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for

UNICEF, UNESCO and UNDP BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Dialogue for the Future II

JOINT UN PROGRAMME

PROMOTING SOCIAL COHESION AND DIVERSITY IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

BASELINE PERCEPTION SURVEY REPORT

MARCH 2019

Table of contents

List of tables and charts

Acronyms and abbreviations

Bosnia and Herzegovina – BiH

United Nations – UN

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization – UNESCO

United Nations Development Programme – UNDP

United Nations Children's Fund – UNICEF

Executive summary

This survey was conducted as part of the project Dialogue for the Future: Promoting Social Cohesion and Diversity in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was developed under the auspices of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and jointly implemented by UNICEF, UNDP and UNESCO. The overall objective of the project is to support collective identification of issues that concern all BiH citizens and further contribute to improved interaction and cooperation between different population groups by creating a space for dialogue and ongoing interaction between the various actors at the local level, as well as the state level. The project specifically focuses on adolescents and young people, linking young opinion makers, future leaders and key stakeholders with their political leadership, both at the local and higher levels of government in the country.

As part of the project, baseline and end-line perception surveys will be carried out with the following key objectives:

1) Provide information on the level of indicators on the project outcome at the beginning and end of the project in 9 groups of project municipalities/cities and three control municipalities/cities.

2) Explore knowledge/attitudes/practices on such topics as culture, intercultural trust and cooperation, civic engagement, education, media and partnership of adolescents and young people with government representatives – among the population aged 15 to 30 years, as well as government and religious representatives.

The study used quantitative and qualitative research methods, with the core population groups comprising:

1) Young people aged 15-30 years;
2) The authorities at the local, cantonal, entity and state levels (executive and legislative): mayors, representatives of municipal/city youth commissions;
3) Representatives of religious communities/religious leaders.

The following are the main findings of this survey in regard to Outcome 1: Increased interaction and cooperation between different groups at the local level.

Most respondents support cooperation between different ethnic groups, both in their municipality/city, as well as throughout the country. However, respondents perceive cooperation with local representatives to be less satisfactory than cooperation between ethnic groups in general. There are no considerable differences between the project and control municipalities/cities in attitudes towards cooperation among ethnic groups and young people. Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, young people in Banja Luka and Tuzla give the level of inter-ethnic cooperation in their local community the highest

ratings. On the other hand, the lowest perceived level of inter-ethnic cooperation was observed in Bijeljina. There are no differences among different age groups and genders when it comes to young people's attitudes about inter-ethnic cooperation.

While they see the cooperation with young people from other ethnic groups as relatively positive, slightly less than a third of the respondents almost never or rarely have contact with young people from other ethnic groups. In addition, young people from project municipalities/cities are in somewhat more frequent contact with young people from different ethnic groups. However, this cooperation is not always possible, and the blame for lack of cooperation is mostly placed on the authorities and the media. Specifically, according to young people, the messages that government representatives direct against members of other ethnic groups in some media outlets do not contribute to increasing trust and cooperation among ethnic groups.

The level of cooperation and trust between community members and their local representatives in both groups of municipalities/cities is perceived as unsatisfactory. However, participants in the project municipalities/cities tend to rate this cooperation as more satisfactory than their counterparts in control municipalities/cities. Furthermore, young people perceive their mutual cooperation and cooperation with local leaders to be less satisfactory compared to cooperation between ethnic groups at the local level in general. Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, young people in Tuzla and Trebinje gave, on average, the highest ratings to the level of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders. On the other hand, young people from Bijeljina, Central Bosnia and Mostar gave this cooperation the lowest ratings. There are no differences by age or gender in young people's attitudes about cooperation between young people and their local representatives.

Below are the main findings of this survey in regard to Outcome 2: Increased interaction and dialogue between different groups at the BiH level.

The level of cooperation and dialogue between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people, is perceived as unsatisfactory by the majority of the respondents. That said, the respondents from the projects municipalities/cities on average have a more positive view of cooperation and dialogue between these groups. However, young people in both groups of municipalities/cities perceive cooperation with the BiH Presidency as more satisfactory than with local government representatives. Again, young people from Bijeljina and Central Bosnia are the least likely to have a positive attitude towards this cooperation, unlike their counterparts from Trebinje and Banja Luka, who give this cooperation the highest ratings.

The respondents note a substantial presence in the media of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups during the election period. That said, the respondents in the project municipalities/cities are more likely to note a stronger presence of these statements than their counterparts in the control municipalities/cities.

There is a virtually full agreement among the participants of focus groups apropos provocative/negatively-loaded statements during the election period. Almost all participants agree that political campaigns of the dominant political parties were mainly focused on making adverse comments against their political and ethnic opponents. Most often, hate speech against other ethnic groups or political representatives was used to discredit them.

Respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities have a relatively positive attitude about inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media. Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, respondents from Banja Luka, on average, maintain the most positive attitude towards these aspects, while their Bijeljina counterparts display the least positive attitude. Although young people generally hold a positive view of inter-ethnic cooperation, they are not concurrently satisfied with their own levels of civic engagement. That said, female respondents in the project municipalities/cities are more likely to rate the civic engagement of young people higher than their male counterparts. Among focus group participants, the prevailing opinion is that students and young people are in a state of apathy and do not fight tenaciously enough to change the situation. However, respondents cite various obstacles and a lack of options for effective change as a justification for this impassiveness.

Based on these findings, the following recommendations are offered:

- Activities aimed at promoting cooperation between young people and local representatives need to be increased. In several crucial questions, young people and the authorities display diametrically opposed views, indicating a real need for an open dialogue between young people and government representatives with a view to clarifying the differences in the perception of the issues covered in this survey.

- The level of interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups in BiH needs to be increased, since about one-third of respondents very rarely or never have contact with members of other ethnic groups.

- The authorities, as well as the media, should focus more on avoiding negative rhetoric against political opponents, as such rhetoric is recognised by young people as a major obstacle to greater inter-ethnic cooperation.

- Young people need to be encouraged to participate more in civic engagement and decision making at the local level. At the same time, the authorities need to initiate a dialogue with young people to identify their needs and determine priority courses of action for mutual cooperation.

- The specific focus needs to be directed towards improving the indicators in such municipalities/cities as Bijeljina, Kiseljak, Travnik and Mostar, where the values of these indicators are by and large below average and markedly different than in other project municipalities/cities.

1. Methodological approach

This survey used quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative methods are based on the data obtained from the household survey and qualitative methods on the data from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

The main findings of the quantitative survey are presented in the form of indicators. The indicators are based on the questions in the questionnaire and were developed as follows:

Step 1: Responses to each question in the questionnaire in a given section were coded by assigning a value from 1 to 5, where 1 is negative, and 5 is a positive rating.

Step 2: The mean value of the coded responses was calculated for each question.

Step 3: Finally, unweighted arithmetic mean was calculated for all values obtained in Step 2.

Table 1 below shows the steps followed in calculating indicators, using indicator 1d as an example.

Table 1. Steps in calculating indicators

Indicator 1d	Questions	Codes	Average values of coded responses		Unweighted arithmetic mean
Step 1: Coding	1d_1. How would you rate your level of trust in your local political representatives in this municipality/city?	Insufficient -1, sufficient - 2, good - 3, very good - 4, excellent - 5	Step 2: Calculating mean values of coded responses	2.02	Step 3: Calculating unweighted arithmetic mean of the mean values obtained in Step 2
	1d_2. How would you rate the extent to which local political representatives in this municipality/city pay heed to young people's concerns in decision making?	Insufficient -1, sufficient - 2, good - 3, very good - 4, excellent - 5		1.85	1.93

After the presentation of household survey results, we will also present the results of focus groups and in-depth interviews to further elucidate the results of the quantitative survey.

1.1. Household survey

1.1.1. Panel sample design

Since the main purpose of this survey is to compare and contrast the data at the beginning and the end of the survey, it is necessary to use sample design that allows the data to reflect the actual variations in the subject being measured rather than random fluctuations in the sample between the two periods. Panel sample design is best suited for this task. It requires that the same respondents who were randomly selected at the beginning of the survey also be examined at the end of the survey.

This approach provides an answer to the key question: to what extent the project activities in target locations have had an impact on changing perceptions of the project participants in terms of the desired outcomes of the project.

1.1.2. Sample description

To identify a representative and random sample, the following sample frame was used: a list of rural and urban settlements in each municipality/city with the number of residents according to the 2013 population census. All partner municipalities/cities were classified into the following geographic groups, as per the UN team's proposal:

a) Nine groups of project municipalities/cities

- Sarajevo/East Sarajevo;
- Tuzla;
- Mostar;
- Central Bosnia (Kiseljak, Travnik);
- Bijeljina;
- Banja Luka;
- Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj;
- Trebinje and
- Brčko.

b) Three control municipalities/cities

- Bihać,
- Modriča and
- Ljubuški.

The sample included a total of 17 administrative units (municipalities, cities, Brčko District), which are organised into 12 groups, in two entities (with the Brčko District) and three ethnic majority areas.

For each of the 14 project and three control municipalities/cities, primary sampling units were selected using Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) sampling, which makes it possible to randomly select a primary sampling unit based on the size of the settlement (the number of residents in each settlement). Only one person per household was interviewed, where the household member to be interviewed was selected using the Snowball Sampling Method or the Last-Birthday Method.

Table 2. Number of respondents by municipality/city

Group	Municipality/city	Type of municipality/city	Number of respondents
Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	Sarajevo – Centar Municipality, FBiH	Project	50
	East Sarajevo, East Ilidža Municipality, RS	Project	50
Tuzla	City of Tuzla, FBiH	Project	100
Mostar	City of Mostar, FBiH	Project	100
Central Bosnia	Kiseljak Municipality, FBiH	Project	50
	Travnik Municipality, FBiH	Project	50
Bijeljina	City of Bijeljina, RS	Project	100
Banja Luka	City of Banja Luka, RS	Project	100
Doboj/ Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	Doboj Municipality	Project	50
	Doboj East Municipality	Project	10
	Usora Municipality	Project	5
	Tešanj Municipality	Project	35
Trebinje	City of Trebinje	Project	100
Brčko District	Brčko District	Project	100
Bihać	City of Bihać	Control	100
Ljubuški	Ljubuški Municipality	Control	100
Modriča	Modriča Municipality	Control	100
		Total	1,200

The total number of polled residents in all municipalities/cities was 1,200. Of that number, 900 were polled in the project municipalities/cities and 300 in the control municipalities/cities. The minimum sample size in each group was 100 (the number of residents polled). Such a sample allows comparative analysis between the groups, individual municipalities/cities, ethnic majority areas and entities. Thus, the sample

represents the population structure of BiH, and the results obtained in this survey can be projected to the whole country.

1.1.3. Target groups

Baseline and end-line perception surveys should include the target group of young people aged 10-30 years. Specifically, this target group is divided into the following subgroups:

1) Younger adolescents (10-14),
2) Older adolescents (15-19),
3) Middle-aged group of young people (20-24),
4) The older group of young people (25-30).

Only young people aged 15 to 30 years participated in the household survey.

1.1.4. Polling methods and questionnaire

Computer Aided Personal Interviewing method (CAPI) was used to collect and record data. Any potential errors were reduced to a minimum by using specially designed software to control the flow of the interview. Additionally, this method requires that the interviewers send questionnaires immediately after completion, which facilitates quality control of the interviewers' work.

The questionnaire used in this survey was developed jointly by Prism Research & Consulting and the UN project team. The questionnaire is appended to this report.

1.2. Focus groups

In addition to the questionnaire, the survey used qualitative research methods – primarily focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Focus groups were held in municipalities/cities for individual population groups while ensuring that each focus group comprises at least eight members. The total number of participants in all focus groups was 167, and the distribution of focus groups by groups of municipalities/cities and population groups is shown in the table below.

Table 3. Number of focus groups and participants by municipality/city

Cluster	Municipalities/cities	Middle-aged group of young people (20-24); University	Older group of young people (25-30); Employed Unemployed
Wider Sarajevo/ East Sarajevo area	Sarajevo – Centar Municipality, FBiH	1	1
	East Sarajevo, East Ilidža Municipality, RS	1	1
Tuzla	City of Tuzla, FBiH	1	1
Mostar	City of Mostar, FBiH	1	1
Central Bosnia	Vitez Municipality, FBiH	1	1
	Travnik Municipality, FBiH	1	1
Banja Luka	City of Banja Luka, RS	1	1
Doboj/ Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	Doboj Municipality	1	1
	Doboj East Municipality		
	Usora Municipality		
	Tešanj Municipality	1	1
Total number of participants by age group		**86**	**81**

The initial survey draft envisaged that a focus group with each of the four target groups should be implemented in each group in the project areas (a total of 36). However, focus groups with some of the target groups (younger adolescents and older adolescents) were not held due to the inability to establish the necessary cooperation in some primary and secondary schools.

1.3. Semi-structured (in-depth) interviews

In this survey, a total of 16 in-depth interviews were held between 3 December and 31 December 2018. In-depth interviews were carried out by the moderator of the Prism Research & Consulting agency. Participation was voluntary. Participants consented to the interviews being audio recorded. Audio materials were then given to professional typists who produced transcripts, which, along with moderator's observations and comments, constituted the material on the basis of which this report was written.

Initially, it was envisaged that as part of the initial survey, a total of 56 in-depth interviews would be conducted with members of several different target groups. However, due to

major delays in the implementation of fieldwork, resulting primarily from delays in completing the mapping of important project participants by partner NGOs implementing the project, we could arrange only 16 interviews in the course of December as part of the baseline survey. Nevertheless, we recommend that other interviews be conducted after the completion of the mapping process and once it becomes clearer at the local level who the key individuals are whose opinion is very important when it comes to the implementation of the project.

1.4. Challenges

The major challenges in the implementation of this survey occurred in the implementation of the qualitative methods, namely focus groups and in-depth interviews.

As regards the household survey, in addition to the usual difficulties inherent in carrying out polls, such as poor infrastructure (hard-to-reach villages/settlements, bad roads), distrust, lack of interest in participating in surveys especially among younger population, and sparsely populated and widely scattered rural communities, reaching the target population of young people under 30 years of age posed a special challenge. As is well known, in recent years, the country has seen significant emigration of this population group in search of employment and better living conditions. Members of this population group are therefore noticeably harder to find in households. For this reason, it took more time to reach the planned number of respondents in rural and smaller urban areas.

The fieldwork was largely conducted in December. This period posed an additional challenge as it coincided with the end-of-term exams in primary and secondary schools and the exam period at universities, which placed major obstacles in the way of arranging the dates and recruiting potential participants and severely hampered project coordination and implementation. A total of 121 primary and secondary schools were contacted, of which six primary and 5 secondary schools agreed to participate in the baseline survey.

In terms of recruiting young people from the student population, as well as the population aged 26-30 years, additional efforts were made to form the groups in accordance with the quotas, and focus groups were successfully held in both entities. Particular challenges were encountered in municipalities with Croat majority in Central Bosnia, where residents showed very little interest in the survey and were disproportionately more likely to refuse to participate in it.

1.5. Analysis structure

Analysis of the main survey findings is divided into quantitative and qualitative analysis. Quantitative analysis is based on the data obtained from the household survey and qualitative analysis on the data from the in-depth interviews and focus groups. The quantitative analysis first presents indicators showing the values of individual variables, followed by the presentation of the values of these indicators for the project and control municipalities/cities. Indicators are a suitable tool for comparing the results at the beginning and end of the survey. Since this was the initial survey, only the values for individual municipalities/cities in the initial time point of the survey were presented. This analysis was expanded to include a detailed description of individual questions in the questionnaire. Results of the bilateral t-test were presented wherever relevant. The test was used to test the statistical significance of mean values for groups of municipalities/cities or individual municipalities/cities.

Qualitative analysis of participants' responses consisted of several phases. The first phase entailed a close reading of the responses to each question or set of questions, based on which the dominant attitudes of the participants were determined. After that, the responses were categorised based on how similar or dissimilar they were. Then, the report listed the main and prevailing attitudes, as well as topics on which participants' attitudes vary. The analysis focused on comparing participants' responses, especially where differences were found between the responses. The rules required that the description of the results should be illustrated with participants' conclusions in the form of quotations.

Qualitative analysis was made based on the transcripts of the focus groups and in-depth interviews.

Since the research instruments for the household survey and qualitative survey were harmonised, the results of the household survey and qualitative survey are presented together.

2. Key findings

2.1. Analytical review of the perception of interaction and cooperation between different groups of young people at the local level

This chapter presents the level of interaction and cooperation between different groups of young people at the local level, as well as their interaction with local representatives. Topics covered can be summarised as follows:

- Perception of interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups at the local level,
- Perception of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders,
- Perception of cooperation between community members and their local representatives,
- Perception of trust between community members and their local representatives.

2.1.1. Interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups at the local level

To measure the level of interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups at the local level indicator 1a was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 1a_3 and 1a_4 and can have a value between 1 (poor) and 5 (excellent).

Table 4. Description of indicator 1a

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 1a	Level of interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups at the local level	1-5, where: 1- poor 5- excellent	1a_3 1a_4

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

There is no considerable difference between the project municipalities/cities and control municipalities/cities in the perceived level of interaction and cooperation. In both groups of municipalities/cities, this indicator value is slightly higher (2.68 for project municipalities/cities and 2.71 for control municipalities/cities) than the simple (theoretical) arithmetic mean, which is 2.5.

Viewed by individual project municipalities/cities, young people in Banja Luka (3.27) and Tuzla (3.25) rate the level of inter-ethnic cooperation in their local community highest, as do their counterparts in Modriča (3.37) in control municipalities/cities. Conversely, the lowest perceived level of inter-ethnic cooperation is found in Central Bosnia (2.11), Bijeljina (2.12) and Mostar (2.25). The results are statistically significant at a significance level of 5%.[1] Specifically, this means that there is a statistically significant difference between the mean value obtained for Banja Luka and Tuzla, and the mean value for Central Bosnia, Bijeljina and Mostar.

Figure 1. Indicator 1a – Level of interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups at the local level
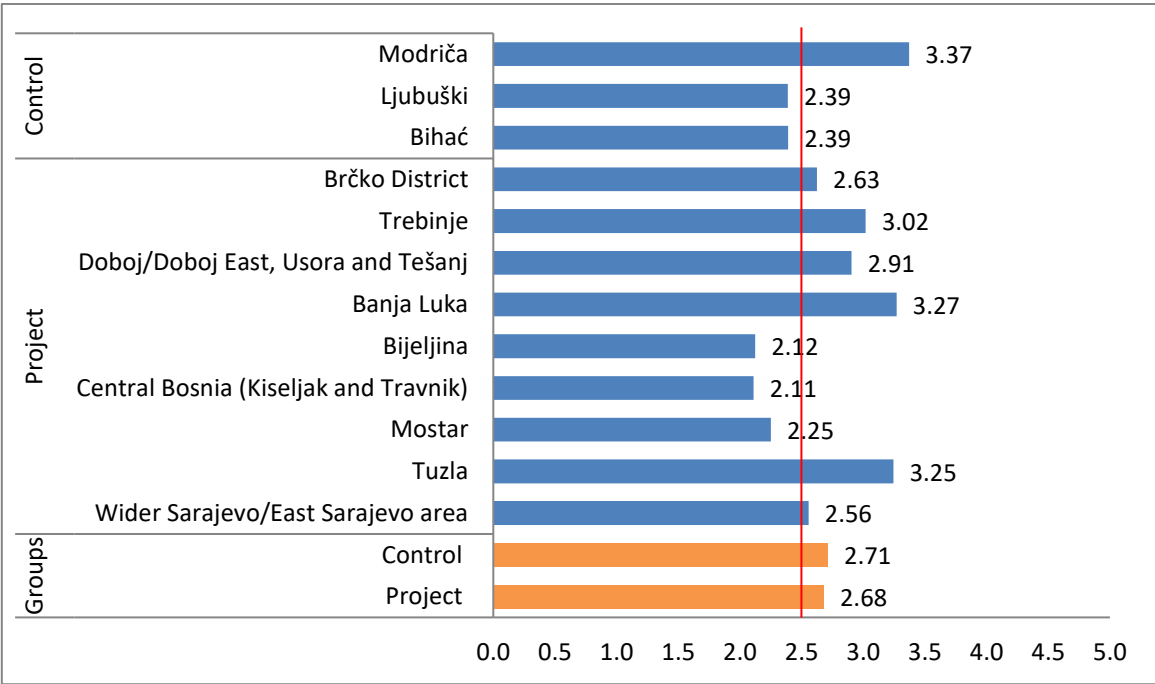
Young people generally support the cooperation between members of different ethnic groups in their municipality/city. As many as 87.9% of young people in the control municipalities and 83.4% in the project municipalities/cities have a positive attitude to cooperation between members of different ethnic groups. The sole exception is Bijeljina, where just over half of young people (53%) hold a positive view on this issue, while one fifth (20%) oppose the cooperation between different ethnic groups in their city. This result is statistically significant at the 5% significance level.

Focus group participants are split in their views on cooperation. While some are satisfied with the current level of cooperation, there are a considerable number of those who feel

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[1] Conventionally, for samples N>30 a 5% significance level is taken, which is the probability of rejecting the true (null) hypothesis. Specifically, we can say with 95% certainty that there is a significant statistical difference between the above mean values. The null hypothesis is: There is no difference between the mean values for individual municipalities/cities.

the cooperation is not at the level they would like it to be and think that there is room for improvement in the future.

Participants in individual interviews again state that there is some cooperation, but think that it could certainly be better and hope it will improve, primarily because cooperation among all citizens is the only way to achieve shared prosperity.

