

# PULS

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**MARKET, MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH**

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**South-Eastern Europe (SEE) and the Stability Pact:  
New Means for Regional Analysis  
FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

**QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS  
Focus Group Study in Sarajevo**

**March 2001**

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*The Associate Member of*

**GALLUP**  
**INTERNATIONAL**

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## INTRODUCTION

A research project for South Eastern Europe is organized by International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) in cooperation with local research institutes. In Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Puls d.o.o. was responsible for the research part. The main aim of this research was to define principal issues and problems in the country which would then be used for the quantitative research.

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## CONTEXT

The research was done under very specific circumstances, at a moment when the new government was being established in BH. This period was marked by numerous problems in relations between the international community and political parties that were in power until then especially HDZ.

## METHODOLOGY

### *PROCEDURE*

At this stage of the project two qualitative research methods were used: in-depth interviews (IDI) and focus groups (FG). Research included 25 in-depth interviews with people from the elite (political, economic, public, etc.) and 4 focus groups with so called ordinary citizens (N=34).

All FG were conducted in Sarajevo during February 2001. Participants for focus groups were selected by different socio-demographic criteria which are shown below.

### *PARTICIPANTS IN FOCUS GROUPS*

1. *Bosniacs* - younger (22-35 years old), university education, employed, higher personal income (1.000+ DEM), urban (Sarajevo) *10 participants*
2. *Bosniacs* - older (35-55 years old), secondary school education, employed, middle personal income (400 - 600 DEM), married with children, urban (Sarajevo) *8 participants*
3. *Bosniacs* - younger & older (22-55 years old), elementary school at least, rural (from two villages in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina - around Sarajevo) *8 participants*
4. *Croats* - younger & older (22-55 years old), secondary school or university education, middle household income (400 – 600 DEM), married with children *8 participants*

For the needs of this research we have developed questionnaire for choosing participants adequate for mentioned criteria. In every group the participants were mixed by sex. All the participants had to be the voters in the last parliamentary elections, and to ensure their interest in political and economic situation in the country.

The group interviews were conducted according to the interview guide designed by IDEA International and Puls Ltd.

## MAIN FINDINGS

- According to the opinion of focus groups' participants, the most important problems citizens are facing in Federation BH are: unemployment, youngsters leaving the country, housing problems, nationalism and non-functioning of the state.
- The most responsible for this situation, as well as for the solving the problems is BH politicians. Majority of respondents thinks that new, younger politicians should participate in the government, solving the problems with support of international community.
- There is no consensus on which among the problems is the easiest or the hardest to solve. Starting the production, bringing the experts at directory positions, privatization within legal framework and canalizing the foreign donations for purposes of production are possible ways of solution.
- The crucial economic problem is unemployment. The group of highly educated (group 1) has pointed out the problem of impossibility to work in the domain they are educated for. Problems of corruption, non-professional management and wrong way of privatization of companies, as well as illegal work, are pointed out as well.
- Possible solutions of economic problem respondents recognize in reduction of bureaucratic apparatus, in letting the fresh foreign capital into the local economy, in amelioration and simplification of legislative procedure of privatization and investments.
- The role of the international community in BH is already significant, but it should be more active in resolving political and economical problems.
- Expectations regarding economy in next 12 months are mainly negative.
- Respondents' opinion is that there is no real democracy in FBH and in BH in general. The part of respondents in groups with majority people (Bosniacs) claims that there is higher level of democracy in the part of FBH with Bosniac majority. At the same time, some of the participants in the group with minority people (Croats) claim that some political decisions regarding Croats' representatives in the government are being reinforced to the Croat national group.
- The role of ordinary citizens in decision-making processes is very small; apart from their contribution at the elections, they see no other way to influence at the events in the state.
- The highest confidence, regarding authorities in the country, respondents expressed for international community. The lowest level of confidence is expressed toward political parties, the presidency and the government. All state structures have been evaluated with extremely low ratings regarding their effectiveness up to date. Citizens also think that the strongest impact in decision making in the country has international community, especially the High Representative.

- Confidence in the media is small. Private, foreign and local media are preferred. Generally, the biggest number of respondents is informing from more various sources.
- Regarding NGOs, respondents are not very well informed about their activities, apart from humanitarian ones, whose work is mainly appreciated.
- Regarding professional organisations, respondents' criticism was mainly oriented toward the workers union (syndicate). Respondents claim that union officials are taking care about their own interests, instead of workers'.
- The role religious institutions play is described as inappropriate: respondents claim religious institutions interfere too much in political happening.
- All public services are rated very badly regarding their actual functioning. The best rated is school system; police and city transport, while social care and pension fund are rated with the lowest score.
- Citizens are not very well informed on concrete roles of particular international organizations in BH. NATO is recognized as very positive institution, having in mind that it can reinforce security and stabilization in the region, while entrance of BH in NATO is not seen as something that could happen in near future.
- Relatively large number of respondents considers the possibility of leaving the country because of poverty, unemployment, and general lack of perspective and nationalism.
- Fears of citizens are aiming toward the danger of new war, and toward the impossibility to resolve crucial political, economy and social problems very soon.
- Hopes are connected with expectations of quick progress in economy, stay of young people in the country and avoiding new war.

## THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES IN FEDERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA NOWADAYS

Problems that citizens emphasized as most important ones were more about socio-economic sphere of life:

- unemployment – especially among young people, many of them are not working in the domain they are educated for.
- departure of young people from the country;
- housing problems – devastated appartments and houses, question of refugees and returnees, some people are using few appartments at the same time illegally, donations from abroad are not used for building or repairment of houses and flats...
- corruption that took over all segments of society;
- education system – the lack of adequate equipment for learning, lack of teachers, irrelevance of diplomas from BH universities;
- nationalism;
- current political situation – non-existence of the state.

Those problems are in close connection as the accelerated rehabilitation of economy and its revival would result in major employment of young people and general stabilization of social, economic and political circumstances in BH.

### *Illustrative statements:*

- If economy giants start working in next 2 or 3 years, it would mean new jobs for young people who would stop leaving the country, retired people would have their pension sin time, new appartments woul be build, there would be enough money to invest it in building of some building, like in the West, where you can build a building in private property, and you can rent it or sell it... (G4)
- I woul be the firstr to left although I am employeed. I do not work job I am qualified for, I don't have flat, and everythings connected with it... It is normally that people wants to go away from here... Somewhere else you will work more, but you will at least be paid for your work – it is OK to work here as well as long you will be paid adequtely. (G1)
- ...nothing is being produced, all we have is a robbery. Just look at TV, listen to radio. Look around yourself, where can you see some local product, everything is imported from abroad, only to make this corruption even more complicated... All of this is government's fault. If right men were at the right place, instead of all these relatives at the functions, everything would be different. (G3)
- Politicians, these actual politicians of ours... They can not make a single agreement. There can not exist the state with three presidents, just like in every other country all we need is one president. And these three (members of the presidency), they are just pulling at each side. (G4)

Mostly younger group highlighted education as a problem, which, according to them, must undergo a reorganizing process, especially when it goes for higher education. What they take in bed part of the previous system is:

- Introduce norms by which we would not have to validate diplomas when we want to go abroad, and then the country would struggle to keep us here as the cadres; (G1)
- We need more than one expert for a subject so he would not be God sent to teach that subject, he could not then do whatever he wanted; (G1)
- Reorganization of education system so that unnecessary things would not be taught; (G1)
- There are no research center; (G1)
- People enroll in universities, they are then students, not unemployed and do not have a social problem. (G1)

There is no unique opinion which problems are the easiest, and which are the hardest to solve in not to distant future. They see way of solving this problems in following:

- Experts do not work in their profession and no one takes care of cadres quality; (G1)
- Factories should be built reciprocally so that there would not be lack of personnel in one canton, and work in another; (G1)
- Provide very young people; (G2)
- Remove the opponents (G2)
- This new government will hopefully do something. It has to change something. I also think that foreign investment would contribute; (G3)
- Privatization in accordance with all regulations, not like before; (G3)
- That factories be built and start operating; (G4)
- Initiate manufacturing; (G4)
- Experts ought to be involved; (G1)
- Donations are not used for building of apartment blocks but religious facilities. (G1)

#### RESPONSIBLE:

Respondents mainly agree on responsibility of politicians for all mentioned problems. At the same time, politicians are the persons that are supposed to solve these problems, but only with the new individuals in political functions. International community would have important role in this process as well:

- ...Council of Ministers, it's intentionally delaying and losing of time. We cannot wait for their mercy, for them to place it. Well, why did they place that man when they know that they will not be supported. Give us very young people, even if it will be a little-bit worse for us now, but I think that in one or two years from now things will be going forward. This structure, this generation of people who are directors, presidents, and cantonal ministers

of the governments – all of them should be replaced by a totally new people. I think that something must be moved by that. In my opinion that is a solution. (G2)

- ...in the matter of fact we elected all those people who bothers us. I don't want to say: you elected this one, I elected that one; people choosed, actually...I think that nationalism is the link, the begining of all these problems. (G2)
- Ordinary people can not solve problems like these. They have to solved at the level of the state. This new government we have chosen, hopefully will make some changes. They have to make some changes. Foreign investments would do a lots of good. State government and international comunnity would have to solve the problem of unemplymt, they are watching this problem for a long time, not doing a single thing to solve it. All of them are getting very good salaries – all that money came here to be used for reconstruction of the country, not for Petritch's 60,000 DM salary. And I think that things like that are brought us here, in the poverty, through the war and all these problems... I think they should help us to get out of this crisis. (G3)

### *SPECIFIC ECONOMY ISSUES*

From a citizens' perspective unemployment is the key economic problem. Next to previously mentioned are the problems of corruption and unprofessional leadership, at the level of the State as well as in companies. In their opinion, transition period between two social orders is an ideal time for economic crime, "former directors and officials are not in favor of start-up of companies for a facilitated buying off of firms".

