

Baseline Survey for *Our Town, Our Future*:
A project about democratisation, good governance and
the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina

About the baseline survey

The baseline survey was commissioned by the BBC World Service Trust on behalf of the *Our Town, Our Future* project which is funded by the European Commission and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.

The research for the baseline survey was undertaken by Dr. Colin Irwin of the Queens University of Belfast. The coordination was provided by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, Thessaloniki, with the assistance of BORAM, Sarajevo. The public opinion survey work was conducted by Prism Research, BiH between July 9 and July 23 to produce 1200 ‘face to face’ interviews of citizens and 300 interviews of municipal employees that represented a cross section of the adult population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of age, gender, social background, political views, nationality and geographical area.

Colin Irwin reports on the findings of the research.

This publication has been produced with the assistance of the European Union and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of the author and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Commission or the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation.

About the *Our Town, Our Future* project

The *Our Town, Our Future* project, commenced in April 2004 and will run for two years. The project endeavours to use radio drama, along with extensive outreach work, to strengthen democratisation, good governance and the rule of law in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The project aims to raise awareness among municipal authorities of poor governance issues, underscoring malpractice and highlight best practice through popular radio drama.

The baseline survey was commissioned to inform on the development of the radio drama in order to reflect perceptions, attitudes and beliefs held by Bosnian and Herzegovinian citizens from all ethnic groups, including municipal workers about what is required to strengthen their social, economic and political situation. The findings of the baseline survey will also be utilised to facilitate debate among 300 municipal workers at three conferences to be organised in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar by the BBC World Service Trust's partner, the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe. Also, there will be extensive public relations work and a five-day study tour to Northern Ireland, which will allow Bosnian media managers and drama professionals to share experiences with another country, which is equally politically complex with deep religious tensions. Furthermore, two additional opinion polls are planned before the end of the project.

The project will utilise local talent and develop local partnerships with broadcasters. The radio drama will be produced using Bosnian and Herzegovinian directors, writers and actors.

A People's Peace Process for Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Background: Furthering democratisation, good governance and the rule of law

Negotiating peace agreements that can stand the test of time is very difficult. But recent experience tells us that when the people and the politicians can bring a peace process and political process together, as one common enterprise, then the possibilities for success are greatly increased. In Northern Ireland most people believe 'the war is over' and although the Belfast Agreement has its problems it was endorsed by the people in a referendum and is accepted as the basis for any future political accommodation. In Bosnia and Herzegovina the Dayton Agreement brought an end to the war but the presence of an international force is still required to maintain the peace. The international community want to disengage but may not be able to do so until the peace process and political process are 'as one' and to do that they need policies and agreements that have wide popular support and legitimacy.

So what do the people believe are the most important issues that need to be addressed to overcome the devastating effects of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina? What are the most critical social, political and economic problems facing the people today? What could happen if these problems are not properly addressed and what do the people believe needs to be done to help achieve reconciliation, economic independence and effective government in the future?

Nine public opinion polls were run in support of the Northern Ireland peace process so that the people of Northern Ireland would have an opportunity to tell their politicians what they thought should be done. This public opinion poll uses the same methods as those used there so that the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina can have an opportunity to

express their views on the way ahead. The results are reviewed below and full comprehensive reports will be sent to all the parties who have been elected to government in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to the international community, their organisations, NGOs, IGOs, civil society and broadcasters.

The problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about who was to blame for the war and the problems it has created. Firstly, with regards to blame and responsibility everyone interviewed was asked to indicate whose role they considered to be ‘Very Significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of Some Significance’, ‘Of Little Significance’ or ‘Of No Significance’ at all. Out of 12 possible options predictably Bosniak’s placed Serbs at the top of their list at 68 per cent ‘Very Significant’. After that they tended to blame the international community and placed themselves at the bottom of their list at only 8 per cent ‘Very Significant’. Serbs blamed the US most of all at 66 per cent then NATO at 64 per cent and themselves, predictably at the bottom of their list, at 23 per cent ‘Very Significant’. Croats seemed to blame the Serbs (60 per cent) and the international community (57 per cent) almost equally but then they also place themselves at the bottom of their list at only 14 per cent ‘Very Significant’ (Table 1.1). So everyone blames everyone else more than they blame themselves. It was ‘ever so’ and in Northern Ireland we call this the ‘blame game’. No one ever seems to win but still the game remains very popular. It is sometimes difficult to understand why.

But when it comes to the devastating effects of the war everyone agrees that the death of so many people should be placed at the top of the list at 84 per cent ‘Very Significant’ followed by ‘2 million refugees and displaced persons’ at 82 per cent and then the ‘Destruction of the country’ at 78 per cent (Table 2.2). With regards to politics and elections again there is much agreement with ‘Nepotism’ coming in first at 53 per cent ‘Very Significant’ followed by ‘Young people “turned off” by politics’ at 52 per cent and ‘Political corruption of nationalists’ at 51 per cent (Table 3.2). So problems of

devastation and political failure are considered most significant followed then by the fact that the 'Dayton Agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus' at 47 per cent 'Very Significant' (Table 2.2). After that problems of inter-ethnic relations become issues of some importance with the top three issues being 'Lack of financial support for returnees' at 43 per cent 'Very Significant', 'Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong' at 40 per cent and 'Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland' at 39 per cent (Table 4.2).