"Well, I am of the opinion that young people generally, even in this city, don't sufficiently interact with each other because more and more young people are leaving the city and the country." – focus groups, general population, Tuzla

"I deeply respect cooperation between different religious and ethnic groups, and I think it's immensely important. The only way progress can be achieved in each of our communities is through cooperation, or through efforts to bring all ethnic groups together so that they can talk to each other, bring true life and live together in harmony." – in-depth interview, Mostar

Figure 2. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation between members of different ethnic groups in this municipality/city?
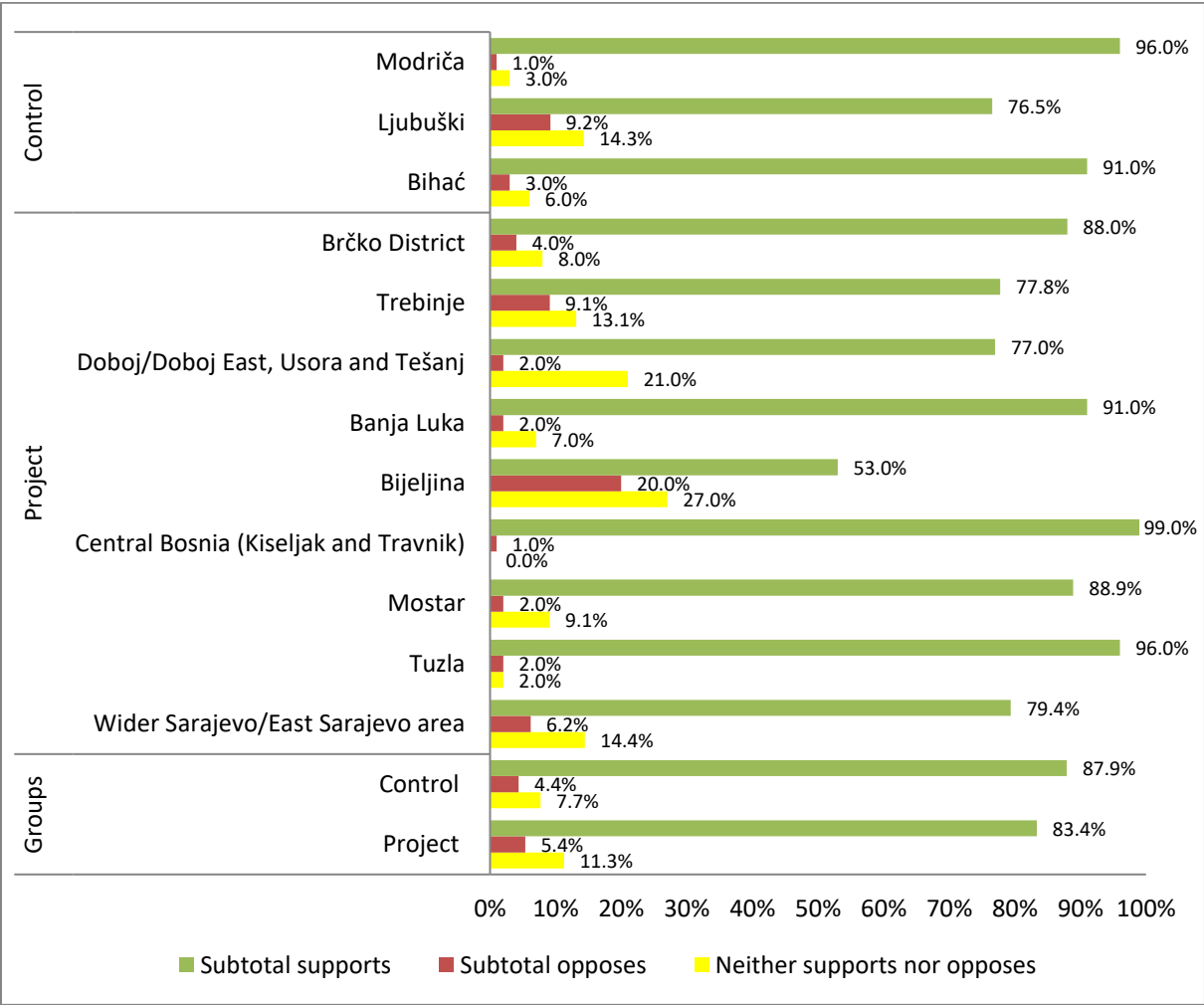
Similar results were obtained when it comes to the perception of cooperation between members of different ethnic groups among municipalities/cities. As many as 87.9% of young people in the control municipalities/cities and 82.6% in the project municipalities/cities support this kind of cooperation. Bijeljina, again, represents an exception as just over half of young people in this city (56%) have a positive attitude towards cooperation between members of different ethnic groups among different municipalities/cities. This result is statistically significant at the 5% significance level.

Views of focus group participants are also generally favourable. The participants report having friends of different ethnicities from other municipalities/cities. These are most notably students who have had the opportunity to study in other cities and thus met peers from different ethnic backgrounds and different municipalities. However, there are also a fair number of those who say that there are ethnic divisions, especially among primary school students, who report that the divisions are largely created by adults.

The in-depth interviewees also invariably say that they support cooperation in any form, and some report having had a chance to participate in projects where they interacted with persons from neighbouring countries and cite specific projects aimed at establishing cooperation with neighbouring countries in which they participated.

"Well, I disagree. I mean, I support all these ways of cooperation, but in the end, ultimately, we all get divided into us and them." – focus groups, general population, Tešanj

"I think that there should be cooperation. However, one can still see a difference in cooperation. For example, I think we are closer to Belgrade, Serbia, and similar countries, while Sarajevo is closer to others, Croatia or something. However, we gravitate towards Serbia and those who share our ethnicity." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"I had the opportunity to participate in a multi-ethnic project, where besides us there were people from Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro and Slovenia and I can say that the cooperation was at a very high level. I always support good people and good ideas, regardless of ethnicity." – in-depth interview, Doboj

Cooperation among municipalities is not unanimously perceived as excellent. Most in-depth interviewees say that there is local cooperation between their municipalities and surrounding municipalities, including cooperation with municipalities/cities in the other entity. However, they emphasise that the cooperation could be improved and hope that it will improve.

"First of all, in the field of economy, trade and education. People from Tešanj are known as traders, but production is in full swing, too. We have three secondary schools, nine primary schools, and no university. A lot of children from Tešanj go to university in RS or the Catholic Centre (secondary school) in Žabljak, Usora, and as far as the economy is concerned, the workforce comes from neighbouring municipalities, and our businessmen buy and open companies in RS." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Figure 3. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation between members of different ethnic groups from this municipality/city and other municipalities/cities?

		Subtotal supports	Subtotal opposes	Neither supports nor opposes
Control	Modriča	98.0%	1.0%	1.0%
	Ljubuški	72.4%	9.2%	18.4%
	Bihać	93.0%	3.0%	4.0%
Project	Brčko District	90.0%	3.0%	7.0%
	Trebinje	72.0%	9.0%	19.0%
	Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	82.0%	1.0%	17.0%
	Banja Luka	89.0%	3.0%	8.0%
	Bijeljina	56.0%	17.0%	27.0%
	Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik)	94.0%	3.0%	3.0%
	Mostar	86.7%	4.1%	9.2%
	Tuzla	92.0%	1.0%	7.0%
	Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	81.3%	4.2%	14.6%
Groups	Control	87.9%	4.4%	7.7%
	Project	82.6%	5.0%	12.4%
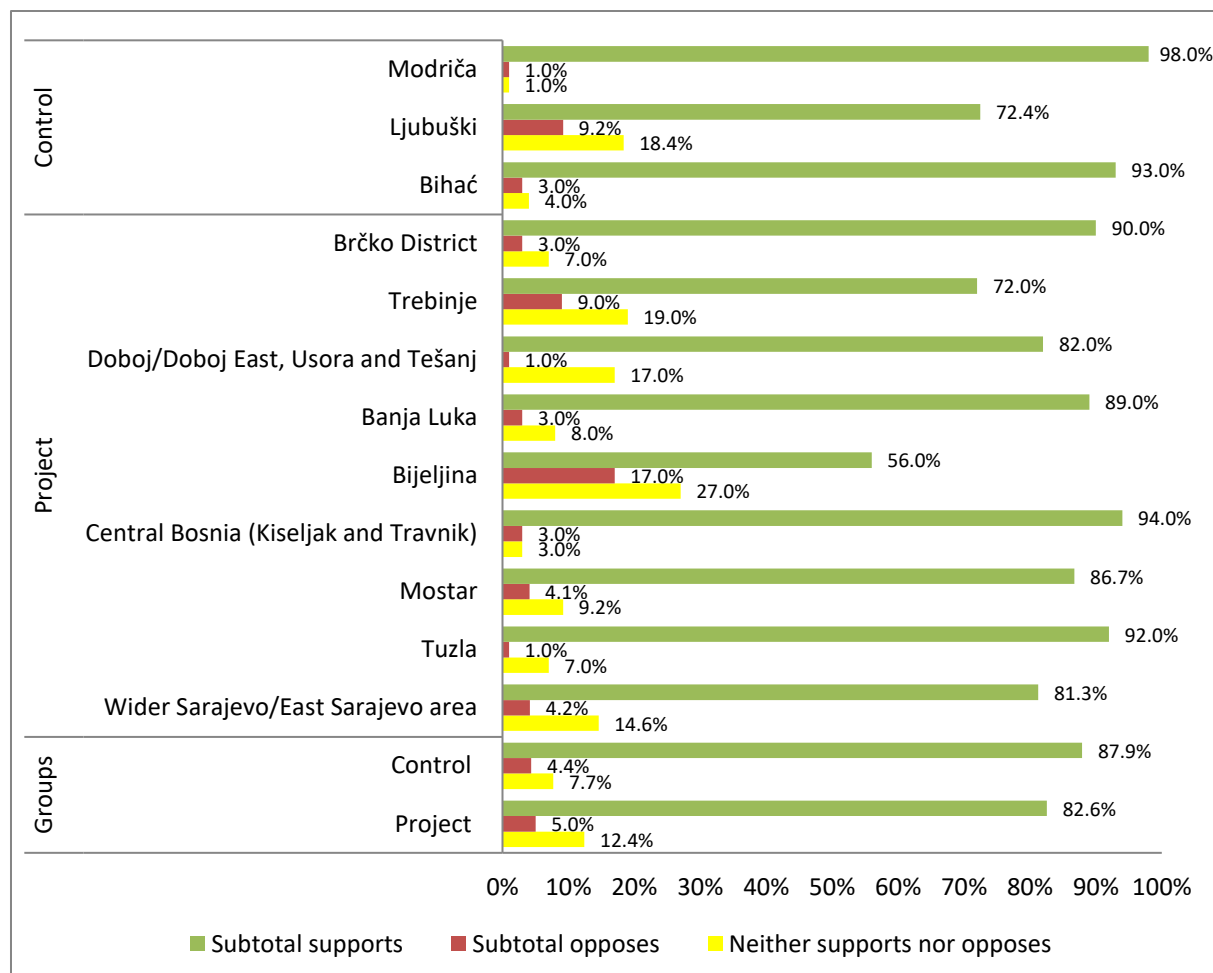
Young people in the control municipalities are more likely than their counterparts in the project municipalities/cities to give a higher rating to the work of youth in general, CSO leaders, local religious leaders and local political representatives. That said, youth received, on average, the best ratings from respondents from both groups of municipalities/cities, while local political representatives of different ethnic groups got the lowest ratings for their work. Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, young people in Modriča and the Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj cluster are most likely to appreciate the work of aforementioned groups of people, while young people in Bijeljina, Central Bosnia and Mostar are least likely to appreciate their work. Bijeljina is unique in that it is the only city where young people gave the best ratings to the work of religious representatives. In general, political representatives received the lowest ratings for their work in all municipalities/cities.

Figure 4. How would you rate the work of the following groups of people in this municipality/city?

Legend:
- Youth in general
- Leaders of civic associations
- Local religious leaders
- Local political representatives of different ethnic groups
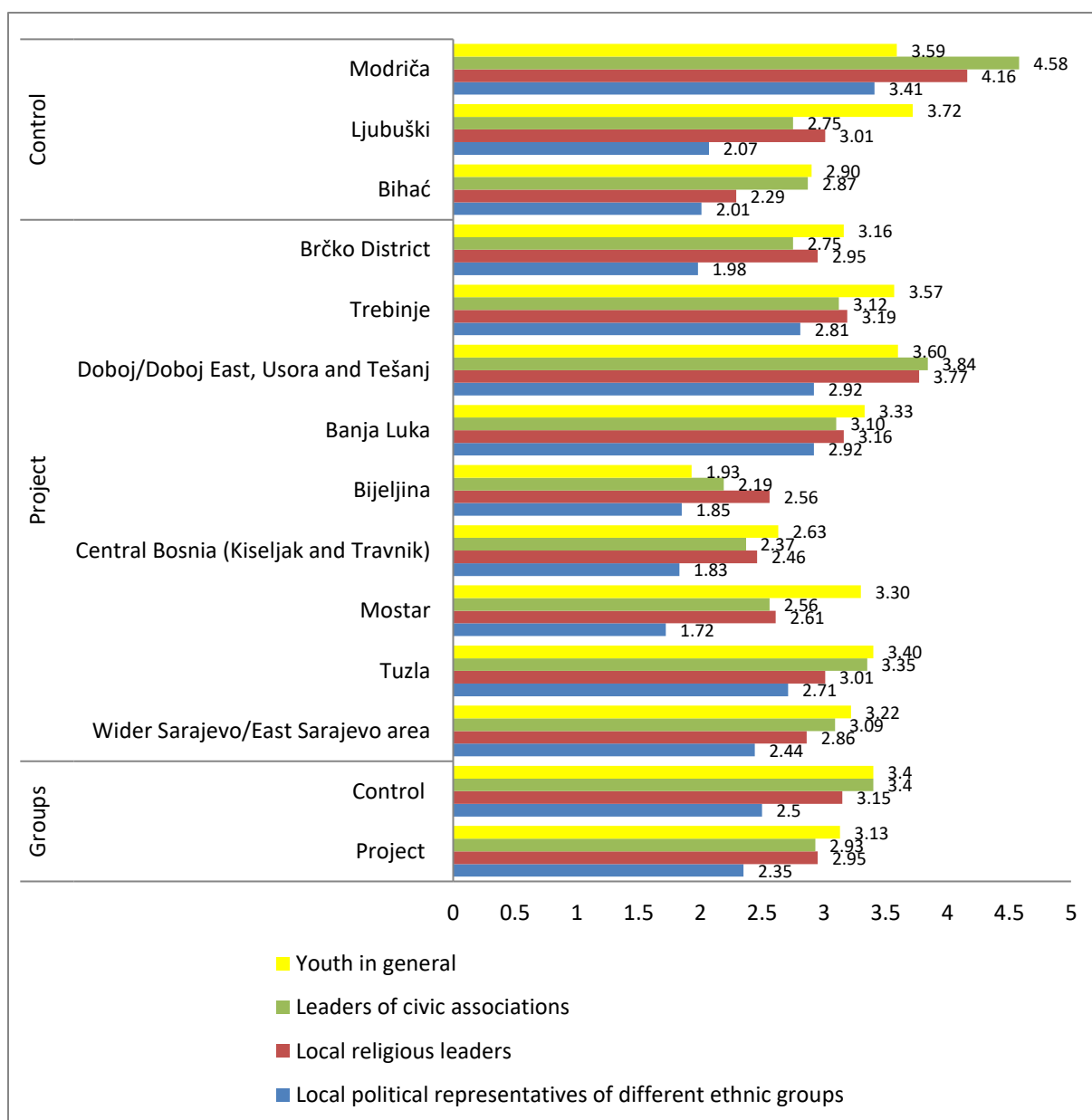
2.1.2. Cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders

To measure the level of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders indicator 1b was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 1b_1, 1b_3, 1b_4, 1b_6, 1b_7 and can have a value between 1 (poor) and 5 (excellent).

Table 5. Description of indicator 1b

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 1b	Level of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders	1-5, where: 1- poor 5- excellent	1b_1 1b_3 1b_4 1b_6 1b_7

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

Values of indicator 1b do not differ significantly between the project municipalities/ cities and control municipalities/cities and are somewhat lower than the theoretical arithmetic mean. Compared to the values of indicator 1a, which shows the level of cooperation among ethnic groups in general, the values of indicator 1b are slightly lower. This indicates that young people perceive their mutual cooperation and cooperation with local leaders to be less satisfactory than cooperation between ethnic groups at the local level in general.

Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, Trebinje (2.82) and Tuzla (2.64) have the highest values for indicator 1b, i.e. young people in these two cities gave, on average, the highest ratings to the level of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders. Conversely, the indicator 1b values for Bijeljina (1,57), Central Bosnia (1.84) and Mostar (1.94) are the lowest among all project municipalities/cities. These mean values are statistically significantly different at the 5% level of significance.

Figure 5. Indicator 1b – Level of cooperation among young people and their cooperation with local leaders
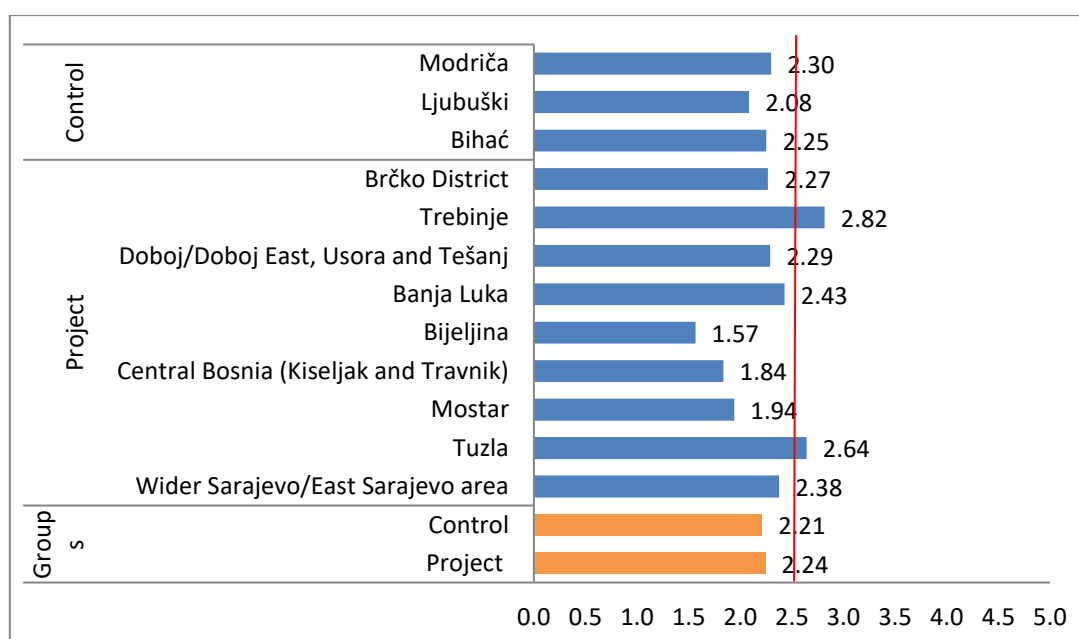
In general, young people in the project municipalities/cities (2.89) and their counterparts in the control (2.99) municipalities/cities gave similar ratings to cooperation among young people of different ethnicity. Viewed by individual municipalities/cities, young people in Modriča (3.65) and Tuzla (3.54) are most likely to express a positive view about the level of cooperation among young people from different ethnic groups. Conversely, young people from Bijeljina (2.16), Central Bosnia (2.22) and Mostar (2.44) are most likely to report being dissatisfied with the cooperation with members of other ethnic groups. There is a statistically significant difference between average ratings in these municipalities/cities.

When it comes to youth cooperation at the municipal/city level, the participants generally report seeing good cooperation among young people, even though some of the municipalities are ethnically very homogeneous; however, the participants state that where there are members of several ethnic groups, there is satisfactory cooperation.

"In our municipality, there are almost no young people from other ethnic groups. Members of other ethnic groups that live here are mostly elderly people and returnees, and they live concentrated in certain localities." – in-depth interview, East Stari Grad

Figure 6. How would you rate the current level of cooperation among young people of different ethnicities in this municipality/city?
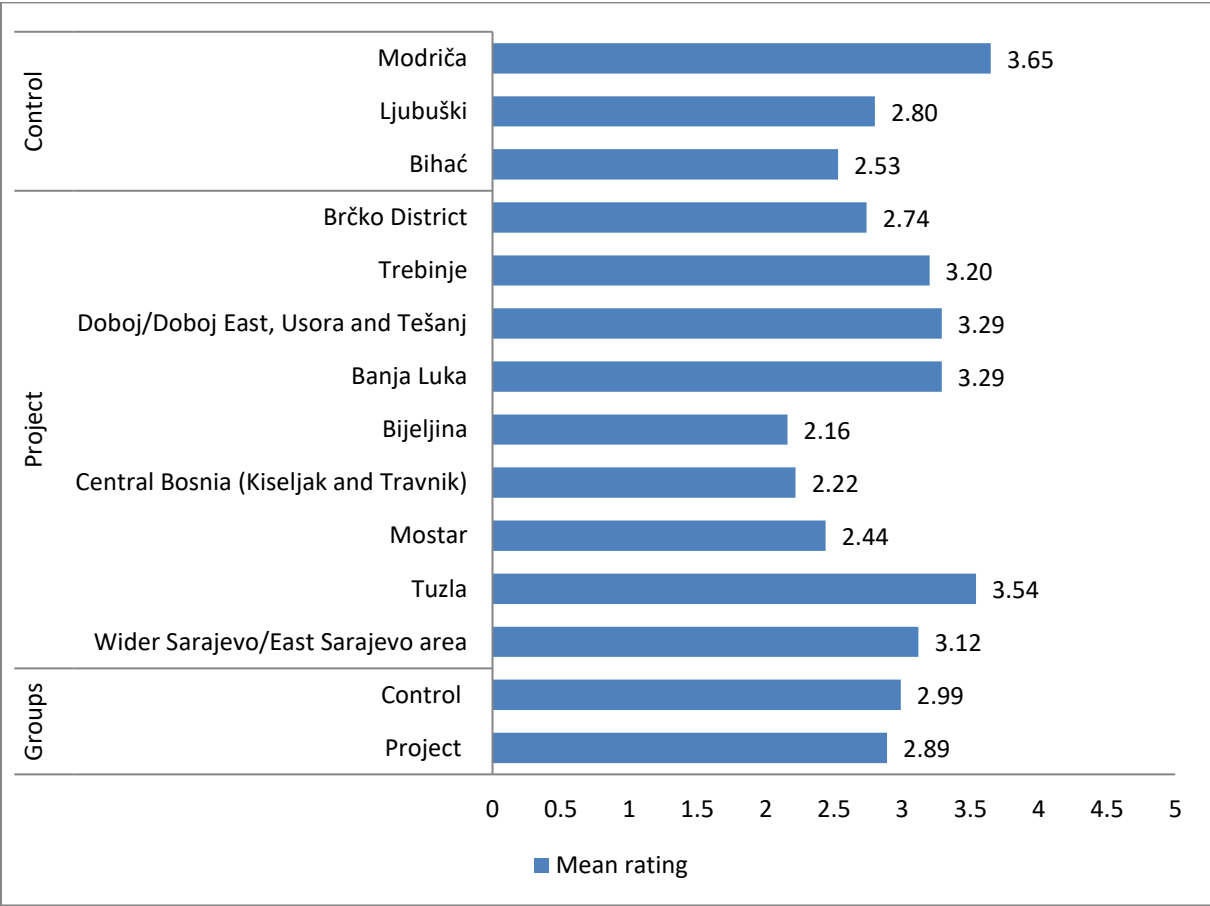
About two-thirds of the young people surveyed in both groups of municipalities/cities report having very frequent or occasional contact with young people from other ethnic groups. That said, young people from the project municipalities/cities are in somewhat more frequent contact with young people from other ethnic groups compared to their counterparts from the control municipalities/cities. Bijeljina is a city where young people are the least likely to have contact with their peers from other ethnic groups. More than one-third of the young people surveyed (38.8%) in this city report having virtually no contact with their peers from other ethnic groups. There is a statistically significant difference between average values in Bijeljina and other aforementioned municipalities/cities.

