



FOR

**Office of the UN Resident Coordinator**

**PUBLIC OPINION POLL RESULTS**  
**ANALITICAL REPORT**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

BD	Brcko District
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
DK	Does not know
DWA	Does not wish to answer
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
PAPI	Paper-and-pencil interviewing
RS	Republika Srpska
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America

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## **INTRODUCTION**

In January 2015, Prism Research conducted a survey in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) under commission and in consultation with the Office of the UN Resident Coordinator (RCO). The objective of the survey was to collect data on various issues immanent in BiH society. Topics covered were identification of current problems in BiH, sentiments on war, reconciliation, role of the international community in BiH, and others.

The method used for the survey was the administration of a standardized questionnaire, using the face-to-face interviews. A total of 1500 interviews were conducted on a random sample of BiH citizens. Since the similar survey was conducted in 2013, the comparison of the two waves of research was an important goal of the data analysis.

This report describes the main results of the survey.

March 2015

## METHODOLOGY

In order to examine the opinions and attitudes of BiH citizens, quantitative research method was used. Face to face interview (PAPI) represents a quantitative method in this research.

Image 1 presents the basic information about the research process.

**Image 1: Basic information about research**

<b>Period of conduction</b>	WAVE 2: January 2015 WAVE 1: May 2013
<b>Data collection method</b>	Face to face interview - PAPI
<b>Instruments</b>	A survey questionnaire used in this research was developed by 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 randomly selected members (Last birthday technique) of randomly selected households (Random walk technique) in BiH who are 18 years old or older.

### 2.1.1 Selection of households and respondents

#### *Random Walk Technique*

Random walk technique was used for the selection of the households. Interviewers were given addresses of starting points for each secondary sampling point. In urban areas this was a specific household address. In rural areas it was a specific household or a landmark building such as the neighborhood council building, post office, or local school. Different size settlements required different directions for finding the starting point. In some cases, the regional coordinator or supervisor determined the starting point after having visited the settlement.

The interviewers were instructed to face the starting point in such a way that it stands north of them. They were then to select the first street (house) to their right. Starting at this street (house), the interviewers were to proceed in that direction and choose the second house as the first household for interviewing. If the

second house was an apartment building (or had multiple dwelling units), they were instructed to select the second dwelling unit in this building to start the interviewing.

After the interview, the interviewers were to skip the next apartment or house, and choose the fourth dwelling unit for the second interview. They proceed in this way until the end of the street. At the end of the street, they move to the next street on their right and continue the process until they complete the quota for that settlement.

#### *Multi dwelling residential units*

Each multi-dwelling unit is treated as one address. In one entrance the survey is conducted at only one floor, and in only one apartment. Interviewers were instructed that for each entrance they were to interview on the first floor in one building, middle floor in second and top floor in third multi-store building.

#### *Last birthday technique*

In this survey the technique of random selection by closest birthday was used.

At the door, upon first contact the interviewers inquired about the number of families or households residing in one apartment or house, and the number of members of each household. Interviewers then carried out selection of the household to be included by choosing the household with fewer members, and at the next encounter choosing the household with more members. Interviewers kept a record of the number of households/family units at each address.

At the door, the interviewers asked to speak with the selected household member whose birthday is closest to the date they are interviewing. If that person was not at home, they arranged to revisit that house, if possible. Interviewers were directed to go on to the next unit if they cannot get the appropriate respondent after two attempts. This method ensured random selection of respondents.

### **2.1.2 Interviewing method**

Face-to-face interview is a common data collection technique in public opinion polling. It implies using paper and pen in data collection. Interviewers conduct surveys in respondents' households. They read questions and suggested answers to respondents, and record the responses in the questionnaire. Face to face interview is considered to be the best technique for data collection when the goal is to maximize the quality of the data. This technique is often used when sensitive topics are examined. In this survey interviewers used the visuals (show cards) for appropriate questions, to make it easier for the respondents to remember and provide answers.

### 2.1.3 Survey instrument

Questionnaire used in this survey was created based on the questionnaire used in the similar survey in 2013. The questionnaire was designed by the UNDP, and finalized in collaboration with Prism Research. The questions cover topics such as:

- general feelings and satisfaction of the respondents with their lives in relation to the situation in the country,
- opinions on the current problems of BiH society,
- attitudes on reconciliation, war, and future of BiH,
- level of trust towards domestic and foreign institutions, and
- opinions on the role of the international community in BiH.

### 2.1.4 Interviewers, interviewing process and quality control

Fieldwork team for this survey consisted of 13 regional coordinators and 62 interviewers. Their selection was performed based on the 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, Q-by-Q analysis and role-playing exercises.

Quality control was conducted in several ways. Each interviewer, prior to starting the fieldwork, had to perform at least one interview in the presence of a supervisor. In addition, supervisors were in the field with the interviewers making sure they are applying all the methodological rules correctly. Besides, 10% of randomly selected interviews for each interviewer were back checked over the phone. The back checks included checking all quality control aspects, including the random selection of the respondents.

### 2.1.5 Data entry and analysis

The entire process of data analysis was performed in Prism Research office in Sarajevo. The Survey System software was used for data entry. The data was analyzed using PASW (Predictive Analytics Software), which was also used for data cleaning and logical control.

### 2.1.6 Results

This report presents the results of the public opinion survey. Results are presented by total, as well as disaggregated by ethnicity. In addition, other types of analyses were conducted when it was considered necessary or interesting, including the analysis by gender, age and entity. The results are presented as percentages. Totals presented for the scale variables (see the charts) represent combined answers of the same valence (e.g. “Much better” and “Somewhat better” are combined as “TOTAL better”, etc.).

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

Considering the territory of BiH, 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.

**Image 2. Distribution of the sample by entity and type of settlement**

		N	%
Total	All respondents	1500	100,0
Entity	FBiH	914	61,0
	RS	541	36,1
	BD	44	2,9
Type of settlement	Urban	652	43,5
	Rural	848	56,5

Analyzing demographic variables, it can be noted that the respondents are somewhat more often females than males. Approximately a third of the respondents are between 18-35 years old, a half is between 36 and 65 years of age, while the rest of them are older than 65. Regarding education, somewhat more than fourth of the respondents have completed primary education or less (including the respondents with incomplete secondary education). Somewhat more than half

of the respondents have completed secondary education, and approximately 16% have completed a college or university education.

Considering their ethnicity, it is observable that half of the respondents declare themselves as Bosniaks. Approximately a third of the respondents declare themselves as Serbs, while 13% of the respondents are Croats.

Somewhat more than fourth of the respondents state they are unemployed. On the contrary, one out of four stated they are full-time employed. Taking into account respondents that are employed part-time, occasionally or self-employed, the percentage of respondents that are employed increases to approximately 30%. One out of five respondents is retired. Other respondents are either incapable of working, housekeepers, students or pupils.

Half of the households (50.5%) can count on monthly income among 300 and 1000 KM. Almost 20% of respondents have incomes lower than 300 KM. Only 8% of respondents state they have household incomes higher than 1000 KM. Other respondents did not state their household incomes (22%).

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



**Image 3. Socio-economic profile of the respondents**

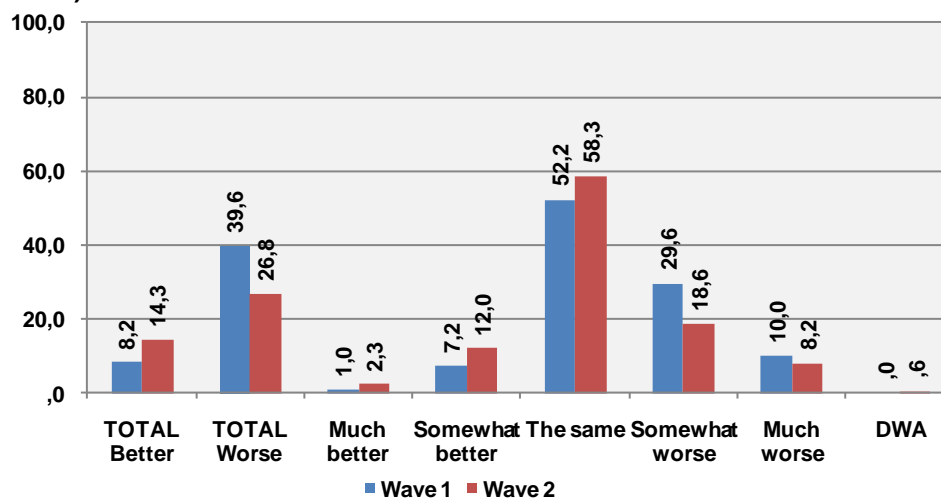
		<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Total</b>	All respondents	1500	100,0
<b>Gender</b>	Male	718	47,9
	Female	782	52,1
<b>Age</b>	18-35	497	33,1
	36-50	425	28,3
	51-65	337	22,5
	66+	242	16,1
<b>Education</b>	No formal education	45	3,0
	Incomplete primary education	79	5,3
	Primary education	218	14,6
	Incomplete secondary education	79	5,3
	Secondary education	834	55,6
	College	112	7,5
	University	128	8,5
	DWA	4	,3
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Bosniaks	753	50,2
	Croats	199	13,3
	Serbs	487	32,5
	Bosnian/BiH	44	2,9
	Other	10	,6
	DWA	7	,5
<b>Employment status</b>	Employed, full-time	383	25,5
	Employed, part-time	18	1,2
	Occasionally employed	40	2,7
	Self-employed	25	1,7
	Unemployed	423	28,2
	Retired	327	21,8
	Housekeeper	179	11,9
	Incapable of working	6	,4
	Pupil/Student	87	5,8
<b>Monthly income of the household</b>	DWA	11	,8
	Up to 100 KM	71	4,7
	101-200 KM	42	2,8
	201-300 KM	169	11,3
	301-500 KM	420	28,0
	501-1000 KM	337	22,5
	1001-1500 KM	90	6,0
	1501-2000 KM	22	1,5
	More than 2001 KM	15	1,0
	DK	27	1,8
	DWA	305	20,3

## WELLBEING OF THE CITIZENS OF BiH

In a transitional, post-war period, citizens of BiH went through tremendous changes. Changes in political, social and economic systems were accompanied by many obstacles. Today, BiH is considered to be a modern post transitional country. However, many aspects of former structures are still present. As a country with a complex organizational structure, BiH faces difficulties in solving the ongoing political, social and economic problems. Due to these problems, BiH seems to be moving forward slowly, which is reflected in perceptions of BiH citizens.

◀ **Respondents rarely perceive positive changes in their lives.** Somewhat more than half of the respondents state their lives did not change in the past year. Approximately one out of four states that his/her life is worse (answers „Somewhat worse“ and „Much worse“). In comparison to the first wave of the research, respondents are more likely to describe their lives as better.

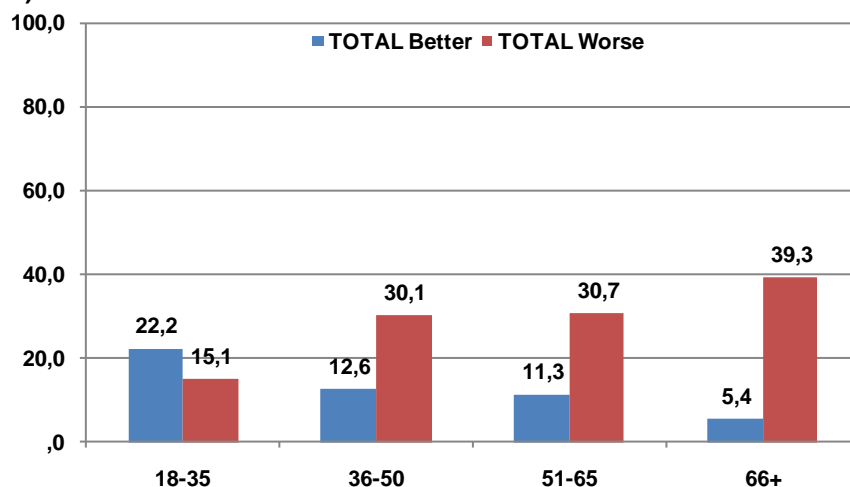
**Image 4: Compared to a year ago, are things in your life overall...? – Comparison by wave**  
(Single response.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding ethnicity, no statistically significant differences were found when it comes to the views on the changes in life in the past year.

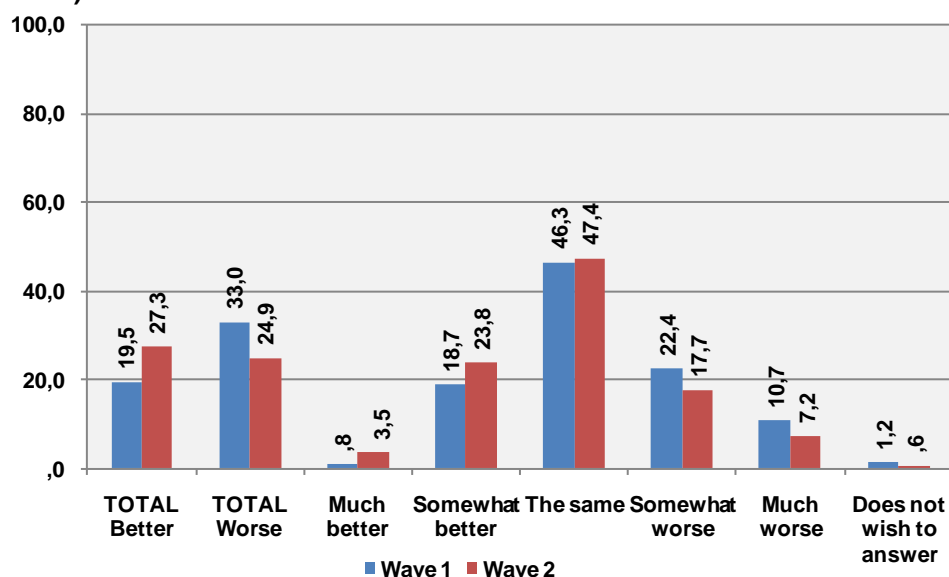
Attitudes of men and women differ regarding this question, as well as the attitudes of different age categories. Therefore, compared to women, men are more likely to state that the things are better than they were a year ago (17% of men vs. 12% of women). Regarding respondents' age, respondents that are 18-35 years old are more likely to state that the situation is better, in comparison to older respondents.

**Image 5: Compared to a year ago, are things in your life overall...? – Comparison by age (Single response.)**



◀ **Positive expectations about the future are mentioned only by a relatively small share of respondents.** Almost half of the respondents believe that things in BiH will not change in the following period. Approximately a fourth of them hope for the better future. The rest of the respondents expect that things will get worse. However, respondents' expectations about the future are more optimistic in comparison to the first wave of the research: this year respondents are more likely to state that things will improve.

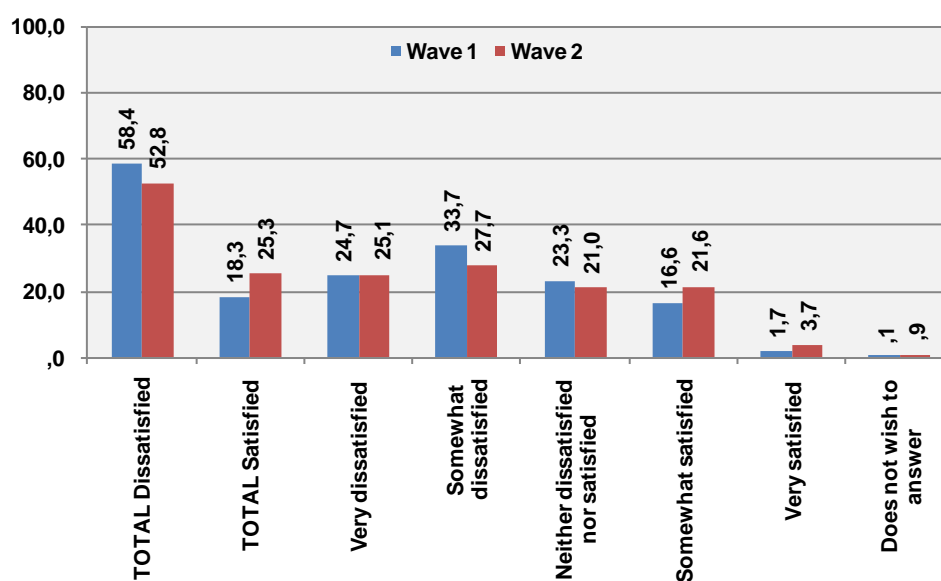
**Image 6: What do you expect to happen in the following period; in general will things be...? – Comparison by wave (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding the ethnicity, no statistically significant differences were found when it comes to the expectations of changes in the following period.

◀ **Dissatisfaction with financial situation is common in BiH households.** More than half of the respondents express dissatisfaction with their finances (answers „Very dissatisfied“ and „Somewhat dissatisfied“). On the other hand, approximately a fourth of the respondents state they are satisfied (very or somewhat) with the financial situation of their households. In addition, respondents are more likely to be satisfied with their financial situation, compared to the first wave of the research.

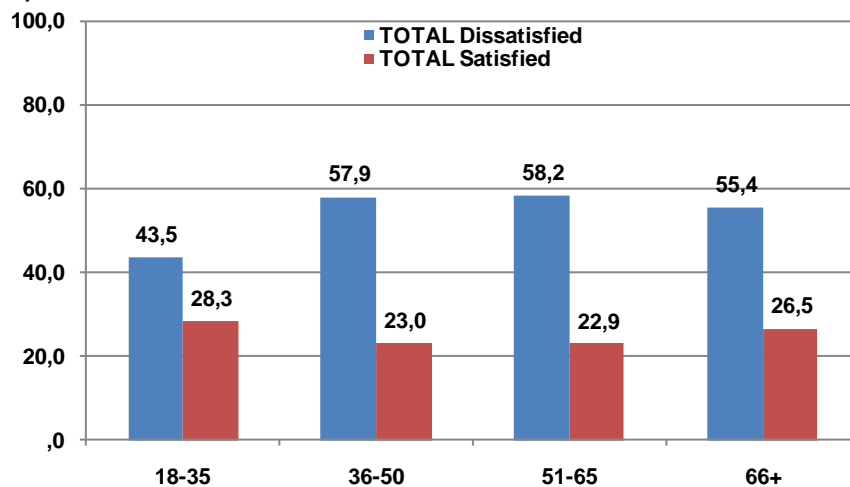
**Image 7: Please state your level of satisfaction with the financial situation of your household? – Comparison by wave (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding ethnicity, no statistically significant differences were found when it comes to financial satisfaction of the respondents.

Looking at respondents' age, it is notable that respondents that are older than 35 years of age state dissatisfaction with their financial situation more often compared to younger respondents.

**Image 7.1: Please state your level of satisfaction with the financial situation of your household? – Comparison by age (Single response.)**



Summary:

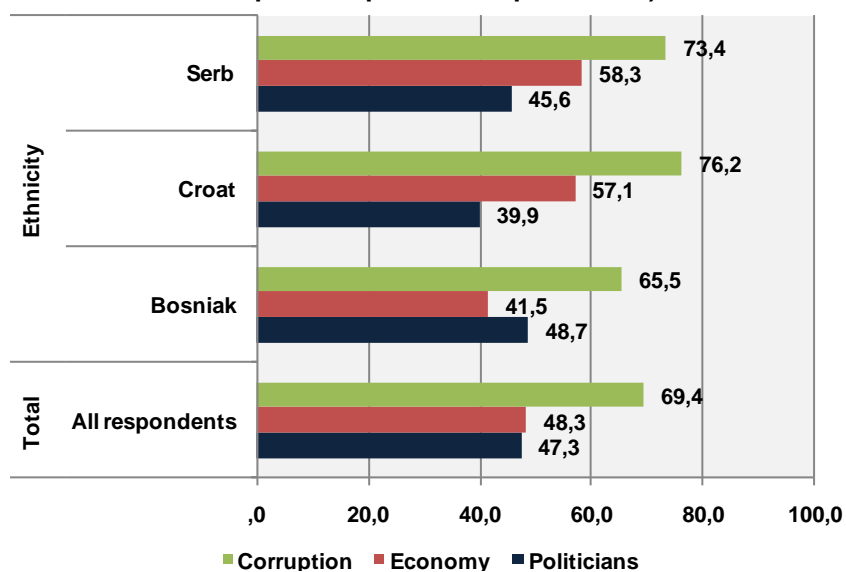
*Overall, respondents' perceptions of their lives are rather pesimistic than optimistic. Respondents do not perceive that things are moving forward. They do not feel that the current situation is leading to positive changes. However, it is notable that the respondents are more optimistic than they were in 2013. They are more likely to percieve positive changes in their lives, and to expect prosperity in general.*

## THE MAIN PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES FACED BY BiH

This chapter presents the public perception of the main problems and challenges faced by country, including the responsibility for such problems and positive influences on their resolution.

◀ According to respondents, corruption, economy and politicians are the major problems faced by BiH. It is notable that these problems are interconnected. Politicians make the decisions regarding economy and decide how to fight corruption, which is affecting economic growth. Thus, monitoring of the level of performance of politicians should be increased, because they are the decision makers and have the power to determine how other problems will be solved.

**Image 7: In your opinion, what are the biggest problems and challenges that BiH is currently facing?**  
**– Comparison by the ethnicity**  
 (Multiple response. Three most frequent responses are presented.)

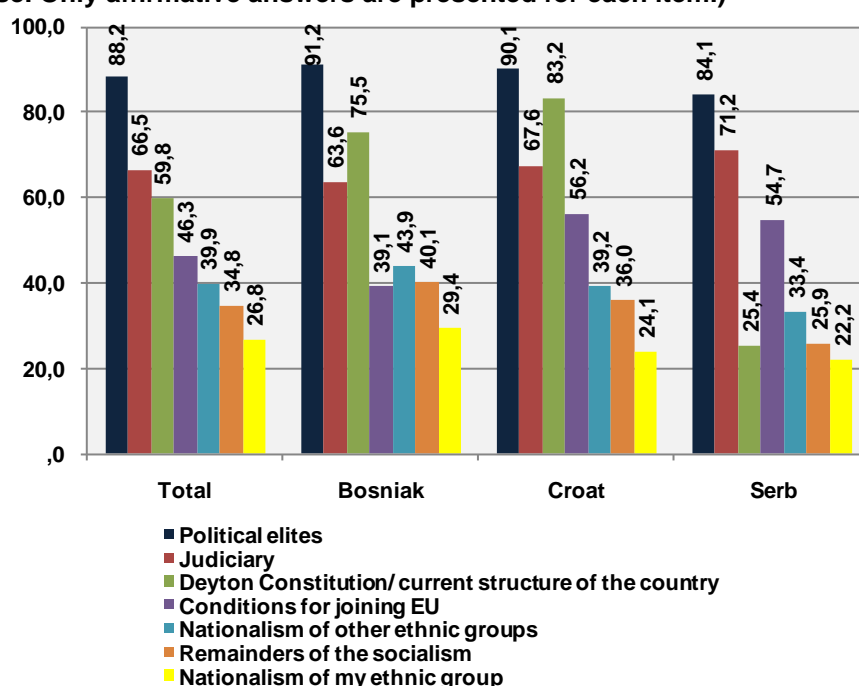


**Differences by ethnicity.** Each ethnic group views corruption as the main problem in society. However, statistically significant differences between the major ethnic groups are found regarding these problems. Firstly, Croats and Serbs stress that corruption is a problem more frequently than Bosniaks. Secondly, Serbs and Croats recognize that the economy is a problem more frequently than Bosniaks do. When it comes to politicians, ethnic categories seem to agree to what extent they are problematic.