Problems of corruption are considered no less significant than other political and electoral problems with 'Corruption of politicians' first at 57 per cent 'Very Significant' followed by hiring at 55 per cent, judges at 54 per cent, nepotism at 53 per cent, police at 52 per cent and so on (Table 5.2). The related topic of police, courts and the law brings in very similar results with 'Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions' first on everyone's list at 57 per cent 'Very Significant' followed by 'No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community' at 51 per cent. Third in this list is 'Slow implementation of court decisions' at 48 per cent and fourth is 'Ineffective law' at 46 per cent (Table 6.2). Clearly the people of Bosnia Herzegovina have serious misgivings about the quality of their criminal justice system, not only in terms of its effectiveness but also in terms of treating everyone the same including the international community.

The desperate state of the economy is considered to be the most serious problem that needs to be addressed second only to the devastating effects of the war. The fact that the 'War destroyed the economy' comes in first on this list at 80 per cent 'Very Significant' followed by 'High unemployment' at 77 per cent, 'Young people have few opportunities' at 76 per cent and then 'Best young people leaving BiH' at 74 per cent (Table 7.2). There is, perhaps, a serious 'Catch 22' here. Unless the economy picks up the 'Best young people' will not stay, but if they do not stay then what are the prospects for the economy?

With regards to education the first concern is that there is 'No vision for the future' at 47 per cent 'Very Significant' followed by 'Low standards of education' at 43 per cent, 'No common curriculum for school' at 40 per cent and the 'Quality of university faculty' at

38 per cent (Table 8.2). Problems relating to the costs of segregated schools and ethnic division in schools are also considered important at 33 and 32 per cent 'Very significant' respectively but questions of quality in education are clearly matters of greater concern.

Tragically 'The continuing effects of rape during the war' is considered to be the most difficult problem for women at 54 per cent 'Very Significant' (Table 9.3). This breaks down at 61 per cent for Bosniaks, 54 per cent for Croats and 40 per cent for Serbs (Table 9.2). After that the very practical issue that 'Society does not provide for child care' comes in at 53 per cent and 'No effective equality commission' at 38 per cent. The devastating effects of the war and economic considerations seem to effect women's issues just as much as any other matter reviewed here.

A 'Lack of professional standards' at 38 per cent 'Very Significant' and the 'Media segregated on ethnic lines' are considered to be the top two problems for journalism and the media in Bosnia Herzegovina followed by 'Too much gossip and unchecked stories' at 36 per cent and 'Not enough investigative journalism' at 34 per cent (Table 10.2). People clearly want and can reasonably expect an effective, professional and impartial free press.

Out of a list of 26 items in the 'Government and Municipalities' question the top six problems were: 'High welfare costs and low employment' first at 64 per cent 'Very Significant', followed by a 'Lack of justice' at 63 per cent, then 'No one takes responsibility' at 60 per cent, and 'With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work', the 'Infrastructure requires repair' and 'Too many levels of government' all at 58 per cent (Table 11.2). The list goes on but perhaps what is important to note here is that the war has not only done harm to the economy and various state services it has also done harm to the way in which the country now has to be run. Significantly these problems are considered more serious than the seventh item on the list, a 'Very wasteful and expensive civil service'. The civil service needs reform but without economic growth and constitutional reform such efforts may not produce the positive changes so many are hoping for.

Although Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a colony the relationship between the state, her people and the Office of the High Representative (OHR) is not all that different. Predictably then the problems that the people have with the international community and OHR are as follows: 'Paid very much more than local staff', 57 per cent 'Very Significant'; 'They do not pay tax', 53 per cent; 'Do not understand local issues', 52 per cent; 'Lack of accountability', also 52 per cent; 'Inappropriate use of resources' 50 per cent, and so on, and so on. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina want to run their own state. That is very clear. Fortunately the international community share this ambition. But how can this be done. Do the people know?

However, before people were invited to say what they thought needed to be done all those interviewed were asked what might happen if the people of Bosnia and the international community fail to take the necessary steps needed to help secure reconciliation, economic independence and effective government? Seventy six per cent thought it 'Very Probable' that the country would become a 'Source of very cheap labour' although 67 per cent still thought they 'Will join the EU'. 'Withdrawal of international support' came in at 65 per cent, 'European "black hole"' at 60 per cent and the 'EU will give up and go elsewhere' at 59 per cent. The prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina becoming a failed state seem very real indeed but the possibility that there might be a 'Return to war' or that the Serb entity and Croat cantons might join Serbia and Croatia leaving a residual Bosnia for the Bosniaks all came in at the bottom of this list at only 34 per cent 'Very Probable' (Table 13.2). This is reassuring but how can the status of 'failed state' be avoided?

The solutions

As steps needed to help secure a stable and better future people were asked to indicate which options they considered ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’. With regards to the devastating effects of the war the top priority was ‘Develop the economy’ at 89 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ followed by ‘Remove wealth of war criminals’ at 84 per cent and ‘Involve everyone in their future’ at 85 per cent (Table 14.1). ‘Amnesty for telling the truth’ came in at the bottom of this list at only 40 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ and 22 per cent ‘Unacceptable’ which broke down to 26 per cent for Bosniaks, 11 per cent for Serbs and 38 per cent for Croats (Table 14.2). Amnesty remains a sensitive issue.

‘Separate politics and religion’ at 79 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ and ‘Political leadership based on successful government’ at 80 per cent were almost joint first on the ‘Politics and Elections’ list followed by ‘Politicians should stay out of religious affairs’ and ‘Religious leaders should stay out of politics’ both at 77 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ (Table 15.1). With regard to the related topic of inter-ethnic relations ‘Become equal citizens of Bosnia’ was first on this list at 90 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ followed by ‘Religious leaders should work for peace’ at 87 per cent and ‘Become citizens of Europe’ at 84 per cent (Table 16.1). More positive suggestions were made on both of these lists and there was no significant disagreement over any of them.

