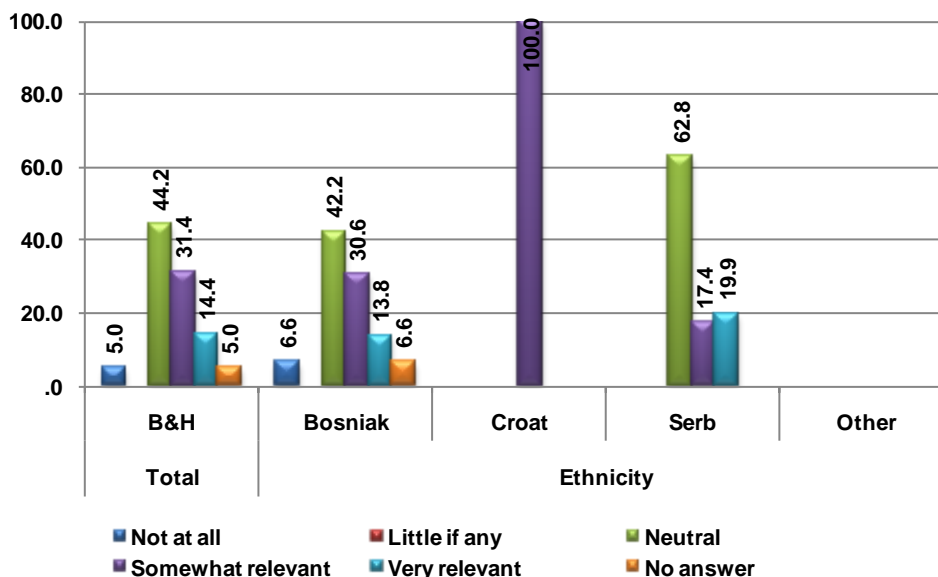
The vast majority of the respondents have not had any experiences with ICTY or legal proceedings for war crimes in BiH, neither personally nor through family members. Among those who had such experiences, the largest percentage describe their level of satisfaction with the proceedings as neutral, and one out of four respondents state satisfaction.

**Image 34: Have you had experience with either the ICTY or legal proceedings for war crimes within BiH, whether through your direct involvement or that of a family member? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



A similar number of the respondents who had experiences as regards the court proceeding for the war crimes state that these legal proceedings are relevant for their current life or that their influence is neutral.

**Image 35: How relevant do you consider these legal proceedings are for your life now? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



The majority of the respondents believe that ICTY and BiH courts had a certain role in the process of reconciliation BiH, but also that their role was not very important. The vast majority of the respondents did not have any experiences with ICTY or legal proceedings for the war crimes in BiH. Those who had such experiences describe their level of satisfaction mainly as neutral. Approximately a half of them claim that these legal proceedings are relevant for their current life, whereas the other half of the respondents claim that the influence of such proceedings is neutral.

## THE ISSUE OF BiH IDENTITY

One of the distinctive characteristics of BiH is its national, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity. Due to many differences, people often feel as members of certain groups that are different and divided from other groups – municipal, ethnic, national, regional, religious or other groups. Research has shown so far that, probably for this reason, many people do not share the feeling of a national BiH identity, but rather feel proud to be the citizens of their town or region, or members of their ethnic or religious groups.

In general, the majority of the respondents state that they feel proud with their ethnic and religious identity. Regional identity seems to be more important than BiH identity. Bosniaks state they are proud with BiH identity more often than other ethnic groups. Croats are proud to be the citizens of BiH more than Serbs.

**Image 36: How proud are you of ...? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
With your ethnic identity	92.5	94.1	91.1	92.0	78.6
In being a citizen of BiH	73.4	91.7	60.1	46.7	74.0
In regional/town identity	88.4	89.5	89.0	87.2	81.9
In religious identity	92.2	93.3	90.0	92.6	80.3

Respondents from FBiH are more proud with their BiH identity and regional identity, compared to respondents from RS. Compared by the type of settlement, respondents living in rural areas state they are proud with their ethnic, regional and religious identity more often than respondents who reside in urban areas.

**Image 37: How proud are you of ...? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
With your ethnic identity	93.6	91.9	77.9	88.7	95.5
In being a citizen of BiH	85.3	53.3	79.3	73.1	73.7
In regional/town identity	91.2	84.8	77.0	86.5	90.0
In religious identity	93.0	91.8	80.3	89.2	94.5

It seems that in BiH ethnic and religious identity are the most important aspects of identity. Even the regional/town identity seems to be more important to respondents than BiH identity. Bosniaks and Croats are more proud with BiH identity than Serbs.

## **FUTURE OF BiH**

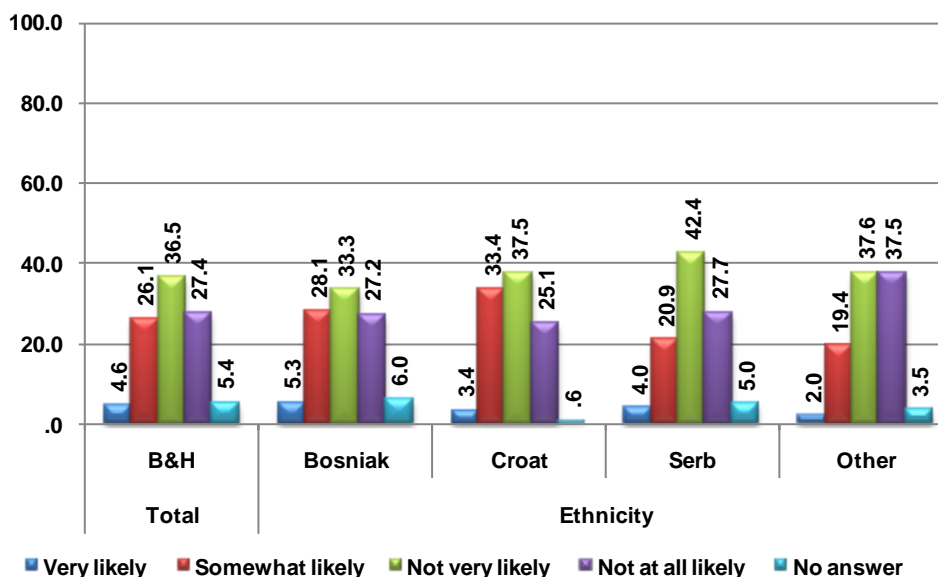
Different political parties in BiH have different visions of the future of this country. It seemed interesting to assess the views on the future of the country seen with the eyes of its citizens, as well as to explore their preferences about the future of BiH.

## **ASSESSMENT OF POTENTIAL CONFLICTS**

There is point of view that Balkan is a turbulent region where conflicts arise every now and then. Reconciliation is an important factor that contributes to the peace. This survey assessed the attitudes of the respondents on potential future conflicts in this area.

Two out of three respondents believe that the outbreak of new armed conflict in the Balkan region is not likely in the next 5 years. Bosniaks and Croats are more convinced than Serbs that new armed conflict is possible to arise in the next 5 years.

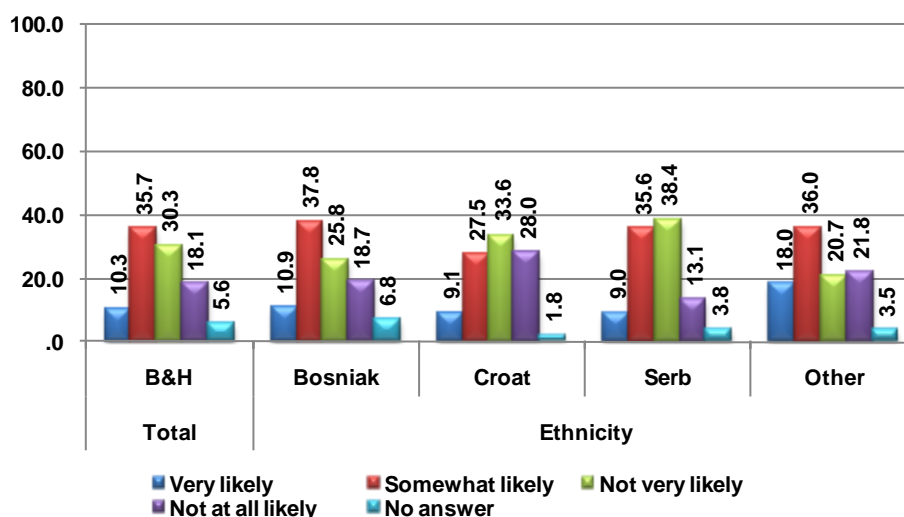
**Image 38: To what extent do you believe that new armed conflict in the Balkan region in the next 5 years is likely? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Looking at the entities separately, respondents from RS state more often (71.5%) that it is not likely that a new conflict would arise in Balkan in the next 5 years, compared to respondents from FBiH (60.3%).