Respondents were asked to state if the certain elements of BiH society represent problems or not. The issues included were: political elites, judiciary, Constitution, conditions for joining the European Union, nationalism, and remainders of socialism.

◀ **According to respondents, BiH political elites represent a major problem, along with the inadequate judiciary and the Constitution.** The majority of respondents agreed that BiH political elites constitute a problem. Judiciary and current Constitution are also considered problematic by many respondents. Furthermore, relatively large percentage of respondents see conditions for joining the EU as problematic, as well as nationalism of other ethnic groups. Approximately a third of respondents believe that remainders of the socialism also represent problems in BiH. Finally, one out of four respondents believe that nationalism of their ethnic groups is another problem of the society.

**Image 8: For each of the following elements, please state if, in your opinion, they represent a problem or not? Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Only affirmative answers are presented for each item.)

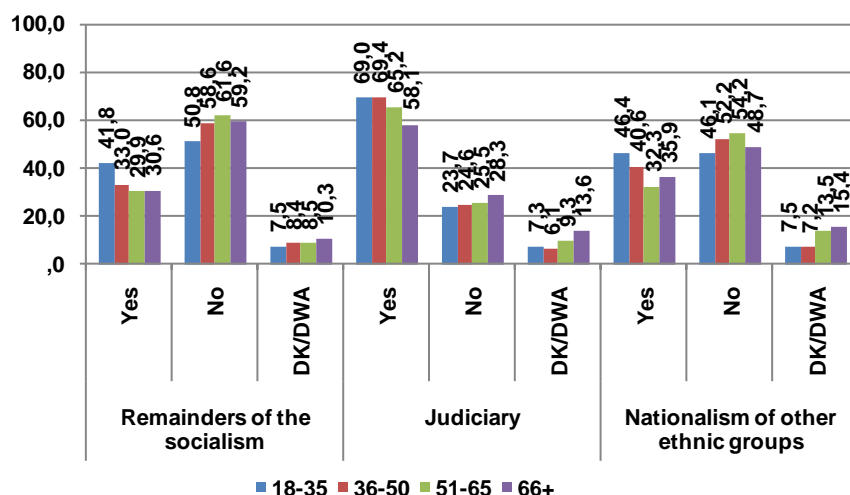


**Differences by ethnicity.** Views on this set of questions are similar for Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. However, Bosniaks and Croats consider the Dayton Constitution problematic more often than Serbs. The same goes for remainders of socialism, political elites and nationalism of other ethnic groups. Croats also see the Constitution as a problem more often than Serbs. In addition, Croats and Serbs mention conditions for joining the EU as problematic more often than Bosniaks. However, Serbs find that these conditions are problematic more frequently than both Bosniaks and Croats.

Dissagregated by age, remains of socialism are considered to be problematic more often for the respondents that are up to 35 years of age, in comparison to the older respondents. In addition, the judiciary is perceived as a problem more frequently by the respondents that are up to 50 years of age, compared to respondents older than 65 years. Nationalism of other ethnic groups is perceived as problem more often by the respondents that are up to 35 years of age, in comparison to respondents who are older than 65. Finally, respondents that are 51-65 years old are in the middle and do not differ significantly from other age categories in their attitudes on the aforementioned topics.

**Image 9: For each of the following elements, please state if they represent a problem or not?  
Comparison by age**

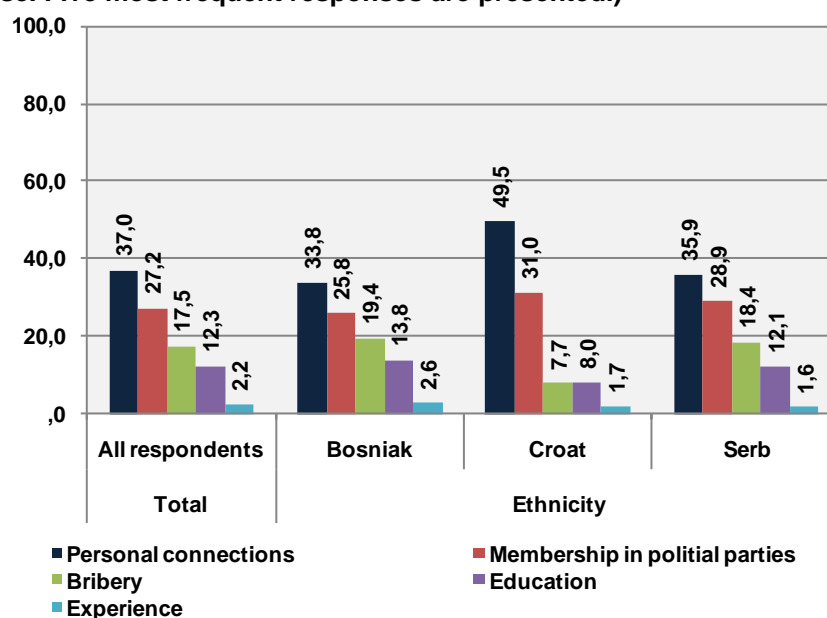
(Single response. per item, only the items where statistically significant differences were affirmed are presented.)





◀ **Irregular employment procedures as a rule rather than exception.** Irregularities of employment procedures represent another problem of BiH society. Personal connections are identified as the most important factor shaping the likelihood of employment, and is mentioned by somewhat more than third of the respondents. They are followed by political connections and bribery. Education and experience take respectively fourth and fifth place as factors that influence the chances to get the employment.

**Image 10: Based on your personal experience, which of the following factors is the most important for getting a job? - Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Multiple response. Five most frequent responses are presented.)

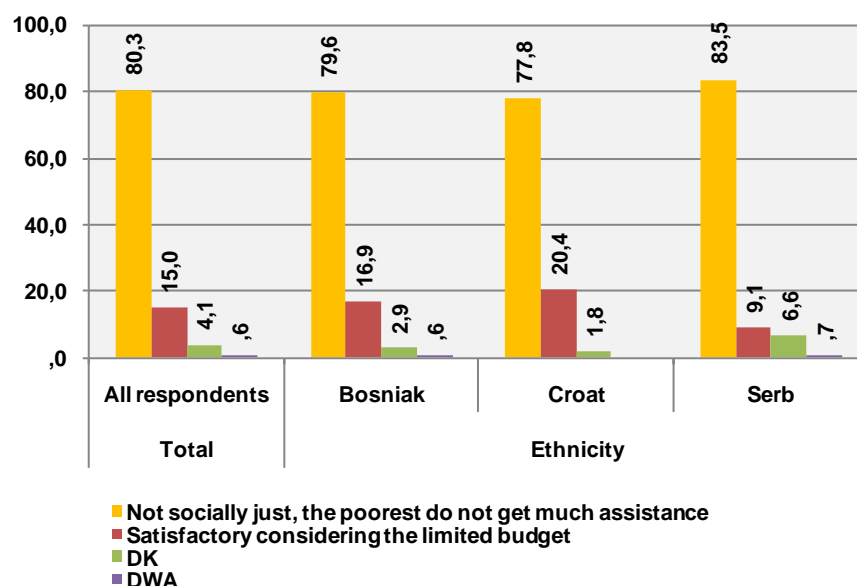


**Differences by ethnicity.** The order of the factors that affect employment opportunities is the same for each ethnic group. However, Bosniaks and Serbs are more likely to mention bribery as an important factor for obtaining employment, in comparison to Croats. On the other hand, Croats are more likely to stress the importance of personal connections as a factor shaping employment opportunities.

In addition, women mention personal connections as preconditions for employment more often than men (41% of women vs. 33% of men). On the other hand, men are more likely to state that membership in political parties is important for obtaining a job (30% of men vs. 25% of women).

◀ **A social system that is unjust adds up to other problems of the society.** The vast majority of respondents state that the social protection system in BiH is unfair, and that the vulnerable categories do not receive enough social support. Only 15% of respondents hold the opposite view, i.e. that the social system is satisfactory and take into account budgetary limits.

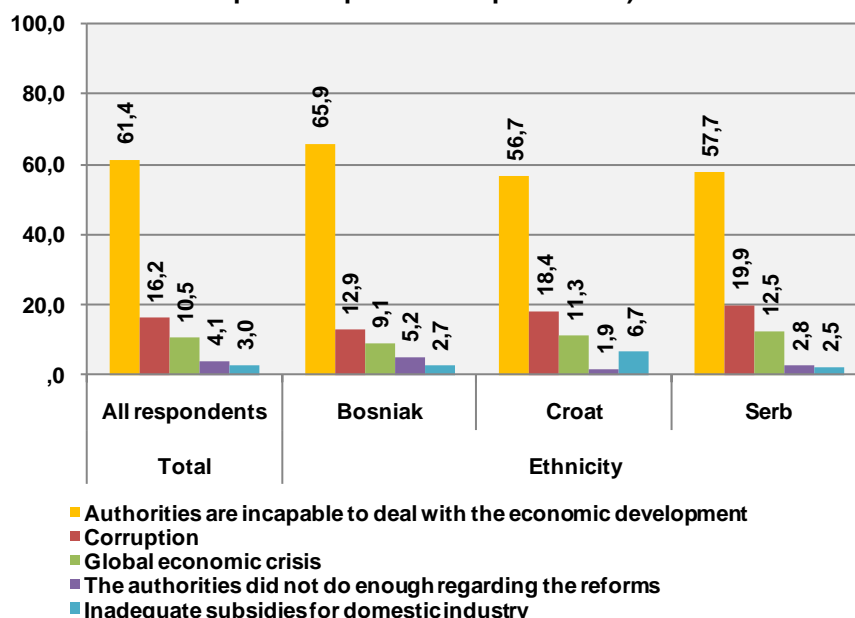
**Image 11: How would you assess the social protection system in BiH? - Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Although all major ethnic groups agree that the social system in BiH is not just, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that it is satisfactory in comparison to Serbs.

◀ **Incapability of the relevant authorities to deal with economic development is perceived to be the major reason for the stagnation of BiH.** Approximately two out of three respondents state this as the reason why the country is not moving forward. Other reasons mentioned are corruption, global economic crisis, lack of efforts to implement reforms, and inadequate subsidies for development of industry.

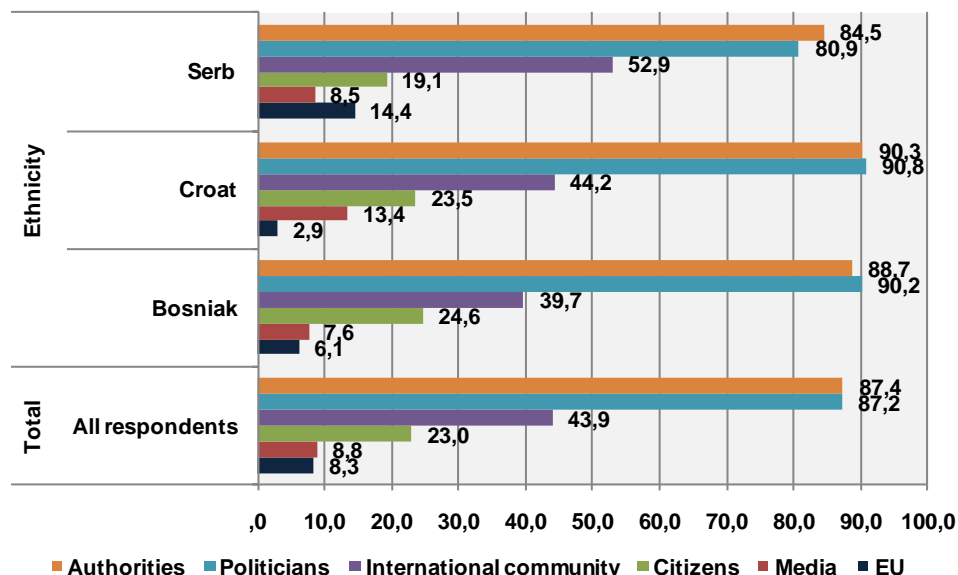
**Image 12: In your opinion, what is the main reason for economic and social stagnation of BiH, starting from 2008 up until today? – Comparison by the ethnicity (Multiple response. Five most frequent responses are presented.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** All major ethnic groups blame the authorities for their incapability to deal with economic development issues as a cause for the stagnation. Nevertheless, significant differences have been found in regards to these reasons. Croats state more often than both Serbs and Bosniaks that BiH is in stagnation due to inadequate subsidies for domestic industry. In addition, Serbs blame corruption for such problems more often than Bosniaks do. Croats also mention corruption more often than Bosniaks, but the difference is not statistically significant.

◀ The majority of respondents believe that the authorities and politicians should be held responsible for the ongoing problems in the country. Many respondents also mention responsibility of the international community, citizens themselves, as well as the media.

**Image 13: Who do you hold most accountable for those problems? – Comparison by the ethnicity (Multiple response. Six most frequent responses are presented.)**

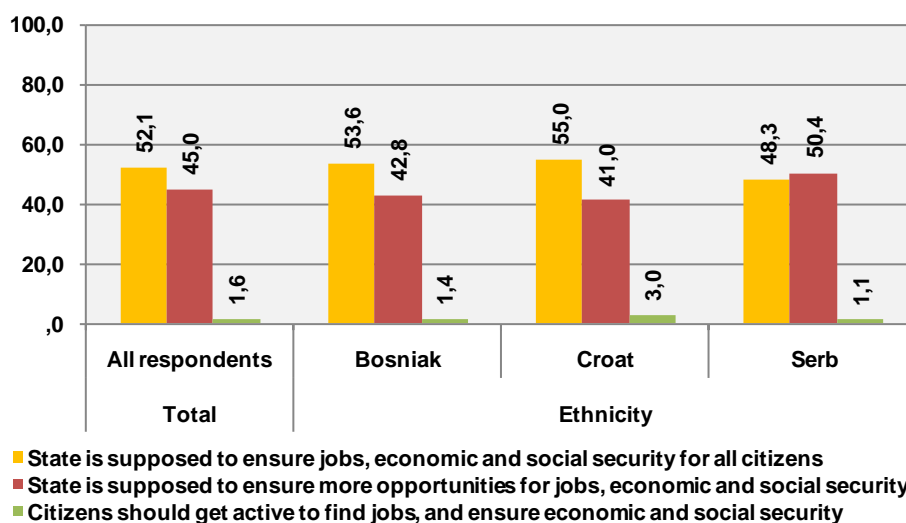


**Differences by ethnicity.** Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, all hold the authorities and politicians responsible for the aforementioned problems. Still, several statistically significant differences by ethnicity were found when it comes to responsibility for the problems in the country. Firstly, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to blame the politicians for these problems than Serbs are. Secondly, Serbs are more likely to blame the international community, compared to Bosniaks and Croats, although the difference between Serbs and Croats is not statistically significant. Thirdly, Serbs hold the European Union responsible for the aforementioned problems more often than Bosniaks and Croats do.

◀ **Respondents hold the State responsible for the creation of job opportunities and ensuring economic and social security of the citizens.** Slightly more than half of the respondents believe that the State should make sure that all citizens are employed. However, a large percentage of respondents, somewhat less than half of them, believe that the State should ensure more job opportunities, and thus more chances to achieve economic and social security. Respondents rarely hold themselves responsible for finding jobs.

**Image 14: Which of the following statements is the closest reflection of your opinion? - Comparison by ethnicity**

(Single response. Answers “Does not know” and “Does not wish to answer” are not presented on the chart.)

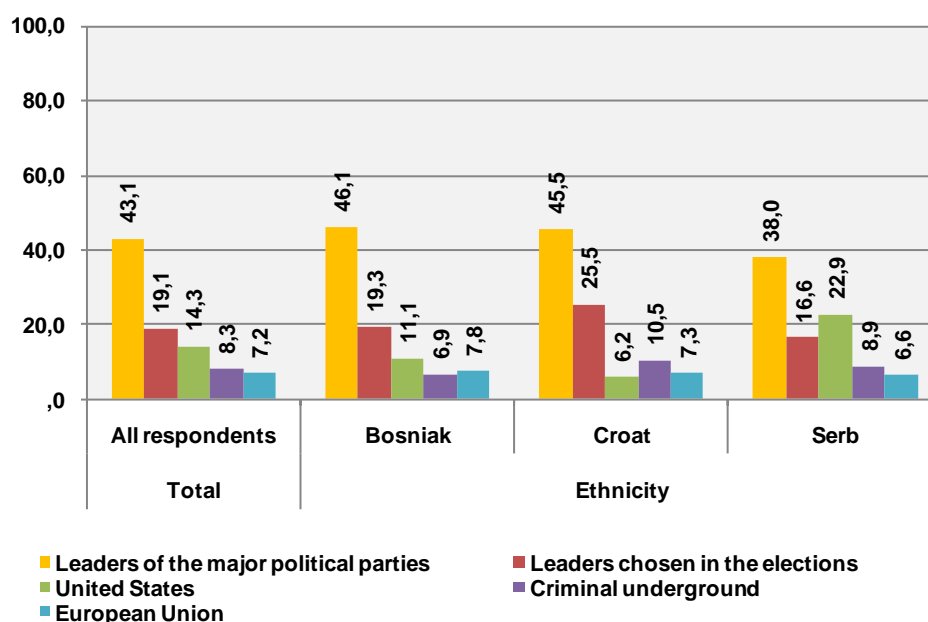


**Differences by ethnicity.** Opinions of the major ethnic groups in BiH do not differ significantly when it comes to this issue. Opinions of each of them are divided between the attitude that the state should ensure more jobs and that it should ensure more job opportunities for the citizens.

Compared by gender, women are more likely to say that the State should ensure jobs for the citizens, in comparison to men (55% of women vs. 49% of men).

◀One of the reasons why the problems of BiH are so enduring could be because the politicians, who, based on respondents views are considered to represent a major problem themselves, have the most power in the country. The majority of the respondents believe that political party leaders and elected representatives, are the most powerful groups in BiH. They are followed by the United States, criminal underground and the European Union.

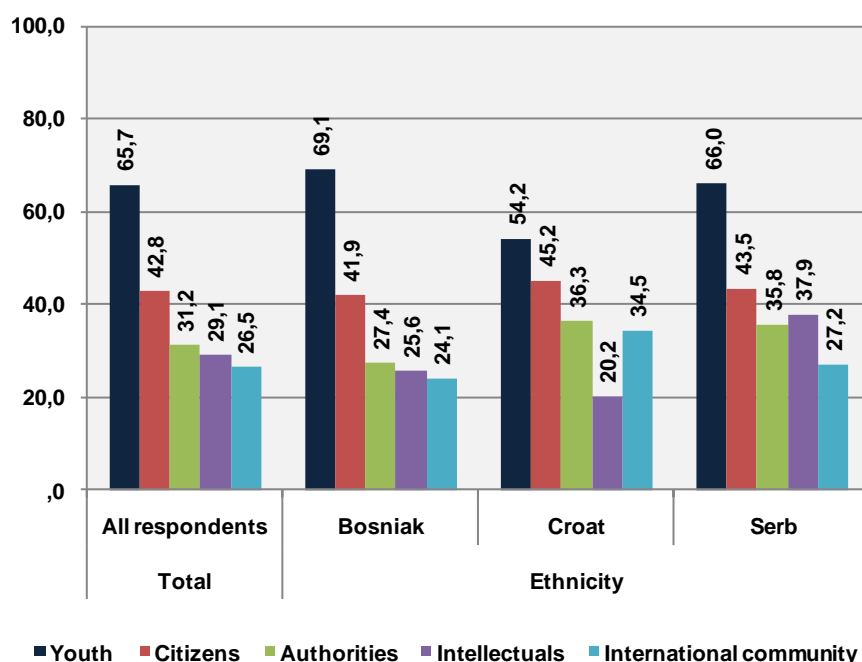
**Image 15: Which of the following groups has the most power in BiH? – Comparison by ethnicity (Multiple response, five most frequent responses are presented.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** The responses of the three major ethnic groups are similar when it comes to this question. The only statistically significant difference found was that Serbs are more likely to state that the US has more power in BiH, in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats.

◀ **Citizens, especially youth, are expected to bring positive changes.** In general, respondents believe that the youth in this country should initiate positive changes and solve problems in the society. Authorities, intellectuals and the international community could also be involved in this process, according to the opinions of the general population in BiH.

**Image 16: Who do you believe may be the catalysts for positive changes in the country? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Multiple response. Five most frequent responses are presented.)

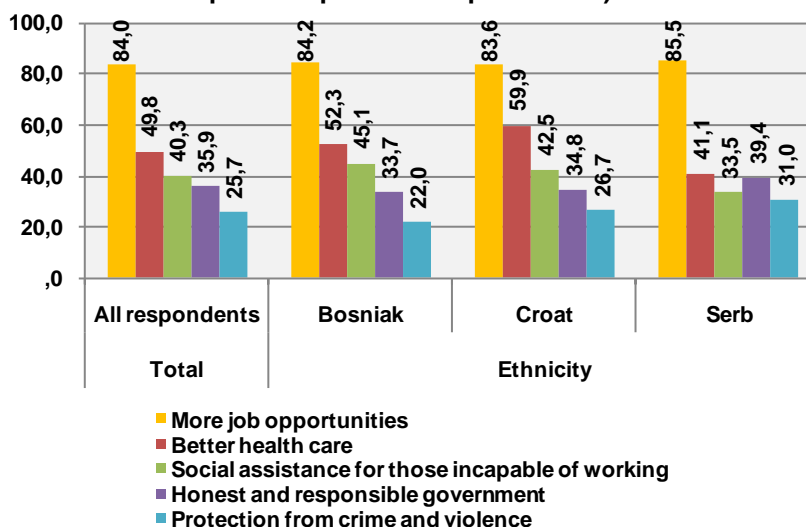


**Differences by ethnicity.** Although three major ethnic groups share the expectations on the potential initiators of positive changes, some statistically significant differences were found regarding this question. Firstly, Bosniaks have higher expectations from the engagement of the youth in solving the problems of the country in comparison to Croats; regarding the youth, the difference between Serbs and Croats is also relatively high, but not statistically significant. Secondly, Croats expect more from the international community than Bosniaks do. Also, Croats expect more from the international community compared to Serbs and Bosniaks. Thirdly, compared to Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats have higher expectations from the authorities; however, difference between Bosniaks and Croats is not statistically significant. Serbs stress out the role of the intellectuals in positive changes more frequently than both Bosniaks and Croats.