Politics came in again at the top of the ‘Public Corruption’ list with ‘Prosecute and jail corrupt politicians’ at 87 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ followed by ‘Prosecution of all corruption’ also at 87 per cent and ‘Build an efficient state to end corruption’ at 86 per cent. The list went on in the same way through various types of corruption in various public services but at the bottom of this list the proposal for ‘Better salaries for public officials’ only received support at the 44 per cent level and 23 per cent found this proposal ‘Unacceptable’ (Table 17.1). On the related topic of ‘Police, courts and the law’ the top two items were ‘Public officials who take bribes should be prosecuted’ and ‘People who pay bribes should be prosecuted’ at 87 and 88 per cent ‘Essential’ or

‘Desirable’ respectively (Table 18.1). Clearly, when it comes to problems of corruption and the law prosecutions are what people want to see.

Of course everyone wants to develop the economy and here are the top items from this list: ‘Develop agriculture’ 89 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’, ‘Invest in education’ 90 per cent, small business 88 per cent, heavy industry 84 per cent, ‘EU standards of pollution control’ 83 per cent, ‘All social care responsibility of the state’ 82 per cent, ‘Organise state along economic not ethnic regions’ 80 per cent and so on (Table 19.1). Any good idea for economic development seems to be a good idea for everyone.

Education, however, is not quite so simple. Given people’s views on nationalist politics it is not surprising that ‘End upbringing in nationalist way through school programmes’ comes in at the top of this list at 75 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ with ‘Teach respect for own and other community’ at 79 per cent and ‘Curriculum for peace and reconciliation’ at 73 per cent. A ‘Common curriculum for universities’ comes in at 69 per cent with ‘EU standards for university education’ and ‘Student exchange’ both at 79 per cent (Table 20.1). However, at the bottom of this list is ‘No state funding for religious schools’ at only 54 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’. Fifteen per cent of the adult population find this option ‘Unacceptable’ and it breaks down at 9 per cent for Bosniaks, 16 per cent for Serbs and 35 per cent for Croats (Table 20.2). This is clearly a sensitive issue for some Croats but they, and everyone else, also want high standards of education that do not promote narrow forms of nationalism.

It should also be emphasised that education that seeks to overcome the problems of nationalism were also suggested as being one of the best ways to deal with ‘The continuing effects of rape during the war’ (Table 9.3). Other women’s issues place ‘Full state support for maternity leave’ at the top of their list at 83 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ followed by ‘Regular access to gynaecologists’ at 81 per cent, ‘Full state support for day care’ 77 per cent and after school care 73 per cent and so on down the list. There were no significant objections to any reasonable suggestions for improving the position of women in society (Table 21.1).

With regards to the media ‘Courts must pursue corruption’ at 73 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’, a ‘Degree in journalism and qualifications’ at 78 per cent and a ‘Code of good practice for journalists’ at 77 per cent were all at the top of this list (Table 22.1). People see effective journalists working to professional standards as the solution to the problems in the media (Table 10.2).

In looking over the options for reform of ‘Government and Municipalities’ and relations with the ‘International Community’ there seem to be two very distinctive groups of common concerns. One set of issues relate to better efficiency and management while the other focuses on constitutional reform and international relations. We will look at the efficiency and management options first. High on the government and municipalities list are ‘Hire top professionals for projects’ at 85 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’, ‘Give money to good projects’ at 81 per cent, ‘Civil service responsible to public’ at 83 per cent, ‘Clear lines of responsibility’ also at 83 per cent and ‘Ask the users of Municipal services about improvements that could be made’ at 84 per cent (Table 23.1). In addition to wanting the international community to ‘Give hope to the people’ at a high of 91 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’, the people also want the international community to ‘Restrict activities to key issues’ at 84 per cent, ‘Maximum per cent to solving problems’ at 85 per cent, ‘Give resources for economic and not ethnic reasons’ 81 per cent and ‘Independent auditing’ at 79 per cent. The list goes on with ‘Respond to local needs’ at 78 per cent and ‘Include local people in key positions’ at 74 per cent (Table 24.1). A consistent theme clearly runs through all these examples. People want greater efficiency and transparency and to be more involved in the decision making process at all levels of government and, equally, in all their dealings with the international community and Office of the High Representative (OHR). Double standards are not acceptable.

With regard to constitutional reform people want government to ‘Spend money on projects not levels of government’ at 83 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’, ‘Smaller and effective system of government’ 81 per cent, ‘Fewer levels of government’ 78 per cent and ‘Do not duplicate services in entities, cantons and municipalities’ also at 78 per cent. To resolve these questions the people would like the government or perhaps the OHR to

‘Establish a Constitutional Commission to advise on reform’ at 77 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ and ‘Reform the Constitution through Parliament’ at 73 per cent (Table 23.1). On the international front the people do not want Belgrade or Zagreb to interfere in BiH affairs at 74 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ but rather ‘Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo should cooperate to join the EU together’ at 78 per cent and to this end they want an ‘EU programme to explain the 16 entry criteria to the people of BiH’ at 74 per cent ‘Essential’ or ‘Desirable’ (Table 24.1).

A number of constitutional proposals were then tested against public opinion (Table 25.1 and Table 25.2). Consistent with other questions asked in this poll suggestions that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be broken up had the least support. The status quo established by the Dayton Agreement only came in fourth on the list and this option was preceded by a return to the way things were before the war, more powers to the municipalities and ‘Bosnia and Herzegovina with decentralised regions in accordance with European standards’. If this proposal, or something like it, could be combined more clearly with proposals for a simplified system of government and membership of the EU in partnership with her neighbours then, perhaps, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina could find again the sense of vision and hope they so much desire - a peace process and political process that they could call their own. Finally then, with this point in mind, everyone interviewed was asked ‘Do you want the people of Bosnia and the international community to negotiate, agree and implement a programme of political, social and economic reform from all the options reviewed here? Ninety four per cent said ‘Yes’ (Table 26.1).