When it comes to possibility that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence, the opinions are divided. Bosniaks express the opinion that the future deterioration of situation in BiH could lead to new violence more often than Croats, while Croats hold the opposite view more often than Bosniaks.

**Image 39: Do you believe that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence in BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**





Respondents from RS are more convinced (54.0%) that the future deterioration could lead to new violence in BiH, compared to respondents from FBiH (46.2%). As regards the type of settlement, respondents who reside in urban areas are more prone (49.9%) to state that future deterioration would lead to new violence in BiH, compared to respondents living in rural settlements (43.0%).

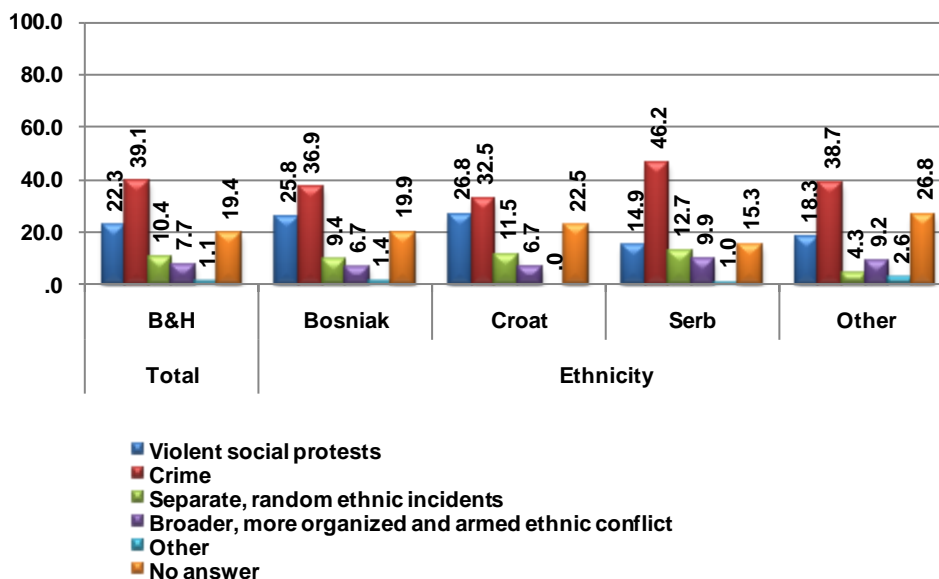
Younger respondents, who are 18-35 year old, state more often than older respondents that the future deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence.

**Image 40: Do you believe that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence in BiH? – Comparison by age** (Answers “Very likely” and “Somewhat likely” were combined into answer “Likely”, and answers “Not at all likely” and “Not very likely” were combined into answer “Not likely”)

	Age			
	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
Likely	53.7	44.6	43.0	37.2
Not likely	42.1	49.9	50.5	55.3
No answer	4.2	5.6	6.5	7.5

The largest percentage of the respondents who think that the new violence in BiH is possible define the violence as a crime and violent social protests. Bosniaks and Croats believe that the violence would take a form of violent social protests more often than Serbs. Serbs state more frequently than Bosniaks and Croats that the violence could appear in a form of the crime.

**Image 41: If yes, in what form could be violence manifested? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Respondents living in FBiH mention violent social protests as a form of violence that could arise in BiH more frequently than respondents from RS. On the other hand, respondents from RS mention all other

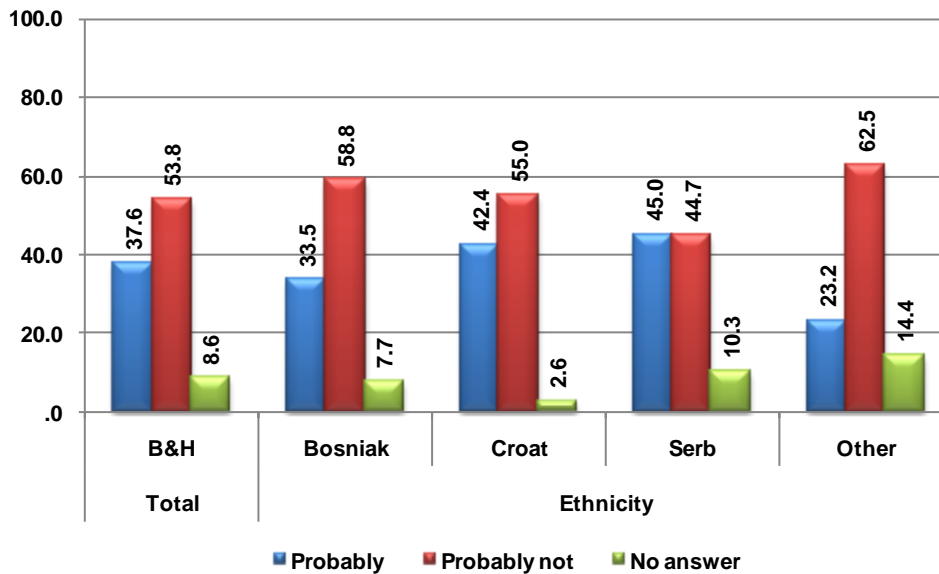
forms of violence more frequently than the respondents from FBiH do. Compared by type of settlement, respondents living in urban areas believe that violence in BiH would take a form of random ethnic incident more often (12.3%) than respondents living in rural areas (9.0%).

**Image 42: If yes, in what form could be violence manifested? – Comparison by entity**

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
Crime	36.5	44.6	20.9
Violent social protests	27.3	15.6	2.8
No answer	21.5	17.0	2.3
Separate, random ethnic incidents	8.6	12.6	22.4
Broader, more organized	4.7	9.4	51.5
Other	1.4	.8	.0

Somewhat more than half of the respondents think that BiH could not break apart peacefully, whereas more than a third of the respondents hold the opposite view. Bosniaks are more convinced than Serbs that the country could not break up peacefully. On the other hand, Serbs are more likely to state that BiH could break apart peacefully, compared to Bosniaks and Croats.

**Image 43: If BiH does eventually break apart, could it happen peacefully? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



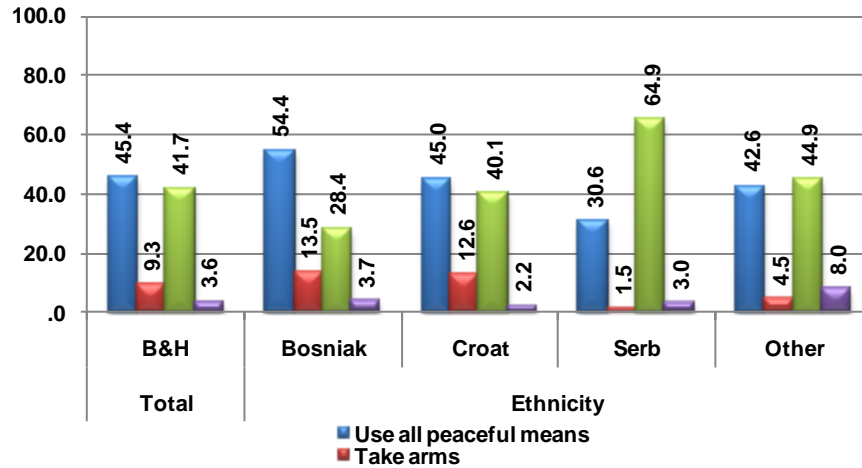
Respondents from RS are more likely to state that BiH could break apart peacefully, in comparison to respondents from FBiH. Considering the type of settlement, respondents from rural areas are more convinced than respondents living in urban areas, that the break of BiH could happen peacefully.

**Image 44: If BiH does eventually break apart, could it happen peacefully? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

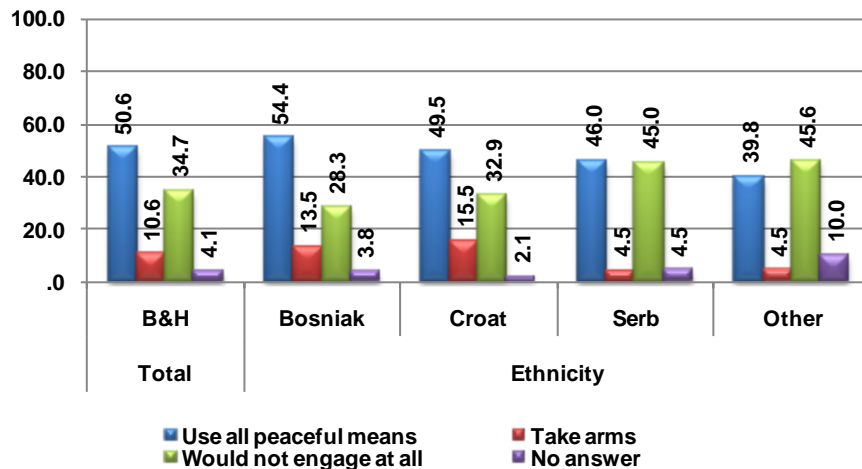
	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
Probably	34.2	45.4	8.0	34.7	39.9
Probably not	57.2	45.7	86.1	58.4	50.1
No answer	8.5	8.9	5.8	6.9	10.0

Largest percentage of citizens state they would use all peaceful means to defend their interests when it comes to territory of BiH. Many citizens claim they would not engage at all. Approximately 10% of citizens state they would take arms to defend their interests.