Students and young focus group participants are most likely to report having had a chance to meet young people from other ethnic groups through school activities or at university and happily maintaining contact with them, primarily through social media when they are unable to socialise in person.

"Well, I communicate very often, through social media or in person. In my 22 years, I've never had problems either in primary or secondary schoo or at university, never a single problem." – focus groups, university students, Tuzla

Figure 7. How often do you have contact with young people from different ethnic groups in this municipality/city?

	Almost never	Rarely (a few times a month)	Sometimes (several times a week)	Very often (daily)
Control				
Modriča	13.1%	21.2%	16.2%	49.5%
Ljubuški	19.4%	23.5%	38.8%	18.4%
Bihać	7.0%	15.0%	49.0%	29.0%
Project				
Brčko District	7.0%	12.0%	33.0%	48.0%
Trebinje	27.3%	27.3%	27.3%	18.2%
Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	6.0%	13.0%	30.0%	51.0%
Banja Luka	7.0%	22.0%	35.0%	36.0%
Bijeljina	38.8%	28.6%	23.5%	9.2%
Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik)	7.0%	9.0%	18.0%	66.0%
Mostar	4.0%	21.2%	40.4%	34.3%
Tuzla	3.0%	12.0%	47.0%	38.0%
Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	11.1%	13.1%	38.4%	37.4%
Groups				
Control	13.1%	19.9%	34.7%	32.3%
Project	12.3%	17.5%	32.5%	37.7%

There is no significant difference between the project municipalities/cities and control municipalities/cities in their assessment of cooperation between young people and local leaders. Young people from Bijeljina (1.56) and Central Bosnia (1.79) report being the least satisfied with this type of cooperation, while young people from Trebinje (2.98) and the Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj cluster (2.94) are the most satisfied with their cooperation with the local leaders in their municipality/city. There are significant statistical differences between the aforementioned minimum and maximum mean values.

Participants in the focus groups share similar views and generally state that cooperation with local government representatives is poor or non-existent. Also, the majority of them report having no contact with political figures at the local level, adding that politicians try to cooperate only when they want to garner votes in elections.

In-depth interviewees differ from the general population and focus group participants in that they almost unanimously agree that the cooperation between youth and local leaders in their municipalities/cities is very good, but still, feel that there is room for

improvement. This finding indicates that there are significant differences in perception between young people and people who have links with municipal authorities.

"I said I hadn't had a chance to interact with political leaders, so let's leave it at that." – focus groups, general population, Mostar

"Well, I think that everyone pursues their own interests, that there isn't much cooperation. Not to use a curse word it's just bootlicking." – focus groups, general population, Tešanj

"This cooperation is good, mainly because this is a small community where it's easier to get and share information as there aren't a lot of people here and it's easier to accommodate some of the needs of young people and navigate some of the obstacles." – in-depth interview, East Stari Grad

Figure 8. How would you rate the current level of cooperation between young people and local leaders in this municipality/city?
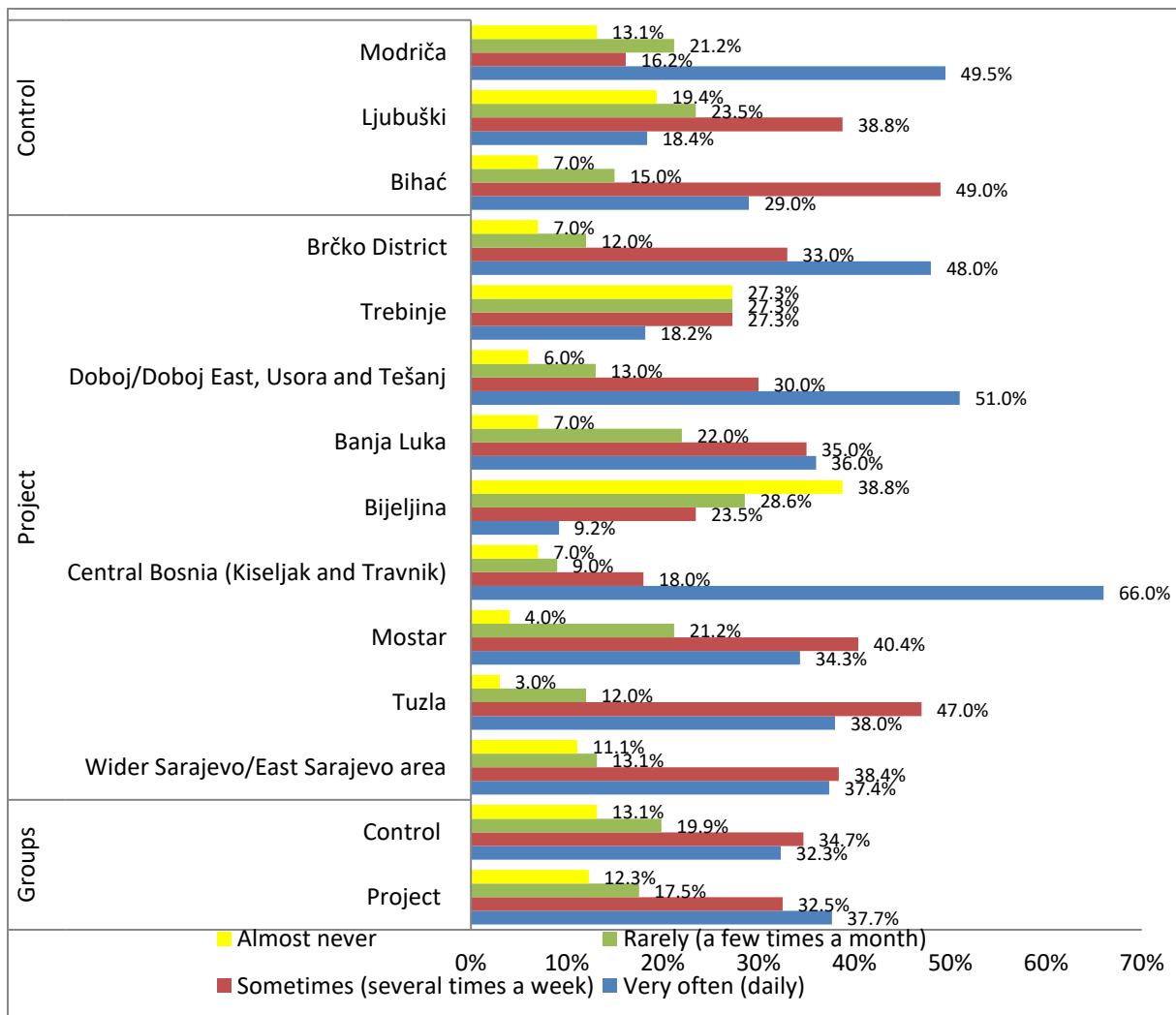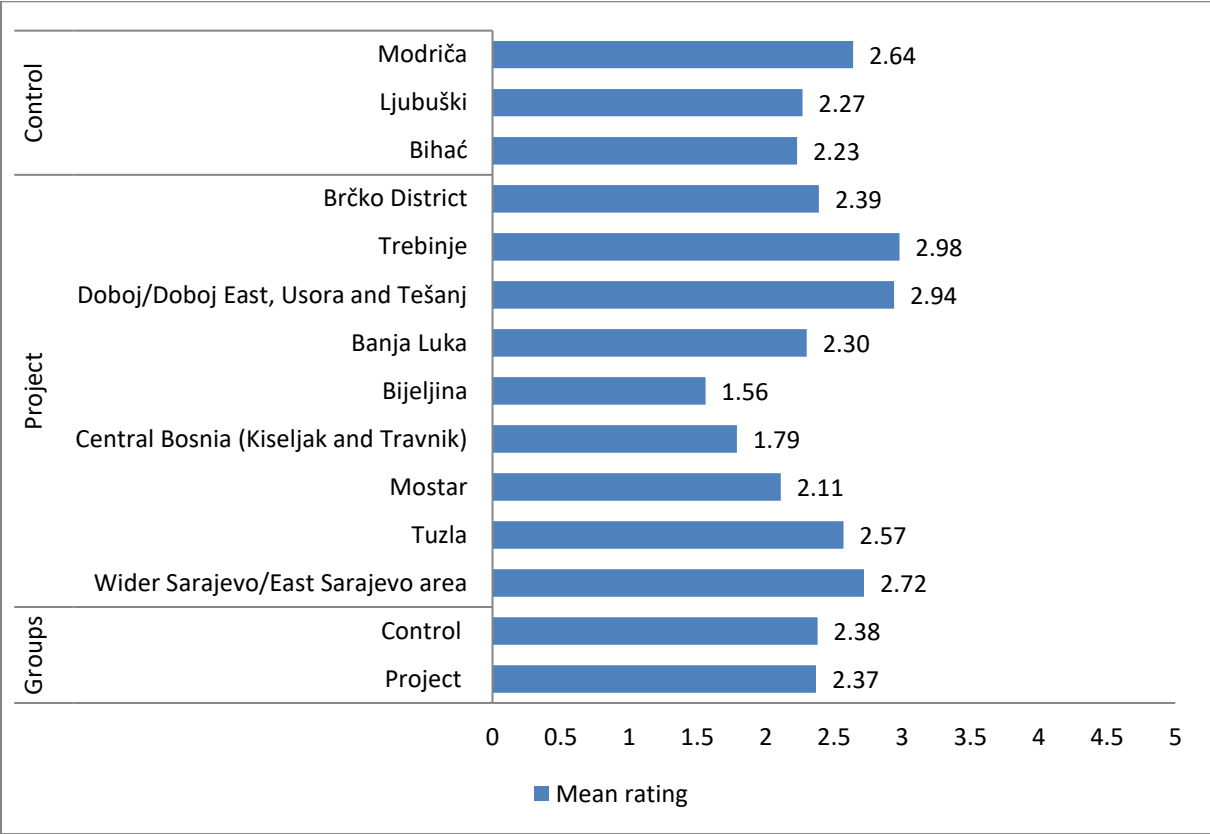

Respondents from the project municipalities/cities (2.08) and the control (2.06) municipalities/cities are almost identical in their perception of the level of involvement of young people in decision-making processes at the local level. Respondents in Trebinje (2.82) are the most likely to have a positive view of the level of involvement of young people in decision-making processes in their city. Conversely, their counterparts in Bijeljina (1.44) and Central Bosnia (1.58) feel that the level of involvement of young people in decision-making processes in their municipality/city is unsatisfactory. There

are significant statistical differences between the aforementioned minimum and maximum mean values.

Focus group participants display the same low level of involvement of young people in decision-making processes in school or municipality. They commonly claim that there is no way for them to influence decision-making, and even when they can make their views known, there is effectively no follow-up on their proposals.

In-depth interviewees generally feel that young people are insufficiently involved in decision-making processes, but place the blame for this on young people who, in their opinion, do have mechanisms at their disposal allowing them to get involved, but fail to utilise them, which is in contrast with the aforementioned views expressed by young people.

"My humble and personal opinion is that young people have virtually no role in decision-making in this city!" – focus groups, university students, Doboj

"Very little. I used to be a member of the Dialogue for the Future, BiH Youth Parliament, etc. And all the decisions that we would make, the city would put aside... very few things would see the light of day. The only thing they did was put up more litter bins." – focus groups, general population, Mostar

"I don't know much about legal procedures and laws, but I think one can always do more in that regard, especially in view of the emigration trends in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the last year." – in-depth interview, Doboj

"They have mechanisms at their disposal but don't use them enough. There are ways for them go get involved, but they should get involved more. Public hearings, councillors, municipal mayor." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Figure 9. How would you rate the extent to which young people are involved in decision-making processes in this municipality/city?
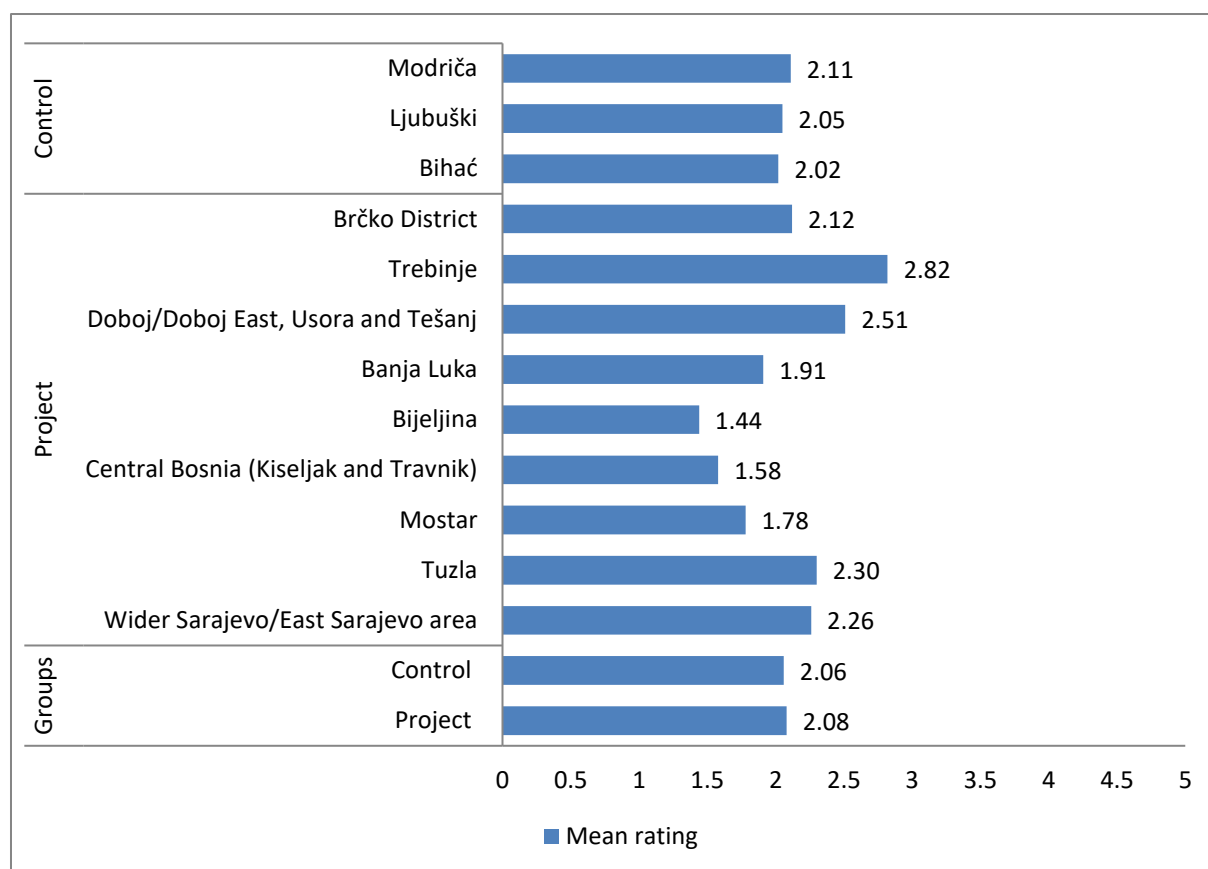
When it comes to the level of youth involvement in setting priorities on issues that affect them, young people in the project municipalities/cities are more likely than their counterparts in the control municipalities/cities (1.98) to see this type of activism positively (2.08). At the same time, young people from Trebinje are the most likely to give, on average, the highest rating (2.72) to this type of youth activism, in contrast to their peers in Bijeljina (1.45) and Central Bosnia (1.74), who, on average, gave this form of activism the lowest rating. There are significant statistical differences between the aforementioned minimum and maximum mean values.

Among focus groups participants, too, the prevailing opinion is that young people are not sufficiently engaged and are unable to influence decisions that affect them, even when they are members of political parties because the positions are mainly occupied by older adults who do not make decisions in the interest of young people.

Among in-depth interviewees, too, the prevailing view is that young people are not sufficiently engaged in setting priorities on issues affecting them. However, as mentioned earlier, in some municipalities, young people argue that there are mechanisms in place whereby they could make their voices heard, but these mechanisms are not sufficiently used by young people.

"There is quite a lot of primitivism among people here. They believe that we young people are not mature enough, skilled enough to fight for something that is good for our municipality, no one would support us in these efforts." – focus groups, university students, East Sarajevo

"I think we're not engaged. I think that the sheer percentage of young people emigrating shows their utter lack of engagement." – focus groups, general population, Tuzla

"In so far as young people themselves are interested in getting actively engaged and fighting for their interests. So, when young people identify a problem that affects them, then it is only a question of how they will put pressure on political authorities to resolve it positively for them." – in-depth interview, Pale

Figure 10. How would you rate the extent to which young people are involved in setting priorities on issues that affect them?
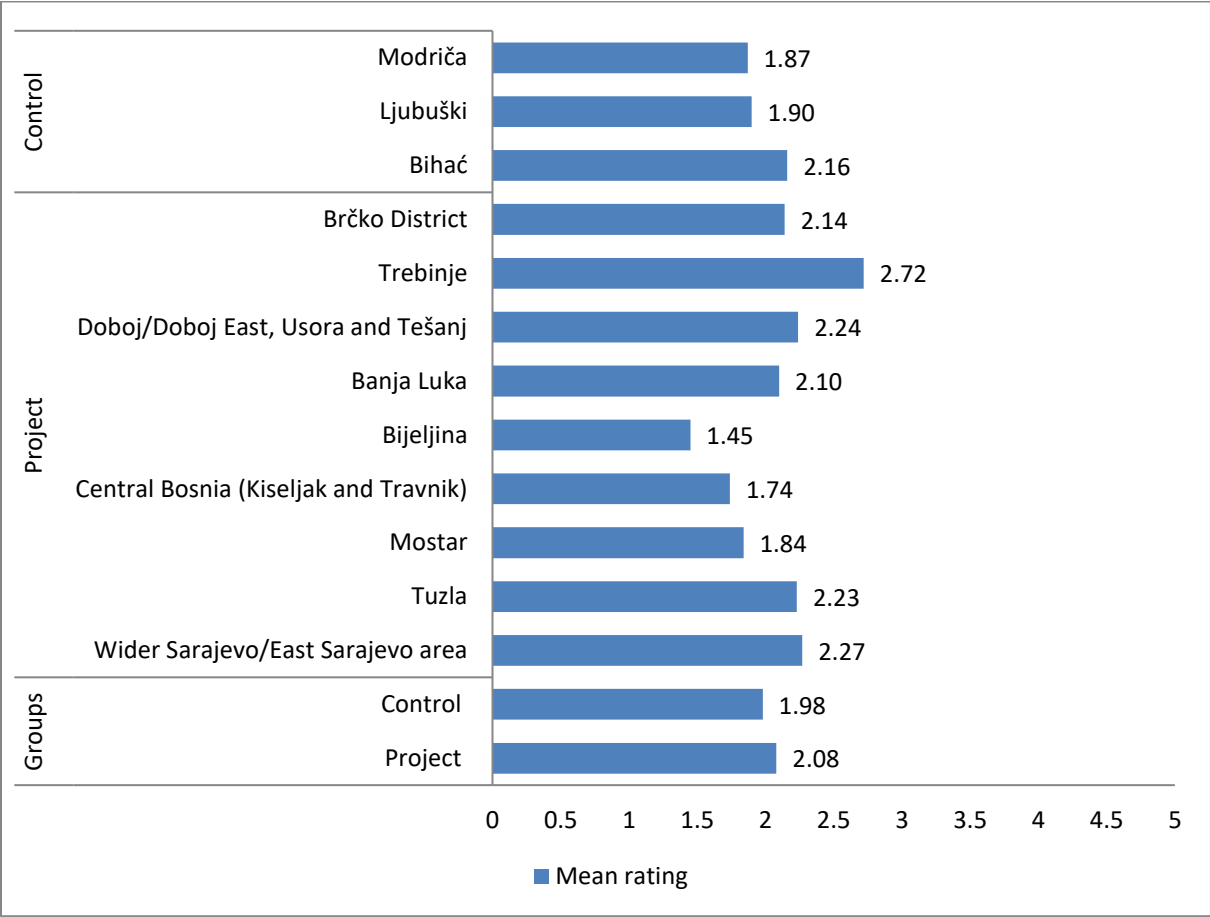
Respondents in the control municipalities/cities, on average, give a more positive rating (2.57) to the involvement of young people in collaborative initiatives aimed at maintaining peace in their local communities than those from the project municipalities/cities (2.35). Respondents in the Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj cluster gave, on average, the most positive rating (2.92) to this form of youth activism in

their local community, while those from Bijeljina (1.46) and Central Bosnia (1.86) gave, on average, the lowest average ratings. These differences in average values are statistically significant at the 5% significance level.

Figure 11. How would you rate the extent to which young people in your community are involved in collaborative initiatives aimed at maintaining peace in this municipality/city?
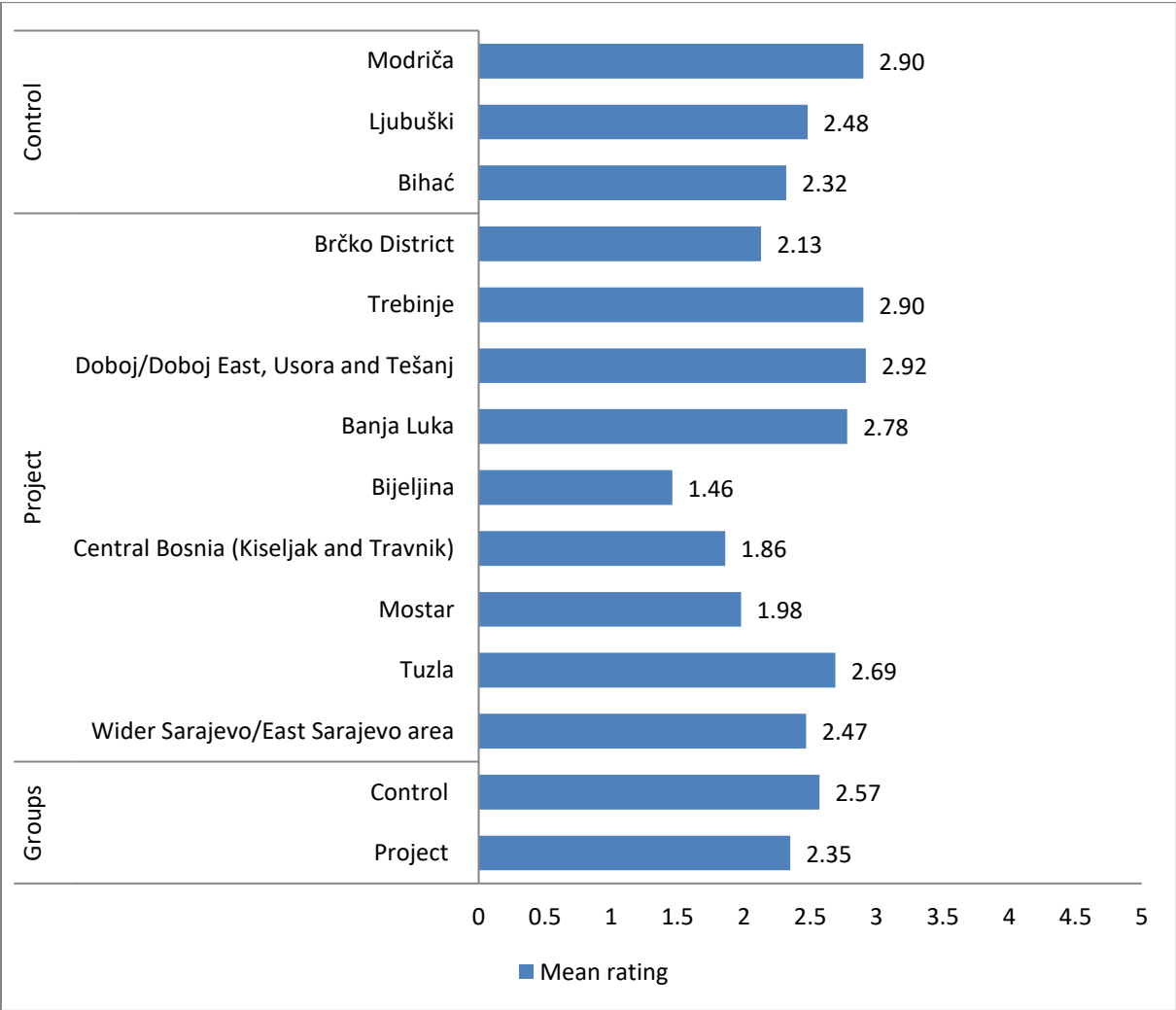
In-depth interviewees, in general, did not provide long answers regarding the influence of young people on maintaining peace. They repeated previous answers that young people have certain mechanisms and associations at their disposal through which they can act. The scanty and repetitive responses suggest that the participants are not familiar enough with the participation of young people in these initiatives.