Municipal workers are citizens too

Municipal workers are citizens too and, for the most part, the concerns and important issues, the problems and their solutions that can make Bosnia and Herzegovina a better place tomorrow than it is today are the same for them as they are for their fellow countrymen and women. But they do feel more or less strongly about certain options put on offer in this poll. Here are some interesting examples.

When it comes to responsibility for the war they strongly feel ‘The international community did not act impartially’ at 59 per cent ‘Very Significant’ compared to 49 per cent for citizens in general, a difference of +11 points (Table 1.3). They also take a stronger view that the ‘Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus’ at 57 per cent ‘Very Significant’ compared to 47 per cent for citizens, a difference of +10 points (Table 2.3). They do not think political corruption at -5 points and nepotism at -7 points is quite as bad as their fellow citizens (Table 3.3). Municipal employees take a more serious view of the lack of financial support for returnees at +6 points and less serious view of the idea that they are not allowed to return to their homes at -8 points (Table 4.2). When it comes to public corruption they do not believe they are nearly so bad as the general public think (Table 5.3) and they also believe the poor salary for the police is a part of the problem at +16 points (Table 6.3).

INSERT TABLE 5.3

With regards to the economy municipal employees place more emphasis on a lack of investment at +10 points and old industry at +6 points (Table 7.3). They also place less blame on the international community for introducing religious schools than do their fellow citizens at -8 points (Table 8.3) and think young women have better access to contraception also at -8 points (Table 9.3). They are more sceptical about journalists not checking their facts at +5 points (Table 10.3) and there are, as would be expected, considerable differences of strength of opinion when it comes to the problems of government and the municipalities and how well they think they are doing their job. Here

differences run as high as –22 points for ‘Very slow service’ and –23 points for ‘The citizens are not considered more important’ (Table 11.3).

INSERT TABLE 11.3

When it comes to the work of the international community and international relations they are slightly less critical than the average citizen at, for example, -8 points for ‘Too much spent on donors’ and also –8 points for Zagreb and Belgrade politicians still wanting a greater Croatia and Serbia (Table 12.3). But municipal employees are more concerned about the future than the average citizen. They are more inclined to believe Bosnia will break up at +5 points ‘Very Probable’ and that the prospects of joining the EU are less at –6 points ‘Very Probable’ (Table 13.3).

When it comes to the solutions municipal employees are harder on the international community not taking sides and developing the economy at +10 points more ‘Essential’ and less inclined to offer amnesty at –9 points less ‘Essential’ (Table 14.3). Municipal employees are stronger on matters of political and electoral reform at +12 points for ‘Minimum standards for political candidates’ and +9 points for ‘Political leadership based on successful government’ (Table 15.2). They are also much stronger on all measures needed to deal with the problems of corruption. For example ‘Computerise public services’ comes in at +22 points and ‘Transparency’ at +15 points (Table 17.2).

INSERT TABLE 17.2

Similarly the municipal employees are stronger on reforming the police, courts and law at +13 points for ‘Establish confidence in the rule of law’ (Table 18.3) and ‘Effective tax collection’ at +17 points (Table 19.2). Municipal employees also want stronger incentives for the economy than the average citizen at +10 points for ‘Stimulate international partnerships with tax breaks’ and +9 points for ‘Develop small business’ (Table 19.2). When it comes to education they want the ‘State to monitor and set standards’ at +8 points, ‘Train teachers in reconciliation’ at +9 points and ‘Education programmes for

teachers' at +12 points (Table 20.3). Municipal employees are more proactive than the average citizen when it comes to all of the women's issues (Table 21.2) and suggestions for improving the media (Table 22.3). For example they are +14 points up on citizens for 'Effective regulatory body for the print media' and 'Code of good practice for journalists'. They are also more proactive when it comes to reform of government and the municipalities (Table 23.2).

INSERT TABLE 23.2

Similarly they want more 'Transparency' for the international community at +11 points, 'Independent auditing' of the international community at +9 points and 'Train local people to be part of management' at +5 points (Table 24.3). Finally when it comes to constitutional reform they are far less inclined to want to go back to the way things were before the war at only 14 per cent 'Essential' for municipal employees compared with 31 per cent 'Essential' for all other citizens (Table 25.3). Perhaps the simple conclusion to draw from all of this is that municipal employees welcome opportunities for reform but they do not think they are as bad as most citizens believe they are. And then, again, they are citizens too.

Summary of findings

Perhaps the most significant conclusion that can be drawn from this poll is that most people in Bosnia and Herzegovina share a common understanding of what the major problems are and what needs to be done to achieve a better future. There are some exceptions. Who was to blame for the war but then most people also agree that this issue needs to be put to one side so that the economy can be rebuilt, corruption brought to an end, standards of education improved and the institutions of the state made more effective. Although municipal employees are often thought of as inefficient and unresponsive to the public's needs they share these same ambitions for the future and welcome the prospect of reforms that can help them achieve these goals. Reaching a consensus on constitutional change is not going to be easy but most people want it simplified and want to join the EU along with their neighbours. With strong leadership and a sense of vision all of this has the prospect of restoring a sense of hope and this, above all else, is the people's greatest desire.

A PEOPLE'S PEACE PROCESS FOR BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA?