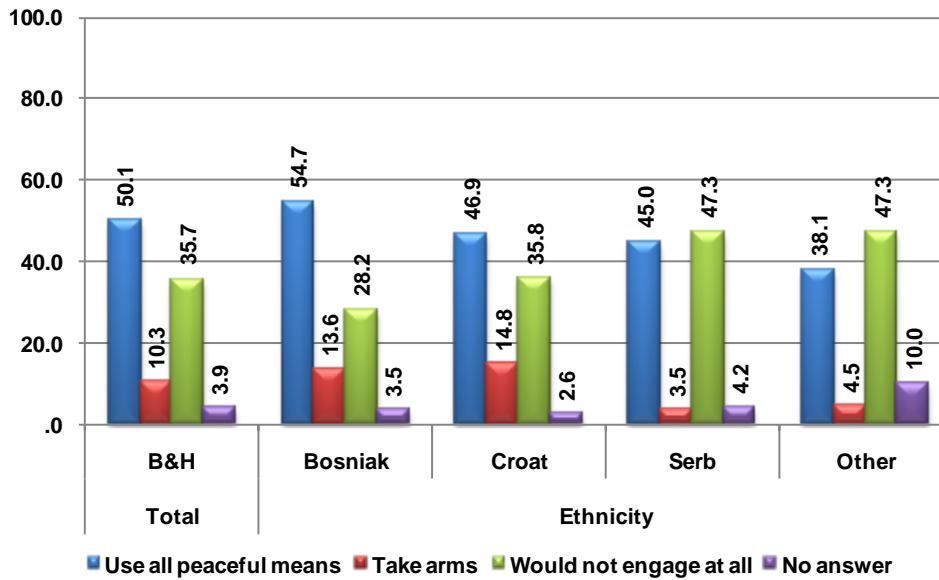
**Image 45: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you defend the integrity of BiH ? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



**Image 46: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you defend your ethnic/national territory? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



**Image 47: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you separate your ethnic/national territory from BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that they would not engage in the defense of BiH integrity, defense of their ethnic territory or in separation of their ethnic territory from BiH. Compared to Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that they would use all the peaceful means to defend the integrity of BiH, their ethnic territory or to separate their ethnic territory from BiH, as well as that they would take arms for these purposes.

Respondents from FBiH are more likely to engage in defense of the integrity of BiH, defense of their ethnic territory and in separation of their ethnic territory from BiH, in comparison to respondents from RS. Respondents from rural areas are more likely to state they would take arms to defend the integrity of BiH, to defend their ethnic territory or to separate their ethnic territory from BiH, compared to respondents living in urban areas.

Compared by gender, males state more often than females that they would take arms to defend the integrity of BiH, to defend their ethnic territory and to help separate their ethnic territory from BiH, while females state more often than males that they would not engage in such activities. Respondents older than 65 state more frequently than younger respondents that they would not engage in the defense of the integrity of the country, their ethnic territory nor in separation of their territory from BiH. Compared by educational level, respondents with incomplete formal education are more prone to state they would not engage in the defense of the integrity of BiH, their ethnic territory or in the efforts of separation of their ethnic territory from BiH, compared to respondents who are more educated.

**Image 48: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you defend the integrity of BiH ? – Comparison by entity, type of settlement, gender, age and education**

		Use all peaceful means	Take arms	Would not engage	No answer
Entity	FB&H	51.5	11.9	32.6	3.9
	RS	37.2	3.5	56.1	3.3
	BD	20.1	30.5	49.4	.0
Type of settlement	Urban	45.4	4.7	46.1	3.8
	Rural	45.4	13.0	38.2	3.4
Gender	Male	43.1	14.0	38.6	4.4
	Female	47.5	5.1	44.5	2.9
Age	18-35	47.1	11.4	37.4	4.1
	36-50	47.6	10.6	38.2	3.5
	51-65	46.6	8.9	41.3	3.2
	66+	36.3	3.5	57.0	3.2
Education	Incomplete primary education	37.4	3.0	55.6	4.0
	Primary education	46.6	11.0	40.4	2.0
	Secondary education	44.9	10.5	40.2	4.3
	Higher education	47.6	3.6	47.0	1.8
	University education	54.6	9.2	33.2	3.0

**Image 49: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you defend you ethnic/national territory? Comparison by entity, type of settlement, gender, age and education**

		Use all peaceful means	Take arms	Would not engage at all	No answer
Entity	FB&H	52.6	12.6	31.1	3.8
	RS	49.7	6.4	39.0	4.9
	BD	19.6	21.3	57.1	1.9
Type of settlement	Urban	51.4	6.7	37.2	4.7
	Rural	50.0	13.7	32.7	3.7
Gender	Male	49.7	16.8	28.6	5.0
	Female	51.5	4.9	40.3	3.3
Age	18-35	53.7	11.8	29.6	4.8
	36-50	52.5	13.3	30.6	3.5
	51-65	52.5	10.7	32.3	4.4
	66+	38.2	3.0	55.4	3.3
Education	Incomplete primary education	38.0	3.0	54.3	4.7
	Primary education	49.4	11.0	36.8	2.8
	Secondary education	51.4	12.4	31.6	4.6
	Higher education	55.1	5.5	37.6	1.8
	University education	60.9	10.6	24.4	4.1

**Image 50: Keeping in mind your ethnic group, would you separate your ethnic/national territory from BiH? Comparison by entity, type of settlement, gender, age and education**

		Use all peaceful means	Take arms	Would not engage at all	No answer
Entity	FB&H	52.5	12.1	31.6	3.8
	RS	48.5	5.7	41.4	4.5
	BD	18.8	31.5	49.7	.0
Type of settlement	Urban	50.6	6.0	38.9	4.4
	Rural	49.7	13.6	33.2	3.5
Gender	Male	49.3	15.9	29.7	5.1
	Female	50.9	5.1	41.2	2.8
Age	18-35	52.8	12.1	30.6	4.4
	36-50	52.6	12.7	31.2	3.5
	51-65	51.7	9.5	34.3	4.5
	66+	38.0	3.2	56.0	2.8
Education	Incomplete primary education	37.2	3.0	55.1	4.7
	Primary education	50.1	10.6	37.1	2.1
	Secondary education	51.0	12.2	32.3	4.4
	Higher education	52.2	4.0	41.9	1.8
	University education	58.5	9.8	27.1	4.5

In general, the majority of the respondents believe that the outbreak of new armed conflict in the Balkan region is not likely in the next 5 years. Bosniaks and Croats hold the opposite view on this issue more often than Serbs. When it comes to the influence of future deterioration of the situation in BiH on the appearance of new violence in this country, Bosniaks believe that it could lead to new violence more often than Croats, while Croats hold the opposite attitude more often than Bosniaks. The largest percentage of the respondents who think that new violence in BiH is possible think that it would probably take a form of crime or violent social protests. Somewhat more than half of the respondents think that BiH could not break apart peacefully. Serbs are more convinced that this is possible, compared to Bosniaks and Croats. Finally, the largest percentage of the respondents state they would use all peaceful means to defend their interests when it comes to territory of BiH. Many respondents state they would not engage at all in the defense of the territory. Approximately 10% of citizens state they are willing to take arms to defend their interests in this context. Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that they would not engage in such efforts.

## FUTURE SCENARIOS

Within the survey, respondents were asked to try to predict the future organization of BiH.

The largest percentage of the respondents see BiH in the future as is, with two entities with their respective governments and a state government in Sarajevo, or as one country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities. Bosniaks state more often than both Serbs and Croats that they see BiH in the future as a country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities. Furthermore, Bosniaks state more often than Serbs that they see BiH as a new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible. Croats state more often than all other ethnic groups that they see BiH in the future as having three entities with their respective governments and state government in Sarajevo. Croats also share a vision of BiH as a country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities more frequently than Serbs. Serbs think that BiH in the future would be divided into separate independent states more often than respondents belonging to other ethnic groups. Moreover, Serbs state more often than Bosniaks that they see BiH as is, but also that they see BiH as having three entities and as a country divided into areas some of which could join neighboring countries.