"Regarding peace, I've talked to people from other ethnic and religious groups, and most of them wouldn't want to see any unrest happening. So, most people are for peace, and I think, based on what people say, the only ones who could cause unrest are those in power. As for people, nobody would want that, and I think these people are the majority, the vast majority.

If anything were to happen, most people would turn around and move abroad; they wouldn't want any conflict, or war, or such." – focus groups, general population, East Sarajevo

"They're together in the Youth Council, so they work together." – in-depth interview, Mostar

2.1.3. Cooperation between members of the community and their local representatives

To measure the level of cooperation between community members and their local representatives indicator 1c was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 1c_1 and 1c_2, and can have a value between 1 (poor) and 5 (excellent).

Table 6. Description of indicator 1c

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 1c	Level of cooperation between community members and their local representatives	1-5, where: 1- poor 5- excellent	1c_1 1c_2

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

The value of indicator 1c is slightly greater in the project municipalities/cities (2.10) than in the control municipalities/cities (1.97). Furthermore, both values are below the theoretical mean value, indicating that young people perceive the level of cooperation between community members and their local representatives as below average. Among the municipalities/cities, Trebinje (2.88) has the largest value of the indicator, while young people from Bjeljina (1.43), Mostar (1.78) and Central Bosnia (1.81) gave the level of cooperation between community members and their local representatives the lowest ratings. There is a statistically significant difference between the mean values for those municipalities/cities.

Figure 12. Indicator 1c – Level of cooperation between community members and their local representatives

Group	Municipality/City	Value
Control	Modriča	1.98
Control	Ljubuški	1.97
Control	Bihać	1.98
Project	Brčko District	2.28
Project	Trebinje	2.88
Project	Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	2.29
Project	Banja Luka	2.03
Project	Bijeljina	1.43
Project	Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik)	1.81
Project	Mostar	1.78
Project	Tuzla	2.10
Project	Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	2.32
Groups	Control	1.97
Groups	Project	2.10
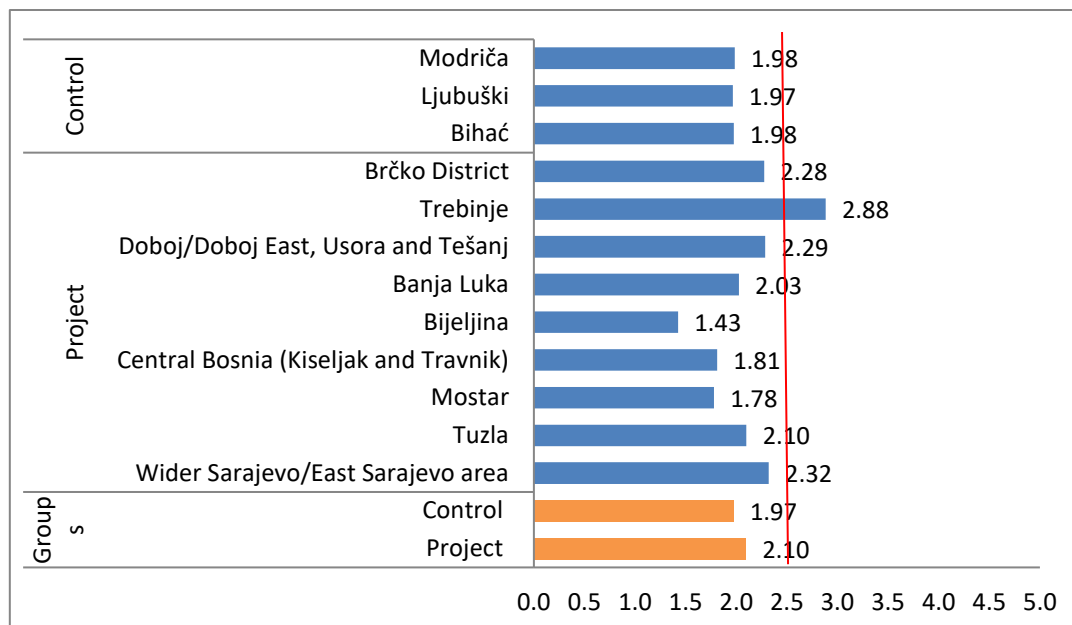
There is no significant difference between the respondents from the project municipalities/cities and those from the control municipalities/cities in how they see cooperation between citizens and their local representatives. Among individual municipalities/cities, the respondents in Trebinje have, on average, the most positive perception of this cooperation, while those in Bijeljina gave it, on average, the lowest rating (1.45). The difference between the two mean values is statistically significant.

Assessment of cooperation between citizens and local representatives is similar to the earlier assessment of youth cooperation with local government representatives. Most participants state that there is no direct cooperation and, when there are initiatives, a response by the authorities is typically forthcoming only if it is in their interest, which effectively reduces cooperation to a one-way process.

When it comes to cooperation between citizens and government representatives at the city/municipality level, in-depth interviewees generally express satisfaction with the existing cooperation and say that there are different ways to achieve cooperation and that it can always be better, but also it is up to citizens to get engaged, again demonstrating a view opposite to that held by the general population and young people.

"Interaction is still largely interest-based. Whoever needs something or has some ideas, he approaches the government. Now, the government pursues its own interests and, based on that, decides whether something will happen or not. I know people who send an e-mail, looking for a contact and don't get a reply, and then again there are some who get it in two days. Interest remains the overriding concern. There's no healthy interaction." – focus groups, students, Banja Luka

"It's very high, citizens can speak to councillors in open-door days, all councillors and the Mayor have open e-mail addresses, representatives communicate with citizens through political parties, and there is also a call centre for any kind of questions. Mayor of Tešanj

municipality personally responds to all questions on his FB page." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Figure 13. How would you rate the current cooperation between the residents of this municipality/city and their local political representatives?
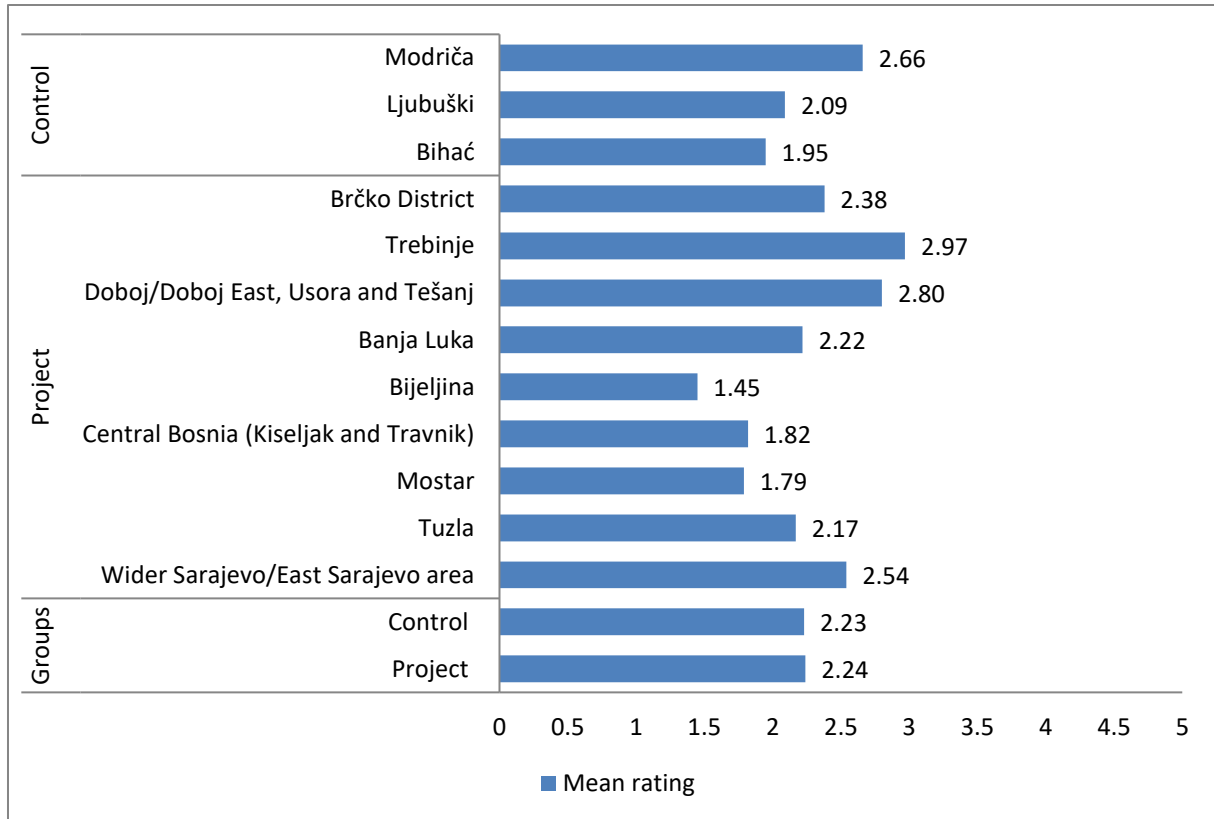
The participants were further probed to determine their satisfaction with the level of cooperation within local communities, specifically between local politicians and different ethnic groups, religious leaders and civic associations. Participants from Doboj report having good cooperation in their city in all matters, while in other municipalities/cities, cooperation generally exists only to meet the form.

"Just satisfied. It could be better. Associations seem to lead the way when it comes to crossing barriers, young people do that by going out together to the same places, and as for religious leaders, I don't know about them. I believe that there is progress because Tešanj has always shown a high degree of tolerance even in the most difficult of times." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

When it comes to interaction with young people from other countries, answers vary depending on the status of the municipality/city. Where there is established cooperation with other cities/municipalities in the surrounding countries, the participants state that there is a certain level of cooperation through sports clubs and cultural clubs, while in some municipalities there is no such cooperation.

"As for interaction with young people from other countries, I also think that it doesn't exist in some organised way, which is certainly bad. Mostly, this cooperation is reduced to private contacts between individuals from Pale with young people abroad." – in-depth interview, Pale

"As I said in my previous answer, the interaction is reflected in the inclusion of young people in some small-scale projects, as far as the territory of the city proper is concerned. And when it comes to interaction with young people from other countries, I think it can be improved such to be more frequent." – in-depth interview, Doboj

Participants report that there is youth participation in government, and there are youth organisations and various other organisations through which young people can work with local leaders.

"The previous answer indicates that this interaction is very satisfactory and that the examples of such cooperation are evident in various spheres of youth life: education, culture, health, sports activities, including youth political activism." – in-depth interview, Pale

When it comes to the perception of cooperation between young people and their local political representatives, the responses do not differ markedly from those given to the previous question. Again, respondents from Trebinje (3.1) and Bijeljina (1.46), on average, gave this cooperation the highest and lowest ratings, respectively. The difference between the two values is again statistically significant.

Similar to the previous question, young focus group participants say that the cooperation between youth and local political representatives is very poor, as reflected in political representatives' failure to be more responsive to young people and seek their opinion. But there are also respondents who feel that young people are perhaps not active enough, which is explained by the fact that if they attempt to implement an initiative most of them are from the very start confronted with insuperable obstacles.

On the other hand, the participants reiterate the view that there are opportunities within the municipality for youth to interact with their representatives, but these are not fully taken advantage of because young people remain relatively inert.

"The problem is the buck-passing. For example, when we approach them seeking a solution to a specific problem, they just send us away, and we keep knocking on one door to another in vain, so we ultimately lose enthusiasm and motivation." – focus groups, university students, Tuzla

"Well, probably because young people are themselves inert. I think the political situation is such that young people themselves expect political leaders to solve a problem they might have." – focus groups, general population, Travnik

"It's not satisfactory. A large number of young people feel that political representatives are removed from their constituencies. On the other hand, when you talk to young people who

are engaged, you get the impression that they, too, are critical of youth because of inertia and inaction. They believe that opportunities exist, that they use them extensively, and think that everyone else could take advantage of them, but young people rather choose not to and prefer to be apathetic and criticise everything." – in-depth interview, Doboj

Figure 14. How would you rate the current cooperation between young people and their local political representatives in this municipality/city?
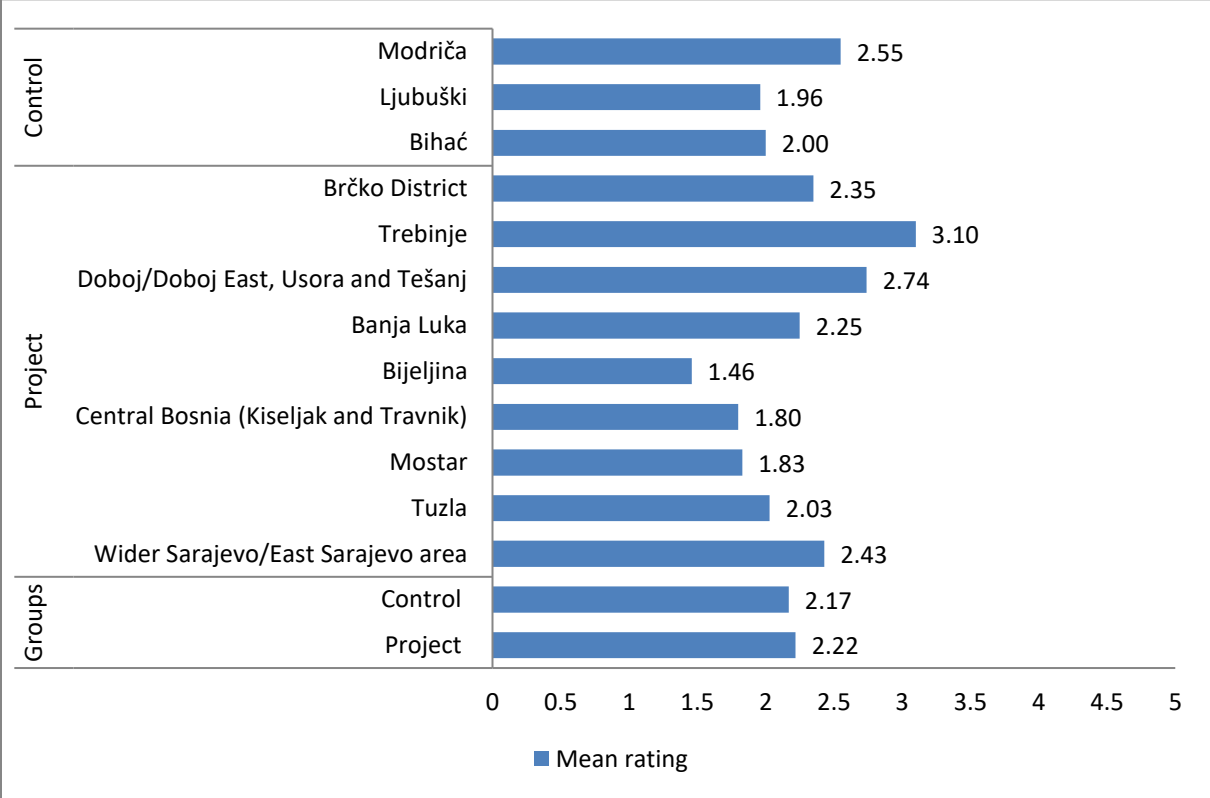
Most young people in the project municipalities/cities (83.3%) and control municipalities/cities (86.7%) report having never contacted their local representatives in connection with issues that are important to them. This is particularly so in Banja Luka, where as many as 99% of young people have never had any contact with the local representatives. Conversely, fewer than a third of the respondents (30.3%) from the wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area report having communicated, one way or another, with their local representatives. There is a statistically significant difference between the above mean values.

Figure 15. Have you personally in any way contacted your local representatives in this municipality/city in connection with any issues that are important to you?
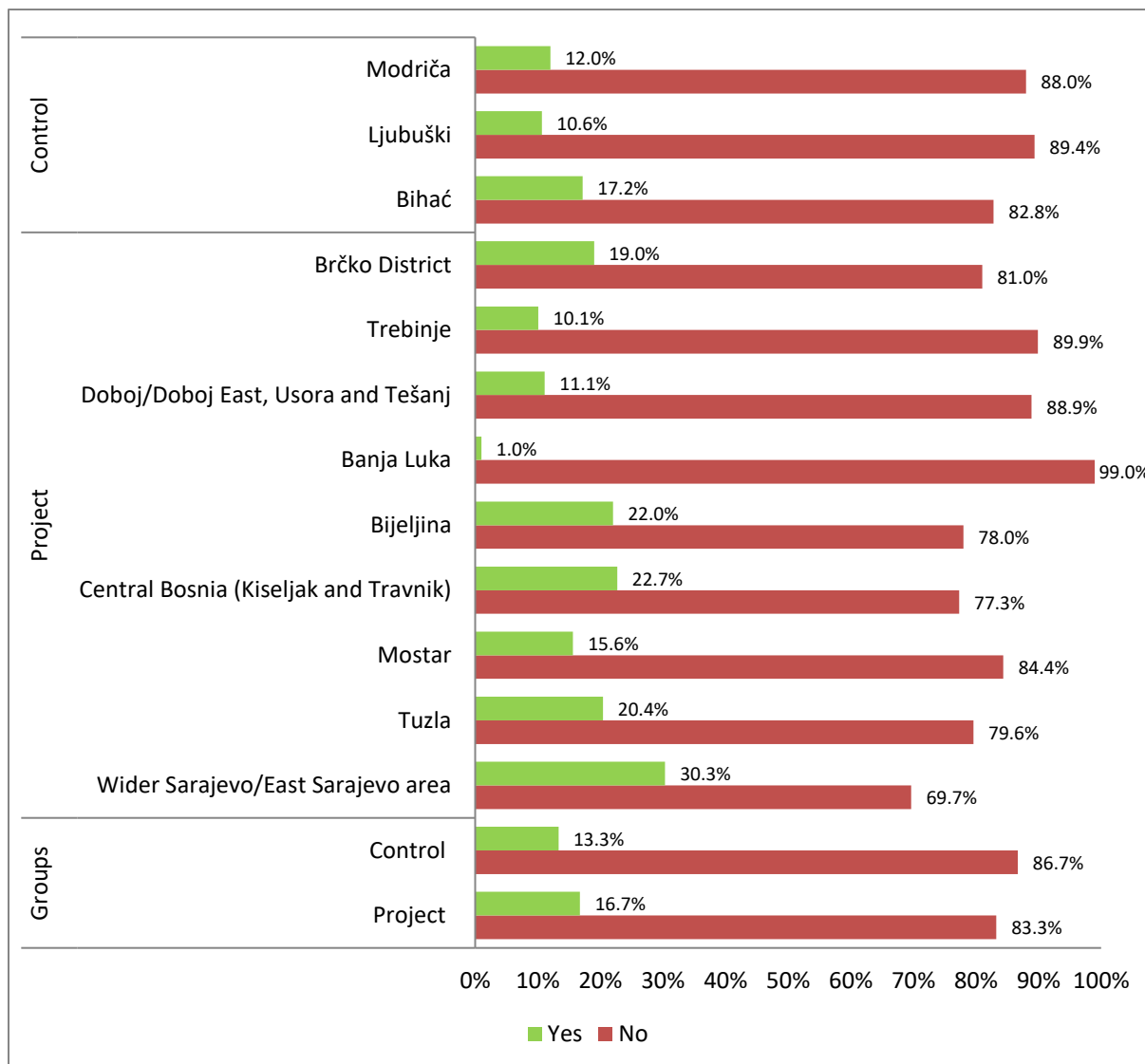
Focus group participants generally reiterate the view that political representatives are not open to cooperation, but also recognise that there are certain ways to get in contact with them, with the prevailing opinion that one needs to have personal contacts or be a member of a political party in order to be able to effectively exercise any real influence on decision making.

In-depth interviewees cite a wide range of ways in which young people can make contact with representatives, both individually via e-mail or social media as well as collectively through representatives of various organisations that would raise the problems of young people.

"Overall, I think that the interaction is poor, but it could be improved by copying the best practices from countries where there are various forms of communication, such as electronic means, letters and getting organised. I don't really know, I've heard that what's popular nowadays is those coffees with the president. It can be done at the level of some associations that deal with youth problems ..." – focus groups, general population, Tuzla

"I think that we can have influence if we join a party because interest is everything today. This is the only way to get to that." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"*In all possible ways, using modern tools, the Internet, e-mail, letters, or being physically present in joint meetings on request. Call centre, public hearings, initiatives, and the like.*" – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Young people from the project municipalities/cities are better acquainted with the work of youth representatives in their local community (50.8%) than their counterparts in the control municipalities/cities (42.5%). Municipalities/cities where young people are most up to date with the work of youth representatives are Trebinje (68.5%) and the Doboj/Doboj East, Usora, Tešanj cluster (64.9%).

Very few focus group participants responded affirmatively when asked whether they know if there is a youth representative in their city/municipality. The respondents mostly stated that they did not know, or if they did, they were not sure who the specific person representing youth interests was.