Citizens are also agree that it is necessary to reduce the bureaucratic apparatus and facilitate the entry of fresh capital, and that it is also necessary to set legal regulations (customs and taxes) as well as complete privatization process.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- Here, everything is based on the black market (G1)
- We are lending too much, don't work and money is being wasted around (G1)
- Privatisation equals corruption (G4)
- Nobody buys, nor repair the companies (G2)
- We haven't protected this little market of ours (G1)
- In some companies you can find people working at jobs they are not qualified for (G1)

#### OBSTACLES TO SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

Functioners and people at the high positions, either in the companies, or in state autohities – according to the prevailing opinion of respondents – are misusing their position for their own private interests. Non-adequate privatisation ad corruption, the lack of foreign investments and fresh money, insufficient use of natural and human resources and potentials, and illegal work are among the most aggarvating obstacles for solving the problems in domain of economy.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- Former managers and functioners doesn't have interest in recovering the production and economy, so they can buy companies at cheap price first; (G3)
- Individuals in the power have seized factories, they are discharging anyone they don't like and employing those they do like. (G2)
- There are no people with concrete solutions, and people who has got them are simply not heard, they are not in the right places... (G1)

- Companies are being privatised, tenders are being announced, foreign companies are buying the local ones or some guys that became rich during the wartime, they are dismissing the workers and getting new from somewhere else, from outside; (G1)
- You see this guy working for private entrepreneurship. If he goes to the police and admit that his boss didn't register all his incomes, they will press charges against the boss. But, he is silent, doing nothing in the favour of his own misfortune, and his boss is constantly misusing him. We are in between socialism and capitalism today, in some sort of a vacuum where people are taking all they can. You will cash in 1500KM, but you will register only 200 KM. It is the seed of bribe and corruption. But, if that guy working for his boss goes and tell the truth, from tomorrow on he would be working no more in that company. (G3)

#### FACTORS TO ACCELERATE SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS:

Solutions offered by repondents are mainly referring to start of the production and creating the competent products, getting the younger and expert people in management, and also legally based privatisation and investments.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- To start some production and export, not only to import; (G1)
- Start from the smaller factories, not from the giants, to establish priorities; (G1)
- To help people who wants to invest to get their papers and licences easier (G1)
- To have people 35 – 40 years old positioned on the right places (G2)
- Privatisation is the only way for BH to stand on its own feet, to have some base for start developing its own economy (G1)
- We have to accept the fact that social decomposition is unavoidable, that we are going to have different classes, some people will be rich, others will be poor. (G1)

#### *ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN B&H ECONOMY*

Citizens opinion could be classified in two categories which do not exclude one another:

- Gratitude for stopping the war and taking decisions which enabled the normal life of BH citizens (register plates, passport);
- Objections because they only look for their own interest and could be more active

*Illustrative statements:*

- If they weren't here, we still wouldn't have the peace. These our politicians, acting like they are doing something – they cannot do a thing without international community support... and it is 'internationals' that are making decisions and doing everything, while locals are just talking. So, we have a protectorat here. (G1)
- Look all these people working in international organisations – some of them arewrprking there for 5 or 6 years but they do not have a single day of service, officialy. They have some very solid payments, but nothing else. So, even if they help us, they are doing that not because of some deep love for us, but because they see their own interest in it. (G1)
- They could help even more, in the sense of launching the new companies or supporting the existing ones. Energetics, mining industry etc. The role of international institutions? Only if they invest the capital things, we can expect something from this privatisation process and the companies. Otherwise, there is no hope. (G3)
- They have to find solution for existing situation and put the right people on responsible posotions and functions to resolve legislative problems, and thus economy as well. (G4)
- ...I have a feeling that we are only expecting interneational community do something, to send us some money. We are only sit and wait, and nobody is doing anythng on his own to improve things. We can keep on waiting, but I know there will be no mor help if they see that there is no adequat response here... (G4)

*EXPECTATIONS ABOUT ECONOMY IN THE NEXT YEAR*

Citizens agree that negative tendency on economic plan will continue in the next year. Reasons for this sequence of events they see in inadequate control of borders, over which goods for black market are imported. This is why the state not only does not collect taxes but thus created are also unfair practices on the legal market. Reasons for these pessimistic anticipations they also see in ongoing flow of young and professional cadres who do not see their future in BH. Relatively small number of them considers there will be positive changes on the economy plan. Their assumption is based more on hopes than on particular expectations.