QUESTIONS AND TABLES

Table 1.1 People from different communities often hold very different views about who was to blame for the war and the problems it has created. Firstly, with regards to blame and responsibility please indicate whose role you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little Significance' or 'Of No Significance' at all.

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Serbs role in starting the war	68	US role in the war	66	No one takes responsibility for starting the war	62
2nd	No one takes responsibility for starting the war	42	NATO's role in the war	64	Serbs role in starting the war	60
3rd	The international community did not act impartially	39	The international community did not act impartially	58	The international community did not act impartially	57
4th	Everyone blames everyone else for starting the war	36	Bosniaks role in starting the war	54	Everyone blames everyone else for starting the war	55
5th	International community's role in the war	32	International community's role in the war	50	The international community blames all sides equally	52
6th	NATO's role in the war	32	Europe's role in the war	47	Bosniaks role in starting the war	37
7th	US role in the war	31	Croats role in starting the war	44	US role in the war	30
8th	The international community blames all sides equally	30	No one takes responsibility for starting the war	43	International community's role in the war	30
9th	Europe's role in the war	29	The international community blames all sides equally	34	UN role in the war	26
10th	UN role in the war	28	Everyone blames everyone else for starting the war	34	NATO's role in the war	23
11th	Croats role in starting the war	19	UN role in the war	32	Europe's role in the war	23
12th	Bosniaks role in starting the war	8	Serbs role in starting the war	23	Croats role in starting the war	14

Table 1.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Serbs role in starting the war	50
2nd	The international community did not act impartially	49
3rd	No one takes responsibility for starting the war	45
4th	US role in the war	44
5th	NATO's role in the war	42
6th	Everyone blames everyone else for starting the war	39
7th	International community's role in the war	38
8th	The international community blames all sides equally	35
9th	Europe's role in the war	35
10th	UN role in the war	29
11th	Bosniaks role in starting the war	29
12th	Croats role in starting the war	27

Table 1.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
The international community did not act impartially	49	59	11
No one takes responsibility for starting the war	45	52	7
International community's role in the war	38	44	6
UN role in the war	29	34	5
Everyone blames everyone else for starting the war	39	44	5
Serbs role in starting the war	50	54	4
Bosniaks role in starting the war	29	32	3
US role in the war	44	47	3
The international community blames all sides equally	35	37	2
Croats role in starting the war	27	26	-1
Europe's role in the war	35	34	-1
Nato's role in the war	42	41	-2

Table 2.1 Secondly, with regards to the major consequences of the war and problems with the DA and its implementation please indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Very Significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of Some Significance’, ‘Of Little Significance’ or ‘Of No Significance’ at all.

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	100 thousand dead	82	100 thousand dead	83	100 thousand dead	92
2nd	2 million refugees and displaced persons	81	2 million refugees and displaced persons	79	2 million refugees and displaced persons	91
3rd	Destruction of the country	78	Destruction of the country	75	Destruction of the country	85
4th	War crimes are not prosecuted	75	War profiteers	65	The reasons for the war remain unresolved	62
5th	War profiteers	74	The political parties who were most responsible for the war are still politically active and strong.	50	War profiteers	56
6th	The reasons for the war remain unresolved	57	The reasons for the war remain unresolved	48	Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus	54
7th	The partnership between war criminals and politicians is continuing.	56	The politicians who were enemies during the war are now fighting over the implementation of the DA.	44	War crimes are not prosecuted	51
8th	The political parties who were most responsible for the war are still politically active and strong.	54	Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus	43	The people did not make their own peace agreement	50
9th	Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus	47	War crimes are not prosecuted	41	No endorsement of the DA by the people	48
10th	The politicians who were enemies during the war are now fighting over the implementation of the DA.	46	The partnership between war criminals and politicians is continuing.	38	The partnership between war criminals and politicians is continuing.	34
11th	The people did not make their own peace agreement	38	The people did not make their own peace agreement	38	The political parties who were most responsible for the war are still politically active and strong.	31
12th	No endorsement of the DA by the people	31	No endorsement of the DA by the people	27	The politicians who were enemies during the war are now fighting over the implementation of the DA.	27

Table 2.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	100 thousand dead	84
2nd	2 million refugees and displaced persons	82
3rd	Destruction of the country	78
4th	War profiteers	68
5th	War crimes are not prosecuted	59
6th	The reasons for the war remain unresolved	54
7th	The political parties who were most responsible for the war are still politically active and strong.	50
8th	Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus	47
9th	The partnership between war criminals and politicians is continuing.	47
10th	The politicians who were enemies during the war are now fighting over the implementation of the DA.	43
11th	The people did not make their own peace agreement	40
12th	No endorsement of the DA by the people	32

Table 2.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

	Per cent Very Significant		
	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Dayton agreement stopped the war but imposed a political structure without consensus	47	57	10
The people did not make their own peace agreement	40	48	8
No endorsement of the DA by the people	32	39	6
The reasons for the war remain unresolved	54	59	4
The partnership between war criminals and politicians is continuing.	47	50	3
100 thousand dead	84	86	2
2 million refugees and displaced persons	82	84	2
Destruction of the country	78	79	2
War crimes are not prosecuted	59	61	2
The politicians who were enemies during the war are now fighting over the implementation of the DA	43	44	1
War profiteers	68	68	0
The political parties who were most responsible for the war are still politically active and strong.	50	49	-1

Table 3.1 And now with regards to politics and elections please indicate which problems you consider to be ‘Very Significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of Some Significance’, ‘Of Little Significance’ or ‘Of No Significance’ at all.