"They do have someone who represents them. I am only aware that within the political parties, there are clubs and within them youth representatives. I'm from Tuzla, but I don't know." – focus groups, university students, Tuzla

"I don't think this municipality has a specific youth representative. There are representatives in other spheres of life. For example, each university has a student representative, and each political party has a representative from among its young members, but there is no specific youth representative in the municipality." – focus groups, university students, Travnik

Figure 16. Do you know if this municipality/city has a youth representative?
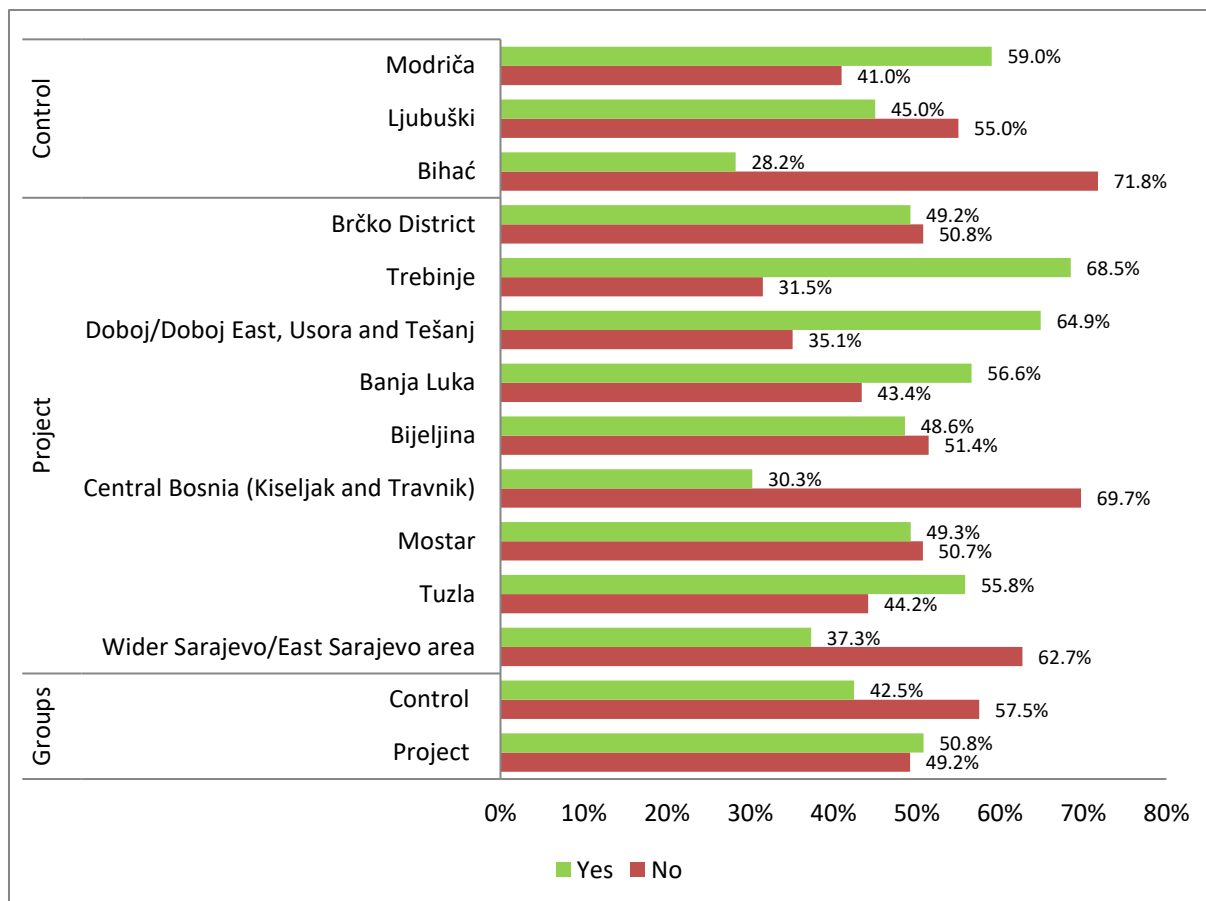
2.1.4. The trust between community members and their local representatives

To measure the level of trust between community members and their local representatives indicator 1d was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 1d_1 – 1d_2 and can have a value between 1 (poor) and 5 (excellent).

Table 7. Description of indicator 1d

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 1d	Level of trust between community members and their local representatives	1-5, where: 1- poor 5- excellent	1d_1 1d_2

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

Similarly to indicator 1c, the values of indicator 1d for the project municipalities/cities and the control municipality/cities are also lower than the theoretical mean value. Young individuals in the project municipalities/cities (1.93) perceive the level of trust between community members and their local representatives as being larger than their counterparts in the control municipalities/cities (1.76). This result is statistically significant at the 5% significance level, i.e. there is a statistically significant difference between these mean values. Among individual municipalities/cities, Trebinje and Bijeljina have the highest and the lowest values respectively for indicator 1d (2.82 vs 1.39). This result, too, is statistically significant at the 5% significance level.

Figure 17. Indicator 1d – Level of trust between community members and their local representatives
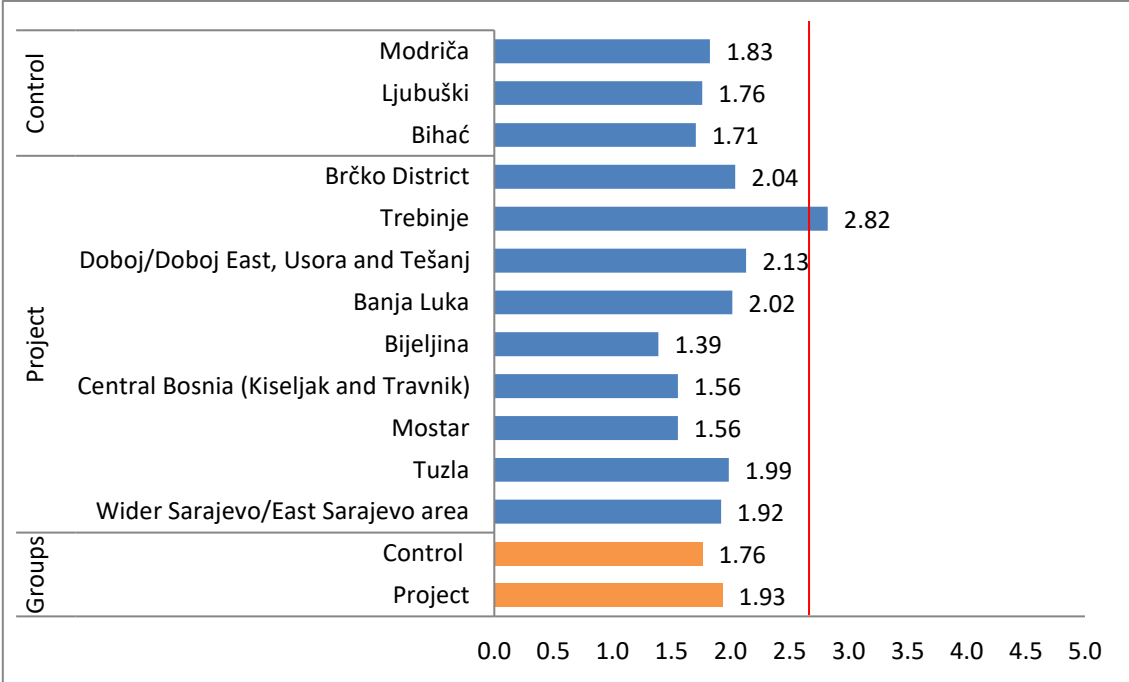
Focus group participants, regardless of where they live, generally show very low levels of confidence in local political representatives. They mostly mistrust political representatives' promises and believe that the situation could improve only if the current ruling elites were to completely change because they promise to implement projects during election periods only to garner votes.

In-depth interviewees unanimously report being aware that there is a high level of distrust in the government, as evidenced by the lack of initiatives and poor voter turnouts. Interviewees feel that citizens should be more active. Some representatives think that the level of trust is very satisfactory.

"I think once this wartime generation of people most of whom support ethnic-based parties is gone, things should be a little better unless all young people emigrate by then." – focus groups, university students, Vitez

"Well, I, for one, have no confidence." – focus groups, general population, Banja Luka

"I think that the level of trust, not only in our community but also nationwide, is fairly low and people don't have a lot of confidence in political representatives. I don't know why this is so; I think that the situation is not as bad as the prevailing climate of scepticism would suggest." – in-depth interview, Mostar

Such a low level of trust between community members and their local representatives may be due to the perceived low concern for young people in decision-making processes. In most municipalities/cities, the respondents gave below-average ratings to political representatives' concern for young people in decision-making processes. The sole exception is Trebinje with a mean value of 2.88. The mean value for Trebinje is statistically significantly different from the mean values for the other municipalities/cities.

Figure 18. How would you rate the extent to which local political representatives in this municipality/city pay heed to young people's concerns in decision making?
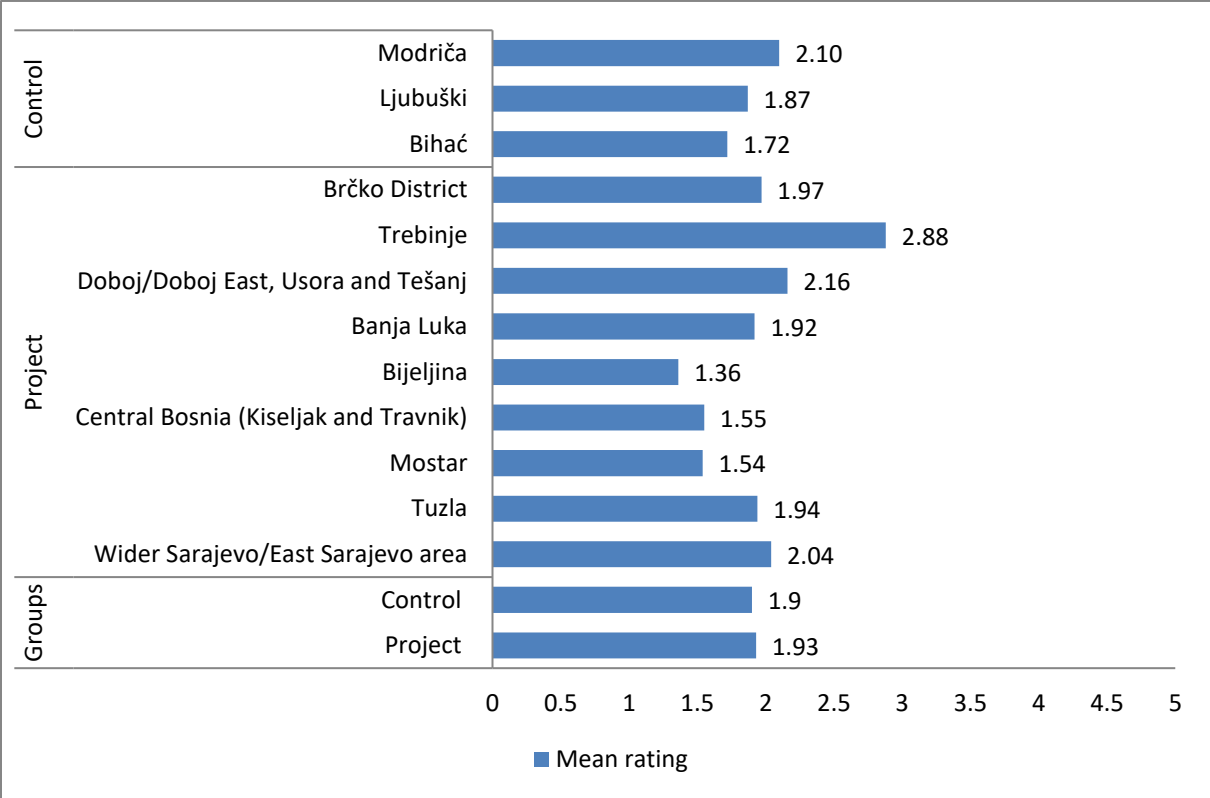
Young focus group participants are split in their views as to the extent to which political representatives in their municipality/city look after young people's interests. While, on the one hand, the prevailing opinion is that local political representatives show no interest whatsoever in the situation of young people, there are also some who recognise certain

benefits and projects for young people and believe that there is a certain level of concern for young people, but it is not comprehensive enough and should be increased.

In-depth interviewees generally share the view that young people's interests are taken into sufficient consideration in decision making, but also feel that there is room for further improvement. In addition, some of the participants argue that local governments cannot tackle all the issues alone and that senior levels of government need to be involved, too.

"Well, I can't say they're not concerned at all. We do have some benefits, such as free education and such, but these are fundamental necessities, we don't get to enjoy some of life's luxuries. I think they can show more concern, but I also think that they are concerned to some extent." – focus groups, general population, Travnik

"As my previous responses suggest, I feel that in my municipality young people's interests are taken into account in all aspects of life. It can always be better, and accordingly, I believe that young people can get more actively involved in furthering their own interests and thus increase pressure on decision makers." – in-depth interview, Pale

When asked about young people's confidence in local political representatives, the participants provided answers similar to those given to the previous question. They are generally aware of the lack of trust in the authorities and the existence of criticism of the government, as well as the increasing emigration trends.

"There is a prevailing critical attitude among those young people who are not politically engaged. They think that the representatives don't do enough, or do very little to bring about positive change in society." – in-depth interview, Doboj

2.2. Analysis of the perception of interaction and cooperation between different groups at the BiH level

This section presents an analysis of the perception of interaction and cooperation between the different groups at the level of BiH. Topics covered in this section can be summarised as follows:

- Perception of cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people;
- Perception of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups and their frequency during the election period;
- Young people's attitudes on inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media;
- Young people's attitudes on their civic engagement and partnership with government representatives.

2.2.1. Cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people

To measure the level of cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people indicator 2a was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 2a_2 – 2a_4 and can have a value between 1 (poor) and 5 (excellent).

Table 8. Description of indicator 2a

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 2a	Level of cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people	1-5, where: 1- poor 5- excellent	2a_2 2a_3 2a_4

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

The values of indicator 2a for both groups of municipalities/cities are slightly below average. However, the value of this indicator is slightly higher for the project municipalities/cities (2.21) than for control municipalities/cities (2.10). Interestingly, compared to the values of indicator 1c, which shows the level of cooperation between community members and their local representative, the values of indicator 2a are higher for both groups of municipalities/cities. When we look at the individual municipalities/cities, Central Bosnia (1.68), Bijeljina (1.74) and Mostar (1.94) have below-average values of this indicator, while Trebinje (2.72) and Banja Luka (2.60) have the highest values.

Focus group participants are not satisfied with the current cooperation and dialogue between the BiH Presidency, local authorities and young people. They mainly argue that within the Presidency there are differences in attitudes that hinder any decision making, that there is poor cooperation between the Presidency and local authorities, while young people, who are the last link in the decision-making chain, are not included in these processes at all. Only rare gestures by politicians such as taking time to meet with the best students are recognised as signs of some cooperation.

In-depth interviewees generally report not having enough information or not being familiar with the initiatives used by the BiH Presidency to interact directly with young people from different ethnic groups. They say that the cooperation with the youth at the local level is satisfactory.

"Well, just recently the BiH Presidency member received the best students from all over the country. I was really keen to know who those students were and where they came from and, when I read their names, I learned they came from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina." – focus groups, general population, Sarajevo

"First, the Presidency itself can't agree on anything, let alone talk with the local authorities or, even less likely, with the youth." – focus groups, university students, Tuzla

"I visited Sarajevo in the past, but I moved to live there when I started my university studies, and I think that Sarajevo and Vitez are like two different countries because, unlike here, in Sarajevo, there is some cooperation and sense of unity." – focus groups, general population, Vitez

"If the Presidency becomes truly functional in terms of representing the citizens of this country, it will be possible to make some headway. However, if it operates on the principle of ethnic and political representation, nothing will ever get settled, nor will there be effective communication between citizens and the Presidency." – in-depth interview, Mostar

Figure 19. Indicator 2a – Level of cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people
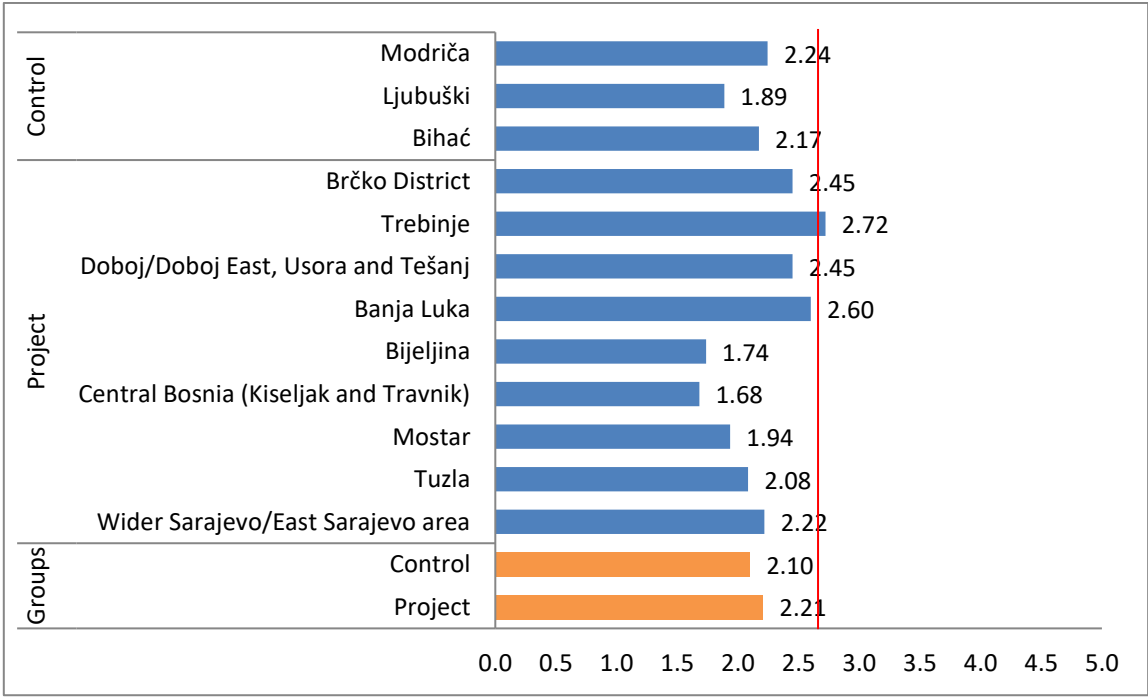
Focus group participants and in-depth interviewees were additionally asked to give their opinion about the ways in which the BiH Presidency could achieve better communication with young people and with local authorities.

Young people do not have a lot of ideas when it comes to ways in which they could have direct communication with the BiH Presidency, but generally consider that, first and foremost, it is imperative to ensure good communication within the Presidency itself, as

well as between the Presidency and local governments, in order for this to ultimately have a positive effect on lower levels of cooperation, such as with the youth. For this to happen, however, the attitudes of the current decision-makers would need to undergo a fundamental change, or new people would have to come to power who would be ready for dialogue.

Overall, in-depth interviewees do not have much idea about what would be the ways to achieve direct communication betwee the Presidency and young people. Some believe that this is not possible, given the level of authority and responsibility of the Presidency, while others believe that the creation of committees or special organisation would achieve direct communication between the Presidency and youth.

"Well I think it's not necessary at all for them to communicate directly with us, they need to communicate with the lower levels of government and, above all, they need to start doing something for the people rather than for themselves. So, rather than garnering political favour, they should be doing something concrete – something that will help us and will improve the situation in the country." – focus groups, university students, East Sarajevo

"I think that the current relations would improve if the current government resigned. So that we can elect somebody else and then establish communication." – focus groups, university students, Mostar

"So, some open-door days are organised in the BiH Parliament, but I'm not sure if anyone is aware of that. At any time, you can announce yourself as a group to visit the Presidencyand you will easily get approval. And, of course, these can be groups or study visits to the Presidency where people can get acquainted with their own country, with laws, everything." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"First, they need to change their attitude so that they represent all citizens, regardless of ethnicity and religious affiliation. Once they change this attitude and become the Presidency of all citizens, it will then be very easy to make communication between people of any affiliation. However, the Presidency represents ethnic groups so it will be very difficult to get anything done in terms of developing a civil society." – in-depth interview, Mostar

Young people generally agree that political parties are an obstacle to cooperation between the Presidency and local governments and deem it best if political representatives started to work in the interest of the people and progress, rather than in the interest of their parties. Also, they cite disagreements within the Presidency as a reason why it is difficult to achieve a common position with which to go out among representatives of local governments to address specific problems.

"Well, if they stopped engaging in political strife for a while, if they showed a little more interest in doing things, such as helping communities develop, rather than blindly following partisan politics." – focus groups, university students, East Sarajevo

"Well, I think that the Presidency's powers are limited as far as the municipalities go. What could they do to help municipalities? I really don't know." – focus groups, university students, Vitez

"First, political representatives need to stop concerning themselves primarily with what political party they come from. Like, for example, a few years ago when the cantonal prime minister, who was from one political party, came to visit a municipality where another party was in power, they refused to meet with him. For political reasons." – focus groups, general population, Tešanj

More than three-quarters of the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities support cooperation and dialogue between different peoples in BiH. Among individual municipalities/cities, as many as 90.9% of the respondents in Tuzla and 89.8% in the Brčko District support cooperation among peoples in BiH, while in Bijeljina this sentiment is shared by only about half of the respondents (51%). There is a statistically significant difference among these average values.