*Illustrative statements:*

- I hope that after privatisation things will be better. In situation like this, if nothing changes, we can only go downhill. I would like that we can work it out immediately, but we have to make a radical cut, and it is problematic, since when you make anything radical it means that it will be worse during some period. Because, after that cut 200 thousand people will lost their jobs and it is nothing but trouble. (G1)
- It can be any worse. After some point, it can only be better. Only because of these premise, I hope that better times are in front of us, but if I must judge some hints, some details from the environment, I can't see anything new, any change... But, it can not be worse. (G1)
- If things continue this way, we are really going to become the land of old and illterate people, unable to work, just look this our generation, it is destroyed and ruined and phisically and psychically by the war anyway... (G2)

- I have my children who I must take care of. What I am going to do today, or tomorrow? My only choice is to send them abroad. I don't know who is going to work in 20 years from now if things will continue like this? Young people are leaving this country more and more every day, because there is no perspective here. (G3)
- Actual political situation is so dreadful that I am not optimistic at all. (G4)

#### *ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION*

Prevailing opinion among citizens is that economic cooperation should be developed with neighboring countries as well as with other countries in Southeast Europe. The bond of these relations which can contribute to business development is the similarity of language and existence of compatible economic capacities. But, there are certain political and economical preconditions for making these economy connections:

- We have to be aware that most of these countries are few steps ahead of us. If we want to become their partners, first we have to resolve problems in our own backyard. Only then we can consider ourselves equal to them, and then we can give our best to go to Europe... Perhaps that will be possible in some time, but not yet. (G1)
- Let me exemplify this with the case of Canton Tuzla, during last 2-3 years they had some economy relations with Serbia. They had something to offer to Serbia. But, it is stopped for the time being, it is blocked by some higher political levels and I hope that new government will change that. (G1)
- Economies of all ex-Yugoslav countries have to be mutually complement. But the problem is that we will continue to export energy, coal and minerals, and at the same time keep on importing some more expensive stuff. (G1)
- Will some products be offered at the Croatian or Serbian markets? It's up to particular companies and particular managers, to the creativeness of some concrete people. It also depends on needs of the market, and on the quality of product offered. You can not go to the market with no quality. (G3)

## POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

### *WHAT IS DEMOCRACY AND DO YOU THINK YOU ARE LIVING IN DEMOCRACY?*

Everyone agrees that democratic system is good, but the majority of respondents claim that democracy in BH is at its very start, and that is very far away from Western countries democracy. The very concept of democracy is very vague, and respondents are hardly capable to define it. Freedom of religion and multiparty elections are certain steps toward achieving democratic order, but regarding the other aspects of everyday life people still do not have the feeling they live in democracy. In the focus groups with members of majority people in FBH (Bosniacs) there is an opinion that the level of democracy is higher in the part of the country where they live than in the other parts of the country, with dominant Serb or Croat population. The group of participants from minority people (Croats) claim that the international community is reinforcing its decisions about political representatives of Croat people, disregarding the will of the people expressed in the elections.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- ...for approximately 10 years they keep saying this is democracy, this is democracy, so it is only from this reason – that repetition - that I get used to the idea that I live in democracy... Why not? But if you compare it with the West, we are in the Stone Age of democracy... (G1)
- The previous system was better for me. I was a little kid back then, but it was good for me. This new system, after the wartime, it is completely waste. This democracy thing seems rather weird to me. There are the poor ones, and there are the rich ones. There is no middle class we had during socialism. (G1)
- I think that there is democracy at our side, where Bosniacs are dominant. Everybody can talk and do whatever he/she likes, but in Serb entity and in Herzegovina there are no such things. (G1)
- I am raised in the family that lived freely in the previous system, we have all lived freely back then, and this thing today – it ain't freedom to me. First of all, this is very small space for me. I can not say what I want to say, I can't go where I'd like to go, I can't drive normally down the street since all around me are guys with BMWs and Mercedeses, and we know very well who were they before the wartime. They haven't been working for a single day. So, there is no freedom today, at least not for me, nor for my children. (G2)
- Well, the very concept of democracy, I do not know what does it mean anymore. Cause today I am afraid will I be at some cafe when some criminal enters and starts shooting at someone, will I be shot down by accident or with a purpose. We don't live in democracy. (G3)
- If someone is elected, and international community instead of that someone is supporting and pushing Alliance... Zlatko Lagumdžija can not represent the Croats. That's my personal opinion, I think that you can not impose someone to the whole nation. (G4)

- ...I have a private life on my own, and in my house I can use any salutation I want... but if someone salutes me in his or her way, or misjudging me only because of my name, I think that is neither respect, nor democracy... (G4)

#### *ROLE OF ORDINARY PEOPLE IN DECISION-MAKING*

Citizens are of the opinion that they have very little influence of any processes in the society in general. Elections are certainly one form of this influence, but many of them think that people they voted for not meet their expectation and that they do not actually represent their opinion. When asked whether they would ever involve themselves in politics, a large number of them was not interested for direct involvement, mainly because they have other priorities (economic ones: "how to survive") and because they have no option they can join, in the sense of "everyone being the same" (referring to parties and politicians). One part of them, mainly women, would involve themselves in NGO work, or they are already involved.