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Poor quality of political leadership	55	Nepotism in political culture	56	Young people "turned off" by politics	43
2nd	Political corruption of nationalists	55	Young people "turned off" by politics	56	Elections can not change BiH for the better	36
3rd	Nepotism in political culture	54	Criminal activities of all nationalist parties	52	Nepotism in political culture	35
4th	Criminal activities of all nationalist parties	52	Poor quality of political leadership	52	Political corruption of nationalists	34
5th	Young people "turned off" by politics	51	Political corruption of nationalists	51	Criminal activities of all nationalist parties	34
6th	Lack of culture of political dialogue	48	Lack of culture of political dialogue	50	Poor quality of political leadership	32
7th	Politicians are not interested in improving relations between different ethnic groups	46	Politicians are not interested in improving relations between different ethnic groups	44	Politicians can be removed	32
8th	Nationalists interest in the "status quo"	44	Nationalists interest in the "status quo"	43	Close relationship between religions and major nationalist political parties	30
9th	Close relationship between religions and major nationalist political parties	44	Manipulation of nationalist feelings	42	Lack of culture of political dialogue	30
10th	Politicians can be removed	40	Elections can not change BiH for the better	40	Politicians are not interested in improving relations between different ethnic groups	30
11th	Elections can not change BiH for the better	40	Close relationship between religions and major nationalist political parties	37	Nationalists interest in the "status quo"	29
12th	Manipulation of nationalist feelings	39	Politicians can be removed	32	Politicians do not have any real power	28
13th	Politicians do not have any real power	31	Nationalists encouraged by OHR	32	Manipulation of nationalist feelings	24
14th	Nationalists encouraged by OHR	28	Politicians do not have any real power	29	Nationalists encouraged by OHR	21

Table 3.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Nepotism in political culture	53
2nd	Young people "turned off" by politics	52
3rd	Political corruption of nationalists	51
4th	Poor quality of political leadership	50
5th	Criminal activities of all nationalist parties	50
6th	Lack of culture of political dialogue	46
7th	Politicians are not interested in improving relations between different ethnic groups	43
8th	Nationalists interest in the "status quo"	42
9th	Close relationship between religions and major nationalist political parties	40
10th	Elections can not change BiH for the better	39
11th	Manipulation of nationalist feelings	38
12th	Politicians can be removed	36
13th	Politicians do not have any real power	30
14th	Nationalists encouraged by OHR	28

Table 3.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

	Per cent Very Significant		
	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Nationalists interest in the "status quo"	42	45	3
Politicians do not have any real power	30	33	3
Young people "turned off" by politics	52	53	1
Nationalists encouraged by OHR	28	28	0
Politicians are not interested in improving relations between different ethnic groups	43	43	0
Manipulation of nationalist feelings	38	37	-1
Poor quality of political leadership	50	50	-1
Elections can not change BiH for the better	39	39	-1
Lack of culture of political dialogue	46	44	-2
Politicians can be removed	36	34	-2
Close relationship between religions and major nationalist political parties	40	36	-3
Criminal activities of all nationalist parties	50	47	-3
Political corruption of nationalists	51	46	-5
Nepotism in political culture	53	46	-7

Table 4.1 And with regards to inter-ethnic relations ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	The political impact of interference from Serbia	45	Lack of financial support for returnees	42	Lack of financial support for returnees	39
2nd	Lack of financial support for returnees	44	Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong.	40	Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong.	28
3rd	Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland.	43	Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland.	38	Returnees and their neighbours do not trust each other	27
4th	The political impact of interference from Croatia	43	People are not allowed to return back to their homes	38	People are not allowed to return back to their homes	27
5th	Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong.	43	Personal hatred and revenge	37	Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland.	27
6th	Educational system based on ethnic segregation	36	Returnees and their neighbours do not trust each other	32	Discrimination against the members of ethnic minority groups	25
7th	Discrimination against the members of ethnic minority groups	34	Educational system based on ethnic segregation	29	Personal hatred and revenge	24
8th	Personal hatred and revenge	32	Discrimination against the members of ethnic minority groups	28	The political impact of interference from Serbia	23
9th	People are not allowed to return back to their homes	32	Local community do not want returnees	28	Local community do not want returnees	22
10th	Returnees and their neighbours do not trust each other	30	The political impact of interference from Croatia	21	Educational system based on ethnic segregation	21
11th	Local community do not want returnees	27	The political impact of interference from Serbia	17	The political impact of interference from Croatia	20

Table 4.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Lack of financial support for returnees	43
2nd	Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong.	40
3rd	Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland.	39
4th	People are not allowed to return back to their homes	34
5th	Personal hatred and revenge	33
6th	The political impact of interference from Croatia	32
7th	Educational system based on ethnic segregation	31
8th	The political impact of interference from Serbia	31
9th	Discrimination against the members of ethnic minority groups	31
10th	Returnees and their neighbours do not trust each other	30
11th	Local community do not want returnees	27

Table 4.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant			
	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Lack of financial support for returnees	43	49	6
Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are still very strong.	40	41	1
Significant numbers of people do not feel BiH is their state or homeland.	39	40	1
The political impact of interference from Serbia	31	32	1
The political impact of interference from Croatia	32	33	1
Educational system based on ethnic segregation	31	31	0
Personal hatred and revenge	33	30	-3
Returnees and their neighbours do not trust each other	30	26	-4
Local community do not want returnees	27	22	-4
Discrimination against the members of ethnic minority groups	31	27	-4
People are not allowed to return back to their homes	34	26	-8