Moreover, compared by gender, women are more likely to state that citizens could make positive changes in the country in comparison to men (46% of women vs. 40% of men).

◀ **Providing more job opportunities is an essential priority for the citizens.** Asked about the things that are the most important to be provided to them personally and to their families, a majority of the respondents identified more employment opportunities as the most important priority. It is followed by provision of better health care and social assistance for persons incapable of working.

**Image 17: Which of the following is the most important to be ensured for you and your family at this time? – Comparison by the ethnicity**  
(Multiple response. Five most frequent responses are presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** The same problems were recognized as the most pervasive in all major ethnic groups. However, some differences have been affirmed. However, some of the differences described below are not presented on the chart, since they are not identified as major priorities.

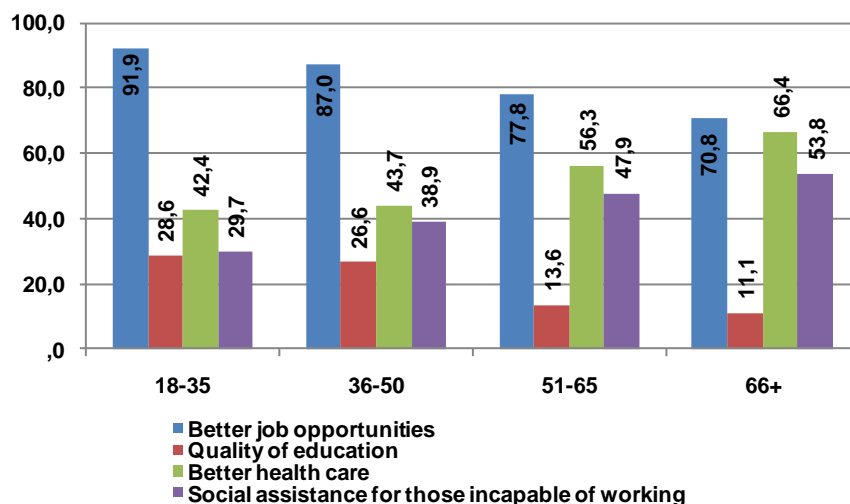
- Bosniaks and Croats state more frequently than Serbs that provision of better health care is the priority for their families.
- Bosniaks mention better education, social assistance for persons incapable of working and gender equality as priorities more often than Serbs do.
- Compared to Serbs, Croats are more likely to claim that freedom from discrimination is their priority.
- Serbs mention healthy food as their priority more often than both Bosniaks and Croats do.
- In comparison to Bosniaks, Serbs are more likely to state clean water and sanitation, protection of forests and rivers, and protection from crime and violence as their priorities.



However, compared by age, employment opportunities and quality of education are more important for the respondents that are up to 50 years of age than for older respondents. On the other hand, older respondents find the health care and social assistance for those incapable of working more important.

**Image 18: Which of the following is the most important to be ensured for you and your family at this time? – Comparison by the age**

(Multiple response. Only the items where statistically significant differences were affirmed are presented.)



Compared by gender, women state more often than men, that better health care is their main priority (53% of women vs. 46% of men).

**Summary:**

*In total, according to the respondents the problem of corruption is recognized as the major problem facing BiH at the moment, followed by economic problems and the manner in which politicians act. Inadequate judiciary, constitution, social and health care system, irregular employment procedures and lack of job opportunities are other problematic areas of the society. Authorities and politicians are held as mostly responsible for the majority of problems in the country, and are also recognized as the ones having the most power. Most of the respondents believe that the citizens themselves, especially the youth, are the only ones who could solve these problems.*

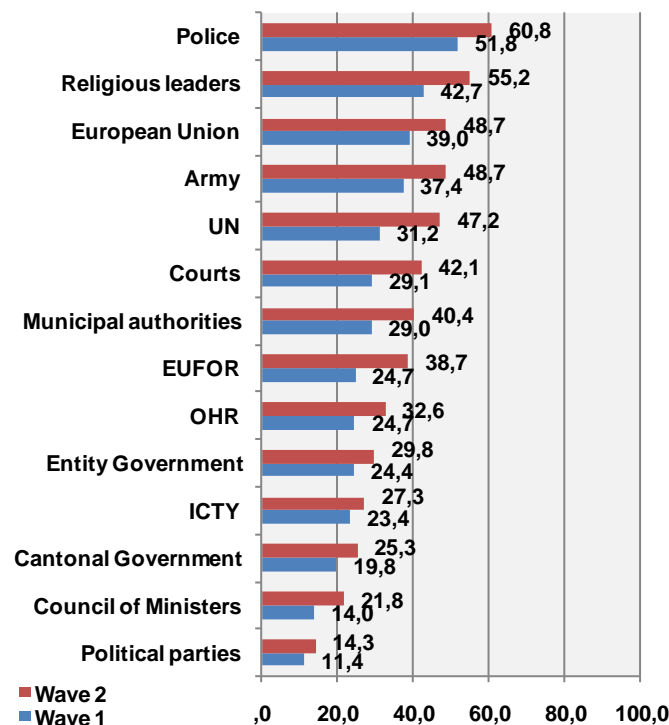
## CONFIDENCE IN DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

Considering the 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.

### ◀ Police and religious leaders are viewed as the most reliable domestic institutions and individuals.

The majority of respondents state they have confidence in police and religious leaders, followed by the European Union. The lowest levels of trust were affirmed for political parties, Council of Ministers and cantonal governments. In general, confidence in all institutions is higher compared to the first research wave.

**Image 19: How much confidence do you have in...? – Comparison by wave**  
(Single response. Only the combination of answers “Complete confidence” and “Some confidence” is presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Numerous significant differences were found by ethnicity in regards to this question.

In comparison to Serbs, Bosniaks stated they have more confidence in:

- Council of Ministers,
- Presidency of BiH,
- Army,
- UN,
- European Union
- OHR,
- EUFOR,
- ICTY.

Serbs state more frequently than Bosniaks that they have confidence in:

- Entity governments,
- Political parties they voted for,
- Police,
- Religious leaders.

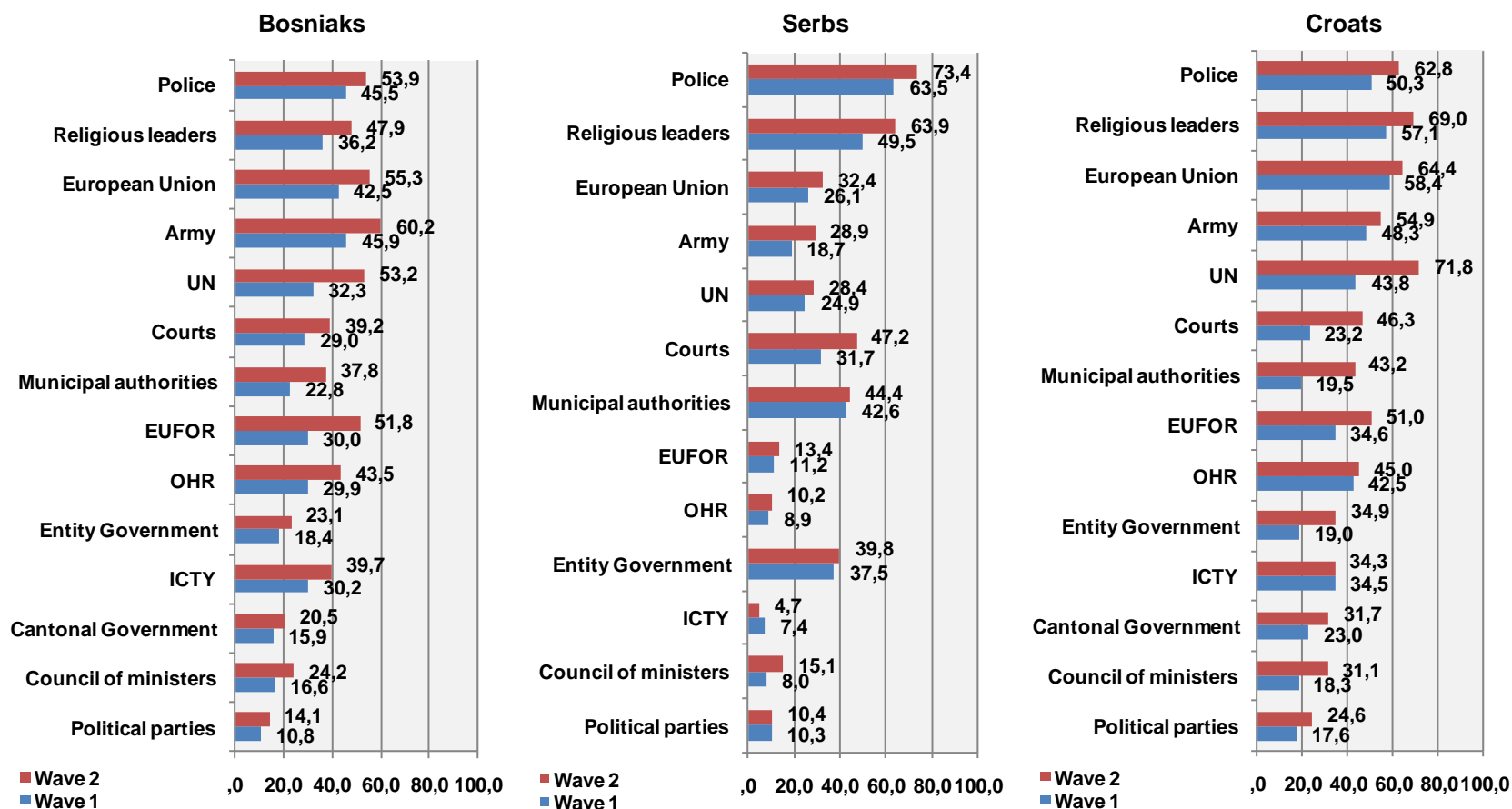
Croats mention more often than Bosniaks having confidence in:

- Cantonal governments,
- Political parties,
- Political parties they voted for,
- Religious leaders.
- UN.

In comparison to Serbs, Croats mention having more confidence in:

- Council of Ministers,
- Presidency,
- Political parties,
- Army,
- UN,
- EU,
- OHR,
- EUFOR,
- ICTY.

**Image 20: How much confidence do you have in...? Comparison by wave and ethnicity**  
(Single response per item. Only the combination of answers “Complete confidence” and “Some confidence” is presented.)



Numerous significant differences were found by entity in regards to this question.

In comparison to respondents from RS, respondents from FBiH stated they have more confidence in:

- Council of Ministers,
- Presidency of BiH,
- Political parties in general,
- Army,
- United Nations,
- EU
- OHR,
- EUFOR,
- ICTY.

On the other hand, respondents from RS state more frequently than respondents from FBiH that they have confidence in:

- Entity governments,
- Political parties they voted for,
- Police,
- Courts,
- Municipal authorities,
- Religious leaders

**Image 21: How much confidence do you have in...? Comparison by entity, type of settlement, gender and age**

(Single response per item. Only the items where statistically significant differences were affirmed are presented. Only the combination of answers “Complete confidence” and “Some confidence” is presented.)

	Total	Entity			Type of settlement		Gender		Age			
	All respondents	FBiH	RS	BD	Urban	Rural	Male	Female	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Police	60,8	53,8	76,2	14,6	58,5	62,5	59,8	61,7	56,6	58,3	63,8	69,4
Religious leaders	55,2	51,7	64,9	9,4	50,0	59,2	53,8	56,5	51,4	56,9	56,1	58,8
European Union	48,7	57,9	35,2	24,8	40,2	55,3	44,1	53,0	47,5	50,9	46,6	50,5
Army	48,7	58,5	35,0	14,7	45,9	50,9	46,7	50,6	47,1	49,6	46,9	53,0
United Nations	47,2	56,7	30,9	48,4	41,1	51,8	42,8	51,2	47,1	49,4	43,9	47,8
Courts	42,1	38,7	50,6	9,7	39,3	44,3	39,9	44,2	40,5	40,6	42,0	48,5
Municipal authorities	40,4	36,9	48,7	12,3	37,4	42,8	39,1	41,6	36,7	37,4	42,5	50,6
EUFOR	38,7	50,8	18,1	41,4	32,0	43,9	36,5	40,8	35,6	43,5	36,6	39,6
Political parties you voted for	35,7	32,2	43,4	12,3	35,0	36,2	34,3	36,9	33,7	32,4	37,5	42,9
OHR	32,6	42,4	15,5	40,9	25,0	38,5	29,2	35,7	30,6	35,0	31,5	34,2
Entity Government	29,8	25,3	39,1	6,9	25,7	32,9	27,0	32,3	27,4	27,7	29,6	38,6
ICTY	27,3	37,3	9,2	41,9	22,4	31,0	24,1	30,2	24,4	31,8	24,0	29,9
Council of Ministers	21,8	25,1	16,4	20,3	20,7	22,7	18,5	24,9	23,2	18,5	19,9	27,5
Presidency	21,0	24,9	15,0	12,1	19,5	22,1	18,1	23,7	19,9	19,2	20,4	27,2
Cantonal Government	15,4	25,3	,0	,0	13,2	17,1	13,4	17,3	14,5	14,9	14,8	19,0
Political parties in general	14,3	16,5	11,1	7,1	13,1	15,2	13,0	15,4	13,4	13,3	13,8	18,5

Compared by gender, the results show that men have less confidence than women do when it comes to Council of Ministers, entity government, cantonal government, courts, army, UN, EU, OHR, EUFOR and ICTY.

Certain differences were found between the age categories regarding the confidence in institutions. Respondents older than 65 trust the Government of their entity and canton, police and municipal authorities more than younger respondents.

#### Summary:

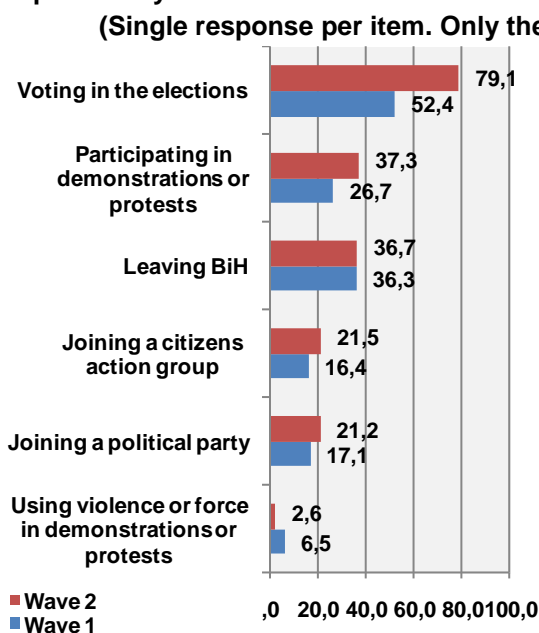
*On average, among different domestic and international institutions and organizations, respondents declare the highest level of confidence in the police, followed by religious leaders and the European Union. However, the level of confidence in these institutions and organizations varies considerably by entity. Some differences were also found regarding respondents' gender and age.*

## READINESS TO MAKE A CHANGE

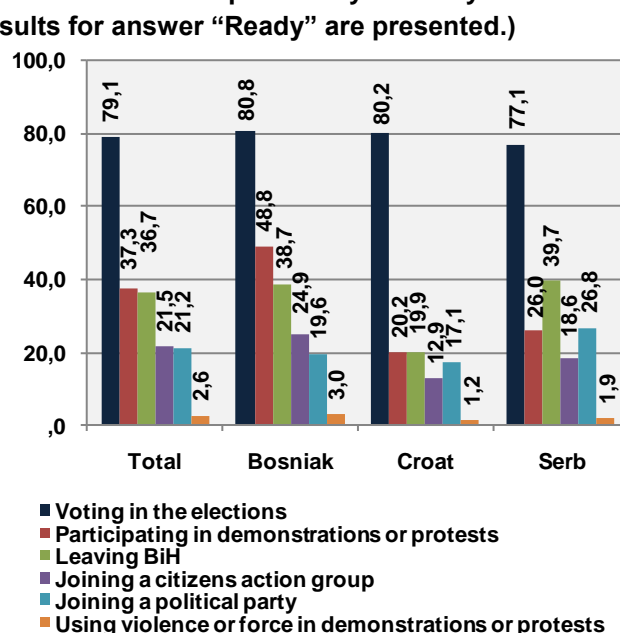
In general, respondents expressed the view that would support the finding that BiH citizens are not very active in the society. Surveys have shown that they are rarely members of NGOs, humanitarian, political or other types of organizations. Furthermore, although some serious social protests and demonstrations took place in BiH in 2014, they faded very quickly. However, social unrest that happened in the spring of 2014 may be the beginning of change when it comes to social participation and activation of BiH citizens.

◀ **Respondents are rarely ready for activities that include more than voting in the elections.** 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. The majority of respondents are ready to vote in the elections. However, they are less ready to participate in other activities like protests, to join a political party or citizens' action group. One out of three respondents stated they are ready to leave BiH. Less than 3% of respondents stated they would use violence in demonstrations or protests.

**Image 22: To what extent are you willing to in the following activities? – Comparison by wave**



**Image 26: To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? – Comparison by ethnicity**

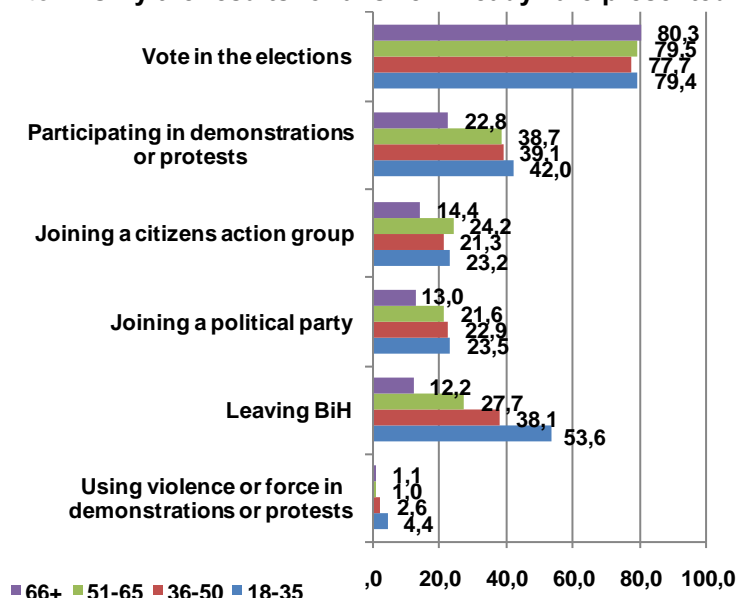


**Differences by ethnicity.** Respondents from all major ethnic groups are willing to vote in the elections and less willing to take other forms of social participation. However, some significant differences were found concerning this issue:

- Bosniaks and Serbs state more often than Croats they are ready to join a citizens' action group, participate in protests and demonstrations, and leave the country;
- In comparison to Serbs and Croats, Bosniaks are more likely to participate in demonstrations and protests;
- Serbs state more frequently than Bosniaks and Croats that they are willing to join a political party;

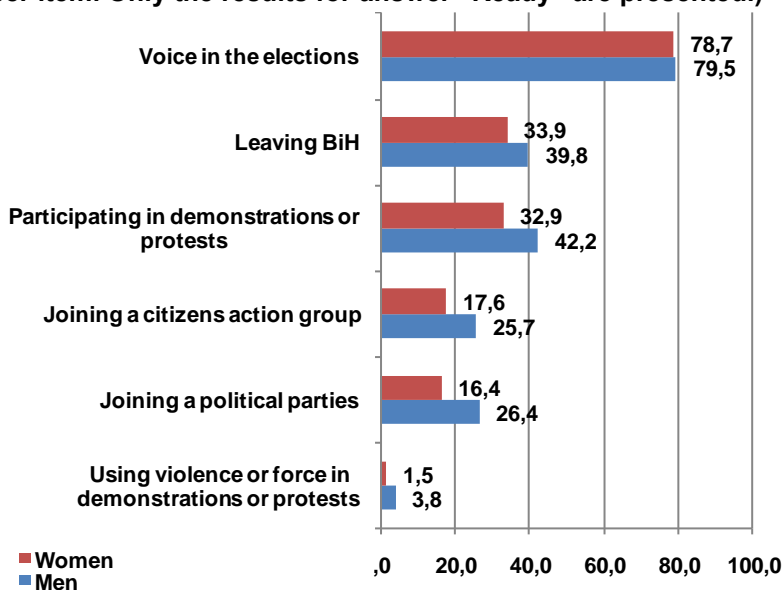
Regarding these types of activities, it is also affirmed that respondents are willing to vote in the elections regardless of their age. However, the older respondents (66 years of age or older) are less willing to participate in any other types of social actions, in comparison to younger respondents, except to vote in the elections.

**Image 23: To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? Comparison by age (Single response per item. Only the results for answer “Ready” are presented.)**



Furthermore, women are less likely to participate in social actions in comparison to men, expect to vote in the elections where the difference is not significant.

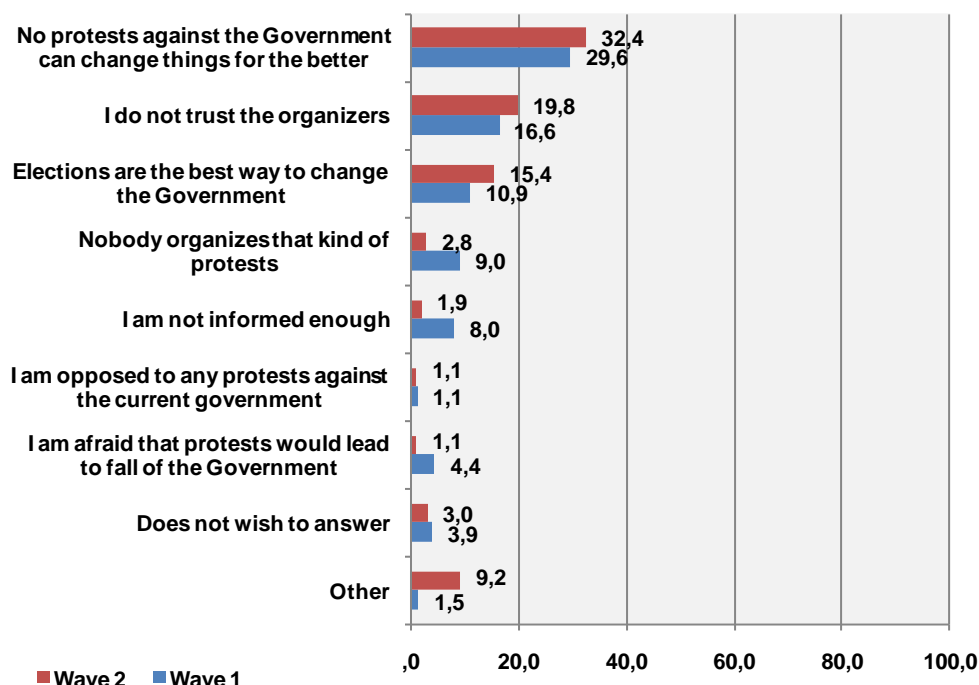
**Image 24: To what extent are you willing to take part in the following activities? Comparison by gender (Single response per item. Only the results for answer “Ready” are presented.)**





◀ **Respondents do not believe in the effects of protests and demonstrations.** The largest percentage of respondents that are not ready to participate in demonstrations or protests state it is so because they do not believe these activities would change things. The second reason is that they do not trust the organizers of such actions. The opinion that voting in the elections is the best way to change the government is mentioned by 15% of respondents.