- Ordinary mortals only put "x" and that is voting. A lot of us is not interested to deal with it, lot of us doesn't know to deal with it, lot of us have simply come to terms with the situation, and after all, there is no much to choose. I mean, we all keep talking "all of them are same."; (G1)
- Apart from that voting "x" I have been involved in the case of war veterane invalides, since I am an veterane invalide as well. But, it was all in vain, we can write our statute, but nobody supports that, so now what? No matter how hard you try to do something, you can't do a thing; (G1)
- Very little. Well, you see, even these last elections showed, juste like the previous one, who represents us here in Sarajevo. For example, here in Sarajevo not a single man I've voted for represents me. And the majority of the people, majority of the Croats, nobody represents us. (G4)
- We decide at elections, we vote for the people who will make decisions on behalf of us. We voted the people supposed to lead us. We have just elected new government. Hopefully, it would be better. (G3)

## ***Trust in local & national authorities and perceived greatest influence***

### CITIZENS

#### **Whom do you trust the most and whom the least?**

	<b>Most</b>	<b>Least</b>
Mayor	1	
Local administration	3	
President	1	7
Prime minister	2	1
Government		6
Parliament		4
Political parties	1	7
State administration		1
International community	16	2

As we can see in the table, majority of respondents expressed highest rate of confidence toward international community, while government, presidency and political parties are described as the most distrustful institutions. A certain number of respondents claimed no confidence in mentioned institutions, saying they not have differentiated opinion on this issue.

Usual comments of the citizens on some of these institutions:

#### **Local administration:**

- Somehow they are the most transparent. I only see them working something; (G1)
- They understand needs of people, so they can solve some small things, and we can be satisfied by that; (G1)

#### **Presidency:**

- If anything, I think that through the president and presidency at least few Croats can be employed in Sarajevo; (G4)
- ...they constantly lie, talking this and talking that, and there is no result... they are only working for their own good; (G4)
- Because he is the most distant from us. Just consider his recent statement that he is working only for his people and that he is responsible only to his people. (G1)

#### **Government**

- Lots of talking, and little of doing, actually they are doing nothing. (G4)

#### **Parliament:**

- They are only having meetings all the time, trying to agree on anything, but always fail...; (G1)
- That is nothing but the circus, very funny, so I do not believe them a single thing. (G1)

**Political parties:**

- They are sum of all negative. (G1)
- I do not believe to any party, not to single one. Because it is he party that bring us in this position. During Tito's era we were living quite good. I was travelling to the seaside every year.; (G3)
- Not a single national party demonstrated its program for employment, for development of anything, they have just made us blunt all the time. You can see how intensively they are making our youngestr blunt. (G3)

**International community:**

- It is the number one. Whatever is necessary, international community has a final word. Whatever international community wants, the state must do. (G3)
- They seems the most effective, but I am very far from having apsoltu confidence in them; (G1)
- ...if they are not here, we wouldn't have a thing, we would be still fighting; (G2)
- ... I think that they do not getting the issue, although they are trying to recognise the causes of existing situation. I think they can not understand what is happening among the people and that they can not make proper solutions for existing situation, these solutions can be found only among our people. And when I say our people, I don't think only about Croats, but all Bosnian people. It is we that have to discover our own forces and solutions, not internationl community as an foreign body. (G4)

For each of mentioned institutions respondents gave valuations regarding how satisfied they are with functioning of these institutions in general. Sum of valuations, ranging from 1 to 10, are given in the following table:

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
<b>International community</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6,24</b>	<b>2,73</b>
Local administration	23	4,43	2,56
Mayor	25	3,84	2,49
Government	25	3,16	2,43
Prime minister	25	3,08	2,20
State authority	24	2,71	1,99
Presidency	25	2,68	2,44
Parliament	25	2,56	1,83
Political parties	24	2,54	2,41

Apparently, international communtiy scored highest rate, while political parties scored the lowest one. It is important to point out that practically all institutions won very low valuations.

***Who had the greatest influence:***

More or less citizens agree that the International community has the greatest influence in the country. Primarily, this refers to the High Representative and his office.