**Image 51: How do you see the most likely future for this country and/or region? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
As is, two entities with their respective governments and a state government in Sarajevo	28.1	25.3	28.2	33.2	27.3
One country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak	26.5	38.7	20.2	7.1	32.1
A new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible	9.3	11.7	7.9	6.3	3.7
No answer	8.8	9.7	6.3	7.0	7.1
Dividing the country into separate independent states	8.0	1.3	2.2	22.4	4.8
One country with weak central government in Sarajevo and strong regions	7.2	6.2	4.7	9.3	14.1
Three entities with their respective governments and state government in Sarajevo	6.3	2.6	26.0	5.8	3.2
Dividing the country into areas some of which could join neighboring countries	4.0	1.9	3.8	8.1	.0
Other	1.9	2.5	.7	.8	7.8

Compared to respondents from RS, respondents who live in FBiH state more frequently that they see BiH in the future as a new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible, and as a country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities. On the other hand, respondents from RS state more frequently than respondents from FBiH that they see this country in the future as a country with weak central government in Sarajevo and strong regions, but also that they see it as is now, or divided into separate independent states, or divided into areas some of which could join neighboring countries.

**Image 52: How do you see the most likely future for this country and/or region? – Comparison by entity**

	Entity		
	FB&H	RS	BD
One country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak	35.6	9.5	53.0
As is, two entities with their respective governments and a state government in Sarajevo	24.4	35.8	4.5
A new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible	10.8	5.6	24.2
No answer	9.8	7.7	.0
Three entities with their respective governments and state government in Sarajevo	7.2	5.4	.0
One country with weak central government in Sarajevo and strong regions	5.6	9.1	15.6
Other	2.7	.7	.0
Dividing the country into areas some of which could join neighboring countries	2.2	6.9	2.6
Dividing the country into separate independent states	1.6	19.2	.0

Respondents living urban areas report more often (5.3%) than respondents from rural areas (2.9%) that they see BiH in the future as a country divided into areas some of which could join neighboring countries.

Considering the gender differences, females state more often (11.1%) than males (7.3%) that they see the future of BiH as becoming a new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible. In addition, female respondents state more often (28.7%) than males (24.2%) that they think that in the future BiH will be a country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities.

Although their opinions vary as regards the kind of country they would like to live in, the largest percentage of the respondents, somewhat more than a quarter, claim they would like to live in BiH within its current borders and entities.<sup>2</sup> Bosniaks state more often than Croats and Serbs that they would prefer to live in BiH within its current borders and entities, or in the separate Bosniak entity or country. In addition, Bosniaks state more often than Serbs that they wish to live in a separate Bosniak entity or country, integrated with other Bosniak majority regions, or in BiH organized in separate states with border adjustments to reflect ethnic composition in the region. Croats mention more often than Bosniaks and Serbs that they would prefer to live in a separate Croat entity. They also state more often than Bosniaks that they would prefer to live in Croat entity as a part of Croatia. Furthermore, Croats state more often than Serbs that they would like to live in a separate Bosniak entity or country, or in BiH divided into separate states with border adjustments to reflect ethnic composition in the region. Considering the opinions of Serbs, they state more often than Bosniaks that they would prefer to live in independent RS.

<sup>2</sup> Respondents who state they would prefer some other organization of BiH (answer „Other“) mostly strive for a completely unified state.



**Image 53: Irrespective of what you think is realistic or not, in what kind of a country would you most wish to live in? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
BiH within its current borders and entities	28.5	36.7	20.9	16.8	36.4
Separate Bosniak entity or country	9.7	16.6	4.5	.4	3.7
Separate Bosniak entity or country, integrated with other Bosniak majority	3.9	5.9	2.3	1.3	1.7
Independent RS	18.7	.5	.0	59.3	5.6
RS as a part of greater Serbia	3.4	.0	.0	11.1	.0
Independent Croat entity	4.7	.1	37.7	.4	.0
Croat entity as a part of Croatia	1.4	.7	8.3	.0	.0
Separate states with border adjustments to reflect ethnic composition in the region	5.0	6.5	7.6	1.5	5.7
Other	12.7	17.3	8.6	4.3	31.7
No answer	12.0	15.6	10.0	4.8	15.2

Looking at two entities separately, respondents from FBiH state more often than respondents from RS that they would prefer to live in a country with any organization except in independent RS, RS as a part of greater Serbia and in Croat entity as a part of Croatia. Residents of RS state more often than residents of FBiH that they would like to live in independent RS.

Considering the age of the respondents, it is notable that respondents older than 65 state more often than younger respondents that they would like to live in BiH within its current borders and entities.

**Image 54: Irrespective of what you think is realistic or not, in what kind of a country would you most wish to live in? – Comparison by entity and age**

	Entity			Age			
	FB&H	RS	BD	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
BiH within its current borders and entities	31.0	24.2	32.7	25.5	27.9	26.8	38.5
Separate Bosniak entity or country	12.0	3.8	37.5	12.1	9.6	7.0	8.8
Separate Bosniak entity or country, integrated with other Bosniak majority	5.1	1.2	13.0	4.9	3.4	4.3	2.3
Independent RS	.4	50.0	2.8	15.0	19.3	20.6	22.3
RS as a part of greater Serbia	.0	9.3	.0	5.4	2.5	3.0	1.7
Independent Croat entity	7.3	.3	3.0	3.5	6.4	5.6	2.5
Croat entity as a part of Croatia	2.2	.0	.0	1.8	1.8	.8	.5
Separate states with border adjustments to reflect ethnic composition in the region	7.3	1.2	6.2	6.7	4.7	3.5	4.2
Other	17.9	5.0	.0	12.9	12.6	16.3	7.3
No answer	16.7	4.8	4.9	12.2	11.8	12.2	12.0

Respondents were asked to state what they think is the right solution as regards the future organization of entities in BiH.

The largest percentage of the respondents believe that FBiH should eventually be abolished. Approximately one out of five respondents think that it would be the best if FBiH became a strong entity without cantons, just like RS. Serbs state more often than other ethnic groups that they see FBiH in the

future as a strong entity without cantons, just like RS. Compared to Bosniaks, Serbs also state more frequently that they see FBiH in the future as a weaker entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons, and that they see it organized in two ethnic cantons without entity level. Croats state more often than both Serbs and Bosniaks that they see FBiH in the future organized in cantons only without entity level, and that they see it organized in two ethnic cantons without entity level. Compared to Bosniaks, Croats are more likely to state that they see FBiH as a weaker entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons. Compared to Serbs, Croats see FBiH more often as an entity that should eventually be abolished. Furthermore, Bosniaks state more often than both Croats and Serbs that they see FBiH in the future as an entity that should eventually be abolished.

**Image 55: In your opinion what is the right solution for the Federation of BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Entity that should eventually be abolished	40.3	59.7	34.1	8.2	44.3
An Strong entity without cantons, just like Republika Srpska	19.3	12.4	9.2	36.0	15.3
As is, the federation with its ten autonomous cantons	13.3	12.5	8.8	16.1	17.7
No answer	11.2	3.8	6.1	24.8	18.0
Two ethnic cantons without Entity level	5.0	1.3	26.5	3.7	.0
Strong entity with few administrative units	4.6	6.0	1.3	3.6	2.1
Weaker Entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons	2.7	1.4	6.6	3.8	.0
Cantons only without Entity level	2.0	1.1	7.4	1.7	.0
Other	1.7	1.8	.0	2.1	2.6

Compared by the entities, respondents from FBiH state more frequently than respondents from RS that their entity should be abolished in the future. Respondents from RS state more frequently than respondents from FBiH that they see this entity in the future as is, the federation with its ten autonomous cantons, or as a strong entity without cantons, just like RS. Respondents from urban areas predict the future of FBiH more often as a strong entity without cantons, just like RS, or as a strong entity with few administrative units, or as a weaker entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons, in comparison to respondents living in rural areas. On the other hand, respondents from rural areas believe more often that in the future FBiH should be abolished.

**Image 56: In your opinion what is the right solution for the Federation of BiH? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
As is, the federation with its ten autonomous cantons	7.6	20.5	42.0	13.4	13.2
An Strong entity without cantons, just like Republika Srpska	11.7	32.2	15.9	22.6	16.8
Strong entity with few administrative units	5.2	3.3	8.1	6.9	2.7
Weaker Entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons	2.3	3.4	2.3	4.0	1.6
Cantons only without Entity level	2.4	1.5	1.7	1.7	2.3
Two ethnic cantons without Entity level	6.0	3.2	6.1	4.6	5.3
Entity that should eventually be abolished	58.8	11.7	14.1	33.4	45.7
Other	1.6	1.9	.0	1.2	2.1
No answer	4.5	22.4	9.9	12.3	10.3

The largest percentage of citizens think that RS should also be abolished, followed by the views that RS should become a sovereign state and that it should stay an entity organized as it is now. However, ethnic groups differ as regards this question. Serbs are more likely to state that RS should become a sovereign state in the future than all other ethnic groups. Furthermore, they are more likely than Bosniaks to state that RS should remain as is, the entity within BiH, as well as that it should become a more autonomous entity within sovereign BiH. Bosniaks are more likely to state that in the future they see the existence of strong BiH, and that entities and cantons should be abolished, in comparison to Croats and Serbs. Compared to Serbs, Bosniaks are also more prone to state that in the future they see RS as a weaker entity with strong central BiH government. Considering opinions of Croats, they state more often than both Bosniaks and Serbs that they see RS in the future as a weaker entity with strong central BiH government and as an entity with few economic regions, cantons within BiH. In addition, Croats state more often than Bosniaks that they see RS as a more autonomous entity within sovereign BiH, and more often than Serbs that in the future they see only a strong BiH, whereas the entities and cantons should be abolished.