**Image 24.1: Why wouldn't you be willing to consider take part in demonstrations and protests that could motivate authorities to solve some of the ongoing problems in BiH? Comparison by wave (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Compared to other ethnic groups, Croats state more often the opinion that the elections are the best way to change things (25%, in comparison to 15% of Serbs and 13% of Bosniaks). There are no other significant differences by ethnicity when it comes to this question.

Compared by gender, women state more often than men that they are not interested in politics (13% of women vs. 7% of men).

#### Summary:

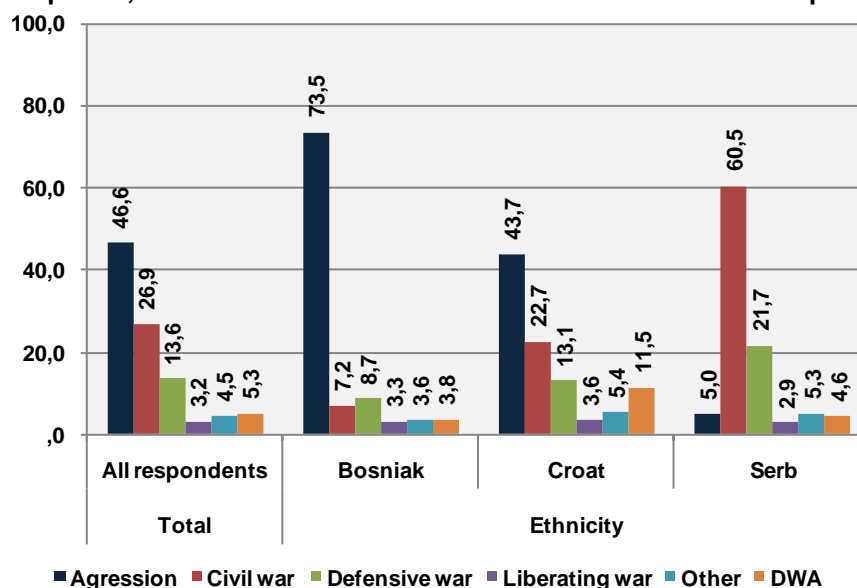
*Altogether, when it comes to social participation, respondents are not very active. Most of the respondents are willing to vote in the elections, but the majority of them are not considering to demonstrate, join a political party or citizens' action group. Lack of belief that they can affect the change and lack of confidence in organizers of citizens' actions are the major reasons for the lack of willingness to participate in such actions. One out of three respondents state they are willing to leave their country, which is in line with their passivity in the society. Only a small percentage of the respondents are ready to use force or violence in protests and demonstration. In addition, when it comes to social participation, significant differences were found between men and women, and between the respondents of different age.*

## SENTIMENTS ON WAR AND RECONCILIATION

Four years of war have left deep impact on citizens of B&H, 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.

◀ **Respondents' attitudes on nature of the war vary considerably.** Although the largest percentage of respondents describe the war in BiH as aggression, many respondents describe it as a civil war. Moreover, approximately 13% of respondents state it was a defensive war.

**Image 25: In your opinion, what was the nature of the BiH war 1992-1995? – Comparison by ethnicity**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Significant differences between major ethnic groups occur in regards to this question. Bosniaks describe the war as aggression more often than Croats and Serbs. In addition, Croats state this opinion more often than Serbs do. However, Croats also state more frequently than Bosniaks that it was a civil war. The majority of Serbs believe that this war was in fact a civil war, and they state this opinion more often than both Croats and Bosniaks. Serbs also define the war as a defensive war more frequently than Bosniaks do.

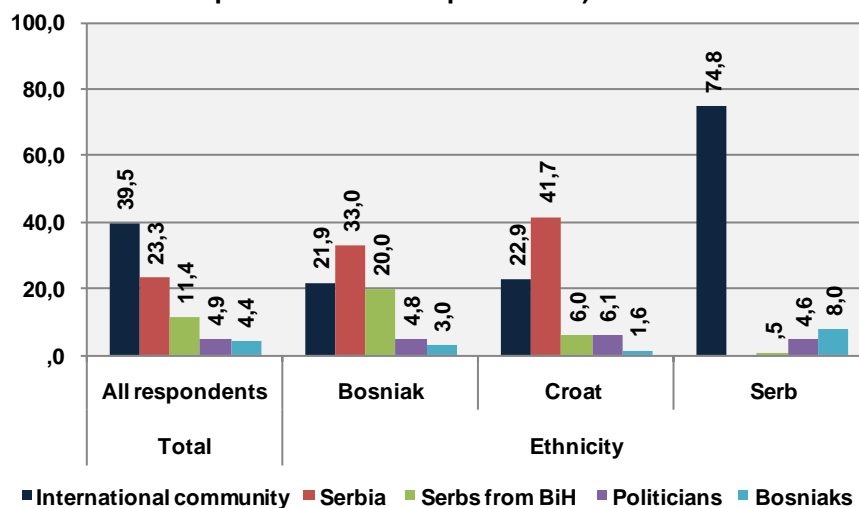
Considering respondents' age, no statistically significant differences between the age categories were found when it comes to this question.

**Image 26: In your opinion, what was the nature of the BiH war 1992-1995? – Comparison by age**

	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
Aggression	50,4	47,5	43,3	41,6
Defensive war	11,4	13,8	14,9	16,0
Liberating war	3,6	3,0	2,8	3,3
Civil War	25,3	26,8	28,8	27,4
Other	4,0	3,7	6,0	4,8
DWA	5,3	5,2	4,3	6,8

◀ In general, international community is held responsible for the war by the largest percentage of respondents, especially among Serbs. In total, almost 40% of respondents state that the international community is responsible for the war in BiH, followed by Serbia and Serbs from BiH. However, the answers vary significantly between three major ethnic groups.

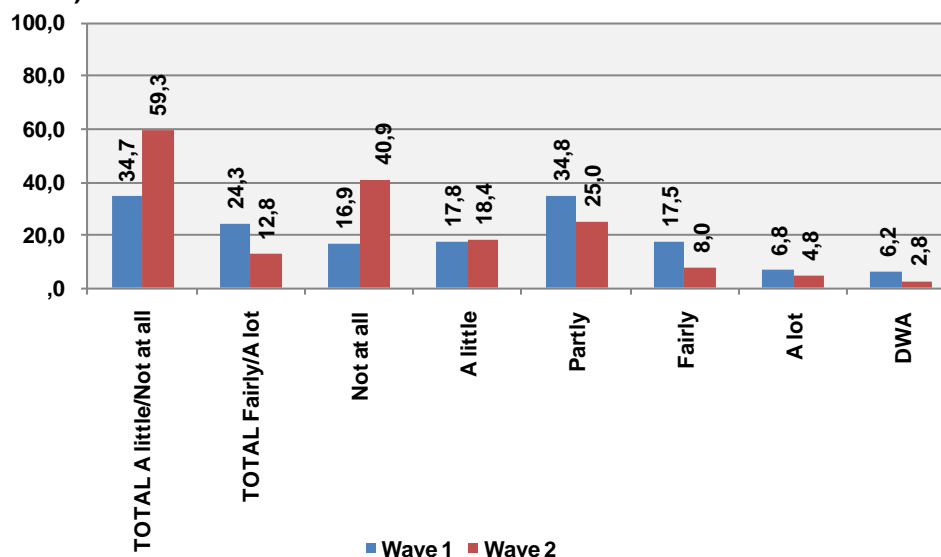
**Image 27: Who do you find mostly responsible for BiH war 1992-1995? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Different ethnic groups have different attitudes when it comes to responsibility for the war. Therefore, Bosniaks hold Serbs from BiH mostly responsible for the war more often than Croats do; and Serbs place responsibility on Bosniaks more often than Croats do. In addition, majority of Serbs state the international community as responsible for the war, more often than both Bosniaks and Croats do.

◀ In general, respondents do not feel that their ethnic groups are particularly threatened today. Almost 60% of respondents state that their ethnic group is not threatened or that it is threatened a little. A quarter of respondents state their ethnic group is partly threatened. In comparison to the previous wave of research, respondents state less often that they feel their ethnic group is threatened nowadays.

**Image 28: To what extent do you think that your ethnic group is threatened today in BiH? – Comparison by wave (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Croats feel their ethnic group is threatened in BiH more often than Bosniaks (20.3%, in comparison to 11.3%). Other differences between the major ethnic groups are not significant regarding this question.

Reasons why respondents perceive that their ethnic groups are threatened differ by ethnicity. For example, **Bosniaks** feel threatened mainly due to the economic and political situation in the country, but also due to attitudes of other ethnic groups towards Muslims (e.g. islamophobia). Bosniaks also state that all ethnic groups are threatened in this country. Another reason why they feel threatened is because other ethnic groups want to divide the state.

**Serbs** also mentioned they feel threatened due to the economic and political situation. However, they feel they do not have equal rights as other citizens of the country. They also perceive that they do not have the support of the international community. Another thing they mention in this context is that only the war crimes committed by Serbs are being processed.

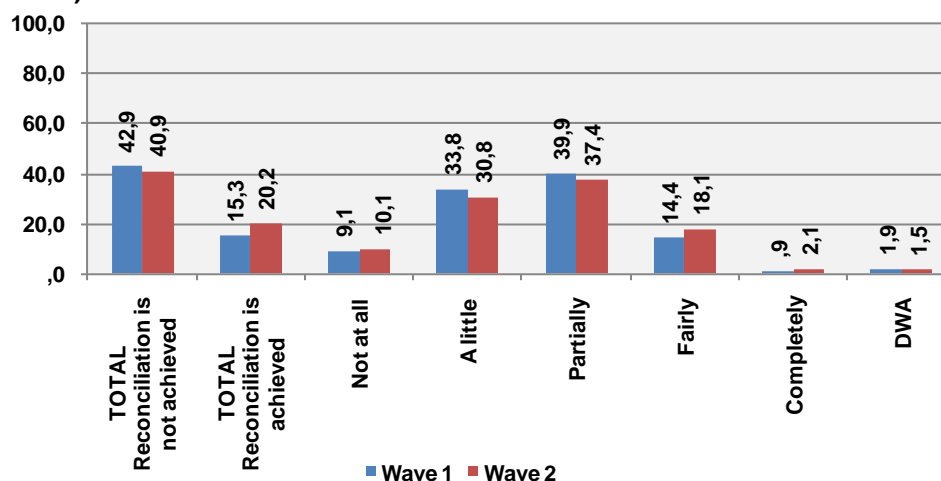
Unlike Bosniaks and Serbs, **Croats** feel threatened because they do not have their own entity. They state their rights are threatened because they are the smallest ethnic group. They also mention the economic and political situation. One of the specific reasons why this ethnic group feels threatened is because Bosniaks are able to influence the selection of their political representatives in the elections.

Considering respondents' gender, men state more often than women that their ethnic group is not threatened in BiH (63% of men vs. 56% of women).

Almost 20 years after the end of the war, ethnic tensions are still a topic that is being frequently discussed. Within the survey, respondents were asked questions in regards to this process – how they perceive the current state on this issue, what they think it needs to be done to end it successfully and how much time this process would take.

◀ **Many respondents do not believe that the reconciliation is achieved.** Approximately 20% of respondents believe that the reconciliation among the countries of former Yugoslavia is already achieved (answers „Completely“ and „Fairly“). Somewhat more than a third of respondents believe that the reconciliation is only partially achieved. Furthermore, 41% of respondents state that reconciliation was not achieved, or that it was achieved only in small portion. Comparing two waves of the research, it is notable that the respondents are more likely to state that the reconciliation was achieved in comparison to the first wave of the research.

**Image 29: To what extent do you think that there has been reconciliation in BiH and normalization of relations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, from the end of the war until now? – Comparison by wave**  
(Single response.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** When compared, Croats are more likely to state that the reconciliation is already achieved (32%), compared to both Bosniaks (19%) and Serbs (18%). On the other hand, Serbs are more likely to state the opposite view (47%), in comparison to Croats (31%), while the difference is not significantly different when it comes to Bosniaks (40%).

**Image 30: To what extent do you think that there has been reconciliation in BiH and normalization of relations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, from the end of the war until now? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response.)

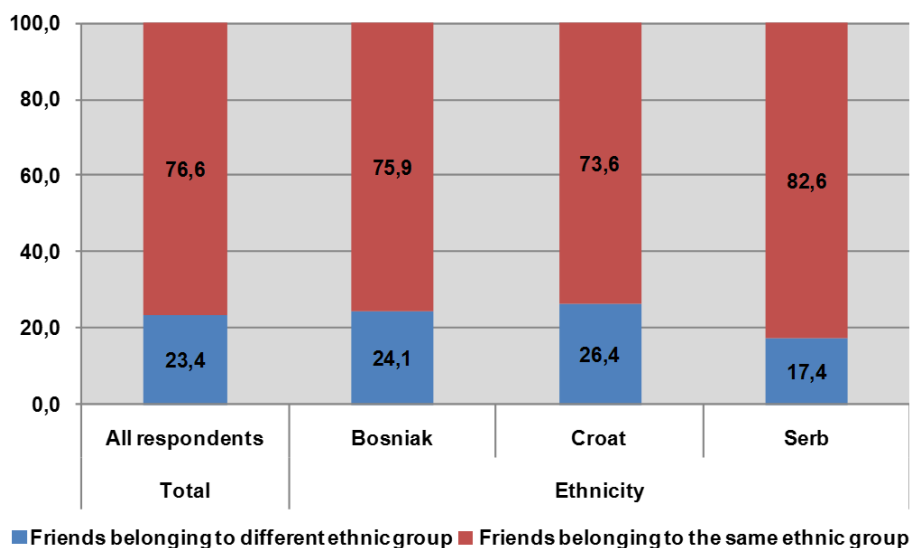
	Ethnicity		
	Bosniak	Croat	Serb
	%		
Not at all	9,7	3,7	12,5
A little	30,1	27,3	34,7
Partially	39,6	36,7	33,8
Fairly	16,8	27,7	16,3
Completely	2,1	4,1	1,4
DWA	1,7	,6	1,2

**Image 31: To what extent do you think that there has been reconciliation in BiH and normalization of relations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, from the end of the war until now? – Comparison by age**  
(Single response.)

	Age			
	18-35	36-50	51-65	66+
	%			
Not at all	13,5	9,4	9,0	5,9
A little	32,2	31,8	29,5	28,1
Partially	33,5	37,0	38,6	44,4
Fairly	16,4	18,9	19,8	17,8
Completely	2,6	2,6	1,3	1,1
DWA	1,9	,3	1,7	2,7

◀ Within the research, respondents were asked to state how many close friends they have, and how many of them belong to another ethnic group compared to their own. Close friendship was defined as persons outside their families that they get together with at least once a month. In general, the majority of people have close friends that belong to their own ethnic group. However, approximately one out of four friendships seem to be interethnic.

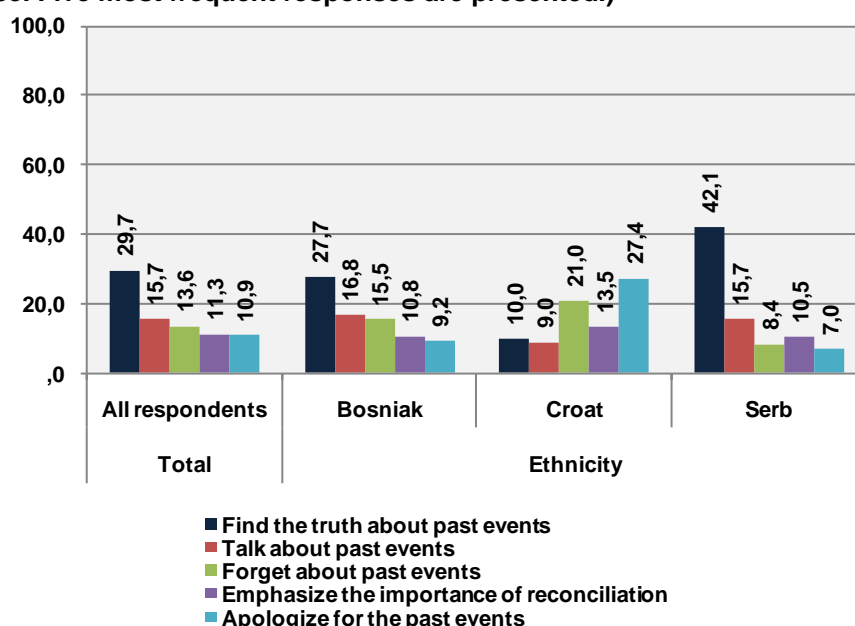
**Image 32: Percentage of interethnic friendships (blue color) in relation to total number of close friendships (red color) – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response per question.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Significant differences between Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats were not affirmed in regards to the number of interethnic friendships. However, respondents who declare themselves as Bosnians, Herzegovinians and of other ethnicity stated higher number of interethnic friendships compared to the three major ethnic groups in BiH.

◀ Although the views on preconditions for reconciliation are divided, finding the truth about the past conflict seems to be the most important. The largest percentage of respondents, somewhat more than a fourth, believe that finding the truth is necessary to achieve the reconciliation in BiH. Other respondents' attitudes are divided when it comes to this issue, between the necessity to talk about the past, or to forget about it, to apologize, or to emphasize the importance of reconciliation.

**Image 33: Thinking of the past events, do you think that in order for ethnic groups in BiH to reconcile they should...? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Five most frequent responses are presented.)



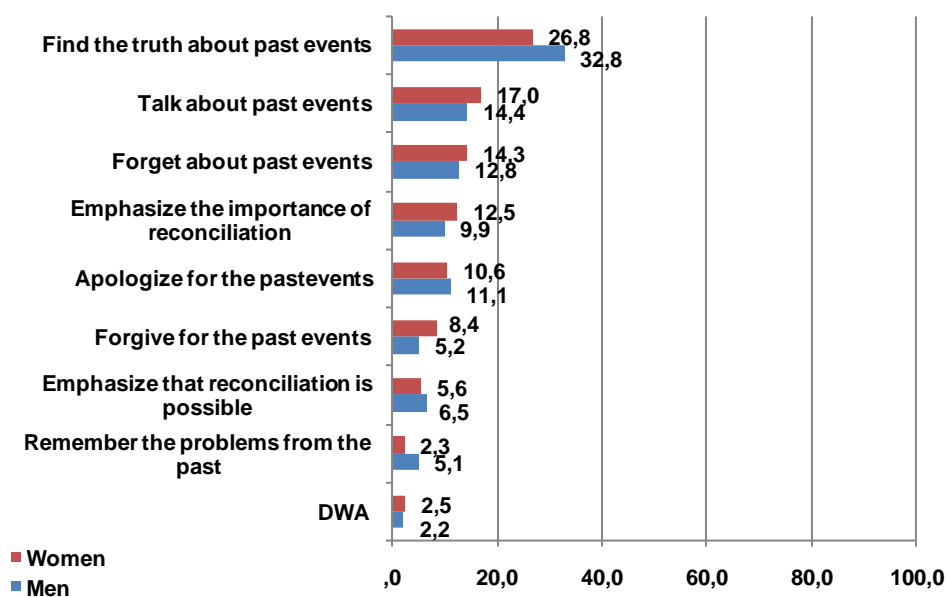
**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding this question, differences between the major ethnic groups can be affirmed. Opinions of Bosniaks are divided, but approximately a quarter believe that the most important thing for reconciliation is to find the truth about the past events. Somewhat less than half of Serbs share this opinion. On the other hand, although their opinions are also divided, the largest percentage of Croats believe that it is important to apologize for the past events in order to achieve reconciliation. The following statistically significant differences were found:

- Serbs are more likely to mention the truth as a necessary precondition for reconciliation in BiH, in comparison to both Bosniaks and Croats. In addition, Bosniaks mention the importance of the truth more often than Croats.
- Compared to Serbs, Bosniaks are more likely to state that it is important to remember the past events.
- Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that it is important to forget about the past events than Serbs. Croats are also more likely to think that people should forget about past events, in comparison to Bosniaks.
- Croats find apologizing more important than Bosniaks and Serbs do, when it comes to achieving the reconciliation.



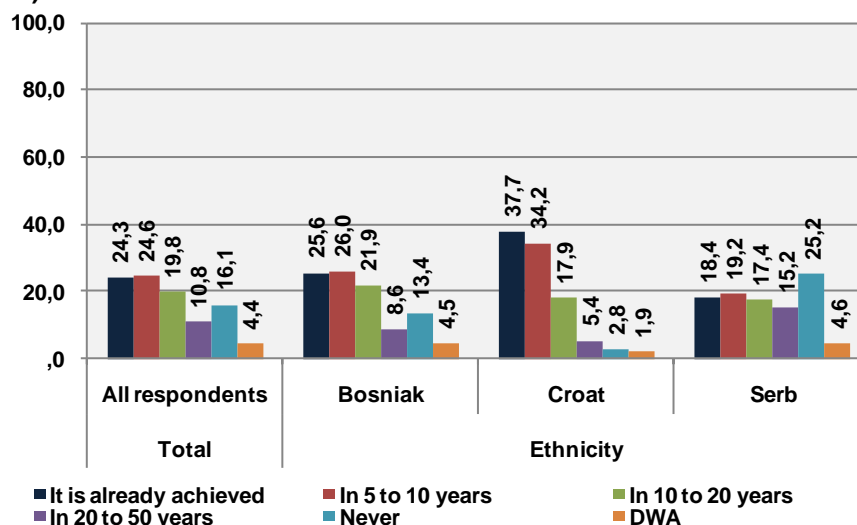
In addition, gender differences were affirmed regarding this question. Women are more likely to state that it is necessary to forgive for the past events in order to achieve the reconciliation, in comparison to men. On the other hand, men are more convinced than the women that it is necessary to find the truth and remember the past events.