*Illustrative statements:*

- They are making the most of decisions, and those who are making most of decisions has the greatest influence as well. (G1)
- Whatever we say, if they do not like it it won't be accepted. (G1)
- Petritsch, he is the president of the state. (G1)
- International community, they are doing whatever they want; they don't care about the lack of salary or anything else – it's all the same for them, they are doing their job. Maybe they think that it's good, but I don't think so. International community has its influence to all of us... (G4)

## **CIVIL SOCIETY**

### ***MEDIA***

In the greatest number of cases, participants states that they use different sources of information to get to reliable information. Mostly, they prefer various TV stations than radio or newspapers. They gave priority to private, foreign and local one, but generally speaking there is no big confidence in objectivity of any media that can be consumed in BH.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- Private media work more for the good of the people, meaning they are saying like it is, while state media are under the influence of the state, of the government. (G1)
- State media have certain influence, and I guess that private media would be much better, but since of their financial problems – they have to cover their own costs – they do not have opportunity to cover all events, and that is aggravating circumstance for them, but I think that they would be better than state media. (G2)
- ...it would be better to have national TV, not nationalistic one, but TV of whole BH. To have central TV informative program of BH, and not that of Herceg-Bosna, or of Republika Srpska. (G3)
- Everybody is pulling to its side. But, do not let yourself to anyone. You listen to all three of them, and then you make some your judgement what is right, what is in the middle. Otherwise, everybody is biased. (G4)
- Local media see only problems of their immediate environment, while state endeavors to cover whole territory, but I don't think they are very persistent in that, they are not covering all the aspects. I am on the side of local media, since they are recognizing the problems of their surrounding ... (G4)

### ***NGO's***

Respondents were mainly evaluating work of humanitarian NGOs, while they are not very well informed with functioning of others. Most of criticism is oriented toward nepotism and corruption in some of them. When it comes to estimation of role and relevance of NGOs in the society, most of respondents thinks that their influence is relatively small.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- There is huge corruption, a big robbery is going on. Tones and tones of flour have been wasted instead to be shared to the people. I don't know personally, but I know from the rumours that Caritas gave a lot of things to Croats, but I don't see that others are helped in similar way. Caritas helped the most, in some extent Merhamet as well. But help was mainly delivered to the friends, instead to be shared among all peoples. (G3)

- NGOs do not have big authority. Mainly, they are dealing with things on paper, without being able to realise them in the practice. (G4)
- I think that NGOs did a very much, but people are mainly judging from their own experience – if you haven't helped them, like you haven't helped to anyone. But, lots of NGOs should be helped with some small donations so they could function and be of some help. On the other side, you have government organisation who are receiving a lots of money, but doing so much less than NGOs. (G4)

### **PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS**

Respondents oriented their answers toward work of the union. Completely unsatisfied with ways union leaders are treating problems of workers, respondents claim that union officials are taking care about their own interests, instead of workers'.

#### *Illustrative statements*

- We are all giving 2 KM for union, and witnessing the fact how many workers are there, officials have quite good salaries. They are driving by the cars, having nice time. So, let's change the places – let them go waiting in the queue for the job, and let us go to the union. And I will keep saying I-am-sorry-'bout-this-and-I-am-sorry-'bout-that, I'll be attending the meetings and enjoying at the cafe, and then my driver will bring me back home. Meaning, they have, but don't do a thing. Perhaps they can not, or doesn't want to do that. Perhaps government is seizing them. (G3)
- Syndicate in the company I am working at exists as merely some sort-of-institution, which brings you 1 kg of coffee or few packets of cigarettes if you are ill, staying in bed, back at home longer than 2 or 3 months. (G2)

### **RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS**

Religious institutions were, according to the opinion of majority of respondents, too much interfering into political events in the country, what definitely mustn't be at their agenda. Special reason for that is the powerful impact of these institutions on the citizens. Regarding religious freedoms, it is interesting to notice that majority of respondents thinks that these freedoms haven't been significantly seized not even at the time of socialism.

#### *Illustrative statements:*

- Religious institutions should propagate some honest and fair things, to work, to live decent life, to want no evil to anyone, they should dissuade people from every, every vice and to orient you toward some positive things. (G2)
- They've missed God's commandments. They are interfering into all spheres of life. Everywhere where they do not belong. (G3)

- It is in churches and mosques where laws are creating for us. They have been interfering too much. We let them to do so, so today they are deeply rooted. (G3)
- ...I think they are influencing people too much, and even have impact on some foreign institutions. (G4)

## PUBLIC SERVICES

### CITIZENS

How would you rate the following public services on the scale 1-10?

	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>
<b>Education system</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4.77</b>	<b>1.80</b>
<b>Police</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4.65</b>	<b>2.08</b>
<b>City transport</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4.65</b>	<b>2.14</b>
<b>Water</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>4.48</b>	<b>2.69</b>
Transport infrastructure	23	4.13	2.60
Gas	23	4.13	2.14
Electricity	24	3.92	2.30
Health system	24	3.79	2.06
Army	22	3.18	2.32
Social care	23	2.13	1.60
Pension fund	24	1.75	1.36

The best-rated services are school system, police and city transport, while the lowest scores have achieved social care and pension fund. Since valuations were in the range from 1 – 10, it is obvious that all institutions received very low valuations.