**Image 57: In your opinion what is the right solution for the Republika Srpska? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Strong BiH, entities and cantons should be abolished	38.3	56.8	32.3	7.5	37.3
Become a sovereign state	18.7	5.5	3.2	48.8	9.8
As is, entity within BiH	17.7	15.5	18.1	21.7	17.6
No answer	7.5	9.4	3.4	5.0	14.2
Weaker entity powers with strong central BiH government	6.3	7.3	16.1	1.5	2.1
More autonomous entity within sovereign BiH	5.9	.9	14.2	10.7	14.7
Entity with few economic regions, cantons within BiH	3.6	3.5	10.1	1.4	1.7
Other	2.0	1.1	2.5	3.5	2.6

Differences in attitudes concerning this issue have been affirmed when it comes to the entity level. In comparison to respondents from RS, respondents from FBiH are more likely to state that in the future only a strong BiH should exist and that entities and cantons should be abolished, that RS should be organized as a weaker entity with strong central BiH government, or that it should be organized as an entity with few economic regions, cantons within BiH. On the contrary, respondents from RS state more often than respondents from FBiH that their entity should be organized as a sovereign state, or as is – an entity within BiH, or that it should be organized as a more autonomous entity within sovereign BiH. Respondents from urban areas state more often than the respondents from rural areas do, that in the future RS should be organized as a weaker entity with strong central BiH government or as a sovereign state. On the contrary, respondents from rural areas are more prone to state that in the future there should be a strong BiH, and that entities and cantons should be abolished, in comparison to respondents from urban areas.

**Image 58: In your opinion what is the right solution for the Republika Srpska? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
As is, the federation with its ten autonomous cantons	7.6	20.5	42.0	13.4	13.2
An Strong entity without cantons, just like Republika Srpska	11.7	32.2	15.9	22.6	16.8
Strong entity with few administrative units	5.2	3.3	8.1	6.9	2.7
Weaker Entity that should eventually be reorganized with two strong cantons	2.3	3.4	2.3	4.0	1.6
Cantons only without Entity level	2.4	1.5	1.7	1.7	2.3
Two ethnic cantons without Entity level	6.0	3.2	6.1	4.6	5.3
Entity that should eventually be abolished	58.8	11.7	14.1	33.4	45.7
Other	1.6	1.9	.0	1.2	2.1
No answer	4.5	22.4	9.9	12.3	10.3

Altogether, the opinions of the respondents are different when it comes to future organization of BiH. In general, the largest percentage of the respondents state they see BiH in the future organized as is today. Bosniaks are the most likely to state that BiH should be organized as a country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities, or as is today. The opinions of Croats differ; a similar number of these respondents state they see BiH as is today and that they see it organized in three entities with their respective governments and state government in Sarajevo. The largest percentage of Serbs state they see BiH in the future organized as it is today, but many of them state they see it divided into separate independent states. As regards the preferable organization of the country, the wishes of ethnic groups are in conflict. Bosniaks would prefer to live in BiH within its current borders and entities, Croats would prefer to live in an independent Croat entity and Serbs would like to live in independent entity. Attitudes are also different considering the future solution for FBiH and RS. When it comes to FBiH, more than half of Bosniaks believe that entities should be abolished in the future. More than a third of Croats state the same, but many of them also think that FBiH should be organized in two ethnic cantons without entity level. On the other hand, the largest percentage of Serbs are convinced that FBiH should be organized as a strong entity without cantons, just like RS. Considering the RS, almost a half of Serbs believe it should be organized as a sovereign state in the future. The majority of Bosniaks and Croats believe that in the future RS should be either a strong state without entities and cantons, or that the organization of RS should stay as it is now.

## **CONFIDENCE IN DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS**

Considering overall situation in BiH, problems like low employment rate, political situation, poverty, and other challenges, it seemed interesting to assess the level of trust in different domestic and international institutions and organizations, whose role is to solve some of these problems in the future.

The largest level of confidence has been affirmed for the police, religious leaders and the European Union. On the contrary, respondents state they have the lowest level of confidence in the political parties, Council of Ministers and cantonal government, respectively.

Compared to Serbs, Bosniaks state they have more confidence in Council of Ministers, UN, EU, OHR, EUFOR, ICTY and army. Croats have more confidence in each of these institutions in comparison to Serbs, but they also have more confidence in UN, EU and OHR compared to Bosniaks. On the contrary, Serbs have more confidence in their entity government, in police and in their municipal authorities than both Bosniaks and Croats, and they trust religious leaders more than Bosniaks do.

**Image 59: How much confidence do you have in... ? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Police	51.8	45.5	50.3	63.5	60.8
Religious leaders	42.7	36.2	57.1	49.5	38.4
European Union	39.0	42.5	58.4	26.1	40.5
Army	37.4	45.9	48.3	18.7	38.6
United Nations	31.2	32.3	43.8	24.9	33.3
The courts	29.1	29.0	23.2	31.7	35.6
Your municipal authority	29.0	22.8	19.5	42.6	43.9
EUFOR	24.7	30.0	34.6	11.2	35.6
OHR	24.7	29.9	42.5	8.9	27.7
Your entity government	24.4	18.4	19.0	37.5	24.0
International Tribunal for former	23.4	30.2	34.5	7.4	27.6
Cantonal government	16.6	17.5	23.0	12.5	19.9
Council of ministers	14.0	16.6	18.3	8.0	14.3
Political parties	11.4	10.8	17.6	10.3	11.8

Respondents living in FBiH have more confidence in many institutions and organizations more than residents of RS: Council of ministers, UN, EU, OHR, EUFOR, cantonal governments, political parties, ICTY and in the army. On the contrary, respondents from RS trust their entity government, police and municipal authorities more, compared to respondents from FBiH. Considering the type of settlement, respondents from urban settlements state they trust Council of Ministers, UN, their entity and cantonal government, political parties and municipal authorities more than respondents living in rural areas.

As regards the issue of confidence, it has also been affirmed that female respondents claim they have more confidence in the Council of Ministers, UN, EU and ICTY, in comparison to males.

**Image 60: How much confidence do you have in... ? – Comparison by entity, type of settlement and gender**

	Entity			Type of settlement		Gender	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural	Male	Female
Council of ministers	17.3	7.4	29.0	18.4	10.6	11.7	16.2
United Nations	35.6	23.7	33.8	34.9	28.3	28.5	33.6
European Union	46.6	26.7	37.2	40.5	37.9	36.0	41.8
Your entity government	19.0	33.4	22.6	28.6	21.1	24.4	24.4
OHR	33.7	8.8	38.1	25.3	24.2	23.5	25.8
EUFOR	33.1	10.1	34.9	25.2	24.4	22.8	26.5
Cantonal government	19.8	9.7	36.3	20.9	13.2	15.2	17.9
Political parties	13.0	8.1	20.8	16.3	7.6	9.8	12.9
Police	46.2	61.5	44.2	54.1	50.0	49.5	53.9
ICTY	33.0	6.1	42.7	23.5	23.4	20.5	26.0
The courts	28.0	29.7	46.3	28.0	30.1	27.6	30.6
Your municipal authority	23.3	39.2	17.7	33.3	25.6	28.5	29.4
Religious leaders	41.4	45.6	31.6	42.4	42.9	40.3	44.9
Army	49.8	18.0	22.1	37.1	37.6	35.6	39.0

In total, among different domestic and international institutions and organizations, respondents declare the highest level of confidence in the police, followed by religious leaders and the European Union. While Bosniaks and Croats state higher level of trust towards the international organizations like UN, EU, OHR and ICTY, but also in state institutions like the Council of Ministers and army, Serbs have more confidence in entity and municipal authorities.

## ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND EUROPEAN UNION IN THE FUTURE

European Union and International Community have played an important role in BiH during the war. Their engagement in BiH has continued in the period after the war. This survey explored how the citizens of BiH view the future role of the International Community and the European Union in their country.