**Image 34: Thinking of the past events, do you think that in order for ethnic groups in BiH to reconcile they should...? Comparison by gender (Single response.)**



◀ **Respondents' opinions are divided regarding the timeline of reconciliation.** Approximately a quarter of respondents believes that the reconciliation is already achieved. Other quarter believes that it would take 5 to 10 years to be achieved. On the contrary, approximately 16% of respondents believe that the reconciliation will never be achieved. The rest of the respondents believe that it would take more than 10 years.

**Image 35: In your opinion, reconciliation is possible...? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



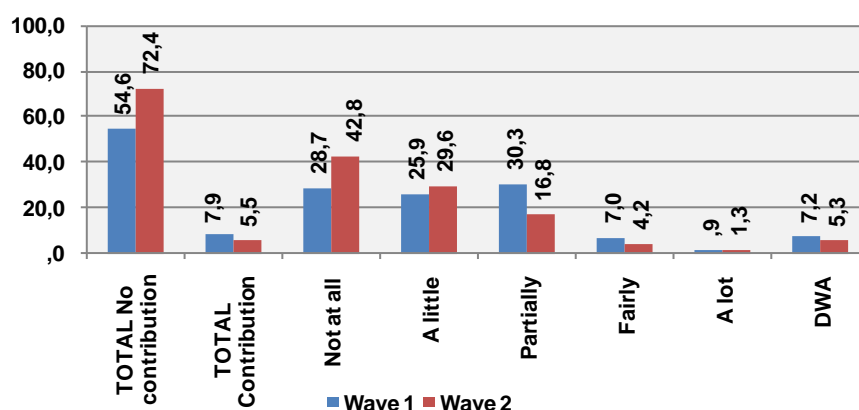
**Differences by ethnicity.** The following significant differences were affirmed regarding achievement of reconciliation:

- Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that the reconciliation is already achieved, in comparison to Serbs;
- Bosniaks and Serbs state more frequently than Croats that the reconciliation will never be achieved;
- Serbs state significantly more often than both Bosniaks and Croats that reconciliation will not be achieved, as well as that it would take another 20-50 years to reach this goal.

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).

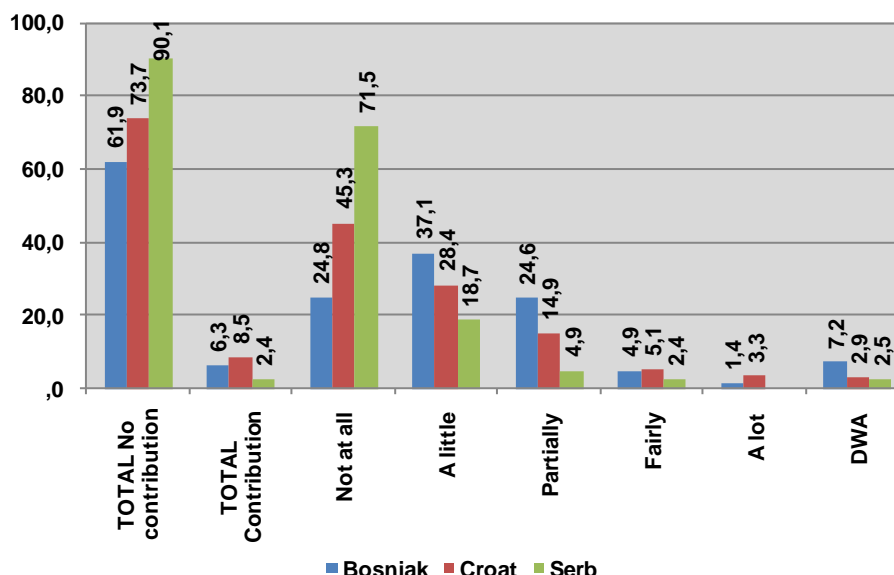
◀ **The majority of respondents do not perceive that ICTY has played an important role in reconciliation in the region.** The majority of respondents, almost three out of four, believe that ICTY has had a small contribution or no contribution at all when it comes to reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia region. Compared to the previous wave of research, respondents are more likely to state that ICTY has not contributed to reconciliation in the region.

**Image 36: In your opinion, to what extent has the ICTY contributed to reconciliation in the region of former Yugoslavia? – Comparison by wave**  
(Single response.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Serbs are more likely to state that ICTY did not contribute to the reconciliation process in the former Yugoslavia (90%), compared to both Bosniaks (62%) and Croats (74%). Other significant differences between ethnic categories were not affirmed when it comes to this question.

**Image 37: In your opinion, to what extent has the ICTY contributed to reconciliation in the region of former Yugoslavia? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



Summary:

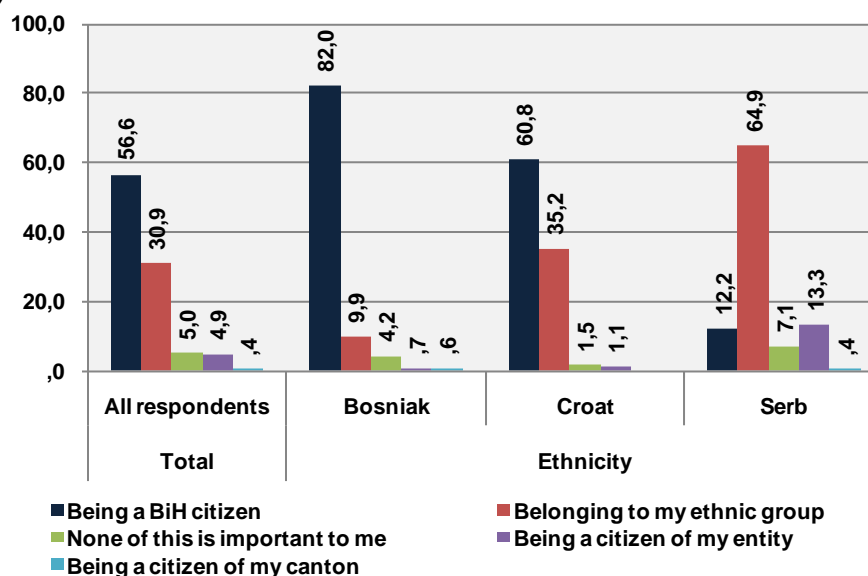
*Not many respondents feel that their ethnic group is threatened in BiH today. However, respondents are not convinced that the process of reconciliation in BiH and in region has been completed. Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that at least some progress has been made so far as regards this issue, compared to Serbs who doubt the success of reconciliation in this country and the region more. According to respondents, finding the truth about the past events is the most important precondition for the reconciliation. This is mentioned more often by men than by women, while women are more likely to state that forgiveness is important in comparison to men. However, Croats believe that it is also important to apologize for the past events. Respondents disagree when it comes to the question of when the ethnic groups in BiH would reconcile. Approximately one out of four respondents believe that the reconciliation already took place, and 16% believe it will never be achieved. In general, almost half of the respondents believe that the war in BiH was an aggression by its nature. However, Bosniaks share this opinion more often than other ethnic groups. Respondents do not agree who was responsible for the past war. The majority of Serbs hold the international community responsible for the war. Regarding the responsibility for the war, opinions of Bosniaks are divided between Serbia, Serbs from BiH and the international community. Most of Croats hold Serbia responsible for the war, but many also believe the international community is responsible. Respondents do not see the role of the ICTY in the reconciliation process as important.*

## 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. Research has shown so far that, probably for this reason, many people do not share the joint feeling of a BiH identity, but rather feel proud to be the citizens of their town or region, or members of their ethnic or religious groups.

◀ **In total, the identity of a BiH citizen seems to be the most important to the respondents, followed by their ethnic identity.** More than half of the respondents state that being a BiH citizen is the most important to them. However, one out of three respondents stress out the importance of their ethnic identity.

**Image 38: Which of the following you find the most important to you personally? - Comparison by ethnicity (Single response. Responses “Other” and “Does not know/Does not wish to answer” are not presented.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** While the majority of Bosniaks and Croats state that being a BiH citizen is the most important to them, for Serbs their ethnic identity is the most important. The following statistically significant differences between major ethnic groups were affirmed when it comes to this question:

- The identity of a BiH citizen is more important to Bosniaks than to both Croats and Serbs. It is also more important to Croats than to Serbs.
- Ethnic identity is more important to Serbs and Croats than to Bosniaks.
- Serbs stress out the importance of being citizens of their entity more often than Bosniaks and Croats do.

Compared by gender, men state more often than women that being citizens of their entities is important to them (6.5% of men vs. 3.4% of women). On the other hand, women state more often than men that none of the suggested identities are important for them (6.5% of women vs. 3.3% of men).

Summary:

*The issues of identity and belonging are still very complex in BiH society. It seems that being a BiH citizen is the most important identity for the majority of respondents. However, many Croats also find their ethnic identity important, as well as the majority of Serbs. Serbs also stress the importance of belonging to their entity.*

## FUTURE OF BiH

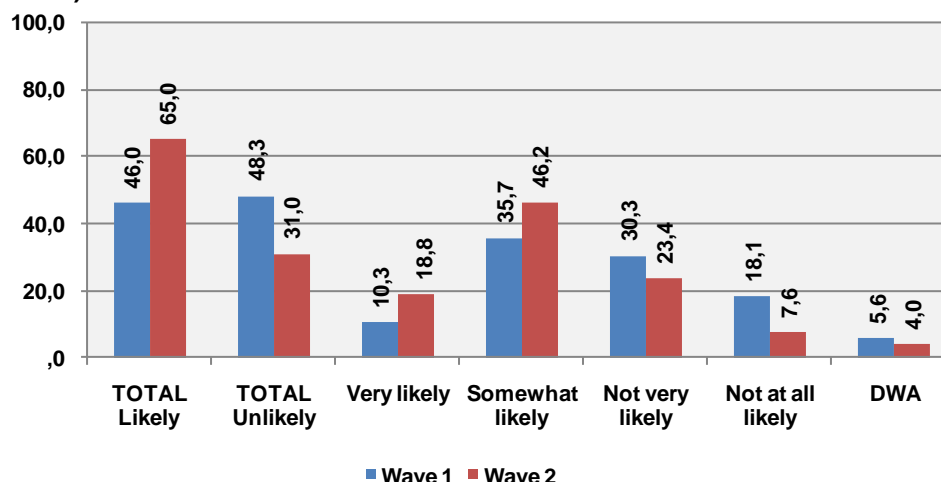
Different political parties in BiH have different visions of the future of this country. It seemed interesting to assess the views on the future of the country seen with the eyes of its citizens, as well as to explore their preferences about the future of BiH.

## ASSESSMENT OF POTENTIAL CONFLICTS

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

◀ **Many persons assess that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could cause some kind of social unrest.** Almost two out of three respondents believe that there is a possibility of social unrest in the country, as a consequence of a potential deterioration of the situation in general (answers „Very likely“ and „Somewhat likely“). Somewhat less than a third of the respondents express the opposite view, that the social unrest is unlikely in BiH. Compared to the previous wave of the research, this year respondents tend to predict social unrest more frequently.

**Image 39: Do you believe that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to some type of social unrest in BiH? - Comparison by wave**  
(Single response.)



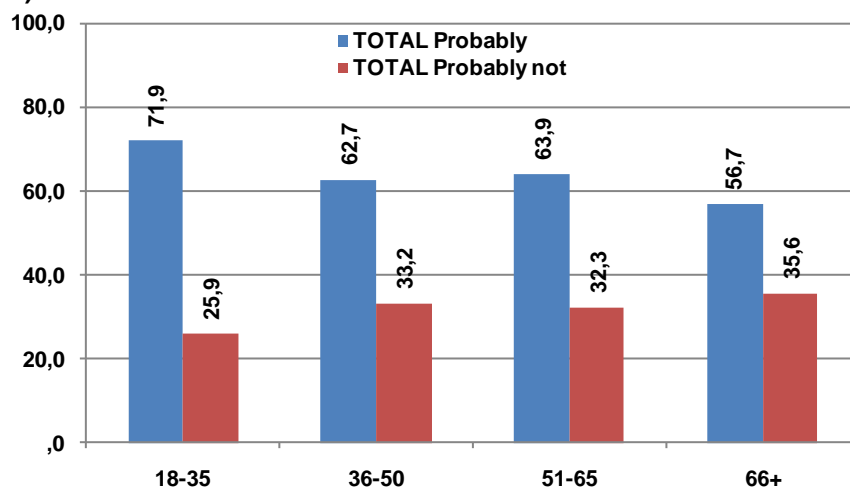
**Differences by ethnicity.** Bosniaks and Serbs state more often that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to some form of social unrest (67% and 71%, respectively), in comparison to Croats (42%).

In addition, the following categories predict the social unrest in BiH more often compared to others:

- respondents from urban areas (69%) compared to respondents from rural areas (62%);
- respondents with completed secondary education (67% with 4-year and 66% with 3-year high school education), college (75%) or university education (79%), in comparison to the respondents with lower level of education (51% of respondents with primary education) and those with no formal education (41%).

Moreover, men are more likely to state that future deterioration of the situation could lead to social unrest (68%), in comparison to women (63%). In addition, younger respondents state more often that future deterioration of the situation could lead to social unrest more often than older respondents.

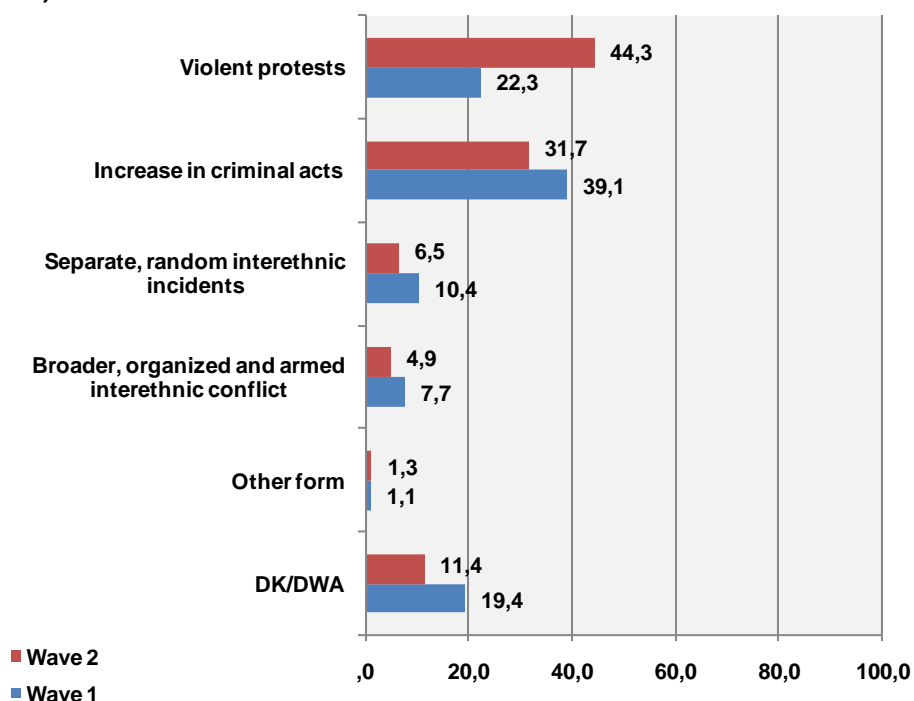
**Image 40: Do you believe that further deterioration of the situation in BiH could lead to some type of social unrest in BiH? - Comparison by age**  
(Single response.)





◀ According to respondents, violent protests, followed by the increase in criminal acts would be the most probable manifestations of the further deterioration of the situation in the country. Almost half of the respondents predict violent protests as a consequence of a worsened situation in BiH. Somewhat less than a third of the respondents predicts an increase in criminal acts when asked about the consequences. Moreover, respondents mention violent protests more often than it was the case in the previous wave of the research. They also mention all other forms of social unrest more frequently than in the previous research wave.

**Image 41: In your opinion, what form would such social unrest take? – Comparison by wave (Single response.)**



#### Differences by ethnicity.

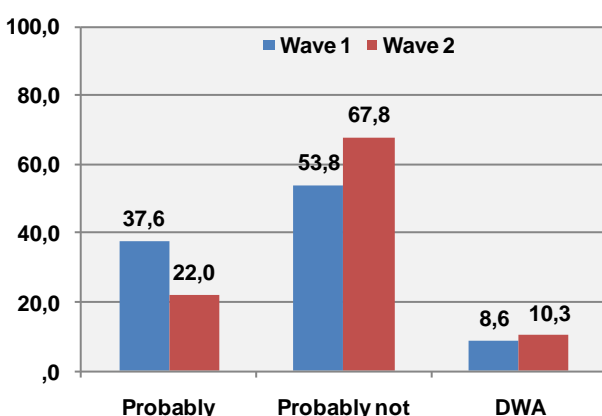
- Serbs state such social unrests could take the form of violent protests (49%) more often than Croats (36%).
- Croats state that it could form an increase in criminal acts (44%) more frequently than both Bosniaks and Serbs do (respectively 31% and 27%).

Moreover, the following categories predict social unrest in BiH more when compared:

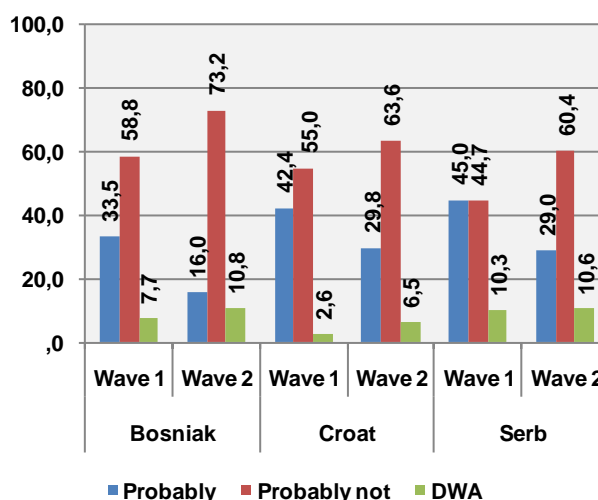
- respondents from RS (50%), in comparison to respondents from FBiH (39%),
- men compared to women when it comes to violent protests (48% vs. 41%),

◀ When asked about different scenarios, the majority of the respondents stated that they do not believe that BiH could breakup peacefully. Approximately two out of three respondents believe that such a breakup is impossible in the case of BiH. This view is expressed more often than in the previous wave of research. On the other hand, one out of five respondents hold the opposite attitude, that if it had to fall apart - BiH would probably breakup peacefully.

**Image 42: If BiH does eventually break apart, break apart, could it happen peacefully?**  
Comparison by wave  
(Single response.)



**Image 44: If BiH does eventually break apart, could it happen peacefully?**  
Comparison by ethnicity  
(Single response.)

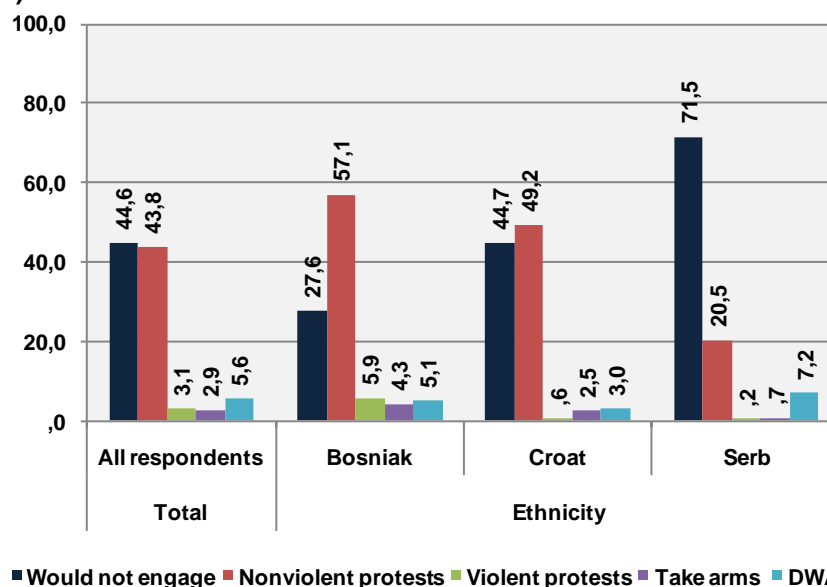


**Differences by ethnicity.** Serbs and Croats are more likely to state that BiH could breakup peacefully, in comparison to Bosniaks.

In addition, respondents from FBiH state that the peaceful breakup of BiH is unlikely (71%) more often than the respondents who reside in RS (61%).

◀ When it comes to safeguarding the integrity of BiH or preventing the secession of its territory, what can be expected from BiH citizens is either complete lack of engagement or engagement in nonviolent protests. Approximately 45% of respondents state they would not be engaged in any of these activities, while 44% state they would engage only in nonviolent protests. Respondents rarely state they would engage in violent protests or in armed conflicts.

**Image 43: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure the integrity of BiH or to prevent the secession of its territory? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**

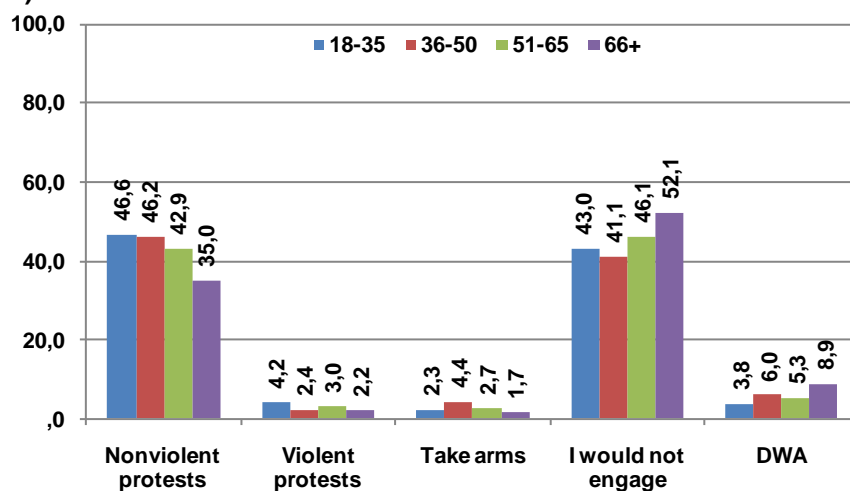


**Differences by ethnicity.** Bosniaks have stated that they would most likely be engaged in nonviolent protests, while answers of Croats are divided between total lack of engagement and nonviolent protests. The majority of Serbs state they would not engage in any of these actions. The following statistically significant differences between major ethnic groups were found regarding this issue:

- Bosniaks and Croats state more often than Serbs that they would engage in nonviolent protests;
- In comparison to Croats and Serbs, Bosniaks are more ready to participate in violent protests or take arms in such situation;
- Croats claim more often than Bosniaks that they would not take part in any of these activities;
- In comparison to both Bosniaks and Croats, Serbs state more often they would not participate in any of the aforementioned activities.