When it comes to privatization of public services, opinions are very polarized. According to some respondents, these services should remain in state property, while at the same time there must be opened an option for private initiative in the same sector, so competition should be developed. This competition would result in development of efficiency of these services. Others think that only one part of big public services should be privatized, while the state should continue to control the other part. All respondents share the opinion that the army and the police cannot be privatised, while they are not so unanimous when it comes to other services. According to some respondents, the main problem with privatization of these institutions is that prices of the services would become much increased, thus becoming unavailable to some citizens.

## **INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

The role of international institutions in BH is undoubtedly very significant. There are different opinions on their previous work and future activities in the region.

**World Bank** – On the role of World bank respondents do not know much hard facts, but they point out its significant influence, especially regarding the credits for reconstruction and development.

**IMF** - Illustrative statements:

- ...I am not informed enough. In situation like this all of it is imperceptible. (G1)
- Thanks to IMF we have this stable, fixed relation between our convertible mark with Deutsche mark, and I think IMF will in next 5, 10 or 15 years develop its role here in Bosnia. (G1)
- They made a great gesture by intrdoucing stable currency, and now we have very solid currency, and we have one finance system in the whole country. (G3)
- In the final instance, IMF invests large investments in BH, investments that will remain in BH, as a means to help small entrepreneurship, for example, or like donation to some comission, governemental or non-governmental, then BH itself is finance by these investments, and significant number of BH citizens is working within interantional organizations, and thus earning some money for the living. (G4)

**UN** - Illustrative statements:

- UN helped us a lot during the wartime, I do not know much for post-war period. (G1)
- UN, if you ask me, it has very small impact on situation in our country. (G1)
- UN is here like cover up, I do not see any other role. (G1)

**EU** - Illustrative statements:

- To start production, to make some factory start to work, so people could begin working... they would solve all problems by employing people. (G3)
- EU, as ingeneer said, is nothing but cover up, and what do we have from EU? Nothing. Being a member of EU, we'll see that... We don't know. They are setting up a pretty high standards, I don't know are we going to enter EU što, but... (G1)
- We are still not close to EU, although we are giving our best to enter EU, but I do not think they are willing to accept us.

**NATO - Illustrative statements:**

- They are trying to help us, but we do not have, we do not have people to represent us, these people are robbing us. (G2)
- It has very important role in peace keeping, and in delivering equipment and in training of our army. To enter NATO we need one; united army and it will take some time before that happens. (G2)
- Serbia would never become quiet if NATO didn't bomb it. That means, that we still need the bat at the Balkans. (G3)
- Now there is no country, now there are two armies, two police forces, army of Federation BH and Republic Srpska. If we would enter the NATO, we would have one army force, less than one coat-of-arm, and we would be the country. Now, the country is not defined. (G4)
- I think there would be much less chance for someone to attack us. On the other side, it would be very expensive – for weapons, we would be obliged to send our kids every place NATO decide they should go, etc. So, it would be very expensive for us. I don't know. I do not believe that would be something of crucial significance for BH as the state. (G4)

**Key of regional security - Illustrative statements:**

- Well, there is no key of stability here. Here every generation has to experience a war. That's simply the way it is, unfortunately. It is Balkans. At Balkans, every 30 years, whatever will be – will be. (G1)
- I think (the key) is united army and the police. (G2)
- I also think that while these national parties at play nothing good can be achieved ... (G2)
- (The key of stability is) when I drive my car to Pale, Siroki Brijeg, Banja Luka or anywhere else, park there and peacefully lay down to sleep in the car. (G3)
- NATO's presence, which could be key to stability. It will last for a very short period. Already today or tomorrow we expect that after NATO's withdrawal we will start to strangle each other, mutually. (G4)
- We should have more developed consciousness, to be more aware of situation, to tend to solve everything – in economy, for example, unemployment, whatever -, to solve it by ourselves, instead to perceive ourselves as members of some particular nation. It's up to us, only. (G4)
- War criminals... they have to be punished. Anyone doing wrong things will be arrested sooner or later. And that's it. At least, that's my opinion. (G4)

## INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS AND FEELINGS

### COUNTRIES IN THE SEE REGION

#### CITIZENS

<b>SLOVENIA</b> Democratic Western orientated Europe Beauty Good economy Skiing Working people	<b>CROATIA</b> Sea Good changes Neighbor Tourism Success Nationalism	<b>SERBIA</b> Nationalism War Aggression Weddings Misery Evil	<b>KOSOVO</b> Misery War Focus of fight Revenge
<b>VOJVODINA</b> Friends Food/cookies Democracy Working country	<b>MONTENEGRO</b> Lazy people Independent Tourism Pride	<b>MACEDONIA</b> Song Food /paprika Victim Far from us	<b>ROMANIA</b> Causesku Black market Romas Tyranny
<b>BULGARIA</b> Undeveloped Bulgarian Romas Stoickov Not very known	<b>ALBANIA</b> Poverty Criminal Misery Closed Undeveloped	<b>GREECE</b> Business Tourism Sea Myths / legends / goddess Syrtaki	