Figure 20. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation and dialogue between different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
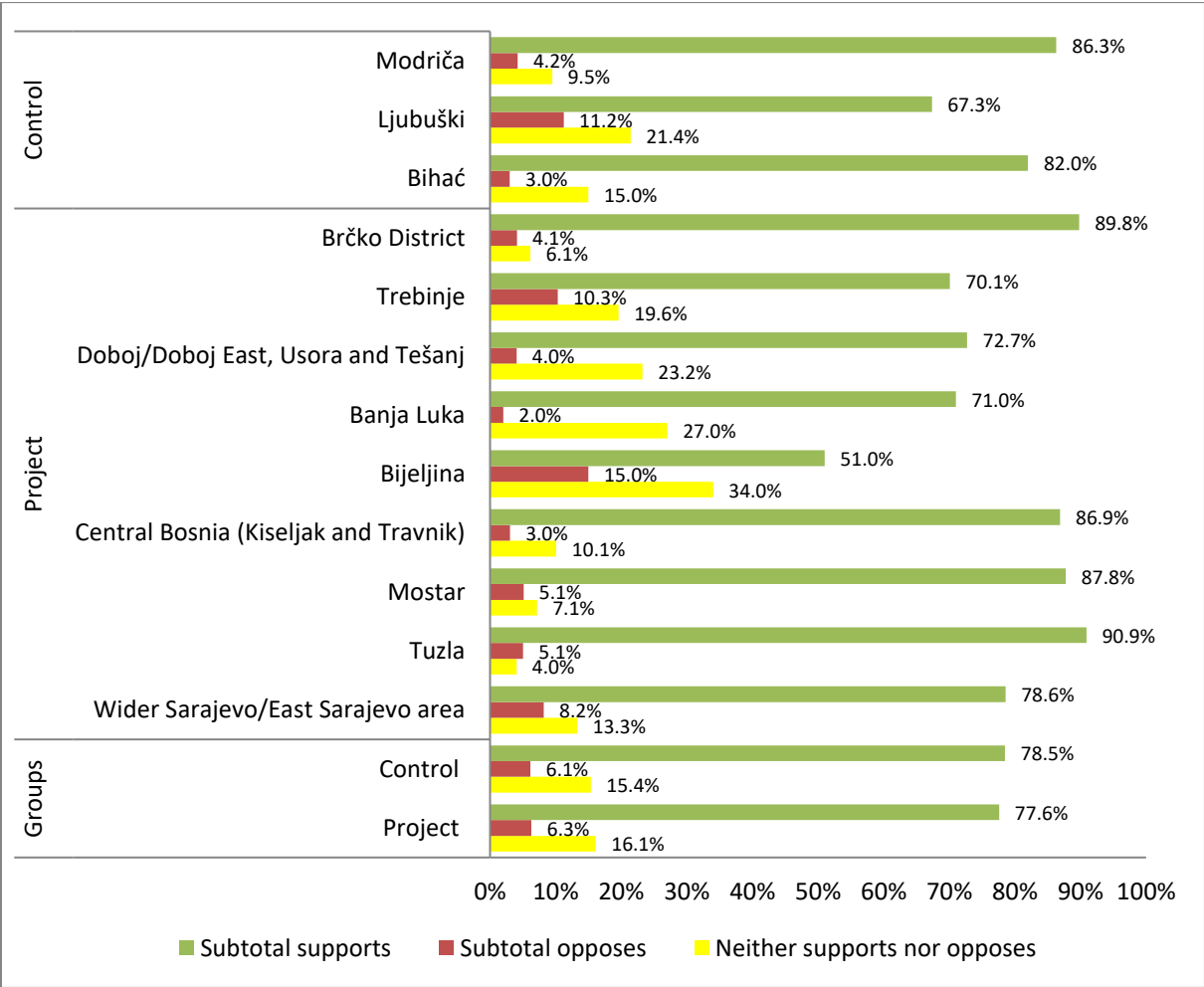
Participants in the focus groups are generally discontented with the current level of cooperation and dialogue between the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. They again cite the media and politicians as the chief obstacle to increased dialogue. Additionally, they cite the various state-owned companies such as the three mobile operators or three power distributors as ways in which different peoples keep themselves in closed groups. However, young people generally recognise the need to achieve dialogue and believe that something like that is necessary in order to improve the general state of affairs in the country.

In terms of attitudes towards cooperation and dialogue between different ethnic groups, in-depth interviewees unanimously agree that cooperation is positive and necessary. They recognise that it is only through cooperation that progress can be made. Once again, there is a noticeable difference in attitudes between in-depth interviewees and other participants in the survey.

"I think that would be too much of a generalisation, to look at things at the state level. However, there are municipalities and local communities where things work well, and some where things don't work so well. But, in any case, the dialogue is necessary for everything." – focus groups, general population, Banja Luka

"I think that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there is concrete cooperation and dialogue between different ethnic groups and of course I support this because I think it is important that we respect each other, 'coz this is the only way we can create a better life for ourselves." – in-depth interview, Doboj

In general, the respondents gave cooperation between young people of different ethnicities in BiH lower average ratings than to their cooperation at the local level (see chart in section 2.1.2.). The respondents from Modriča (3.54) gave, on average, the highest rating to the current level of cooperation between young people of different ethnicities in BiH. Conversely, the respondents from Bjeljina (1.86) and Central Bosnia (1.9) gave, on average, the lowest rating to this cooperation. Statistically, those mean values are significantly different.

Young people report being relatively satisfied with the current cooperation between students of different ethnicities in BiH and generally cite again the media and politicians as the main obstacles to establishing a meaningful dialogue. Also, they argue that quite a lot of young people have different views from members of the older generations who are burdened with prejudices and divisions. As expected, the situation is better in multi-ethnic communities, and slightly worse in ethnically homogenous communities, where young people do not have the opportunity to make contacts with members of other ethnic groups.

In-depth interviews provide a similar response when asked about the cooperation between young people from different groups. Again, they recognise the need to improve this cooperation because the current situation is unsatisfactory in their opinion.

"Young people do cooperate, but again the problem is the elderly who tend to instil hatred in children with stories about the long-gone past, and once young people's mind gets clouded like this they become unable to overcome this prejudice." – focus groups, general population, Doboj

"When it comes to events or something like that, I think they can agree on that. When they talk about stuff that has nothing to do with religion or ethnicity, I think they can achieve really good cooperation." – focus groups, general population, Banja Luka

"I'm not satisfied. I feel that young people are full of prejudice more than ever, closing their minds to the Other. Dialogue can and should be increased." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Figure 21. How would you rate the current level of cooperation and dialogue between young people of different ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
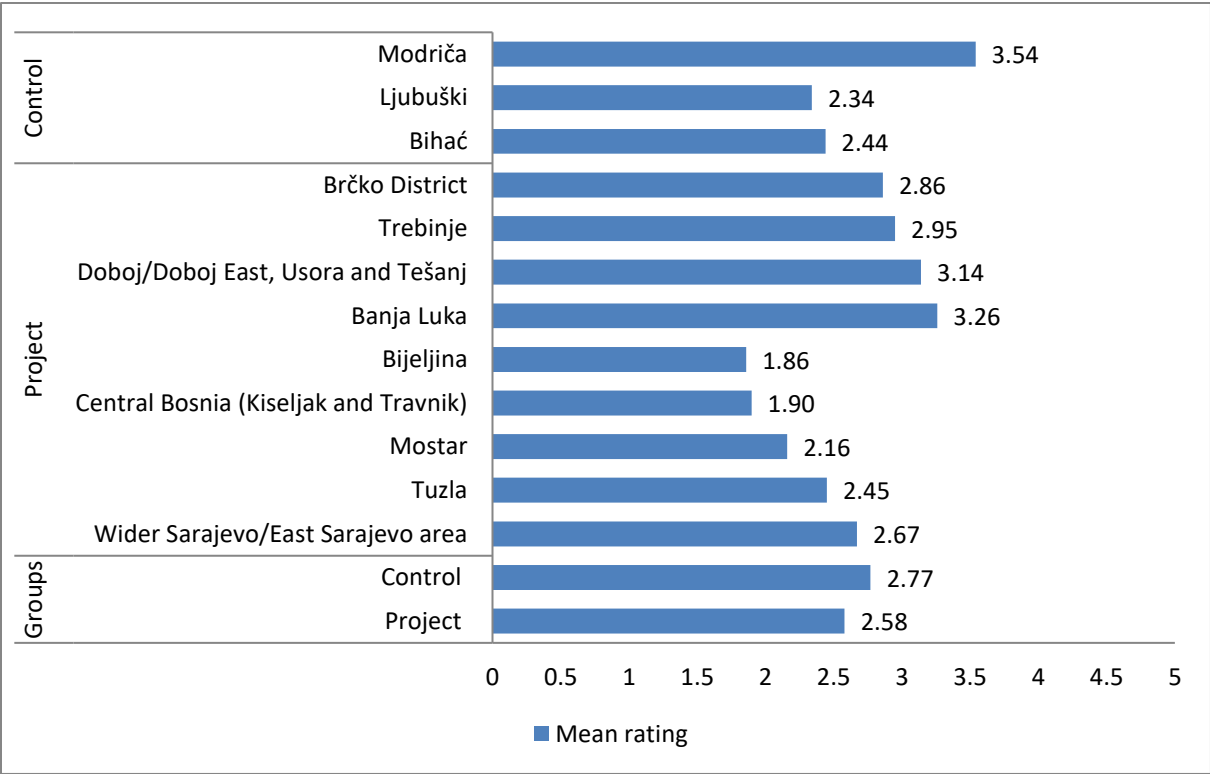
The respondents in both groups of municipalities on average gave a lower rating to the cooperation between the BiH Presidency, local authorities and young people of different ethnicities than to inter-ethnic cooperation between young people. The respondents from Central Bosnia (1.35) and Bijeljina (1.46) gave the lowest average ratings to this cooperation, too.

Figure 22. How would you rate the current level of cooperation and dialogue between the BiH Presidency, local authorities and young people of different ethnicities?

		Mean rating
Control	Modriča	2.77
	Ljubuški	1.89
	Bihać	1.74
Project	Brčko District	2.01
	Trebinje	2.95
	Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	2.22
	Banja Luka	2.17
	Bijeljina	1.46
	Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik)	1.35
	Mostar	1.68
	Tuzla	1.77
	Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	2.18
Groups	Control	2.13
	Project	1.98
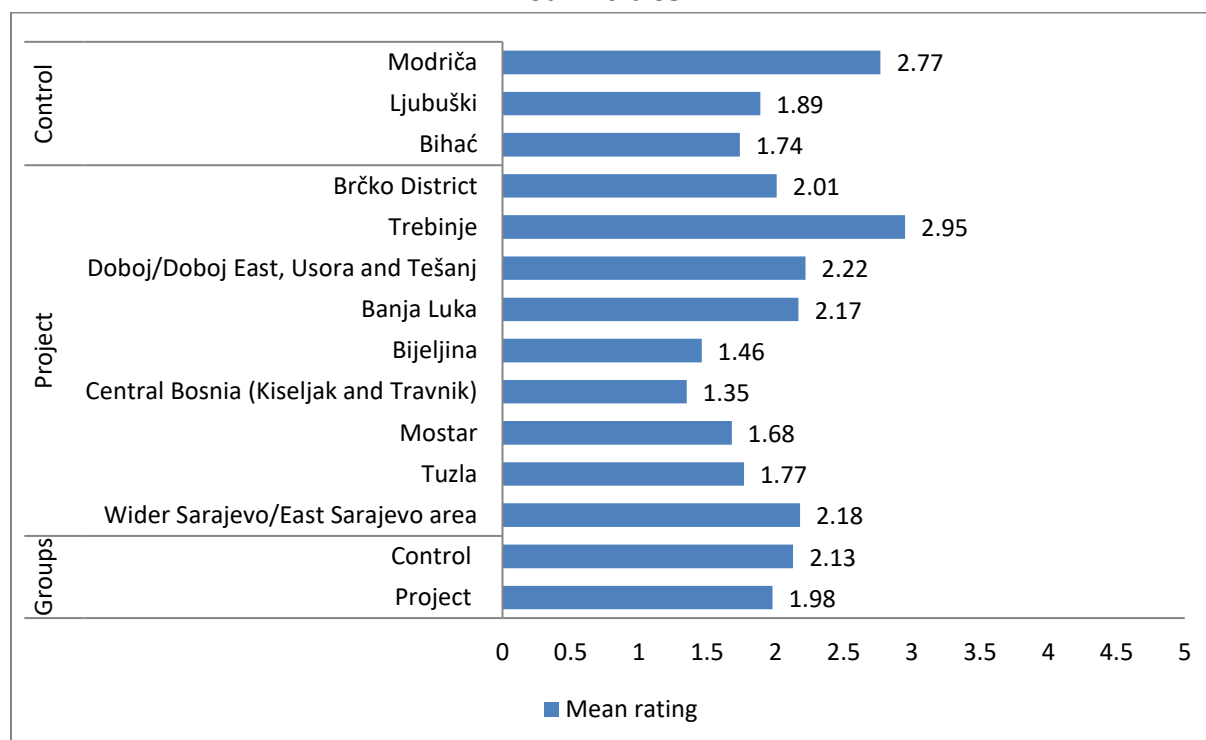
2.2.2. Perception of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups and their frequency during the election period

For the purposes of measuring the level of perception of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups and their frequency in the media during the election period, indicator 2b was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions 2b_2 and 2b_3 and can have a value between 1 (non-existent) and 5 (present on a daily basis).

Table 9. Description of indicator 2b

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 2b	Perception of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups and their frequency in the media during the election period	1-5, where: 1- non-existent 5- present on a daily basis	2b_2 2b_3

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

Indicator 2b has a slightly higher value in the project municipalities/cities (2.42) than in the control municipalities/cities (2.27), which means that the respondents in the project municipalities/cities perceive the greater presence of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups in the media during the election period. This difference in the mean values is statistically significant at the 5% significance level. Among individual municipalities/cities, the respondents from the Sarajevo/East Sarajevo wider area (2.78) and those from Banja Luka (2.76) are the most likely to perceive the presence of negatively-loaded media statements. Conversely, the respondents from Central Bosnia (1.72) tend to perceive the fewest negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups during the election period. These differences are statistically significant.

Figure 23. Indicator 2b – Perception of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups and their frequency in the media during the election period
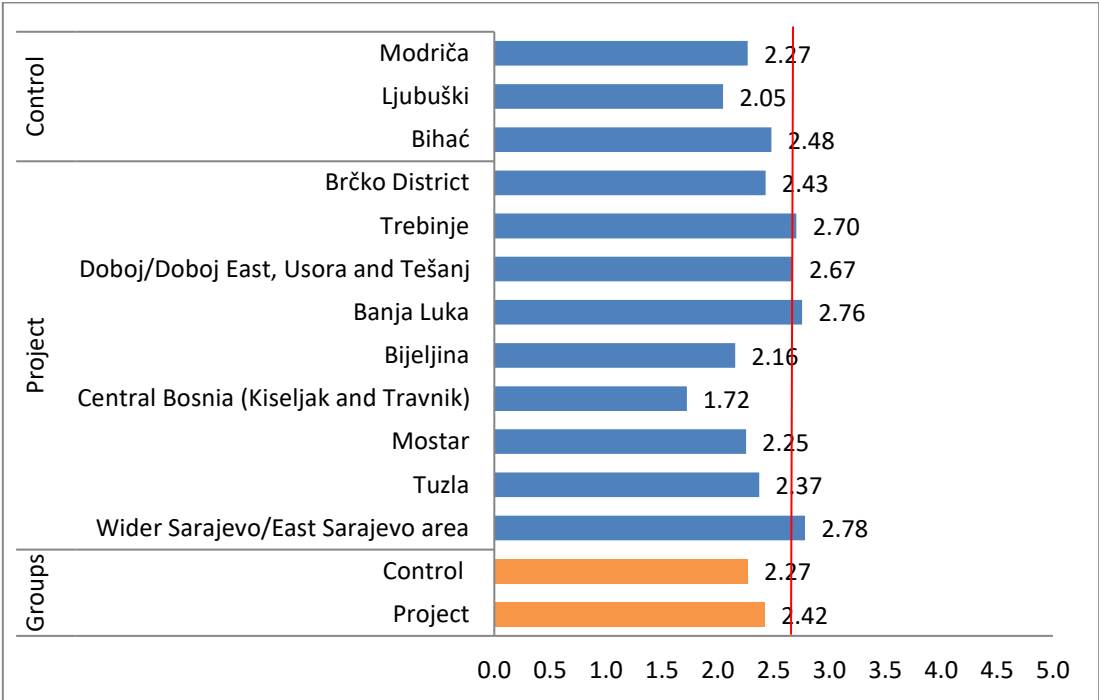
More than a half of the respondents in the project municipalities/cities (52.9%) and the control (60.2%) municipalities/cities agree that provocative/negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups prevailed in the media during the election period. As regards individual municipalities/cities, the respondents from Banja Luka (8.1%) are the least likely to have recognised such statements in the media during the election period.

There is nearly unanimous agreement among the focus group participants on the issue of provocative/negatively-loaded statements during the election period. Almost all participants agree that the political campaigns of the dominant political parties mainly focused on levelling negative comments at their political opponents and instilling fear in the ethnic groups so that they would group and vote for "their" political representatives

who will protect them from others. The participants agree that this type of campaign is negative and in no way helps to improve the situation, but is successful for the ruling parties. The participants look at such campaigns with a critical eye and believe that they should be based on political programmes aimed at achieving overall progress rather than creating political divisions and raising tension.

In-depth interviewees also note that the electoral campaign was too focused on the negatively-loaded statements and fear-mongering rather than the actual problems, adding that such campaign rhetoric helped those political figures remain in power.

"That's the only thing that matters to them, literally, at least to our president: I created Republika Srpska, if it hadn't been for me, there would be no you, and similar statements to that effect. So, it's very frequent, which is wrong." – focus groups, general population, East Sarajevo

"Well, I think this is an integral part of the election campaign of many political parties. They think the more mud they sling on their opponents, the more this will go in their favour and the more votes they will garner. And, certainly, nationalism has long been one of the main topics in election campaigns. Basically, it's the same old divide-and-conquer routine aimed at scaring people, and so people turn to those self-appointed protectors of theirs, or to that political party." – focus groups, general population, Vitez

"I absolutely agree that negative statements about other ethnic groups prevailed in the election period. In this way, politicians maintain an atmosphere of fear and mistrust between different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina and thus homogenise their electorate and remain in power." – in-depth interview, Pale

Figure 24. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that provocative/negatively-loaded statements about the "other" ethnic groups prevailed in the media during the election period?
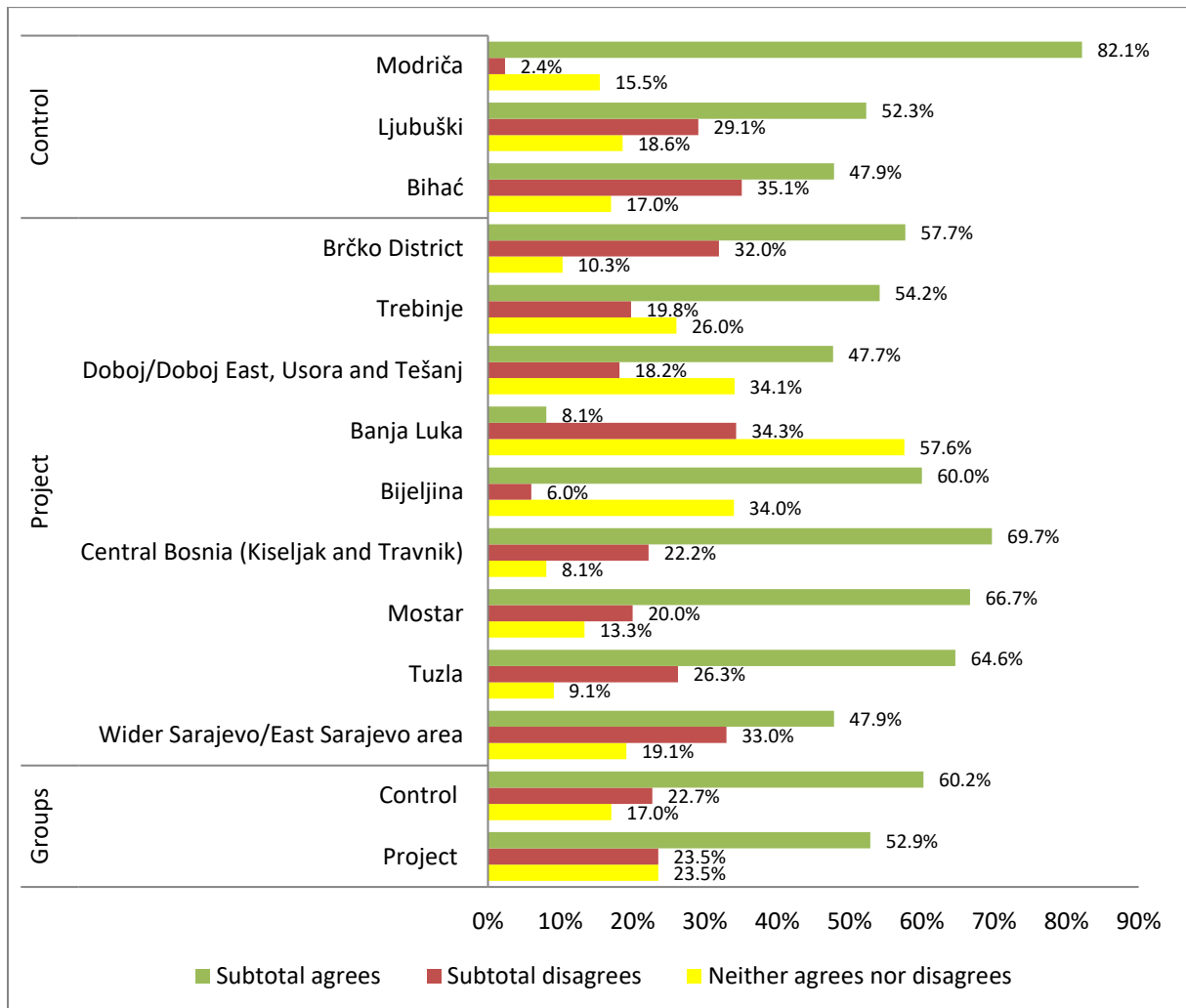
The majority of the respondents are sceptical about the effects of elections on young people in their local communities. About half of the respondents in the project municipalities/cities (48%) and the control municipalities/cities (55.6%) hold that elections can have negative effects on young people in their local communities. Such a view is particularly prevalent among the respondents in Central Bosnia (73.7%), Ljubuški (62.4%), Tuzla (60.6%) and Bijeljina (60%).

There is nearly unanimous agreement among the focus group participants that the previous election has had a negative impact. The participants again refer to the election campaign which was marked by the heightening of ethnic tensions, and the fact that the election was largely won by the ruling parties. Therefore, they do not believe that the situation in the country could improve, but it will probably remain the same, or be worse than before the election.

50

In-depth interviewees, on the other hand, are divided in their views of the consequences of this rhetoric. While some believe that the election will not adversely affect inter-ethnic relations, others think that it will have a negative impact, primarily in terms of youth emigration.