Table 5.1 And with regards to public corruption ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Corruption of politicians	55	Corruption of politicians	62	Corruption is not considered wrong	60
2nd	Corruption of judges	52	Corruption of judges	59	No transparent hiring	59
3rd	No transparent hiring	51	Corruption of police	58	Nepotism	56
4th	Nepotism	51	No transparent hiring	56	Corruption of politicians	50
5th	Corruption is not considered wrong	49	Corruption is not considered wrong	55	Corruption of judges	47
6th	Corruption of police	48	Nepotism	54	Promotion not on merit	46
7th	Corruption in the health service	47	Promotion not on merit	51	Corruption of police	45
8th	No professional standards for jobs	47	Corruption in the health service	50	No professional standards for jobs	44
9th	Corruption is a part of life	47	Municipal officials giving jobs	48	Corruption is a part of life	43
10th	Corruption of public services	46	Corruption of public services	48	Municipal officials giving documents	42
11th	Corruption in education	45	Municipal officials giving documents	47	Corruption in the health service	41
12th	Municipal officials giving licenses	44	No professional standards for jobs	46	Municipal officials giving licenses	40
13th	Promotion not on merit	44	Corruption is a part of life	46	Corruption of public services	40
14th	Municipal officials giving documents	43	Municipal officials giving licenses	45	Corruption in education	37
15th	Municipal officials giving jobs	43	Corruption in education	43	Municipal officials giving jobs	37
16th	Media can not remove corrupt politicians	39	Corrupt journalists paid for stories	42	Corruption of international community	36
17th	Corruption of international community	35	Media can not remove corrupt politicians	40	Donors influence on the media	34
18th	Local and state political influence on the international community	32	Corruption of international donor nations	39	Local and state political influence on the international community	33
19th	Corruption of international donor nations	32	Politicians pay news papers, magazines, journalists and editors	38	Newspapers connected to corrupt politicians	31
20th	Corrupt journalists paid for stories	31	Corruption of international community	38	Politicians pay news papers, magazines, journalists and editors	29
21st	Newspapers connected to corrupt politicians	31	Newspapers connected to corrupt politicians	38	Corruption of international donor nations	28
22nd	Politicians pay news papers, magazines, journalists and editors	31	Donors influence on the media	33	Corrupt journalists paid for stories	28
23rd	Donors influence on the media	28	Local and state political influence on the international community	28	Media can not remove corrupt politicians	28

Table 5.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Corruption of politicians	57
2nd	No transparent hiring	55
3rd	Corruption of judges	54
4th	Nepotism	53
5th	Corruption is not considered wrong	53
6th	Corruption of police	52
7th	Corruption in the health service	48
8th	Promotion not on merit	47
9th	No professional standards for jobs	46
10th	Corruption is a part of life	46
11th	Corruption of public services	46
12th	Municipal officials giving documents	45
13th	Municipal officials giving licenses	44
14th	Municipal officials giving jobs	44
15th	Corruption in education	44
16th	Media can not remove corrupt politicians	38
17th	Corruption of international community	36
18th	Corrupt journalists paid for stories	35
19th	Corruption of international donor nations	34
20th	Newspapers connected to corrupt politicians	34
21st	Politicians pay news papers, magazines, journalists and editors	33
22nd	Local and state political influence on the international community	31
23rd	Donors influence on the media	31

Table 5.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Corruption of international community	36	38	2
Corruption of international donor nations	34	31	-3
Newspapers connected to corrupt politicians	34	29	-5
Donors influence on the media	31	26	-5
No professional standards for jobs	46	41	-6
Corrupt journalists paid for stories	35	29	-6
Politicians pay news papers, magazines, journalists and editors	33	28	-6
Corruption is not considered wrong	53	46	-7
Local and state political influence on the international community	31	24	-7
Promotion not on merit	47	39	-8
Corruption in the health service	48	40	-8
Media can not remove corrupt politicians	38	30	-8
Corruption is a part of life	46	37	-9
Corruption of politicians	57	48	-9
Corruption of judges	54	46	-9
Corruption of public services	46	36	-10
No transparent hiring	55	44	-11
Corruption in education	44	32	-12
Nepotism	53	39	-14
Corruption of police	52	35	-16
Municipal officials giving jobs	44	25	-19
Municipal officials giving documents	45	24	-21
Municipal officials giving licenses	44	22	-22

Table 6.1 And with regards to police, courts and the law:...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions	52	Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions	64	Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions	50
2nd	Slow implementation of court decisions	47	No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community	58	No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community	43
3rd	No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community	46	Ineffective law	51	Ineffective law	41
4th	Courts not efficient at different levels of government	42	Slow implementation of court decisions	50	Lack of law reform	41
5th	Ineffective law	42	Courts not efficient at different levels of government	50	Slow implementation of court decisions	41
6th	No confidence in the rule of law	41	No confidence in the rule of law	48	Wrong qualifications of judges	39
7th	Pressure on judges	39	Court system changed by the international community	45	Laws conflict and are difficult to implement	39
8th	Lack of law reform	39	Pressure on judges	43	Laws are made without consultation	38
9th	Police can not use force	39	Laws are made without consultation	42	Pressure on judges	38
10th	Laws are made without consultation	38	Laws conflict and are difficult to implement	41	No confidence in the rule of law	37
11th	Court system changed by the international community	37	Lack of law reform	37	Court system changed by the international community	37
12th	Laws conflict and are difficult to implement	36	Wrong qualifications of judges	36	Courts not efficient at different levels of government	37
13th	Poor salary for police	36	Police can not use force	36	Police can not use force	18
14th	Wrong qualifications of judges	31	Poor salary for police	35	Poor salary for police	17