**RELATION BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

**CITIZENS**

<b>Serbs-Muslims</b>	<b>Muslims - Croats</b>	<b>Serbs-Croats</b>
Still lack of confidence	There is some lack of confidence	Still lack of confidence
None – but they have to	Depends on where and when	So and so – they have to
Not really good – wounds are still open	Better, but still not good	Improving, but there are things that cannot be improved
Sufficient	Excellent	Good (3)
Bad (6)	They are making efforts	Mediocre
None with those who have lost somebody in the war, sufficient with others	Here and there, depends on people	Progress, depends on the issue
It is all-individual	Individually	It is all individual
None (2)	Good with people who have not suffered in the war	Depends
Partial	A little bit	Superficial relations
Not really good (2)	For interest	Bad (6)
Average after the war	Bad (4)	None (2)
Improving	Good (2)	Not completely good
Disputable	Better than with Serbs	Apparently good
	Good except in some regions	
	Relatively good	
	Disputable	

<b>Muslims – Jews</b>	<b>Croats-Jews</b>	<b>Serb – Jews</b>
Rather good	Achieving good relations	Good 8
Appreciation	Pretty good	Unknown 3
Good 11	Appreciation	Individual
Unknown	Good 6	None 2
Individually	Don't know 2	Bad 4
Bad 2	Individual	Mutually good
Have some thing in common	None 2	Disputable
None	Bad	
So and so	Poor	
Good as they do not share religion	Disputable	
They suffer together		

<b>Muslims – Romas</b>	<b>Croats-Romas</b>	<b>Serbs–Romas</b>
Nobody likes Romas, not even Muslims	Don't know, but I think they have good relations	Good (12)
There are many of them	No one likes Romas, not even Croats	There are many Romas in the region
Rather good	There are Romas everywhere	Excellent
Individually	Don't know	None in Brcko
Good (12)	Depends	Individually
None	Individual	None (2)
Super	Good (6)	Superficial
Bad	None (3)	Bad
So-so	Bad (4)	Have common features

<b>Romas - Jews</b>
They probably respect each other
Very good
Don't know (3)
Individual
None (2)
Unknown (3)
Bad (2)
Good (5)
Suffer together

***Do you feel that you belong to your national community?***

Generally speaking, more or less all respondents confirmed that they have feeling of belonging to their national communities. There are some differences regarding the intensity of the feeling and regarding the significance respondents are giving to it accordance with experience of their own identity.

*Illustrative statements:*

- Yes, yes, yes, yes, yes... Why 'yes'? Well, times are like that ... (G2)
- I was born in that way, I wasn't the one who decided what I would be... I appreciate my origin and belonging to a nation, just like any other (G2)
- I do feel (belonging) but I've got no use of it. I have been celebrating Bajram, butchering the kurban rams, going to the cemetery; I knew all this rituals. I am the Muslim in my house. I am not colored and I am not going to the group gatherings. (G3)
- I live here for years and have no problem of that sort; in that regard I was always considering myself as a Croat. I am not deprived of anything; I have been always living in the community with other (nations) so I would like to keep living that way. (G4)
- I do consider myself as a member of my national community, and although I am living in nationally mixed marriage, I think that nothing could endanger my national feeling. I was raised that way, in such environment; I am linked very closely to Croatia. I am not saying that Bosnia is not my fatherland, because it is, but at the same time I am feeling and I will always feel as a Croat, catholic, although I am in mixed marriage and that doesn't change a thing. (G4)

***Have you ever thought of moving from this region?***

Focus groups' participants in relatively large number confirmed that they've been thinking about leaving the country, and some of them are planning to realize it very soon. Most frequent reasons for wanting to leave the country are linked to poverty, unemployment, nationalism, or general lack of perspective.

One number would leave the country but they do not have possibility for that being too old for employment abroad, or not having relatives or friends who could help them to emigrate.

Finally, a small number of respondents claim they never considered the option of leaving the region, either they think that "man is at his best when he is at his own place", either because all of them relatives and friends are in the country, or because they think that it is not easy to secure one's existence abroad.

## HOPES AND FEARS

### CITIZENS

#### Hopes

- Not to have war anymore but wisdom (G4)
- Not to have all young people leave the country (G3)
- That we finally have economic prosperity (G2)
- Peace, better situation while my childe grow up, finish the school, so it can find employment (G4)
- I hope BH will remain within one borderline, that it will not be divided... (G4)

#### Fears

- Not to have Bosnia and Herzegovina be divided by ethnical principles as this might cause the displacement (G4)
- That this political, economical and social situation does not cause protests (G4)
- New war (G2)
- That we shall not be able to afford education to our children (G3)
- Let me say this to you, my biggest fears are linked with Republika Srpska, because everything is going well for them, international community is very indulgent toward them, ans I am afraid that that will continue to happen, and in that case, everything is possible. (G4)