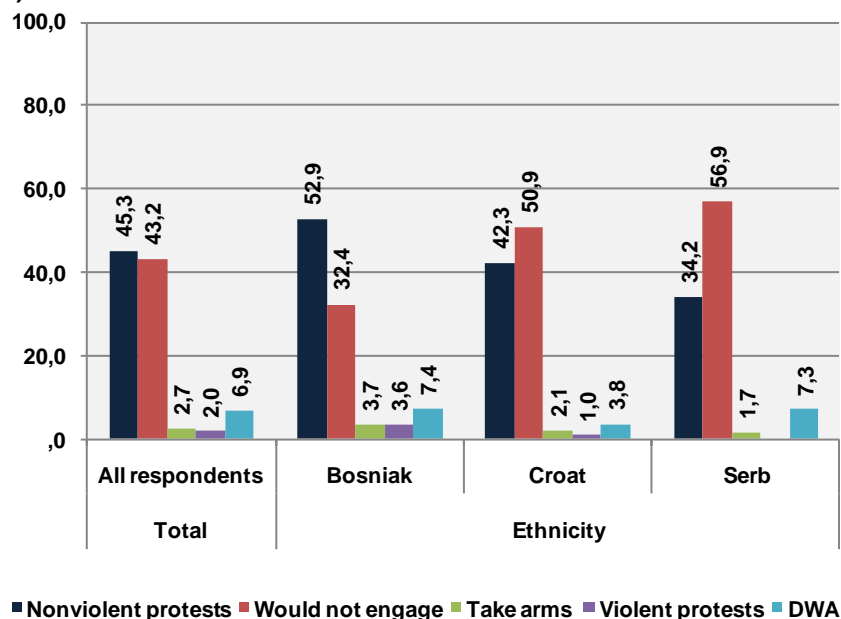
Although a significantly low percentage of respondents stated they would take arms in such situation, men are more likely to state this compared to women (5% of men vs. 1% of women). Regarding age, younger respondents are more likely to state they would participate in nonviolent protests in comparison to respondents older than 65 years of age. On the other hand, respondents older than 65 are more likely to state they would not engage in any action, in comparison to younger respondents.

**Image 44: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure the integrity of BiH or to prevent the secession of its territory? – Comparison by age (Single response.)**



◀ **The majority of respondents would not support the intentions for a secession of their territory through more than nonviolent protests.** Close to half of the respondents (45%) state they would participate in nonviolent protests to support the secession of the entity, canton or ethnic territory where their ethnic group is the majority. The majority of other respondents (43%) state they would not engage in any activities in this situation. Respondents rarely state they would participate in violent protests or take arms to support this kind of secession.

**Image 45: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure secession of entity, canton or ethnic territory where your ethnic groups is the majority? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**

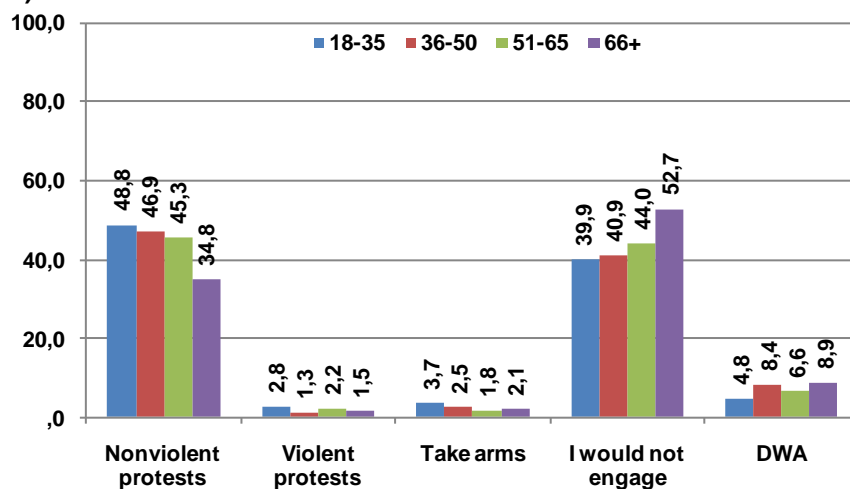


**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding this issue, half of Bosniaks state they would engage in nonviolent protests, and a third state they would not engage in any of these actions. Opinions of the Croats are divided between these two options, but a half of them state they would not engage at all. More than half of Serbs state they would not engage in any of the activities, whereas a third of them state they would participate in nonviolent protests. Serbs and Croats are less likely to engage and support the secession of entity, canton or an ethnic majority area, in comparison to Bosniaks. On the other hand, Bosniaks state more often than Serbs they would participate in nonviolent protests to support such goal.

Although a low percentage of respondents stated they would take arms in such situation, men are more likely to state this compared to women (5% of men vs. 1% of women). On the other hand, women state more often that they would not engage at all (47% of women vs. 39% of men).

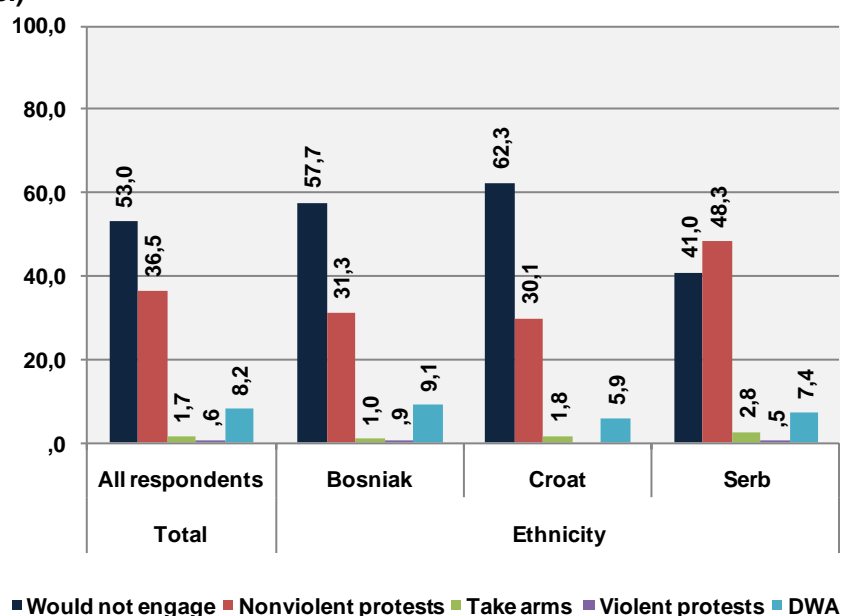
Regarding age, younger respondents are more likely to state they would participate in nonviolent protests in comparison to respondents older than 65 years of age. On the other hand, respondents older than 65 are more likely to state they would not engage in any action, in comparison to younger respondents.

**Image 46: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure secession of entity, canton or ethnic territory where your ethnic groups is the majority? – Comparison by age (Single response.)**



◀ The majority of respondents would not engage in efforts to protect the integrity of RS, canton or ethnic territory where their ethnic group is the majority. More than half of the respondents state they would not participate in such actions. Somewhat more than a third of them would be willing to participate in nonviolent protests.

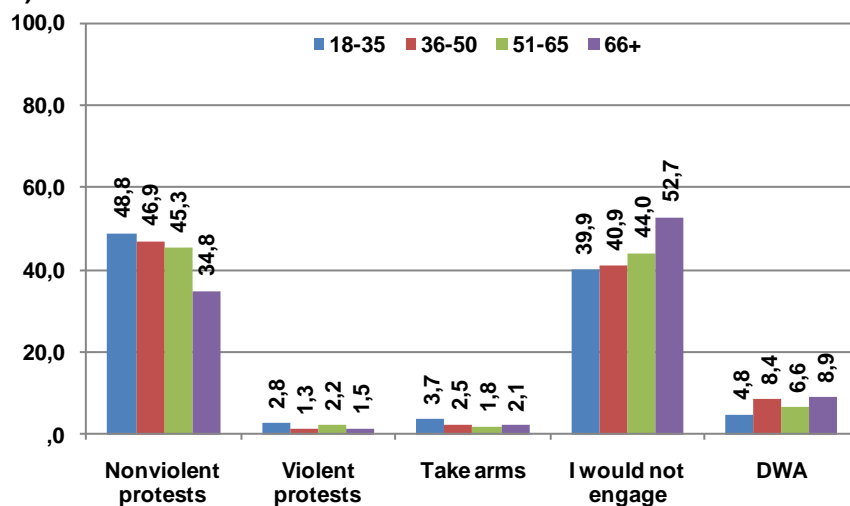
**Image 47: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure the integrity of Republika Srpska, canton or ethnic territory where your ethnic group is the majority? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** The majority of Bosniaks and Croats state they would not participate in any activities to ensure the integrity of RS, canton or territory where their ethnic group is majority. Opinions of Serbs are divided between refusal of participation and engagement in nonviolent protests. However, almost a half of Serbs state they would participate in nonviolent protests to support such actions. Bosniaks and Croats are less ready to participate in any of these actions, in comparison to Serbs. On the other hand, Serbs are more likely to participate in nonviolent protests for such a cause, in comparison to both Bosniaks and Croats.

Regarding age, younger respondents are more likely to state they would participate in nonviolent protests in comparison to respondents older than 65 years of age. On the other hand, respondents older than 65 are more likely to state they would not engage in any action, in comparison to younger respondents.

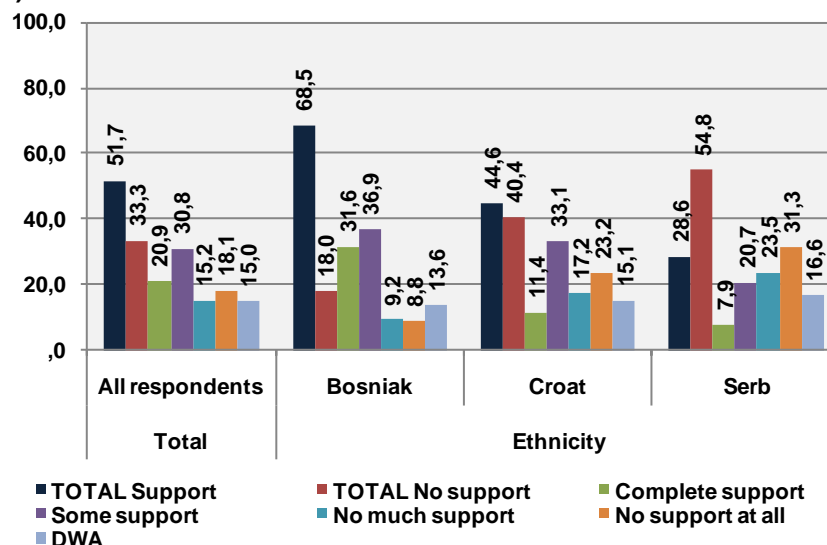
**Image 48: Which of the following actions would you be willing to take to ensure the integrity of Republika Srpska, canton or ethnic territory where your ethnic group is the majority? – Comparison by age**  
(Single response.)





◀ Many respondents seem to be willing to give more power to the state in certain domains if it meant they would get additioned power in some other domains. Approximately a half of the respondents state they would support strengthening the power of the State over the entities in certain domains, if it meant giving more power to the entities in other domains. Approximately one out of three respondents stated they would not support such deals.

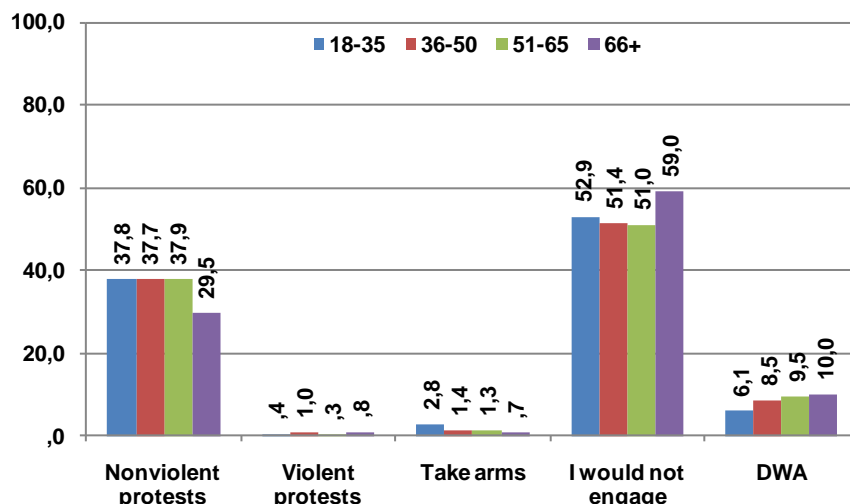
**Image 49: To what extent would you support the strengthening of the BiH state authority over the entities in certain domains, if it meant giving power to the entities in some other domains? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** The majority of Bosniaks state they are ready to give more power to the state in one domain if their entity would get more power in another domain. Attitudes of Croats are divided when it comes to this question, and more than half of Serbs would not support this. Bosniaks and Croats are more ready to support the exchange of the power between the State and entities under the given conditions, in comparison to Serbs. Bosniaks are also more ready to accept such an exchange in comparison to Croats. On the contrary, Serbs are more prone to state they would deny their support to such exchange.

Regarding age, younger respondents are more likely to state they would participate in nonviolent protests in comparison to respondents older than 65 years of age. On the other hand, respondents older than 65 are more likely to state they would not engage in any action, in comparison to younger respondents. However, the differences are not statistically significant.

**Image 50: To what extent would you support the strengthening of the BiH state authority over the entities in certain domains, if it meant giving power to the entities in some other domains? – Comparison by age (Single response.)**



**Summary:**

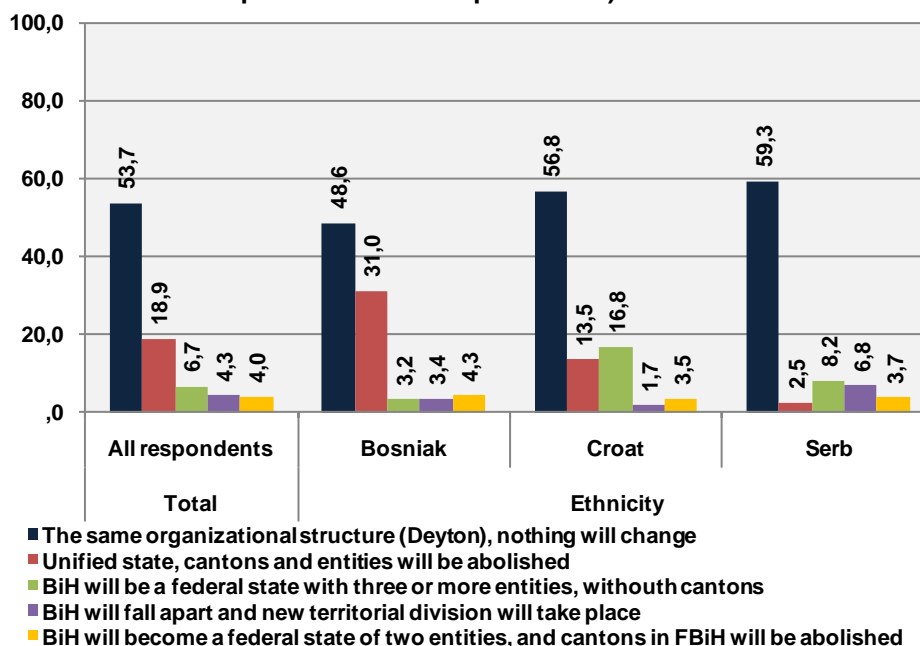
*In general, many respondents believe that if the deterioration of situation in BiH continues, it could cause social unrest, most likely in the form of violent protests and increase in criminal acts. Respondents do not believe that, if such situation comes to be, BiH could fall apart peacefully. However, when asked if they are ready to defend the integrity of BiH or the efforts for the secession of a part of the country, respondents state either they would not engage in such efforts or they would participate only in nonviolent protests.*

## FUTURE SCENARIOS

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

◀ **In general, many respondents do not believe that the organizational structure of BiH will change in the future.** Slightly more than half of the respondents state that no changes will take place. Almost one out of five respondents state that BiH will be a unified state without cantons or entities.

**Image 51: How do you see the future of BiH; what do you believe is most likely to happen? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



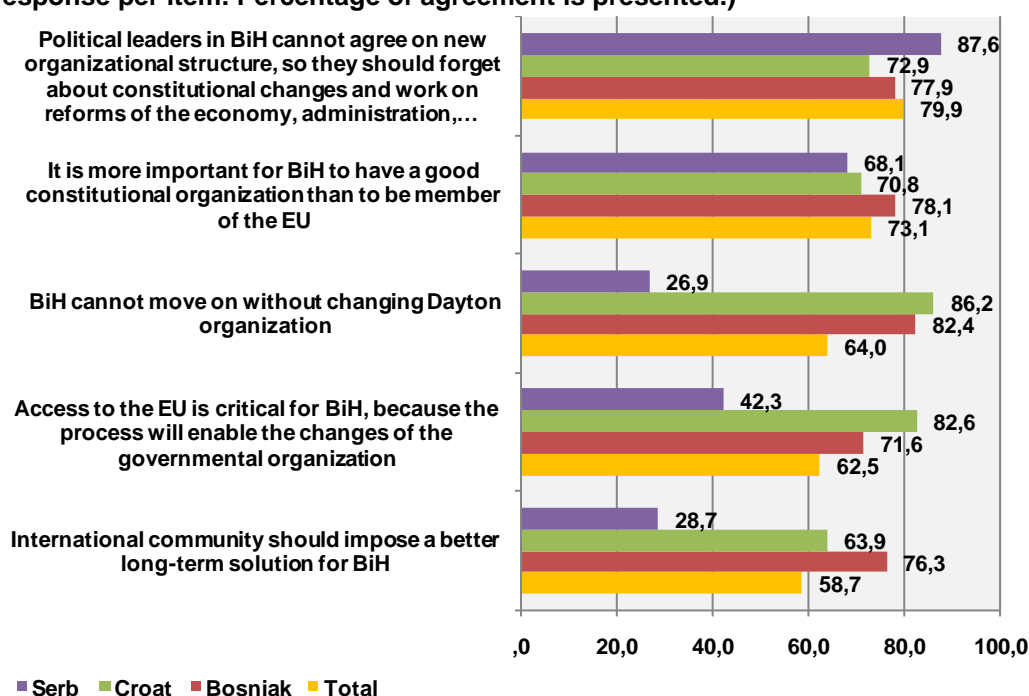
**Differences by ethnicity.** Although the largest percentage of each ethnic group state that they do not believe any changes would happen, many statistically significant differences between the major ethnic categories were affirmed regarding this question.

- Bosniaks state more often than both Serbs and Croats that they see the future BiH as a unified country, without cantons or entities. Croats state this opinion more often than Serbs.
- In comparison to Serbs and Bosniaks, Croats state more often that in the future BiH is most likely to be a federal state with three or more entities, without cantons.
- Compared to Bosniaks, Serbs are more convinced that in the future BiH would have the same organizational structure as it is now, as well as that it would become a federal state with several entities with no cantons.
- Serbs are more likely to state that BiH would fall apart and that new territorial division would take place, in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats.

Regarding this issue, women are more likely to say that nothing will change in the future in BiH (57%) in comparison to men (50%).

◀ According to respondents, elected leaders should focus on reforming the economy, administration and legislation, but set the constitutional changes as a priority ahead of EU membership. The majority of respondents agree that politicians should focus on reforming the economy, administration and legislation, since it seems that there is no agreement when it comes to a new constitutional organization. However, two out of three respondents are convinced that BiH cannot advance without the changes to the Constitution. The majority of respondents also agree that for BiH it is more important to have a good constitutional organization than to join the EU. However, since the politicians can't seem to reach an agreement, approximately two out of three respondents believe that BiH should first join the EU and then work on constitutional changes. Finally, more than half of the respondents expressed a view that the international community should impose a long-term solution for BiH.

**Image 52: Now we will read you some statements. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with them. – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response per item. Percentage of agreement is presented.)

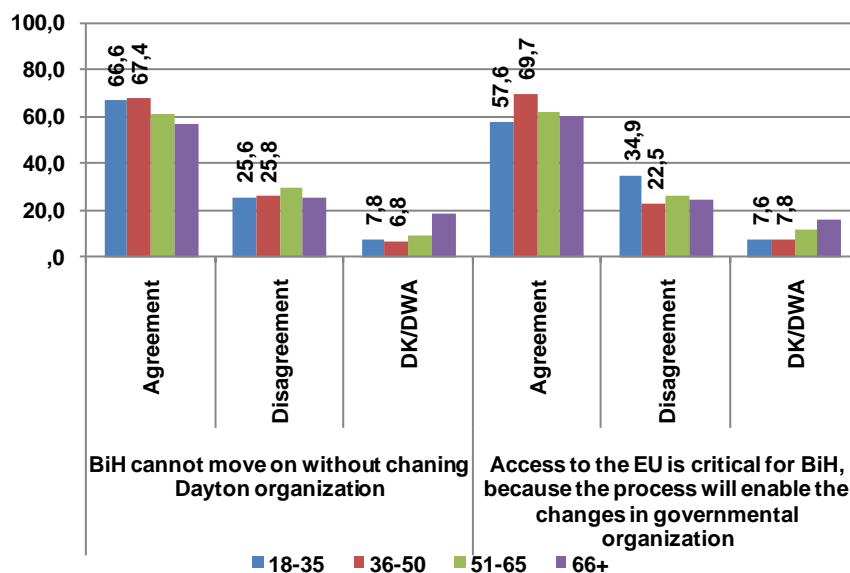


**Differences by ethnicity.** Opinions regarding these statements differ between the major ethnic groups.

- Bosniaks state more often than Serbs: that BiH cannot progress without the changes in the Dayton agreement; that a good constitution is more important than the EU membership; that accession to the EU is crucial for BiH because it would enable the constitutional changes. Bosniaks agree more often than Croats and, especially Serbs with the statement that the international community should impose a better long-term solution for BiH.
- In comparison to Bosniaks and Croats, Serbs are more likely to state that political leaders should focus on the reforms of the economy, administration and legislation since they cannot come to an agreement in regards to new organization of BiH.
- Croats state more often than Bosniaks and Serbs that joining the EU is crucial for BiH because it would enable the necessary constitutional changes.

Furthermore, younger respondents (up to 35 years of age) tend to disagree more frequently that joining the EU could change the organizational structure of the country, compared to older respondents.

**Image 53: Now we will read you some statements. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with them. – Comparison by age**  
(Single response per item. Only the items where statistically significant differences were affirmed are presented.)