Asked to state their opinions on future relations of BiH and EU, the opinions are divided. Respondents think either that the membership is preferable, but not essential for the survival of the country, or that the membership in EU is the only way how BiH could survive. Bosniaks state more often than Serbs that EU membership is the only way how BiH can survive, but also that the membership is preferable, but not critical for the survival of the country. On the other hand, Croats believe more often than Serbs that EU membership is the only way how BiH can survive, and more often than Bosniaks that the membership is important, but that ethnic interests are more important. Compared to Bosniaks, Serbs state more often the opinions that the membership in EU is important, but that ethnic interests are more important, that EU will fall apart before BiH becomes a member or that BiH will fall apart before becoming a member.

**Image 61: How do you feel about BiH and EU? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
The membership is preferable, but not critical for the survival of the country	30.7	35.4	28.0	22.4	40.2
EU membership It is the only way how BiH can survive	29.6	33.0	34.9	22.8	24.4
EU will fall apart before BiH becomes a member	11.5	8.9	9.2	17.3	9.8
BiH will fall apart before becoming a member	7.5	5.1	6.5	11.9	10.3
The membership is important, but ethnic interests are more important	7.1	5.2	11.7	9.2	1.9
I do not care about EU	7.1	6.2	4.8	9.5	7.3
EU does not care about BiH anymore	4.3	3.4	4.3	5.5	1.7
No answer	2.2	2.8	.5	1.2	4.4
Other	.1	.0	.0	.2	.0

Considering the entities, respondents from FBiH state more frequently than respondents from RS that EU membership is the only way how BiH can survive and that the membership is preferable, but not critical for the survival of the country. On the other hand, respondents from RS believe more often than respondents from FBiH that the membership is important, but that ethnic interests are more important, that EU will fall apart before BiH becomes a member and that BiH will fall apart before becoming a

member. As regards the type of settlement, respondents from urban areas claim more often that they believe that BiH will fall apart before becoming a member, in comparison to respondents from rural areas. On the contrary, respondents from rural areas state more often than respondents who reside in urban areas that EU membership is the only way how BiH can survive.

**Image 62: How do you feel about BiH and EU? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
EU membership it is the only way how BiH can survive	32.1	25.8	25.0	25.6	32.7
The membership is preferable, but not critical for the survival of the country	36.3	21.4	28.1	31.5	30.0
The membership is important, but ethnic interests are more important	4.9	9.9	16.7	8.3	6.1
EU will fall apart before BiH becomes a member	7.4	17.7	20.9	12.2	11.1
BiH will fall apart before becoming a member	5.1	11.8	4.7	9.1	6.3
I do not care about EU	7.0	7.3	4.6	7.7	6.6
EU does not care about BiH anymore	4.1	5.0	.0	4.5	4.1
Other	.0	.1	.0	.1	.0
No answer	3.1	1.0	.0	1.0	3.2

Overall, citizens of BiH state that EU, USA, UN and OHR should have most influence on the future of their country. Compared to other ethnic groups, Serbs claim more often that they think the USA should have most influence on the future of BiH. They also state more often than Bosniaks that Serbia and Russia should influence this country, and more often than Croats that Russia and Turkey should influence the future of BiH. Bosniaks are more prone to state that OHR should influence BiH in the future, and that BiH people should decide regardless of the influences, in comparison to Serbs. Compared to Croats, Bosniaks stress out the influence of Turkey on BiH in the future. Compared to Bosniaks and Serbs, Croats state more often that OHR and Croatia should have the most influence on BiH in the future.

**Image 63: Which of the following countries and organizations should have most influence on the future of BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
EU	66.9	67.3	74.3	65.7	54.7
USA	62.3	53.4	60.8	80.2	58.8
UN	40.3	40.5	43.5	39.3	42.1
OHR	37.5	39.0	54.8	29.9	27.7
Turkey	14.8	16.0	2.3	17.7	16.6
No	7.9	9.2	9.0	4.0	13.4
Russia	5.9	3.4	1.7	11.6	9.2
No answer	5.2	6.7	3.6	2.3	3.5
Serbia	4.9	3.3	4.4	7.7	8.7
Croatia	4.6	3.1	12.0	4.5	5.2
Saudi	3.4	4.3	.0	3.2	2.0
Other	.2	.2	.0	.3	1.7



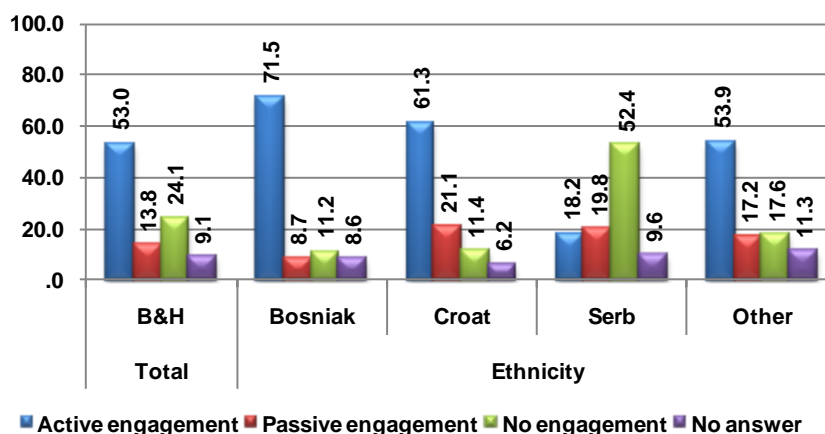
Respondents from FBiH state more often than the citizens of RS that nobody should influence BiH people in the future. Respondents from RS state more often than those from FBiH that the USA, Russia and Turkey should have the most influence on BiH. Whereas the respondents who reside in urban areas are more likely to state that nobody should influence BiH people in the future, in comparison to respondents from rural areas, respondents living in rural areas are more prone to mention USA and OHR as the organizations that should be influential.

**Image 64: Which of the following countries and organizations should have most influence on the future of BiH? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
UN	39.7	40.7	46.6	38.3	41.8
USA	49.8	81.8	79.5	56.8	66.7
OHR	38.8	32.9	72.7	33.2	41.0
EU	67.5	64.4	86.1	65.1	68.2
Serbia	3.8	6.2	12.3	5.3	4.6
Croatia	5.2	3.7	2.8	3.4	5.5
Russia	2.9	11.3	.0	6.8	5.1
Saudi Arabia	3.5	3.4	.0	3.5	3.3
Turkey	13.6	18.0	.0	13.8	15.6
Other	.1	.4	.0	.5	.0
No influence, people in BiH will decide	11.2	3.0	.0	9.5	6.6
No answer	7.2	2.2	.0	4.4	5.8

More than half of the respondents state that the International Community should have an active engagement in BiH. Approximately one out of four respondents think they should have no engagement in their country. Ethnic groups differ when it comes to this issue. Serbs are more prone to state that the International Community should have no influence in BiH, compared to other ethnic groups. Croats state more often than Bosniaks that the engagement of the International Community in this country should be passive. On the contrary, Bosniaks state more frequently than both Croats and Serbs that the International Community should have an active engagement in BiH.

**Image 65: The International Community should have ... ? – Comparison by the ethnicity**



While respondents from FBiH are more likely to state that the International Community should have an active engagement in BiH compared to respondents from RS, respondents from RS are more likely to state the opposite opinion in comparison to those from FBiH. Compared by the type of settlement, respondents from urban areas are more prone to state that the International Community should have no engagement in BiH, in comparison to the respondents who reside in rural areas.

**Image 66: The International Community should have ... ? – Comparison by entity and type of settlement**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
Active engagement	69.6	25.3	57.4	50.2	55.2
Passive engagement	10.8	17.4	30.9	15.7	12.3
No engagement	9.6	48.8	11.7	27.8	21.1
No answer	9.9	8.5	.0	6.3	11.3

Above all, support to economic and business development is considered the most important priority of the International Community in BiH, followed by sectoral support and support to institutional and capacity development. Croats state more often than Bosniaks and Serbs that the main priority of International Community in BiH should be imposing solutions and removing radical politicians. Bosniaks mention sectoral support as a priority more often than Croats and Serbs. Compared to Croats, Bosniaks also mention support to economic and business development more often. Finally, Bosniaks mention imposing solutions and removing radical politicians as a priority more frequently than Serbs.