"I also think that this could have turned out much more positively, but now it can only be negative because the same people were re-elected." – focus groups, university students, Tuzla

"I think that this year's youth turnout was the highest on record 'coz young people were hoping that something would change this year, but it hasn't." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"The worst possible outcome is entire families leaving the country, I don't think there'll be conflict, but people are leaving and will assimilate in one of the countries in Europe. I don't see any positive effects." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Figure 25. What impact do you think in general this election can have on young individuals in your municipality/city?
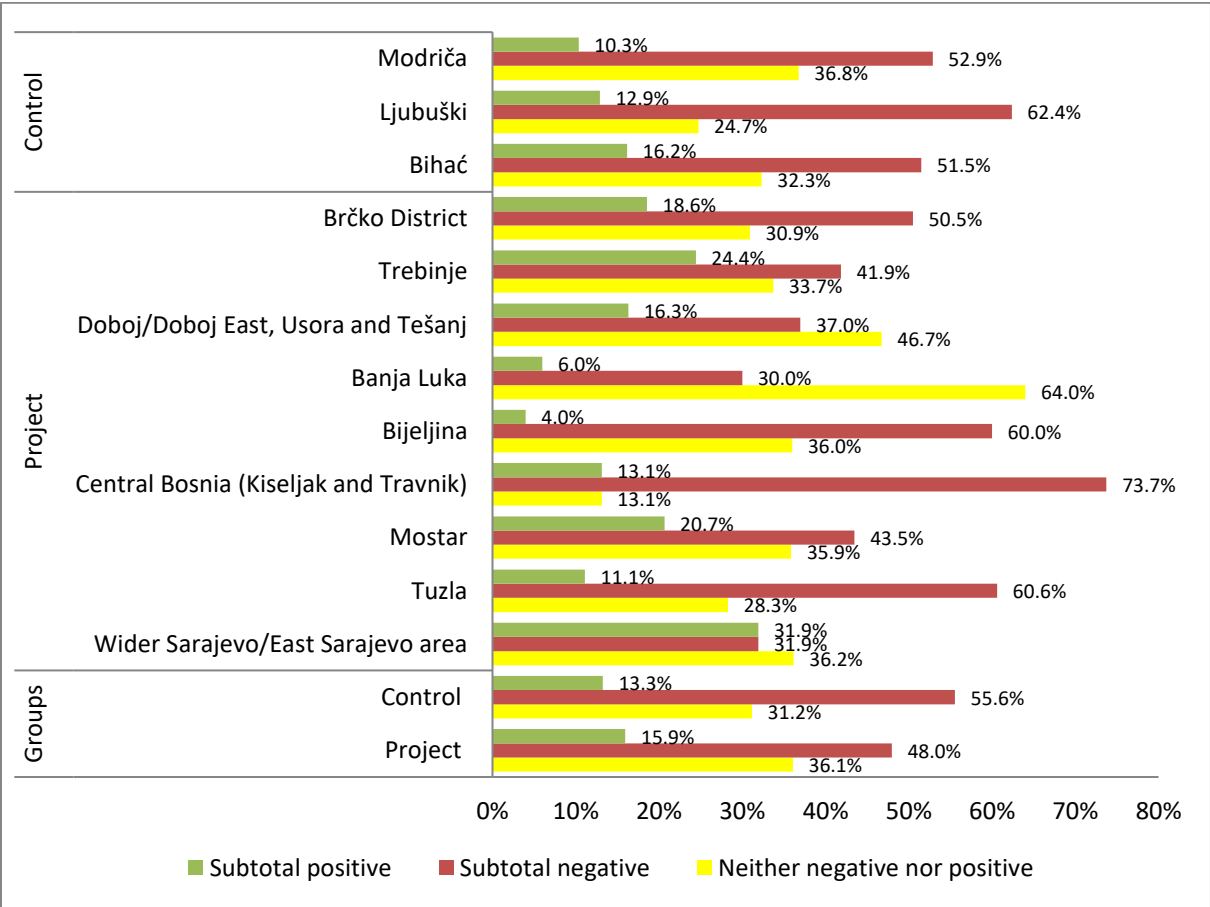
In-depth interviewees generally believe that the rhetoric used during the election process will continue to prevail in everyday political life after the election, while some

interviewees think that it will subside during the inter-election period and then flare up again during the next election campaign.

"I don't think anything will change because the elections take place relatively frequently (every two years), and in the periods between elections there are always services being held to commemorate the times and places of suffering of various ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which are used to constantly peddle this fiery rhetoric." – in-depth interview, Pale

Such negative perceptions of the impact of the election on young people can be explained by the fact that the majority of the respondents think that the electoral rhetoric has an adverse impact on the relations among young people of different ethnicities. About half of the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities believe that such rhetoric could have negative consequences on the relations among young people of different ethnicities. The respondents from Central Bosnia (74.2%), Tuzla (66.7%), Mostar (60.7%), Ljubuški (59.3%).

Young people are divided in their views about the possible impact of the elections on the relations among young people of different ethnicities in their municipalities/cities. The prevailing view is that the relations could remain the same, or could deteriorate if people were to go along with what the elected political representatives are saying. Conversely, some participants believe that it is precisely the common problems of youth that could lead to more dialogue and recognition of the common desire to improve the situation. Again, participants frequently cite the older generation as holders of old prejudices that they sometimes pass on to the younger generation.

"There's this joke: How do you see Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2019? Via Skype, God willing. That's what you've got here..." – focus groups, general population, Sarajevo

"I think it's neutral, but brings a more friendly atmosphere among us, among people of different ethnic backgrounds, but young take the results of the electoral process so seriously, they hang out more, they discuss it more often." – focus groups, general population, Doboj

Figure 26. What impact do you think the rhetoric in this election could have on the relations among young people of different ethnicities in your municipality/city?

Control
- Modriča: 3.7%, 48.1%, 48.1%
- Ljubuški: 21.0%, 59.3%, 19.8%
- Bihać: 9.2%, 39.8%, 51.0%

Project
- Brčko District: 13.8%, 50.0%, 36.2%
- Trebinje: 22.1%, 30.2%, 47.7%
- Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj: 10.0%, 34.4%, 55.6%
- Banja Luka: 7.1%, 17.2%, 75.8%
- Bijeljina: 1.0%, 62.6%, 36.4%
- Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik): 6.5%, 74.2%, 19.4%
- Mostar: 10.1%, 60.7%, 29.2%
- Tuzla: 9.1%, 66.7%, 24.2%
- Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area: 23.2%, 32.6%, 44.2%

Groups
- Control: 11.2%, 48.5%, 40.4%
- Project: 11.3%, 47.7%, 41.0%

■ Subtotal positive   ■ Subtotal negative   ■ Neither negative nor positive
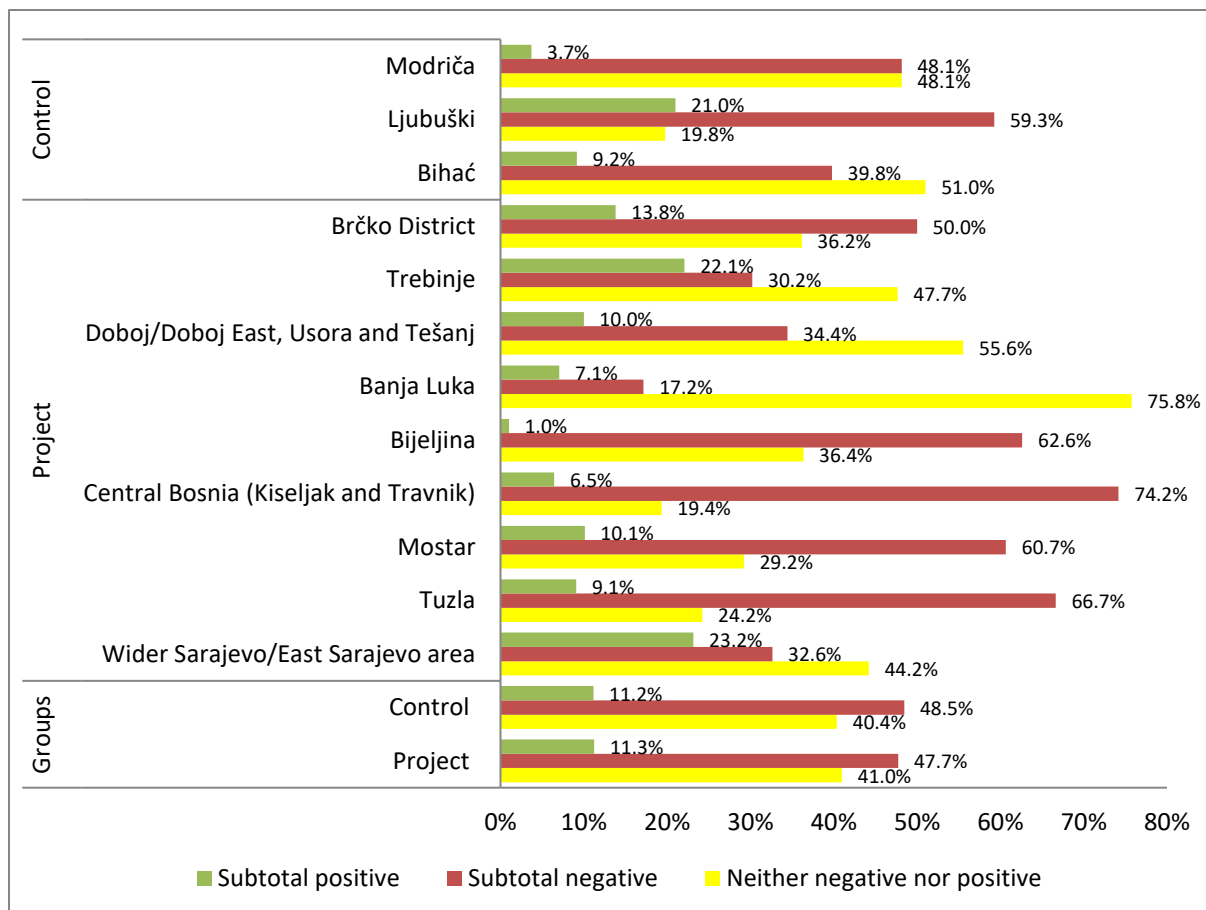
2.2.3. Young people's attitudes on inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media

To measure young people's attitudes on inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media indicator 3a was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to question Dp1 and can have a value between 1 (negative) and 5 (positive).

Table 10. Description of indicator 3a

Indicator	Description	Scale	Question from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 3a	Young people's attitudes on inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media	1-5, where: 1- negative 5- positive	Dp1

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

When it comes to youth attitudes about inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media, the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities perceive these aspects

relatively positively. Among individual municipalities/cities, the respondents from Banja Luka on average have the most positive and those from Bijeljina the least positive attitude about these aspects (4.13 vs 2.94 respectively). The difference between the average values is statistically significant at the 5% level.

Figure 27. Indicator 3a – Young people's attitudes on inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media
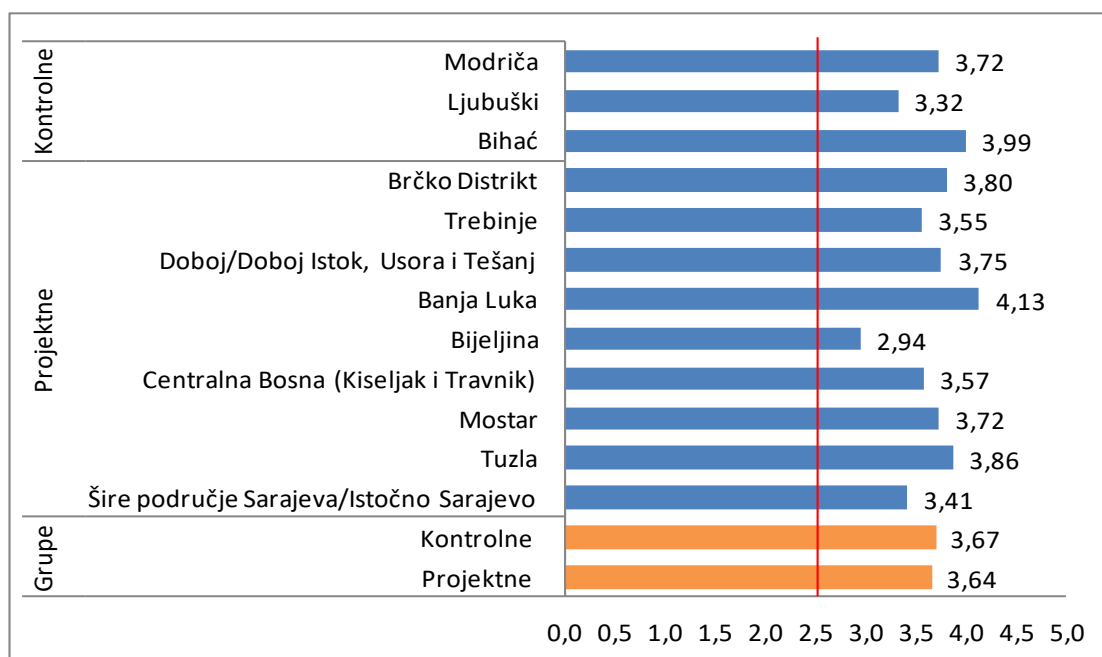
Attitudes of young focus group participants are somewhat divided when it comes to cooperation and trust among the peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The prevailing opinion is that there is not enough trust, primarily due to a lack of desire among politicians to work on enhancing communication between peoples. However, a lot of participants believe that the issue of trust and cooperation with other ethnic groups depends on an individual and that social groups are not to blame because every individual can cooperate with others if they wish so.

In-depth interviewees are generally reluctant to give a general conclusion about the attitudes of adolescents and youth on inter-ethnic trust, but generally, agree that primarily these groups have no confidence in the government and it is an important problem that needs to be tackled.

"I don't really think there's trust. Trust is something that is built up over the years, and I'm not sure if it will be possible … among these three peoples … Especially now, given these last election's results..." – focus groups, general population, Mostar

"Trust and cooperation among different peoples. I really think that nothing will change things will stay the same nothing will change individually." – focus groups, general population, Tuzla

"So it all depends on one's individual environment, on our affinities in terms of people with whom we associate." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"A lot of work, they aren't nearly as close, the tolerance threshold must be raised through education reform. But not by avoiding to discuss what's behind us, but by establishing the facts and through joint programmes reaching a higher level of dialogue. It's scary when you look at how some textbooks approach certain topics or how fundamental human rights are denied, from the issue of language to working conditions and the like." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

Focus group participants deem that there are not enough school activities to develop trust and cooperation among peoples in BiH. A lot of participants report not having direct contact with students of other ethnicity because there are no such students in their class, or even in the entire school. In particular, they cite 'two schools under one roof' as an extremely negative example, where mistrust is actively fostered, and cooperation prevented. Also, they cite the presence of politics in schools and linking schools with religious institutions, primarily in Republika Srpska, as a significant problem.

Education systems are too separate, and as such are also a factor in creating divisions among the different ethnic groups given that each ethnic group has a different version of events from the recent past that it serves to young people, which can only lead to discrimination and divisions among youth. In-depth interviewees consider it necessary to revise textbooks and harmonise the education systems.

"The course Culture of Religions has quite improved our understanding of it. We've visited churches, mosques, other ethnic groups, etc." – focus groups, university students, Sarajevo

"I think it's very difficult, often children of one religion go to one school, children of another religion go to their own school. There are very few mixed schools where there is trust and where children are educated together." – focus groups, general population, East Sarajevo

"Well, it's a shame that politics has crept into schools and universities. It's become a big problem now, and it may grow even worse because most teachers are political appointees, there's no doubt about it." – focus groups, general population, Doboj

"It all differs from one community to another. I'll again take the other entity as an example. When you go to any primary school there, in every school you'll find a religious symbol – an icon, for example. Orthodox icon. It's absurd to see this in a primary school. If you visit a public primary school in Travnik, for example, you won't see such religious symbols. So, the school has a large impact on these things. I think school should generally distance itself from such things, from some religious things, you know, because some people will feel a little discriminated against." – focus groups, general population, Travnik

"The education system has adapted to this system, which is currently prevailing and also creates ethnic divisions and thus influences youth. For example, diplomas obtained from a

private college in one city are not recognised in another city and so on, so it's an utter mess."
– in-depth interview, Mostar

Overall, the respondents share a critical sentiment towards the media and their role in developing inter-ethnic trust in BiH. Focus group participants agree that almost all media outlets use sensationalism and make deliberate exaggerations in their news coverage in order to make a profit, but in doing so can poison inter-ethnic relations in the country. As a related problem, they cite political interference in the media's editorial policy, such that different media outlets represent different political parties and generally provide news coverage through the lens of a particular political party, which in turn further undermines public confidence in the media, but also leads to increased inter-ethnic tensions.

In-depth interviewees generally agree that the media contribute to the creation of a charged atmosphere and serve the interests of particular political parties rather than being independent. They think that the media should provide more positive coverage of daily news so as to have a positive impact on citizens.

 "Now the media are more politically driven and based on their coverage you can quite easily tell which political option each media outlet is close to. And so they present the views of these political options." – focus groups, general population, Banja Luka

"I think that the media should start featuring more positive examples, and there a lot of such examples across the country." - in-depth interview, Doboj

2.2.4. Young people's attitudes on their civic engagement and partnership with government representatives

To measure young people's attitudes on their civic engagement and partnership with government representatives indicator 3a was developed (see table below). This indicator represents the arithmetic mean of the coded responses to questions Dp2_1 – Dp2_4 and can have a value between 1 (negative) and 5 (positive).

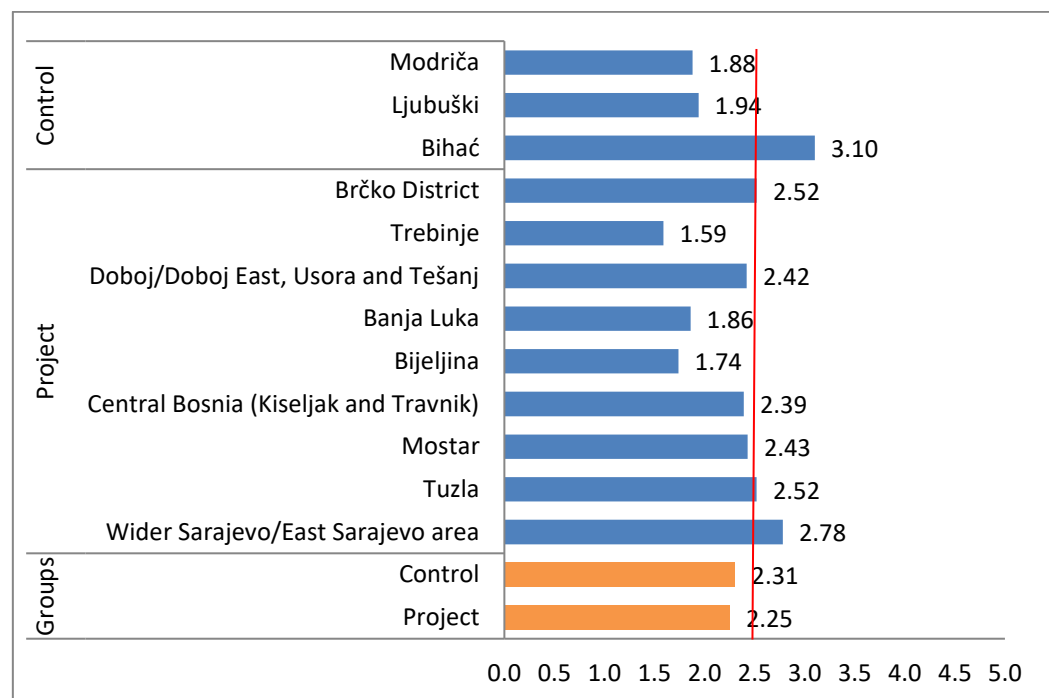**Table 11. Description of indicator 3b**

Indicator	Description	Scale	Questions from the questionnaire under the indicator
Indicator 3b	Young people's attitudes on their civic engagement	1-5, where:	Dp2_1 Dp2_2

	and partnership with government representatives	1- negative 5- positive	Dp2_3 Dp2_4

Note: See the questionnaire annexed to this report for a detailed set of questions used in the development of the indicator.

There are no marked differences in the attitudes of young people with regard to their civic engagement and partnership with government representatives between the two groups of municipalities/cities. Indicators for the project municipalities/cities and the control municipalities/cities have below-average values (2.25 vs 2.31, respectively). Since the value of indicator 3a is considerably higher than the value of indicator 3b, it follows that while young people have a generally positive attitude towards inter-ethnic cooperation, they are at the same time dissatisfied with their own civic engagement and cooperation with government representatives. Among individual municipalities/cities, Bihać (3.1) and the wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area (2.78) have the highest value for the indicator, while Trebinje (1.59), Bijeljina (1.74) and Banja Luka (1.86) have the lowest values for indicator 3b. Average ratings for those cities are statistically significantly different.

Figure 28. Indicator 3b – Young people's attitudes on their civic engagement and partnership with government representatives

		Value
Control	Modriča	1.88
	Ljubuški	1.94
	Bihać	3.10
Project	Brčko District	2.52
	Trebinje	1.59
	Doboj/Doboj East, Usora and Tešanj	2.42
	Banja Luka	1.86
	Bijeljina	1.74
	Central Bosnia (Kiseljak and Travnik)	2.39
	Mostar	2.43
	Tuzla	2.52
	Wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area	2.78
Groups	Control	2.31
	Project	2.25

Among the focus group participants, the prevailing opinion is that students and young people are in a state of apathy and do not fight tenaciously enough to change the situation. However, they cite various obstacles and a lack of options for effective change, as well as the years that have passed without bringing change, as justification for this impassiveness. Therefore, young people think they should get engaged more, but generally doubt that this will happen given the fact that the young folk are emigrating en

masse, and most of those that stay have lost any hope that change is possible and are consequently not trying to do anything about it.

In-depth interviewees feel that there is insufficient political engagement by young people, which they attribute to disillusionment and lack of faith that any engagement could bring about a major change that young people desire. Therefore, as in-depth interviewees believe, young people simply give up trying to get engaged in effecting any change.

"We are really completely neutral it's like we aren't there like we don't exist." – focus groups, general population, East Sarajevo

"Well, maybe, that's what we call political illiteracy. I think political illiteracy is the worst kind of illiteracy. You don't go to the polls, you don't take any action, and you're not aware that in doing so you allow excise taxes, other kinds of taxes, etc. to increase. I think we all need to be more politically aware, more engaged and then it really might get better. But, we gave up; we'd rather be detached and maintain a distance." – focus groups, general population, Travnik

"I'm very sceptical because I think they won't have anyone to form this with. Because young people will have already left the country and they won't have anyone to do that with. Unless they start doing something within a year, which I doubt." – focus groups, general population, Vitez

"Youth civic engagement is virtually non-existent in this country. I've already commented on that in my previous responses and said that young people are either members of political parties, and therefore everything they do – they do to serve the interests of their parties, or disillusioned and don't believe their engagement can change anything. I'm certainly not happy about it, and I hope things will improve in the future when it comes to the civic initiative in general, both in my municipality and in the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina." – in-depth interview, Pale

As was the case with their responses to the previous questions relating to cooperation between public authorities and young people, as well as youth participation in decision-making, the focus group participants unanimously agree that there is effectively very little contact and that political decisions, even those concerning youth, are often made without young people. Participants pin the blame for this lack of cooperation primarily on the authorities. However, they also recognise the need to get engaged themselves in order to try to exert greater influence on decisions that affect them.

In-depth interviewees generally recognise very negative attitudes of young people towards the government. As with the previous question, the interviewees think that there is a general sense of apathy among young people and that young people do not have confidence that the authorities will do enough to improve the situation in the country. With the exception of those few who are members of political parties and work in their interest, most young people distrust the government or plan to emigrate.