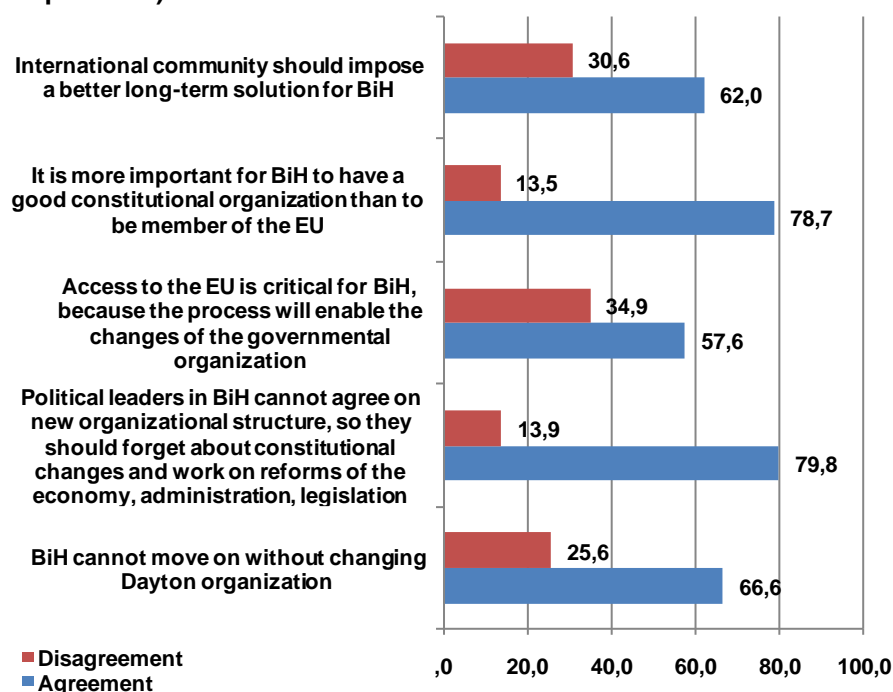
Disaggregated by gender, it is observable that men are more likely to state that it is more important for BiH to have a good constitutional structure than to become an EU member, in comparison to women (18% of men vs. 14% of women).

Observing the attitudes of youth (respondents that are 18-35 years old), it is notable that the majority of youth agree that:

- political leaders in BiH should focus on reforms of economy, administration, legislation, etc., since they cannot agree on new organizational structure of the country;
- it is more important for BiH to have a good constitutional organization than to be member of the EU;
- BiH cannot move on without changing Dayton organization;
- International community in BiH should impose a better long-term solution for this country.

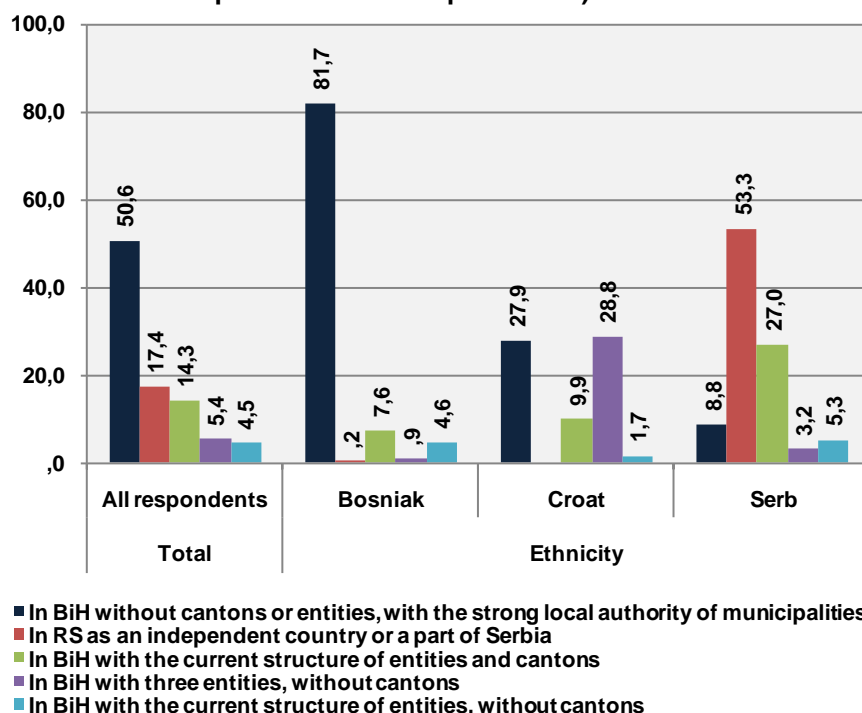
Moreover, somewhat more than half of the youth agree that access to the EU is critical for BiH, because it could enable the changes of governmental organization.

**Image 54: Now we will read you some statements. Please indicate if you agree or disagree with them. – Responses of youth  
(Single response per item.)**



◀ On average, respondents would like to live in a unified country with the strong authority of municipalities, however when compared by ethnicity, responses vary. A half of the respondents state they would like to live in BiH without cantons or entities, with the strong local authorities. Responses of other respondents are divided, mostly between RS as an independent country and BiH with the current structure of entities and cantons.

**Image 55: Irrespective of what you think is realistic or not, in what kind of country would you most wish to live in? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Opinions of different ethnic groups vary significantly regarding this question. The majority of Bosniaks would like to live in a unified country without entities or cantons. Croats support this solution as much as the solution with three entities, without cantons. On the contrary, the majority of Serbs prefer to live in an independent RS or in RS as a part of Serbia. In addition:

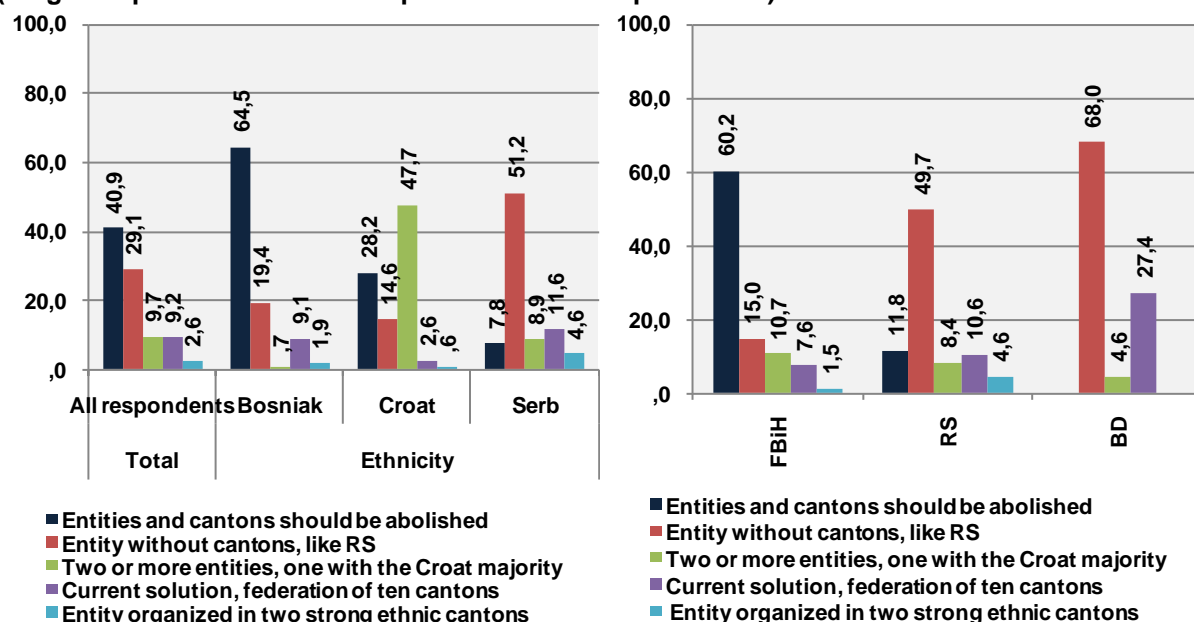
- Serbs state they would like to live in BiH with current structure of entities and cantons more often than Bosniaks and Croats;
- Croats state more often than Bosniaks and Serbs they would like to live in a country with three entities, without cantons;
- In comparison to Serbs and Croats, the majority of Bosniaks state they would like to live in a unified BiH without cantons or entities, with the strong local authorities.

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

◀ **Regarding the organization of the FBiH, the most popular solutions include abolishing entities and/or cantons.** 40% of respondents state that it would be the best if entities and cantons in FBiH were abolished. Almost 30% of respondents believe the entities should be kept, but that the cantons should be abolished. Attitudes of other respondents are divided between the necessity to have an entity for Croats, the current solution and few other solutions.

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

(Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



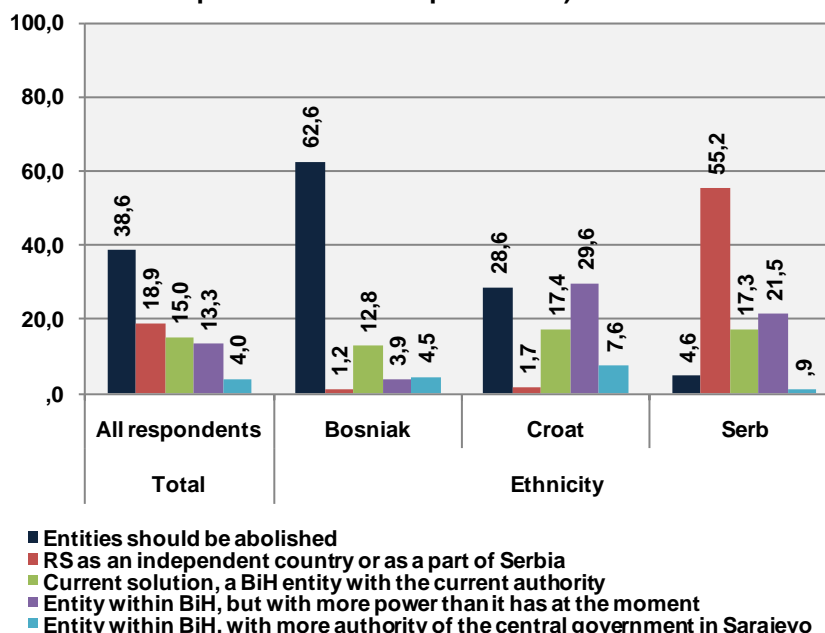
**Differences by ethnicity.** Attitudes of the three major ethnic groups differ significantly when it comes to the organization of FBiH. The majority of Bosniaks believe that entities and cantons should be abolished. Almost half of Croats state that the right solution for FBiH is to have two or more entities, one of which would be a Croat majority area. Half of Serbs believe that FBiH should be an entity without cantons. The following significant differences between major ethnic groups were affirmed regarding this question:

- Bosniaks and Serbs support the current organization of FBiH more often than Croats;
- Bosniaks and Croats support abolishing the entities and cantons more often than Serbs do;
- Serbs support the solution of the entity without cantons more frequently than both Bosniaks and Croats;
- Bosniaks older than 65 are more likely to accept that FBiH should be an entity without cantons, in comparison to younger Bosniaks;
- Serbs are more likely to support the solution of two or more entities and one with Croat majority, and an entity organized into two ethnic cantons, in comparison to Bosniaks;
- In comparison to Bosniaks and Serbs, Croats are more likely to support the solution with two or more entities and one of them with the Croat majority.



◀ Similarly as in FBiH, the most popular solutions for RS include abolishing this entity; other popular solution is for it to be an independent country or part of Serbia. Somewhat more than a third of the respondents believe that entities should be abolished. On the other hand, more than 20% of respondents state that RS should be an independent country, or a part of Serbia.

**Image 57: In your opinion what is the right solution for the Republika Srpska? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Regarding the RS, the majority of Bosniaks believe that this entity should be abolished. Opinions of Croats are divided between the abolishment and status of an entity with more power. The majority of Serbs prefer to live in RS that is an independent country. The following attitudes of the three major ethnic groups differ significantly when it comes to the organization of RS:

- Compared to Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats are more likely to state that RS should be an entity within BiH, but with more power than it has now;
- Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that RS should be an independent country or a part of Serbia;
- Bosniaks and Croats state more frequently than Serbs that RS should be an entity within BiH, but with more authority of the central government in Sarajevo;
- In comparison to Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to state that both entities in BiH should be abolished. Bosniaks also state this opinion more frequently than Croats.

Summary:

*Altogether, respondents are not convinced that the organizational structure of BiH will change in the future, because the politicians cannot come to an agreement on this issue. Thus, according to respondents, leaders should focus more on reforms. When it comes to the respondents' wishes regarding the organization of the country, they are quite different among the representatives of different ethnic groups:*

*Bosniaks would like to live in a unified country, without entities or cantons; Croats also find this solution acceptable, as much as the solution where they would have their own entity; on the other hand, Serbs would prefer to live in an independent RS or in RS as a part of Serbia. According to the total of responses, the most popular future scenarios for FBiH include abolishing entities and/or cantons, and for RS, either to abolish this entity, or to make it an independent country or part of Serbia.*

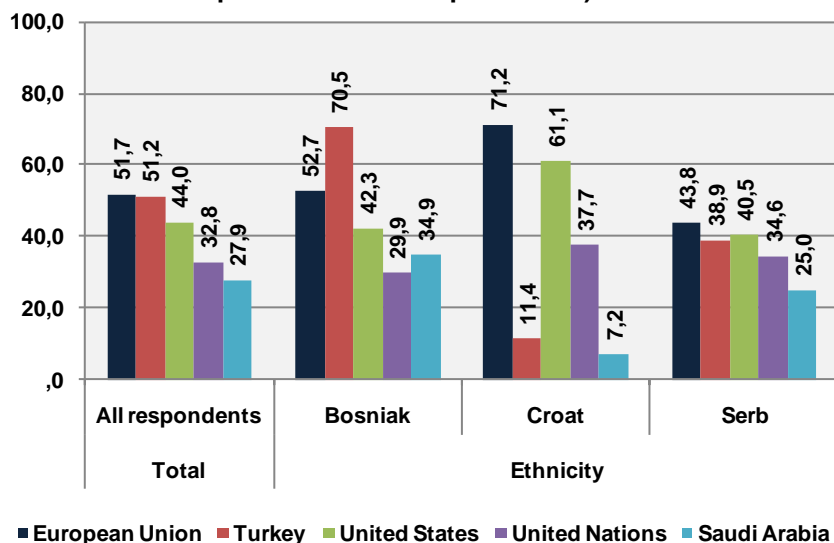
## ROLE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

The international community has played an important role in BiH during the war. Their engagement in BiH has continued to this very day. This survey explored how the citizens of BiH view the future role of the international community in their country.

◀ **According to respondents, the European Union and Turkey provide most of the financial aid for BiH.** Somewhat more than half of the respondents mention both EU and Turkey in this context. They are followed by the United States, United Nations and Saudi Arabia.

**Image 58: Which countries and organizations you believe provide the majority of financial aid for BiH? - Comparison by ethnicity**

(Multiple response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Perceptions of the major ethnic groups in BiH differ significantly regarding the provision of financial aid.

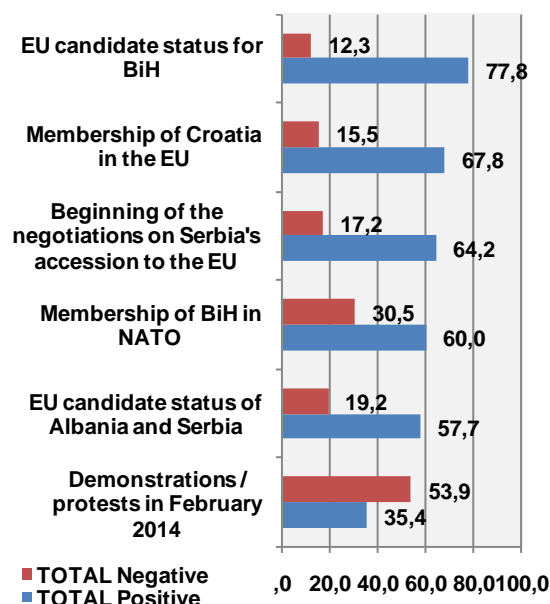
- Bosniaks are more likely to state that Turkey and Saudi Arabia provide most of the financial aid, in comparison to Serbs and Croats. They are also more likely to claim that the European Union provides most of the aid, in comparison to Serbs.
- Croats mention financial aid from the United States, European Union and Croatia more often than Bosniaks and Serbs do.
- Serbs perceive that Russia and Serbia provide most of the financial aid for BiH, more frequently than both Bosniaks and Croats.
- Compared to Croats, Serbs are more likely to mention financial aid from Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

◀ **Citizens of BiH hold positive attitudes towards the events connected to collaboration with the international community in the region.** Respondents believe that attaining EU candidate status and membership in NATO would affect them positively. They also predict positive consequences of the EU negotiations and memberships of neighboring countries in the EU. However, they perceive the negative consequences of demonstrations and protests that took place in February 2014.

**Image 59. What is the influence of the following events on you and your environment?**

**Total**

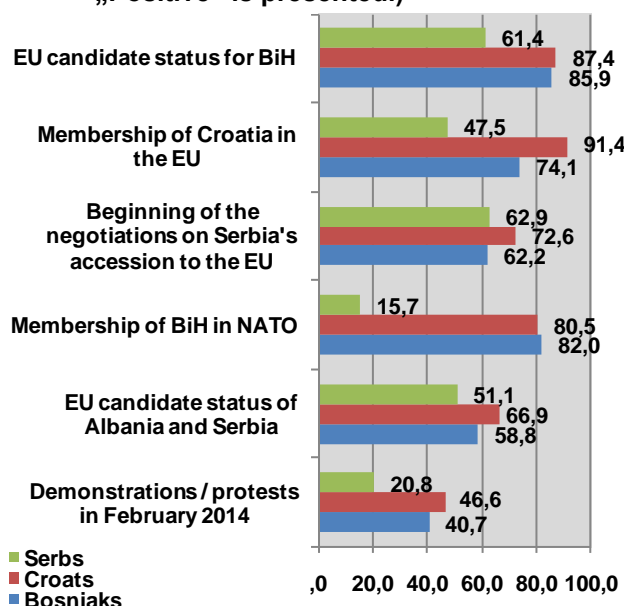
**(Single response per item.)**



**Image 60. What is the influence of the following events on you and your environment?**

**Comparison by ethnicity**

**(Single response per item. Only answer „Positive“ is presented.)**



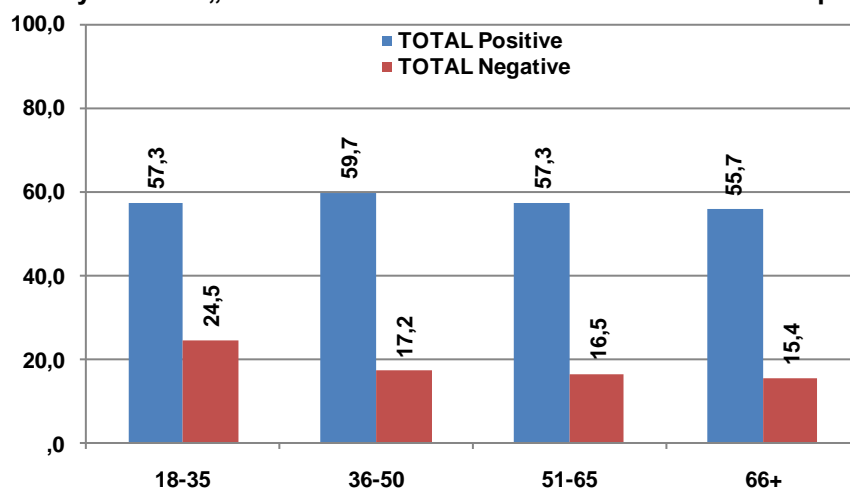
**Differences by ethnicity.** Predictions of the major ethnic groups differ in regards to these events.

- In comparison to Serbs, Croats are more likely to describe all the aforementioned events as positive for them and their environment.
- Bosniaks are more likely to describe all these events as positive compared to Serbs, with the exception of Serbia's negotiations on the EU accession where significant difference was not affirmed.
- Bosniaks and Croats emphasize positive effects of NATO membership more often than Serbs.
- Serbs are more likely to perceive negative effects of all these events, compared to both Bosniaks and Croats.

Differences by gender and age were found only regarding one statement: EU candidate status of Albania and Serbia. Younger respondents (up to 35 years of age) are more likely to state that the EU candidate status of Albania and Serbia would affect them negatively, in comparison to the older respondents. In addition, compared to women, men are more likely to state that the EU candidate status of Albania and Serbia would affect them positively (61% of men vs. 55% of women).

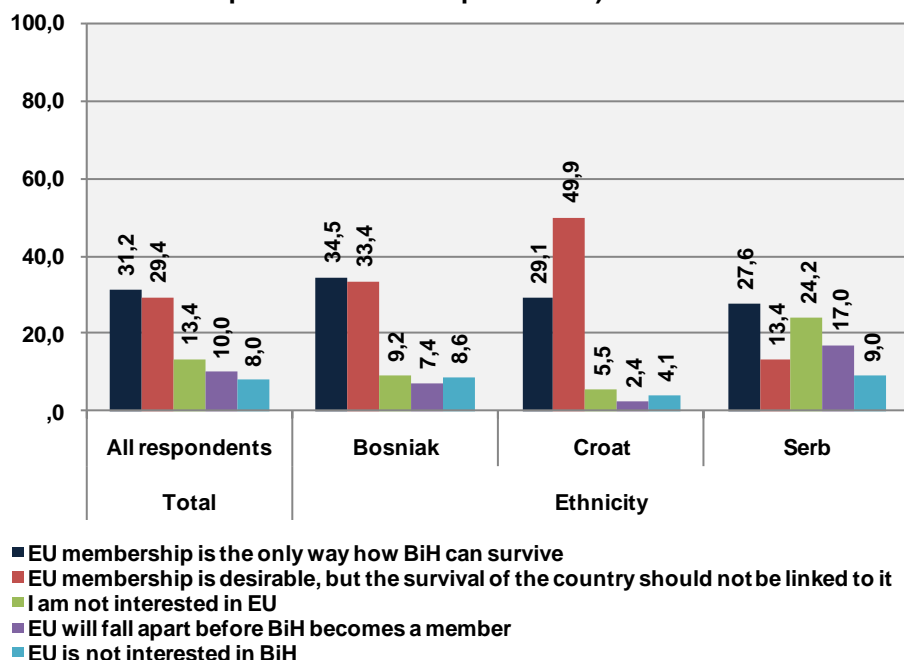
**Image 61. What is the influence of the following events on you and your environment? Comparison by age**

(Single response. Only the item „EU candidate status for Albania and Serbia“ is presented.)



◀ **Respondents' opinions are divided concerning the EU membership.** Almost a third of respondents state that EU membership is the only way for this country to survive. Slightly less than a third of respondents believe that the survival of the country should not be linked to EU membership, although membership is preferable. Other respondents state that they are not interested in the EU, that the EU is not interested in BiH, or that EU will fall apart before BiH will become a member.