**Image 67: In your opinion, what are the three most important priorities of the International Community in BiH? – Comparison by the ethnicity**

	Total	Ethnicity			
	B&H	Bosniak	Croat	Serb	Other
Support to economic and business development	89.5	91.7	83.7	87.5	95.1
Sectoral support	44.9	50.8	33.0	38.4	54.0
Support to institutional and capacity development	43.1	41.8	37.9	47.1	47.7
Imposing solutions and removing radical politicians	35.2	38.2	50.5	25.1	30.9
Support to democratization	23.5	21.8	28.8	23.6	23.9
Support to reconciliation and truth seeking	21.2	20.0	28.4	22.2	10.1
Support to the development of civil society	16.0	15.6	16.0	16.9	19.0
Support to the development of media	4.9	4.4	8.4	4.6	1.7
No answer	3.5	3.0	.0	5.5	2.0
Other	1.0	.3	4.1	1.1	.0

Respondents from FBiH state more often than respondents from RS that the priority of the International Community in BiH should be imposing solutions and removing radical politicians. Compared to respondents from FBiH, respondents from RS mention support to institutional and capacity development as a priority of the International Community. Compared by the type of settlement, respondents from rural areas mention sectoral support and imposing solutions and removing radical politicians as priorities more often than respondents living in urban areas.

**Image 68: In your opinion, what are the three most important priorities of the International Community in BiH? – Comparison by entity and type of settlements**

	Entity			Type of settlement	
	FB&H	RS	BD	Urban	Rural
Support to economic and business development	90.8	89.5	60.9	88.0	90.8
Support to institutional and capacity development	38.4	50.3	51.6	45.1	41.5
Sectoral support	47.4	42.3	25.0	40.7	48.2
Support to democratization	23.1	21.6	55.2	22.2	24.5
Support to the development of media	4.6	3.8	26.8	5.8	4.2
Support to the development of civil society	15.3	16.2	32.1	17.1	15.2
Support to reconciliation and truth seeking	20.0	22.5	30.3	19.9	22.2
Imposing solutions and removing radical politicians	43.7	22.5	17.9	31.3	38.3
Other	1.0	1.1	.0	1.0	1.0
No answer	2.9	4.6	.0	4.0	3.1

Altogether, the opinions concerning the future relations of BiH and EU are divided. Bosniaks are more often convinced than Serbs that the membership in EU is essential for the survival of the country. Croats and Serbs state more often than Bosniaks that the membership in EU is important, but that ethnic interests are more important. In general, respondents believe that EU, USA, UN and OHR should have most influence on the future of BiH. In this context, Serbs stress out the importance of the USA, Bosniaks stress out the importance of OHR, whereas Croats emphasize the influence of OHR and Croatia on BiH in the future. The majority of Bosniaks and Croats believe that the role of the International Community should be active in the future, whereas the majority of Serbs believe that they should not be engaged at all. Support to economic and business development is considered the most important priority of the International Community in BiH, followed by sectoral support and support to institutional and capacity development.

## STATUS OF THE YOUTH IN BIH

Since the youth are considered the future of BiH, and the most important positive catalysts that could solve the problems in this country, it was important to assess the attitudes of youth as regards the topics covered by the survey. This chapter presents the comparisons between the attitudes of young respondents (defined as respondents who are between 18-30 years old) and older respondents.

In general, young respondents seem to be more satisfied than the older respondents. Asked about their state of mind over the last year, similar to the older respondents, most of the young respondents state that they have felt lethargic. However, young respondents state more often than the older respondents, that they have felt satisfied, optimistic and content.

**Image 69. What is your state of mind over the last year? – Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	18-30	31+
Lethargic	39.6	53.6
Neither happy nor unhappy	14.2	13.7
Angry	11.2	8.8
Satisfied	9.4	6.0
Optimistic	7.2	3.5
Pessimistic	7.1	7.2
Depressed	5.9	4.5
Content	3.6	1.7
Happy	1.8	.8
Frustrated	.0	.3

Younger respondents state more often that they have felt better (14.7%) than a year ago, in comparison to the older respondents (6.1%). In addition, their expectations from the future are also more optimistic – young respondents state more frequently (26.8%) that they expect that in a year from now things in their life are going to be better, compared to the older respondents (17.1%). Furthermore, younger respondents also report a higher level of satisfaction (24.2%) with their financial situation, in comparison to the older respondents (16.3%). Finally, they feel more often (22.5%) that they have a complete freedom of choice and control over life than the older respondents (17.2%).

Young respondents identify the same problems in BiH as older respondents do. Thereby, they identify the rule of law more often and corruption less often than the older respondents.

**Image 70. In your opinion, what are the biggest problems and challenges in the country at present? – Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	18-30	31+
Corruption	67.7	74.0
Economy	56.9	59.7
Politics	49.0	51.0
Crime	32.2	34.5
Government, administration	30.2	25.9
Rule of law	19.1	11.6
Ethnic, religious relations	11.6	9.4
Legislation and constitution	10.1	9.2
Mentality	7.9	5.5
International community	3.9	4.8
Other	3.1	4.0
Regional and global influences	1.3	1.7

Similar to the older respondents, young respondents consider politicians (83.2%), government (77.5%) and International Community (28.5%) the most responsible for the existing problems in the country. However, they mention private sector as responsible for these problems more often (12.1%) compared to older respondents (7.2%), as well as civil society (6.3%, compared to 3.7% of older respondents). On the other hand, they consider the International Community responsible less often (28.5%) than the older respondents (35.1%).

More than half of the young people state that they are willing to leave their country, which is a significantly larger number of youth stating this compared to the older respondents. However, young people also state more frequently that they are willing to join a political party or citizens' action groups, as well as to use violence and force if necessary.

**Image 71. To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31+</b>
Leave BiH	52.1	31.2
Voting at elections	51.8	52.5
Taking action such as demonstrating	30.4	25.5
Joining a political party	21.1	15.8
Joining a citizens' action group	20.4	15.2
Using violence or force if it becomes necessary	9.3	5.6

Describing the war, younger and older respondents share the similar opinions. However, young respondents claim more often than the older respondents that the war in BiH was an aggression.

**Image 72. What was in your view nature of the BiH war 1992-5? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31+</b>
Aggression	58.5	51.6
Civil war	24.7	25.0
Defensive war	10.5	14.6
No answer	4.3	2.9
Liberating war	1.1	2.2
Other	.9	3.7

Younger respondents are more prone to state that some people from their ethnic group were also involved in the war (1.9%), compared to the older respondents (0.6%). In addition, young respondents state more often (21.6%) than the older respondents (15.4%) that they do not feel threatened in BiH. When it comes to other questions on sentiments on war, victims and monoethnic societies, younger and older respondents think alike.

As regards the reconciliation, younger respondents express more often the opinion that there has been no reconciliation in BiH (12.6%), in comparison to the older respondents (7.9%). Furthermore, younger respondents are more likely to state (18.8%) that reconciliation is possible in 20 to 50 years time, compared to the older respondents (11.5%). When it comes to the other questions concerning reconciliation assessed in the survey, including the questions on ICTY, there are no significant differences in opinions of the younger and older respondents.

Considering their sense of identity, younger respondents report less often than the older respondents that they are proud of their ethnic and regional/town identity.

**Image 73. How proud are you of ...? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	18-30	31+
With your ethnic identity	88.5	93.8
In being a citizen of BiH	73.1	73.5
In regional/tow n identity	85.5	89.4
In religious identity	90.6	92.7

Assessing the possible future conflicts, younger respondents state more often (40.0%) than the older respondents (27.7%) that they think that new armed conflict in the Balkan is possible in the next 5 years. Moreover, they claim more often (54.8%) than the older respondents (43.2%) that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence in this country. In addition, younger respondents express the opinion that the peaceful decomposition of BiH is probably impossible (61.5%) more frequently, in comparison to the older respondents (51.3%).

Younger respondents are more likely to state (12.6) that in the future BiH will be a new country which is joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible, compared to the older respondents (8.2%).

When it comes to their level of confidence in certain domestic and international institutions and organizations, some differences between young and older respondents have been affirmed. Younger respondents state a higher level of confidence in EUFOR, cantonal governments and ICTY, compared to older respondents. On the contrary, older respondents state a higher level of confidence in police than the younger respondents do.

**Image 74. How much confidence do you have in... ? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	18-30	31+
Police	43.6	54.4
Religious leaders	41.8	42.9
European Union	39.6	38.8
Army	38.4	37.1
United Nations	31.7	31.1
The courts	30.2	28.8
ICTY	30.1	21.3
Your municipal authority	28.8	29.1
EUFOR	28.6	23.5
OHR	25.9	24.3
Your entity government	22.2	25.1
Cantonal government	20.5	15.3
Council of ministers	16.5	13.2
Political parties	13.8	10.6

Opinions of the younger and older respondents do not differ as regards the International Community and its role in BiH.

**Image 75. Which of the following countries and organizations should have most influence on the future of BiH? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31+</b>
EU	67.3	66.7
USA	52.8	65.4
UN	43.5	39.2
OHR	34.3	38.6
Turkey	10.3	16.2
No influence, people in BiH will decide	9.8	7.3
Russia	6.4	5.7
Serbia	6.4	4.4
No answer	6.1	4.8
Croatia	3.4	5.0
Saudi Arabia	1.9	3.8
Other	.0	.3

As regards the priorities of the International Community in BiH, the only statistically significant difference between the young and older respondents is that the younger respondents stress out the importance of the support to the development of the media, compared to older respondents.