"No, there isn't, but there could be only if both we and they wanted to do something about it. So, not only them but also us; if it's called partnership, then it means interaction between two sides." – focus groups, university students, Travnik

"We have no option at all to come and voice our opinion about a decision, in terms of whether it's in our interest or not. We are absolutely excluded from decision making." – focus groups, university students, Vitez

"Well, there's no partnership at all. There is a very small group, a small minority of young people who influence decision-making, but they make decisions as they please rather than serve the needs and interests of young people. There may be some overlaps there, but rarely. And young people are not really engaged either. We, young people, are not really dedicated, and youth representatives today make decisions more at their own discretion." – focus groups, university students, Banja Luka

"They don't see government as their partner, but as an opposition to themselves, to a better life and to progress in general. The government is to blame, not the youth." – in-depth interview, Tešanj

The majority of the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities are ready to participate in peaceful protests over issues that are close to their heart. Respondents from Bihać (78.8%), Brčko District (75.3%) and Mostar (75.3%) are especially interested in this form of civic engagement.

Figure 29. Would you take part in peaceful protests over issues that you are really concerned about?
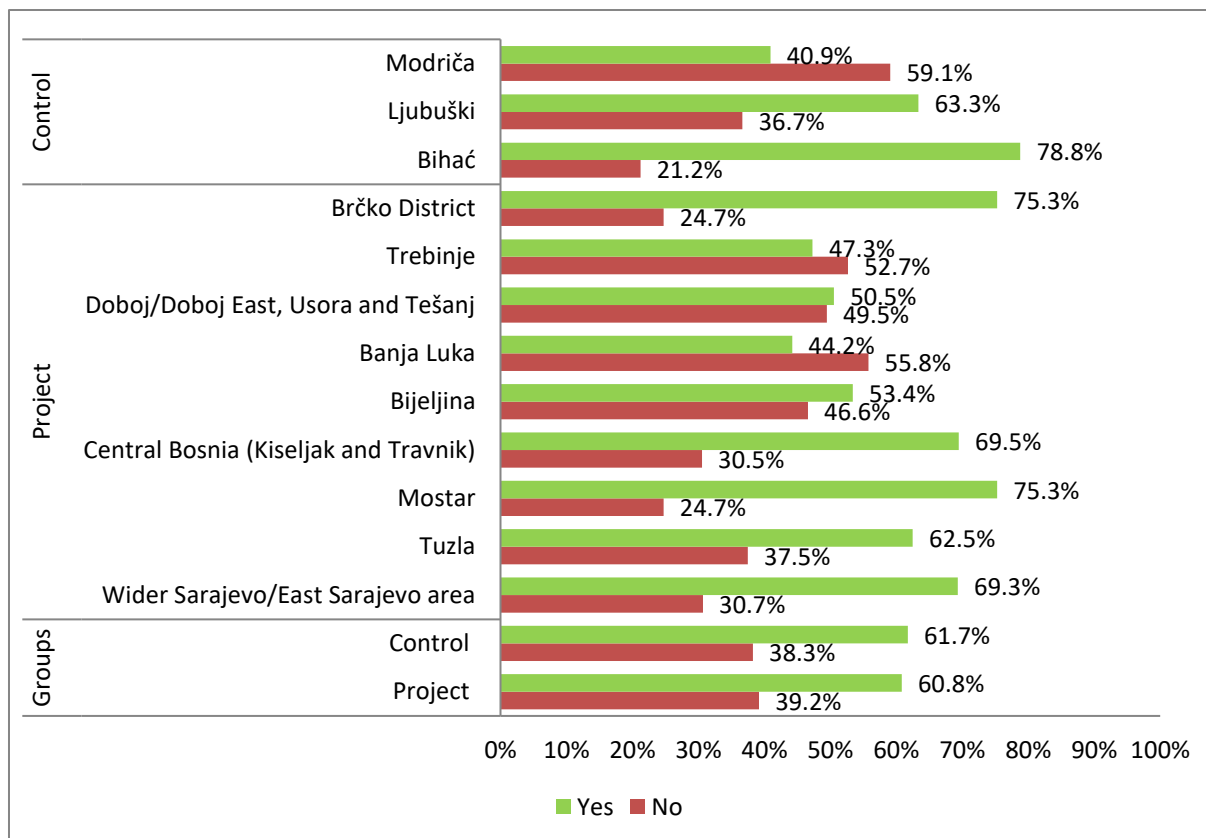
The largest number of the respondents who say they would not take part in peaceful protests cite lack of interest in politics as the reason for their lack of civic engagement (52.8% in the control municipalities/cities and 70.5% in the project municipalities/cities) or do not think protests can change things for the better (27.4% in the control municipalities/cities and 14% in the project municipalities/cities).

Table 12. If no, please explain why?

|	Project municipalities/cities		Control municipalities/cities	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**
Nobody organises this kind of protests	63	16.00%	8	6.20%
I don't trust the organisers of these protests	64	16.20%	5	3.90%
I'm afraid that protests could lead to the dissolution of government and anarchy	22	5.60%	2	1.60%
Protests can't change things for the better	108	27.40%	18	14.00%
Elections are the best way to change things	38	9.60%	5	3.90%
Fear of negative consequences for me and my family if we participate in protests	43	10.90%	9	7.00%
I'm very much against any protests against the current government	11	2.80%	1	0.80%
I'm not interested in politics	208	52.80%	91	70.50%
Other	13	3.3%	5	3.9%

Young people in both groups of municipalities/cities cite petitions as the most common form of civic engagement. Furthermore, about one-fifth (19.7%) of young people in the project municipalities/cities say that they are most likely to participate in the public sharing of opinions on social media, while 17% of their counterparts from the control municipalities/cities cite participating in meetings to support a cause as the most common form of their engagement.

Table 13. Have you ever participated in any of these activities?

	Project municipalities/cities		Control municipalities/cities	
	N	%	N	%
Public sharing of opinions on social media (FB, Twitter, Instagram, blog, forum, website, etc.).	177	19.70%	36	12.00%
Petition signing	268	29.80%	100	33.30%
Trying to persuade others to agree with your opinion	78	8.70%	27	9.00%
Participation in a meeting to support a cause	106	11.80%	51	17.00%
Wearing T-shirts or badges with slogans, images in support of a cause	72	8.00%	33	11.00%
Volunteering in an organisation, or joining an organisation	140	15.60%	40	13.30%
None of the above	459	51.00%	160	53.30%

In general, the majority of young people have not participated in activities or projects aimed at enhancing cooperation with young people from other ethnic groups or other countries. Young people from the wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area (27.2%) are on average the most likely to be involved in such activities.

Figure 30. In the last 12 months, have you participated in any activities and projects aimed at enhancing cooperation with young people from other ethnic groups and/or other countries?
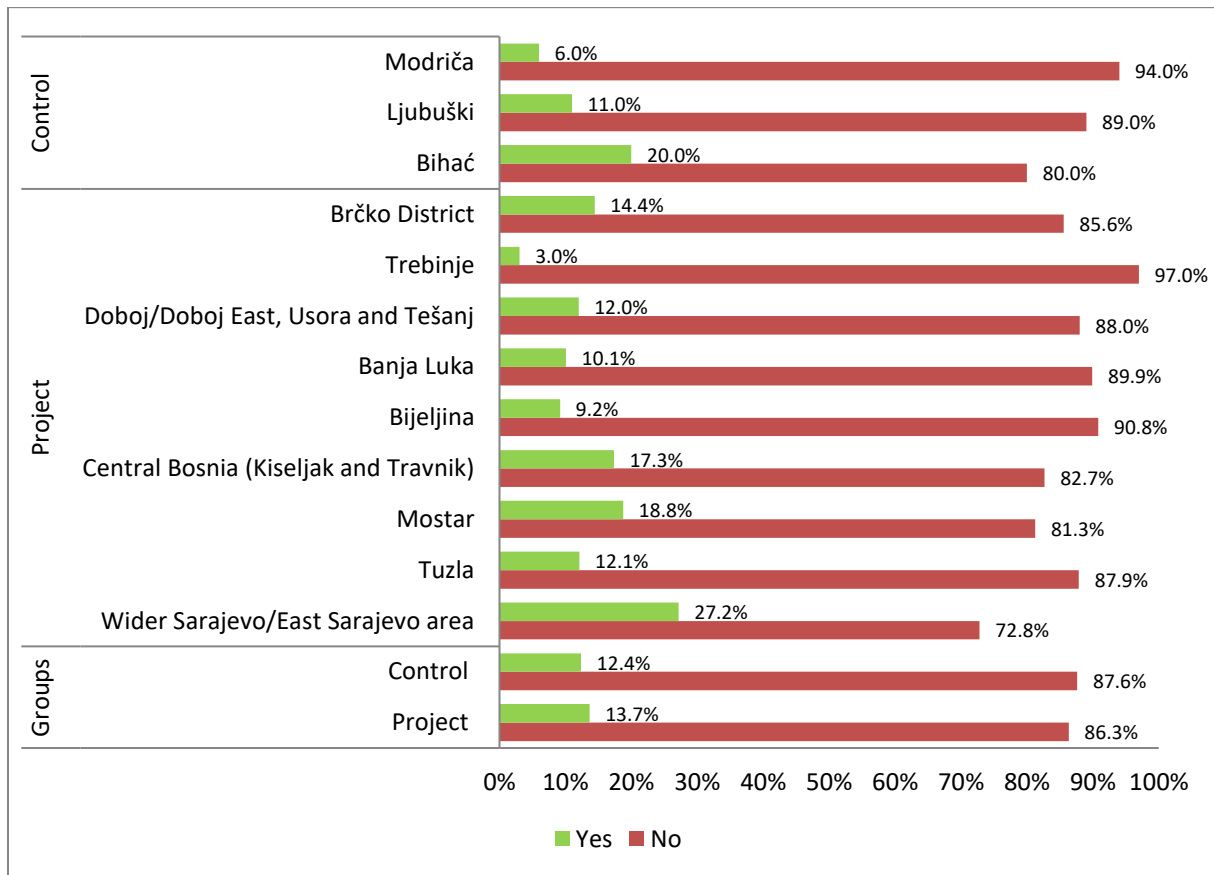
Findings

This section presents the main findings of the quantitative survey, followed by the presentation of the findings of the qualitative analysis.

The majority of the respondents who participated in this survey support inter-ethnic cooperation in their local communities, as well as in the entire country. However, young people perceive cooperation with local representatives to be less satisfactory than inter-ethnic cooperation in general. When it comes to the work of certain groups of people at the local level, the respondents report being the most satisfied with the work of youth representatives and least satisfied with that of local political representatives. There are no significant differences between the project municipalities/cities and control municipalities/cities in attitudes on interaction and cooperation among ethnic groups and young people.

While they entertain relatively positive views of the level of cooperation with young people from other ethnic groups, about one-third of the respondents almost never or rarely have contact with their peers from other ethnic groups. Furthermore, young people are relatively dissatisfied with the level of their engagement in decision-making processes in their local communities, as well as the level of their engagement in setting priorities that concern young people in general.

Perceived level of cooperation and trust between community members and their local representatives is unsatisfactory, with participants in the project municipalities/cities perceiving it as more satisfactory than their counterparts in the control municipalities/cities. However, the majority of the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities report having never contacted their local representatives in connection with matters that are important to them. Furthermore, about half of the respondents do not know whether their municipality/city has a youth representative.

Most respondents deem the level of cooperation and dialogue among the BiH Presidency, local representatives and young people to be satisfactory. That said, the respondents from the project municipalities/cities are, on average, more likely to express a positive attitude towards cooperation and dialogue between these groups. Also, the respondents in the age group 15-19 in the project municipalities/cities are more likely to give this cooperation a higher rating than other age groups.

Respondents report that there is a significant presence of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups in the media during the election period. That said, the respondents in the project municipalities/cities are more likely to report the presence of such statements than those from the control municipalities/cities. More than a half of the respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities report having noticed such statements during elections, and a similar proportion believe that such rhetoric may have a negative impact on relations between young people from different ethnic groups.

Respondents in both groups of municipalities/cities hold a relatively positive view of inter-ethnic trust, cooperation, education and the media. Despite this positive attitude, the respondents remain dissatisfied with their own civic engagement. However, about two-thirds of young people have expressed their readiness to participate in peaceful protests over issues that are close to their heart.

The results differ widely by municipality/city. On the one hand, the respondents from Bijeljina, Central Bosnia and Mostar tend to entertain negative attitudes towards most of the topics covered by the survey. Thus, they view the cooperation and trust among ethnic groups and youth, as well as between young people and local representatives, as unsatisfactory. Similarly, they are more likely than the respondents from other municipalities/cities to see cooperation with the BiH Presidency as unsatisfactory. Conversely, the respondents in Trebinje, Banja Luka, Tuzla and the wider Sarajevo/East Sarajevo area are the most likely to have a positive attitude about most of the topics covered in the survey.

Focus group participants and in-depth interviewees had a chance to provide more detailed answers to the same questions that were posed to members of the general population within the quantitative survey. The results of the focus groups are broadly similar to those of the quantitative survey. Generally, the focus group participants tend to have a positive attitude towards inter-ethnic cooperation, regardless of whether it is cooperation within the municipality/city or wider regional cooperation. However, this cooperation is not always possible in practice. Blame for the lack of cooperation is primarily attributed to government and the media, which are seen as operating in collusion to create inter-ethnic tensions, resulting in young people closing themselves in their own ethnic groups. These are followed by ordinary citizens, in particular, the older generations that still keep alive the memories of war and are not ready to overcome the divisions. Overall, the process of developing cooperation among young people is faced with a host of obstacles, but, on a positive note, young people themselves are generally open for interaction and dialogue with members of other ethnic groups.

Conversely, the level of cooperation between young people and the authorities is perceived as being very low, regardless of whether at the local or higher levels of government. On the one hand, young people report that their voice cannot be heard because the authorities do not pay attention to them, and there are no effective ways for young people to fight for change. On the other hand, government representatives who participated in in-depth interviews display markedly different attitudes. They generally think that there are enough ways for youth to contact their local representatives, but add that young people are not sufficiently engaged. In several crucial questions, young people and the authorities display diametrically opposed views, indicating a real need for a dialogue between young people and government representatives with a view to clarifying the differences in perception.

The prospects for young people in BiH remain bleak, a sentiment shared by young people and interviewed government representatives alike. Both groups are dissatisfied with the conduct of political actors during the recent election campaign and are aware of the negative consequences that the pre-election rhetoric has had on inter-ethnic relations, and place the blame for the deterioration of relations on the media which use sensationalism to generate further divisions. Given that the authorities focus on fear mongering and creating further ethnic divisions, a significant number of young people do not see any perspective, do not have trust in the authorities and do not think that the situation in the country is going to improve and see emigration as the best option.

Recommendations

In general, indicators for the level of cooperation and trust among young people are higher than those showing the level of cooperation with local representatives. Therefore, it is necessary to increase activities aimed at enhancing cooperation between young people and local representatives. In several crucial questions, young people and the authorities display mutually contradictory views, indicating a real need for an open dialogue between young people and government representatives with a view to clarifying the differences in the perception of the issues examined in this survey.

Since about one-third of the respondents rarely or never have contact with members of other ethnic groups, it is necessary to increase the level of interaction and cooperation among these groups. The authorities and the media that is the negatively-loaded messages that government members direct against members of other ethnic groups through various media outlets are cited as the chief obstacles to this cooperation among young people. Therefore, government representatives, as well as the media, should focus more on avoiding inflammatory rhetoric against members of other ethnic groups.

Level of cooperation and trust between young people and their local representatives is perceived as unsatisfactory. Most young people have never contacted the authorities about issues that matter to them, while, also, the majority do not know whether there are youth representatives in their municipality/city. It is,, therefore, necessary to encourage greater youth civic engagement and participation in decision making at the local level. At the same time, the authorities should initiate a dialogue with young people to identify their needs and establish priority directions for mutual cooperation.

Respondents in the project municipalities/cities are more likely than those in the control municipalities/cities to notice the presence of provocative and negatively-loaded statements about other ethnic groups in the media during the election period. Such statements, as already noted, have an adverse impact on inter-ethnic cooperation in BiH, and their presence in the project municipalities/cities should,, therefore, be reduced.

Finally, Bijeljina, Central Bosnia and Mostar are most likely to have below-average values for the indicators. Therefore, special emphasis needs to be placed on improving the relevant indicators in these municipalities/cities.

Annex: Household Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

1a_1. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation between members of different ethnic groups in this municipality/city? Do you fully support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose? **Record only one answer!**

1. Fully support
2. Somewhat support
3. Neither support nor oppose
4. Somewhat oppose
5. Strongly oppose
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1a_2. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation between members of different ethnic groups from this municipality/city and other municipalities/cities? Do you fully support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose? **Record only one answer!**

1. Fully support
2. Somewhat support
3. Neither support nor oppose
4. Somewhat oppose
5. Strongly oppose
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1a_3. How would you rate the current cooperation between members of different ethnic groups in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1a_4. How would you rate the current cooperation between members of different ethnic groups from this municipality/city and other municipalities/cities? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1a_5. How would you rate the work of the following groups of people in this municipality/city? Excellent – 5, very good – 4, good – 3, sufficient – 2, insufficient – 1? **Ask for each item individually and record one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

Items

1. Local political representatives of different ethnic groups

2. Local religious leaders

3. Leaders of civic associations

4. Youth in general

1b_1. How would you rate the current level of cooperation among young people of different ethnicities in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1b_2. How often do you have contact with young people from different ethnic groups in this municipality/city? Very often (daily), sometimes (several times a week), rarely (a few times a month), almost never? **Record only one answer!**

1. Very often (daily)
2. Sometimes (several times a week)
3. Rarely (a few times a month)
4. Almost never
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1b_3. How would you rate the current level of cooperation between young people and local leaders in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1b_4. How would you rate the extent to which young people are involved in decision-making processes in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1b_6. How would you rate the extent to which young people are involved in setting priorities on issues that affect them? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1b_7. How would you rate the extent to which young people in your community are involved in collaborative initiatives aimed at maintaining peace in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1c_1. How would you rate the current cooperation between the residents of this municipality/city and their local political representatives? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1c_2. How would you rate the current cooperation between young people and their local political representatives in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1c_3. Have you personally in any way contacted your local representatives in this municipality/city in connection with any issues that are important to you? **Record only one answer!**

1. Yes
2. No
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1c_4. Do you know if this municipality/city has a youth representative? **Record only one answer!**

1. Yes
2. No
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1d_1. How would you rate your level of trust in your local political representatives in this municipality/city? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

1d_2. How would you rate the extent to which local political representatives in this municipality/city pay heed to young people's concerns in decision making? Insufficient - 1, sufficient - 2, good - 3, very good - 4, excellent - 5? Record only one answer!

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2a_1. To what extent do you support or oppose cooperation and dialogue between different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Do you fully support, somewhat support, neither support nor oppose, somewhat oppose, strongly oppose? **Record only one answer!**

1. Fully support
2. Somewhat support
3. Neither support nor oppose
4. Somewhat oppose
5. Strongly oppose
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2a_2. How would you rate the current level of cooperation and dialogue between different ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2a_3. How would you rate the current level of cooperation and dialogue between young people of different ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2a_4. How would you rate the current cooperation and dialogue between the BiH Presidency, local authorities and young people of different ethnicities? Insufficient – 1, sufficient – 2, good – 3, very good – 4, excellent – 5? **Record only one answer!**

1. Insufficient
2. Sufficient
3. Good
4. Very good
5. Excellent
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2b_1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement that provocative/ negatively-loaded statements about the "other" ethnic groups prevailed in the media during the election period? Do you strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, or strongly agree? **Record only one answer!**

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree

9. Do not read! DK/RF

2b_2. What impact do you think in general this election can have on young individuals in your municipality/city? Strongly negative, somewhat negative, neither negative nor positive, somewhat positive, or strongly positive? **Record only one answer!**

1. Strongly negative
2. Somewhat negative
3. Neither negative nor positive
4. Somewhat positive
5. Strongly positive
9. Do not read! DK/RF

2b_3. What impact do you think the rhetoric in this election could have on the relations among young people of different ethnicities in your municipality/city? Strongly negative, somewhat negative, neither negative nor positive, somewhat positive, or strongly positive? **Record only one answer!**

1. Strongly negative
2. Somewhat negative
3. Neither negative nor positive
4. Somewhat positive
5. Strongly positive
9. Do not read! DK/RF

DP1. Can you tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements? Do you strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree or strongly agree? **Ask for each statement individually and record one of the following responses.**

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat agree
5. Strongly agree
9. Do not read! DK/RF

Items

a. Life in a multiethnic society has more upsides than downsides
b. I don't feel comfortable around individuals of different ethnicity or religion
c. In my community, my identity is respected and understood
d. Ethnic differences should not be an obstacle for people wishing to get married and start a family

e. Minority cultures and rights are sufficiently protected and promoted in BiH

f. In BiH, there is an increase in tolerance in society

g. The diversity of cultures is what makes BiH distinctive and unique in comparison to other countries in the region

h. Children in BiH should learn about the cultures of all ethnic groups in the country

i. There are parts of the country that I wouldn't want to visit because of certain hostile attitudes towards my ethnic group

j. There are a lot more similarities than differences among the ethnic groups in BiH

k. It's possible to have a good understanding and cooperation in business and economic development among members of different ethnic groups in BiH

Dp2_1. Would you take part in peaceful protests over issues that you are really concerned about? **Record only one answer!**

1. Yes – Go to Dp2_3
2. No – Go to Dp2_2
9. Do not read! DK/RF – Go to Dp2_2

Dp2_2. If no, please explain why?

a. Nobody organises this kind of protests

b. I don't trust the organisers of these protests

c. I'm afraid that protests could lead to the dissolution of government and anarchy

d. Protests can't change things for the better

e. Elections are the best way to change things

f. Fear of negative consequences for me and my family if we participate in protests

g. I'm very much against any protests against the current government

h. I'm not interested in politics

i. Other

Dp2_3. Have you ever participated in any of these activities? **Ask for each item individually and record one answer!**

a. Public sharing of opinions on social media (FB, Twitter, Instagram, blog, forum, website, etc.).

b. Petition signing

c. Trying to persuade others to agree with your opinion

d. Participation in a meeting to support a cause

e. Wearing T-shirts or badges with slogans, images in support of a cause

f. Volunteering in an organisation, or joining an organisation

g. None of the above

Dp2_4. In the last 12 months, have you participated in any activities and projects aimed at enhancing cooperation with young people from other ethnic groups and/or other countries? **Record only one answer!**

1. Yes
2. No
9. Do not read! DK/RF

In the end, we still have a few questions that we need for statistical analysis.

D1. Gender? **Record only one answer!**

1. Male
2. Female

D2. Age? **Record age in completed years at last birthday!**

_____

D 3. Name of the school

_____

D4. Class

_____

D5. Name and surname

_____

D6. Ethnicity? **Record only one answer!**

1. Bosniak
2. Croat

3. Serb
4. Other (Write) _____

D7. Contact phone