**Image 62: How do you feel about BiH and EU? – Comparison by ethnicity**  
(Single response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



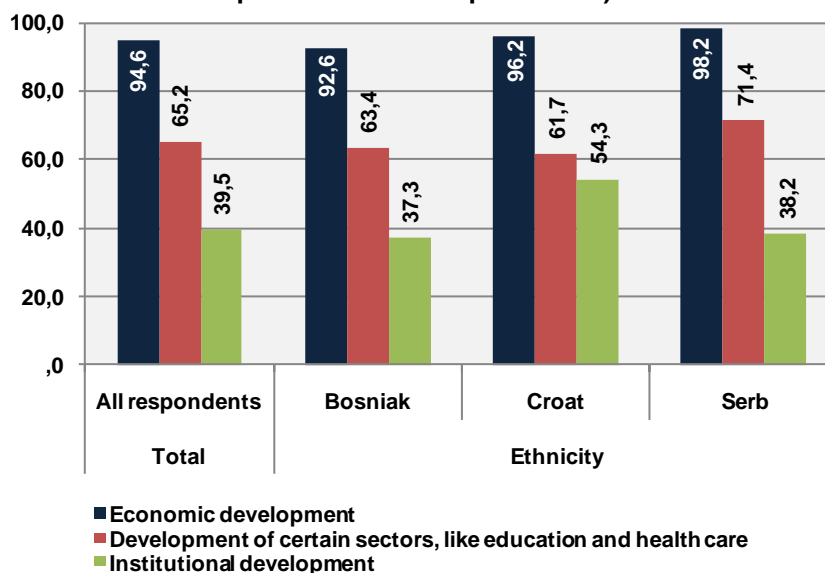
**Differences by ethnicity.** Attitudes of Bosniaks are divided on this matter; a third of them believe that the EU is the only way for BiH to survive, and another third believes that the membership is preferable but that the survival of the country should not be linked to it. A half of Croats believe that EU membership is preferable, but the survival of BiH should not depend on it. Opinions of Serbs are divided between the attitude that BiH can survive only as a part of the EU, and the attitude of no interest in the EU. As noted, major ethnic groups differ regarding the attitudes towards the EU.

- In comparison to Serbs, Bosniaks are more likely to state that EU membership is preferable, but that the survival of the country should not depend on it. Croats state this opinion more frequently compared to both Serbs and Bosniaks.
- Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that the EU will fall apart before BiH joins, and that they are not interested in the EU. They also state more often than Bosniaks that national interests are more important than the EU membership.

◀ Respondents agree that economic development should be the priority of the international community in BiH. A vast majority of respondents state this opinion, followed by development of specific sectors (like education, health care, social sector, etc.), as well as by institutional development.

**Image 63: In your opinion, what are the three most important priorities of the international community in BiH? – Comparison by ethnicity**

(Multiple response. Three most frequent answers are presented.)



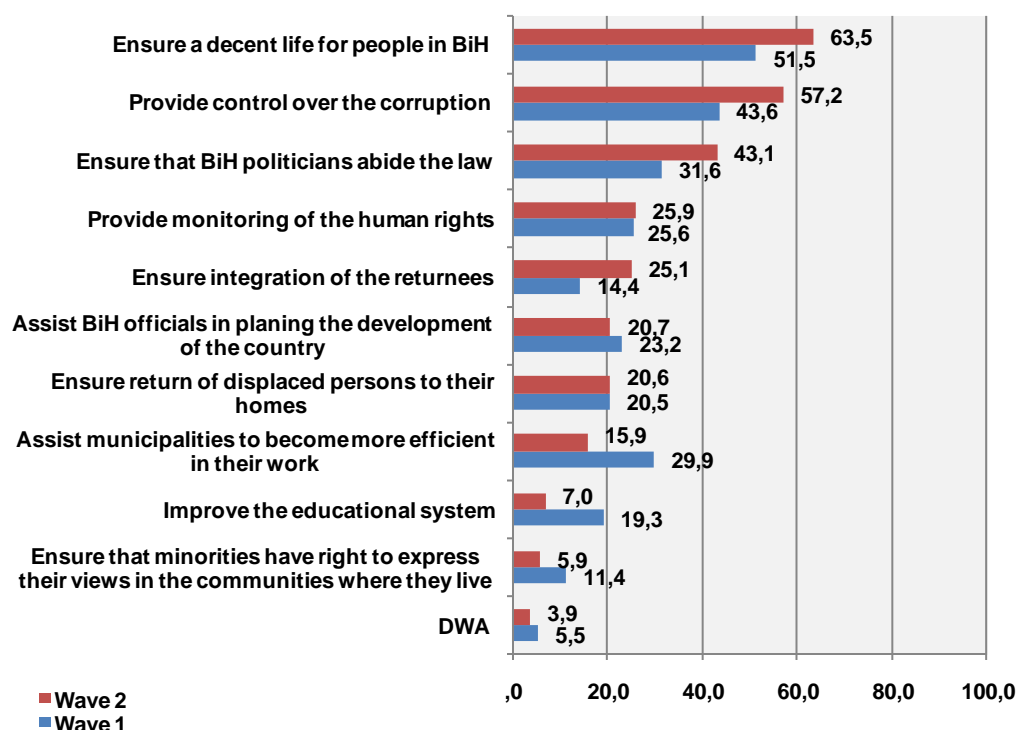
**Differences by ethnicity.** Although the opinions of the major ethnic groups are similar in regards to this issue, many significant differences were affirmed when it comes to the engagement of the international community.

- In comparison to Bosniaks, Serbs stress economic development and development of specific sectors slightly more as priorities of the international community in BiH.
- Croats mention development of institutions as a priority of the international community more often than both Bosniaks and Serbs do.
- Together with Bosniaks, Croats stress more often the importance of support of the international community when it comes to changes on the Constitution, in comparison to Serbs.
- Serbs mention reconciliation and uncovering the truth more often than Bosniaks and Croats do. Bosniaks also find that this is a priority more frequently than Croats do.
- Compared to Bosniaks and Croats, Serbs are more likely to set the removal of radical politics as a priority of the international community in BiH.

Regarding gender, only one significant difference was found, men state more often than women that elimination of political radicalism and finding a solution for this country should be a priority of the international community (25.1% of men vs. 19.1% of women).

◀ Respondents state that the UN should be working on solving major problems in the country: the economy, corruption and the behavior of the politicians. Two out of three respondents state that the mission of the UN should be focused on ensuring a decent life for BiH citizens. Somewhat more than half of the respondents emphasize the importance of the support of UN in the fight against corruption. In addition, somewhat less than half of them mention ensuring that politicians obey the laws as an important role of the UN in this country. In comparison to the first wave of research, respondents state more often that the mission of the UN should be focused on ensuring a decent life for BiH citizens, fight against corruption, ensuring that politicians obey the laws, as well as making sure that returnees are re-integrated into society.

**Image 64: In your opinion, what should be the role of the United Nations in BiH? – Comparison by wave**  
(Multiple response.)



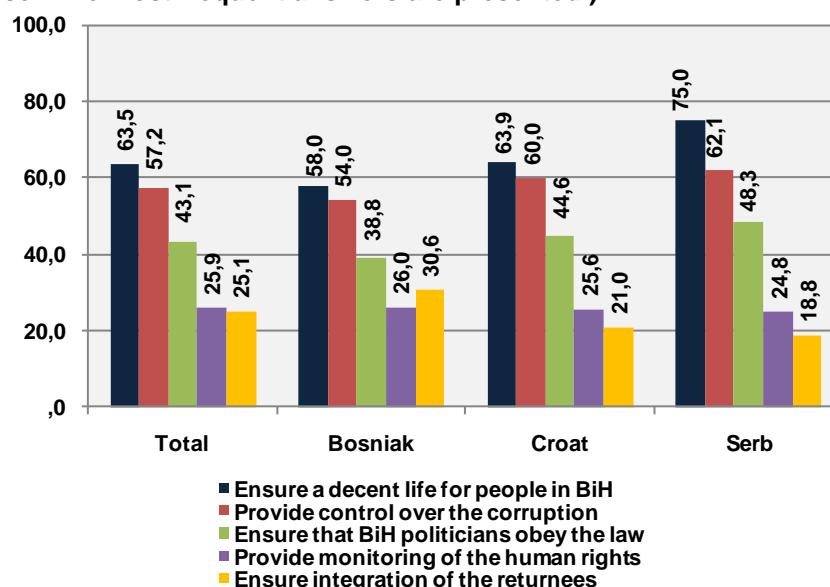


**Differences by ethnicity.** For each major ethnic group in BiH, ensuring a decent life for people in BiH should be the major priority of the UN, according to respondents. It is followed by the provision of the assistance for fight against corruption and ensuring that politicians obey the laws. However, attitudes of the major ethnic groups in BiH differ significantly when it comes to the role of the UN in this country.

- Serbs state more often than Bosniaks and Croats that the UN should ensure the decent life for citizens of BiH.
- Serbs are more likely to state that the UN should ensure that the politicians obey the laws of the country, and that they should ensure the rights of the minorities are respected, in comparison to Bosniaks.
- Bosniaks state more frequently than Croats and Serbs that the UN should ensure the integration of the returnees in the society.
- Compared to Serbs, Bosniaks are more likely to state that the UN should ensure the return of the displaced persons to their homes, and help BiH officials to plan the development of the country.
- Croats state more frequently than Serbs that the UN should assist BiH officials to plan the development of the country, as well as ensure the rights of the minorities.

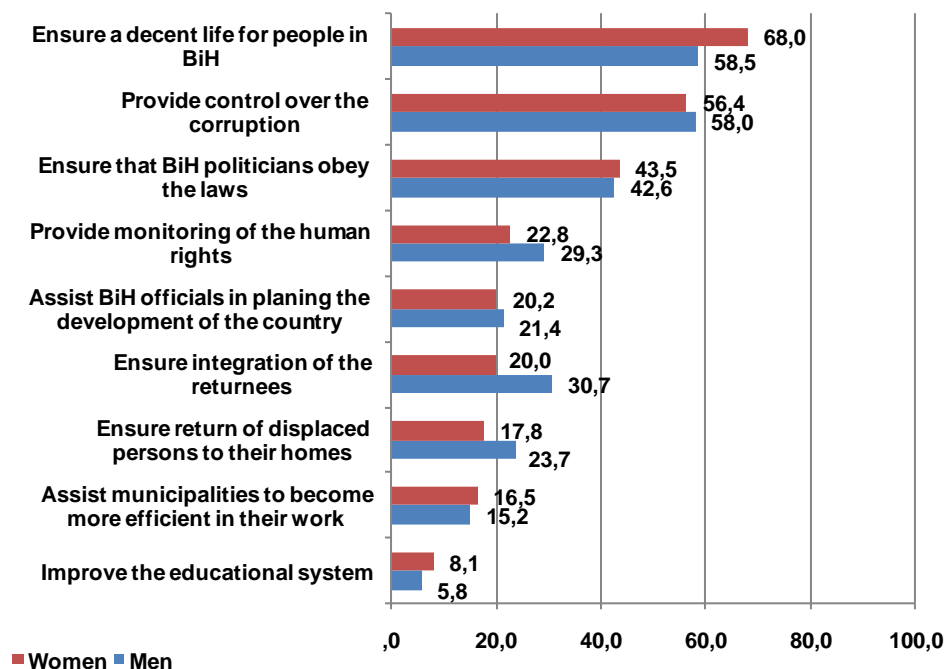
**Image 65: In your opinion, what should be the role of the United Nations in BiH? – Comparison by ethnicity**

(Multiple response. Five most frequent answers are presented.)



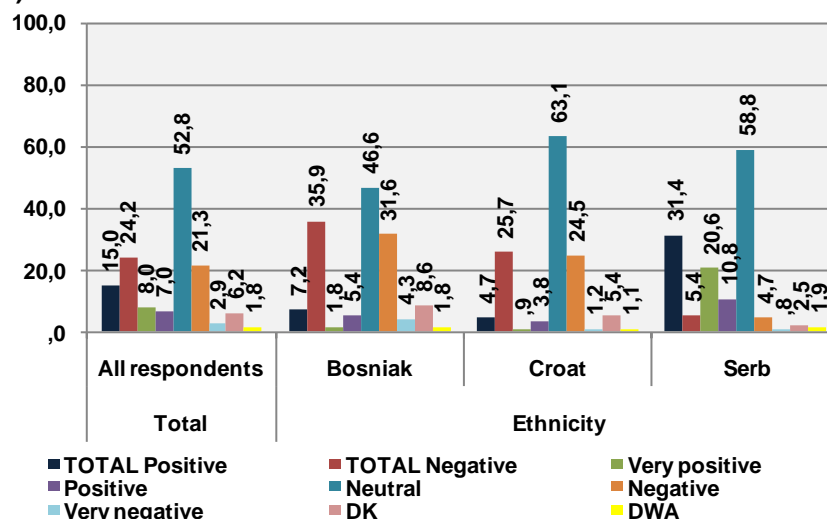
Considering respondents' gender, men state more often than women that the UN should play a role in providing monitoring of the human rights, ensuring integration of the returnees and return of displaced persons to their homes. On the other hand, women state more often than men that the UN should ensure a decent life for BiH citizens.

**Image 66: In your opinion, what should be the role of the United Nations in BiH? – Comparison by gender**  
(Multiple response.)



◀ Many respondents believe that closure of the OHR in BiH would not affect them nor their environment. Slightly more than half of the respondents believe that the closure of the OHR would not cause any serious problems in this country. Approximately a quarter of respondents predict negative consequences of the closure of the OHR.

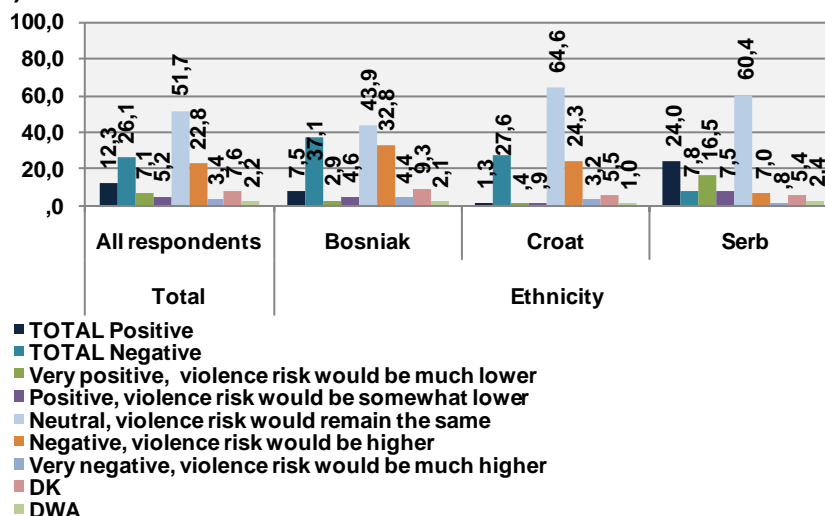
**Image 67: What consequences would closure of the OHR have on you and your environment? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**



**Differences by ethnicity.** Overall, the largest percentage of respondents in each ethnic group have a neutral attitude towards the closure of the OHR in BiH. Bosniaks and Croats perceive negative consequences of the OHR closure more frequently in comparison to Serbs. On the other hand, Serbs perceive more often that the consequences of the closure would be positive.

◀ Many respondents do not feel that termination of the EUFOR mission in BiH would change much when it comes to safety or violence risks. Somewhat more than half of the respondents believe that the termination of their mission would have neutral effects and that the risk of violence would remain the same. Approximately a quarter of respondents believe that the risk of violence would increase after the termination of EUFOR.

**Image 68: What consequences would termination of the EUFOR mission have on you and your environment? – Comparison by ethnicity (Single response.)**

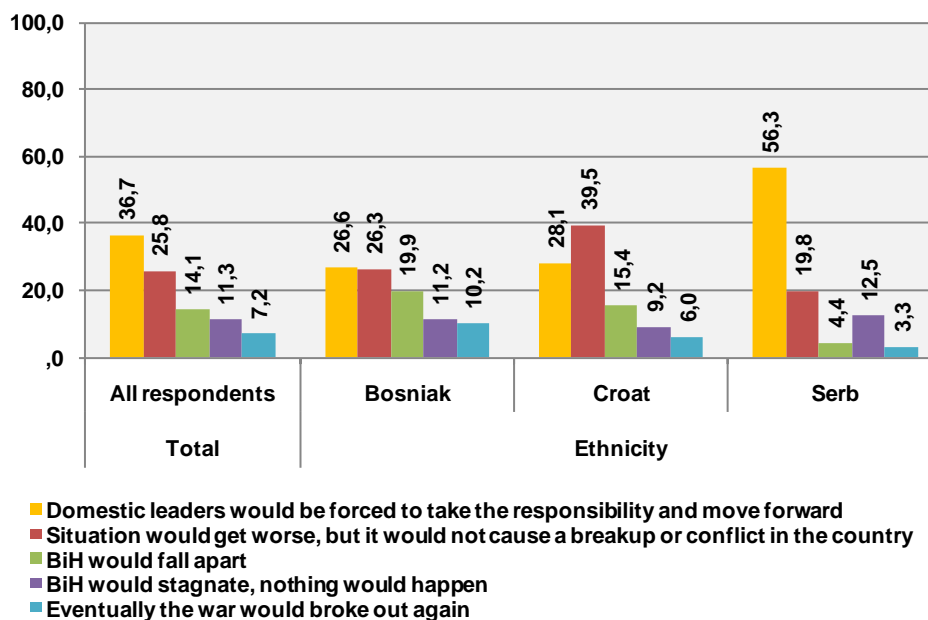


**Differences by ethnicity.** In general, the largest percentage of respondents in each of the three major ethnic groups have a neutral attitude towards the termination of the EUFOR mission in BiH. However, many Bosniaks have negative opinions on this matter. In comparison to Serbs, Bosniaks and Croats are more likely to predict negative consequences of terminating the EUFOR mission in BiH. On the other hand, Serbs are more likely to describe these consequences as positive.

◀ **Regarding the consequences of the withdrawal of international representatives from BiH, respondents' opinions are divided.** Somewhat more than one third of the respondents believe that in this situation domestic leaders would have to take the responsibility and move forward. Approximately one out of four believe that the situation in BiH would get worse, but not to the extent that it would cause breakup of the country or a conflict. Other respondents predict that BiH would fall apart, that nothing will change, or that another war would break out.

**Image 69: What would most likely happen if all international representatives would give up on the engagement in BiH? – Comparison by ethnicity**

(Single response. Answers “Other”, “Does not know” and “Does not wish to answer” are not presented.)



**Differences by ethnicity.** Opinions of different ethnic groups vary regarding this issue. While the opinions of Bosniaks and Croats are divided, more than half of Serbs believe the leaders would take the responsibility and move forward in this situation. Many significant differences between Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs were found when it comes to this question.

- Serbs are more likely to predict that BiH leaders would be forced to take the responsibility and move forward if the international representatives were to be withdrawn from BiH, in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats.
- Bosniaks and Croats state more often than Serbs that BiH would fall apart if this were to happen.
- In comparison to Serbs and Croats, Bosniaks are more likely to claim that the war might occur if the international community gives up on BiH.
- Croats state more frequently than both Serbs and Bosniaks that the withdrawal of the international community would lead to a worsening of the situation in BiH, but that it would not cause a breakup or conflicts in the country.

Compared by gender, women state more often than men that BiH would fall apart if all international representatives were to give up on the engagement in BiH (17% of women vs. 12% of men). On the other hand, men are more likely to state that the war would break out again in this situation (9%), compared to women (6%).

Summary:

*Altogether, the opinions concerning future relations of BiH and the EU are divided. In general, Serbs state more negative attitudes towards the EU membership in comparison to Bosniaks and Croats. Respondents believe that the international community should set economic development of BiH as its priority for the country. They expect that the UN should work on solving economic problems, corruption and influence the attitudes of the politicians. Many respondents believe that the closure of the OHR, EUFOR or even withdrawal of all international representatives from BiH would not affect them, nor would it cause any major changes in the country.*

## FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

In January 2015 Prism Research conducted a research in BiH under commission and in collaboration with the Office of the United Nations Resident Coordinator in BiH, with the objective to collect data on various issues of importance in BiH society, including identification of the major problems, interethnic relations and sentiments on the war, international community and future of the country.

In general, many BiH citizens do not feel that this country is moving forward, and they do not have positive expectations of the future. Corruption, economy and political leaders are seen as the major problems in this country. They are accompanied by problems in health care, social system, inadequate constitution and judiciary in general, and irregular employment procedures. These problems are hard to tackle for many reasons. One of the reasons is that the politicians are seen as responsible for these problems, and respondents do not rely on them to make serious changes. Political leaders (elected and party leaders) are at the same time seen as the ones that have the most power in the society, so it appears there is no one who could hold them responsible for these problems. In general, citizens do not trust political parties, nor the authorities. According to respondents' opinions, if any positive change occurs in the society, it would have to come from the citizens themselves, especially the youth. However, respondents themselves are not ready to participate in making changes. The majority of them are not willing to engage in any form of social activities, except to vote in the elections. Many of them are, however, ready to leave the country. This reveals their passive attitude towards the change. The major reason behind this passive attitude is that citizens do not believe that they could change anything. Together with the passivity of politicians, the passive attitude of citizens may be one of the reasons for the stagnation of the country.

Regarding the sentiments on the war that happened in 1990s, the attitudes of the major ethnic groups are divided. They have different perceptions of the war, and they look at it from different angles. Different ethnic groups also have different attitudes and expectations when it comes to preconditions for reconciliation. Although many of them believe that reconciliation already took place in BiH, many of them also believe that it is never going to happen. One of the current issues in the country is connected with the BiH nationality as it does not exist as an identity for all citizens of this country. For many citizens their ethnicity is more important than their national identity. In such conditions, it is very hard to create the atmosphere of togetherness, which is important in order to achieve co-existence and prevent future disagreements and conflicts.

When it comes to envisaged future of BiH, the views of citizens are in collision. Bosniaks would like to live in a unified country without entities and without cantons. Many Croats would like to have their own entity. Serbs would like to live in an independent RS. However, only small number would be ready to take up arms or to participate in violent protests. Future scenarios that are preferable for FBiH is to abolish cantons, and for the RS to be an independent country. However, respondents do not really believe that anything will change regarding the organizational structure of the country.

In general, BiH citizens have positive attitudes towards the EU. They believe that joining would change things for the better. They also believe that even if the neighboring countries joined the EU, it would change things for the better in BiH. According to them, the international community should work on solving the major problems in BiH. However, if the international community gives up on BiH, the citizens do not feel that this country would break apart. They just feel that the situation may remain the same or get worse, but they do not believe that it would lead to a breakup of the country or a new conflict.