**Image 76. In your opinion, what are the three most important priorities of the International Community in BiH? - Comparison between younger and older respondents**

	<b>18-30</b>	<b>31+</b>
Support to economic and business development	87.5	90.2
Support to institutional and capacity development	39.5	44.3
Sectoral support	47.2	44.2
Support to democratization	24.3	23.2
Support to the development of media	6.9	4.3
Support to the development of civil society	18.6	15.2
Support to reconciliation and truth seeking	20.8	21.4
Imposing solutions and removing radical politicians	33.7	35.7
Other	1.0	1.0
No answer	1.6	4.1

## MAIN FINDINGS

**Wellbeing and satisfaction of the citizens of BiH.** The majority of citizens describe their state of mind over the past year using negative or neutral terms (lethargic, pessimistic, neither happy nor unhappy...). In general, the citizens did not feel any positive changes compared to a year ago, and their expectations from the future are quite pessimistic. However, despite of the general pessimism, citizens are not completely hopeless. The majority of them believe to a certain degree in a freedom of choice and control over life.

**Main problems and challenges facing BiH.** Among many problems, citizens of BiH identify the corruption as the major problem facing this country, followed by the economical and political problems. Citizens believe that the Government and politicians are the most accountable for these problems. According to their statements, they are hoping that together with other citizens, especially with the help of the youth, they could successfully cope and solve these problems.

**Readiness to make a change.** In general, the level of social participation among citizens of BiH is relatively low. More than a half of citizens state that they are willing to vote in the elections, but the majority of them are not ready to demonstrate, join a political party or citizens' action group. Many citizens, approximately one out of three, are willing to leave BiH.

**Sentiments on war, victims and monoethnic societies.** In general, more than half of the BiH citizens believe that the war in BiH was the aggression by its nature. However, Bosniaks share this opinion more often than other ethnic groups, who are more likely to describe the war as defensive, liberating or civil war. Whereas the majority of Bosniaks and Croats hold Serbia responsible for the war, the majority of Serbs claim the responsibility of the International Community. Assessing the level of suffering, Bosniaks are convinced that their ethnic group suffered the most during the war. Croats believe that everyone suffered during the war but not equally, whereas Serbs believe that everyone suffered equally. The majority of citizens state that people from their ethnic groups were not responsible for the war crimes, and Bosniaks are more convinced in this than Serbs and Croats. Although in total more than half of the citizens state that their ethnic group is still threatened in BiH, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state the opposite opinion about their ethnic groups, compared to Serbs. Most of the citizens reside in areas where their ethnic groups are the majority, and most of them prefer to live in such areas. Croats are more tolerant when it comes to this issue, considering they are more ready to live in ethnically mixed areas than Bosniaks and Serbs.

**Reconciliation.** Citizens of BiH are not convinced that the process of reconciliation in this country has been completed. Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that at least some progress has been made so far as regards this issue, compared to Serbs who often believe that there was no reconciliation in this country. The majority of citizens are willing to discuss the past war with other ethnic groups. When it



comes to preconditions necessary to complete the process of reconciliation, the largest percentage of citizens believe that ethnic groups in BiH should reach common truth about their past grievances in order to reconcile. Serbs are more likely to think that reconciliation would take a longer period of time, compared to Bosniaks and Croats.

**Experiences with ICTY and BiH courts.** The majority of citizens believe that ICTY and BiH courts had a certain role in the process of reconciliation in BiH, but many of them think that their role was not very important. The vast majority of citizens did not have any experiences with ICTY or legal proceedings for the war crimes in BiH. Those who had such experiences describe their level of satisfaction with legal proceedings mainly as neutral. Approximately half of the citizens who had such experiences claim that these legal proceedings are relevant for their current lives, whereas the other half of these citizens claim that the influence of such proceedings on their life is neutral.

**The issue of BiH identity.** According to the survey results, the unique BiH identity is not very important to the citizens of BiH. Instead, ethnic and religious identities are the most important aspects of identity. Even the regional/town identity is considered more important than BiH identity. However, compared to Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats have a stronger BiH identity.

**Assessment of potential conflicts.** The majority of the citizens of BiH believe that the outbreak of new armed conflict in the Balkan region is not likely in the next 5 years. Bosniaks and Croats hold the opposite view on this issue, thinking that such a conflict is possible, more often than Serbs. Bosniaks believe that the future deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to new violence more often than Croats, while Croats are more prone than Bosniaks to state the opposite attitude on this issue. The largest percentage of the citizens who think that new violence in BiH is possible think that the violence would probably take a form of crime or violent social protests. Somewhat more than half of the citizens think that BiH could not break apart peacefully. Serbs are more convinced that the peaceful decomposition is possible, compared to Bosniaks and Croats. As regards the defense of the territory, the largest percentage of citizens state they would use all peaceful means to defend their interests when it comes to territory of BiH. Many respondents state they would not engage at all in the defense of the territory, Serbs more often than Bosniaks and Croats. On the other hand, approximately 10% of citizens state they are willing to take arms to defend their interests in this context.

**Future scenarios.** Altogether, the opinions of the citizens differ when it comes to future organization of BiH. Bosniaks state the most frequently that BiH should be organized as one country with a strong central government in Sarajevo and weak entities, or as is today. The opinions of Croats differ; a similar number of these respondents state that they see BiH as is today, and that they see it organized in three entities with their respective governments and state government in Sarajevo. The largest percentage of Serbs state they see BiH in the future organized as it is today, but many of them state they see it divided into separate independent states. As regards the preferable organization of the country, the wishes of ethnic

groups are in conflict. Bosniaks would prefer to live in BiH within its current borders and entities, while Croats and Serbs would prefer to live in independent (Croat and Serb, respectively) entities. Attitudes are also different considering the future solution for FBiH and RS. When it comes to future organization of FBiH, more than half of Bosniaks state that entities should be abolished in the future. More than a third of Croats state the same, but many of them also think that FBiH should be organized in two ethnic cantons without entity level. On the other hand, the largest percentage of Serbs are convinced that FBiH should be organized as a strong entity without cantons, just like RS. Considering the RS, almost a half of Serbs believe it should be organized as a sovereign state in the future. The majority of Bosniaks and Croats believe that in the future RS should be either a strong state without entities and cantons, or that the organization of RS should stay as it is now.

**Confidence in domestic and international institutions and organizations.** Among different domestic and international institutions and organizations, respondents declare the highest level of confidence in the police, followed by religious leaders and European Union. Whereas Bosniaks and Croats state the higher level of trust towards the international organizations such as UN, EU, OHR and ICTY, but also in state institutions like the Council of Ministers and army, Serbs have more confidence in entity and municipal authorities.

**Role of the International Community and European Union in the future.** Altogether, the opinions concerning the future relations of BiH and EU are divided. Bosniaks are more often convinced than Serbs that the membership in EU is essential for the survival of the country. On the other hand, Croats and Serbs stress out the importance of their ethnic interests in this context. In general, the citizens believe that EU, USA, UN and OHR should have most influence on the future of BiH. Among different institutions, Serbs stress out the importance of the USA, Bosniaks stress out the importance of OHR, whereas Croats emphasize the influence of OHR and Croatia on BiH in the future. The majority of Bosniaks and Croats believe that the role of the International Community should be active in the future, whereas the majority of Serbs believe that they should not be engaged in BiH at all. Support to economic and business development is considered the most important priority of the International Community in BiH, followed by sectoral support and support to institutional and capacity development.

**Status of the youth in BiH.** According to the survey results, attitudes of the young citizens of BiH are somewhat different from the attitudes of the older persons, when it comes to the questions covered by the survey. Firstly, younger citizens seem to be generally more satisfied, and more optimistic about future. Nevertheless, they are more ready to leave the country, but also more ready to participate in political parties, citizens' action groups, as well as to use the force if necessary. Furthermore, compared to the older citizens, young citizens are more likely to state that the war in BiH was an aggression, that there was no reconciliation in BiH, but also that some people from their ethnic groups were involved in the war crimes, and that their ethnic group is not threatened in BiH. In addition, they are more likely to state that the new conflicts and violence in BiH and in Balkans are possible, and that it is probably impossible for

BiH to break apart peacefully. Young persons are less often proud of their ethnic and regional identity than the older persons. They are more prone to state that in the future BiH will be a part of a new country joined by as many countries of ex Yugoslavia as possible, compared to the older citizens. When it comes to their level of confidence, they trust the same organizations and institutions as the older respondents, but they trust EUFOR, ICTY and cantonal government more often than the older citizens, and they trust the police less often. Considering the similarities, young persons identify the same main problems in the country as the older respondents. They share the opinions on who is accountable for these problems. Moreover, they have similar opinions on the role of the International Community in BiH and their priorities in this country.