Table 6.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions	57
2nd	No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community	51
3rd	Slow implementation of court decisions	48
4th	Ineffective law	46
5th	Courts not efficient at different levels of government	45
6th	No confidence in the rule of law	44
7th	Pressure on judges	41
8th	Court system changed by the international community	40
9th	Laws are made without consultation	39
10th	Lack of law reform	39
11th	Laws conflict and are difficult to implement	39
12th	Police can not use force	35
13th	Wrong qualifications of judges	34
14th	Poor salary for police	33

Table 6.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant			
	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Poor salary for police	33	49	16
Laws conflict and are difficult to implement	39	42	4
No sanctions for mistakes made by the international community	51	54	4
Court system changed by the international community	40	43	3
No confidence in the rule of law	44	46	1
Police can not use force	35	35	0
Slow implementation of court decisions	48	47	-1
Laws are made without consultation	39	37	-2
Courts not efficient at different levels of government	45	42	-2
Hardly any corruption investigations and prosecutions	57	55	-2
Ineffective law	46	43	-3
Lack of law reform	39	34	-5
Pressure on judges	41	35	-5
Wrong qualifications of judges	34	27	-7

Table 7.1 And with regards to the economy ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	War destroyed the economy	79	War destroyed the economy	79	High unemployment	84
2nd	High unemployment	75	Young people have few opportunities	76	Best young people leaving BiH	82
3rd	Young people have few opportunities	75	High unemployment	78	Young people have few opportunities	83
4th	Best young people leaving BiH	74	10 years of lost development	70	War destroyed the economy	82
5th	10 years of lost development	70	Best young people leaving BiH	70	10 years of lost development	79
6th	War destroyed the regional and international market	68	War destroyed the regional and international market	69	Gray economy not paying taxes	77
7th	BiH market is too small	62	Gray economy not paying taxes	64	War destroyed the regional and international market	77
8th	Privatisation of industry has not worked	60	Asset striping by foreign companies	57	Law does not support small business	74
9th	Gray economy not paying taxes	60	Privatisation of industry has not worked	64	Lack of investment	76
10th	Starting a new business is too bureaucratic	57	Starting a new business is too bureaucratic	56	Old industry	72
11th	Asset striping by foreign companies	57	Privatisation of property in question	56	Privatisation of industry has not worked	73
12th	Privatisation of property in question	54	Old industry	54	Starting a new business is too bureaucratic	71
13th	Lack of investment	53	Lack of investment	54	Asset striping by foreign companies	70
14th	Old industry	52	Law does not support small business	51	BiH market is too small	69
15th	Restitution is not implemented	49	BiH market is too small	49	Privatisation of property in question	69
16th	People still think the state should provide a job	48	Restitution is not implemented	46	Legacy of a communist economy	64
17th	Law does not support small business	47	People still think the state should provide a job	40	People still think the state should provide a job	62
18th	Legacy of a communist economy	44	Legacy of a communist economy	31	Restitution is not implemented	59

Table 7.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	War destroyed the economy	80
2nd	High unemployment	77
3rd	Young people have few opportunities	76
4th	Best young people leaving BiH	74
5th	10 years of lost development	72
6th	War destroyed the regional and international market	70
7th	Gray economy not paying taxes	64
8th	Privatisation of industry has not worked	63
9th	BiH market is too small	59
10th	Starting a new business is too bureaucratic	59
11th	Asset stripping by foreign companies	59
12th	Privatisation of property in question	57
13th	Lack of investment	57
14th	Old industry	56
15th	Law does not support small business	53
16th	Restitution is not implemented	49
17th	People still think the state should provide a job	47
18th	Legacy of a communist economy	42

Table 7.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Lack of investment	57	67	10
Old industry	56	64	8
War destroyed the regional and international market	70	76	6
Gray economy not paying taxes	64	70	6
People still think the state should provide a job	47	53	6
BiH market is too small	59	64	5
Restitution is not implemented	49	54	5
War destroyed the economy	80	84	4
Privatisation of property in question	57	60	3
Law does not support small business	53	56	3
10 years of lost development	72	74	2
Privatisation of industry has not worked	63	65	2
Asset stripping by foreign companies	59	61	2
High unemployment	77	79	2
Legacy of a communist economy	42	43	1
Starting a new business is too bureaucratic	59	58	0
Best young people leaving BiH	74	74	0
Young people have few opportunities	76	75	-2

Table 8.1 And with regards to education ...

Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st No vision for the future	52	No vision for the future	49	Low standards of education	35
2nd No common curriculum for school	48	Professors have lost their moral dignity	44	No vision for the future	29
3rd Low standards of education	45	Low standards of education	44	No common curriculum for school	28
4th Different educational standards	44	Quality of university faculty	38	Quality of university faculty	27
5th Segregated schools are too costly	41	Quality of teachers	36	Different educational standards	25
6th Quality of university faculty	41	No common curriculum for school	35	Ethnic division inside the school	24
7th Quality of teachers	41	Different educational standards	33	Segregated schools are too costly	24
8th Influence of religious groups in school education	38	Intellectuals no longer exists	31	Quality of teachers	24
9th Ethnic division inside the school	38	Influence of religious groups in school education	31	Professors have lost their moral dignity	24
10th Professors have lost their moral dignity	37	Intellectual apathy	29	Influence of religious groups in school education	23
11th Intellectual apathy	36	Ethnic division inside the school	27	Intellectuals no longer exists	20
12th Intellectuals no longer exists	31	Segregated schools are too costly	26	Intellectual apathy	20
13th International community introduced religious education	24	International community introduced religious education	21	International community introduced religious education	15

Table 8.2

All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st No vision for the future	47
2nd Low standards of education	43
3rd No common curriculum for school	40
4th Quality of university faculty	38
5th Professors have lost their moral dignity	38
6th Different educational standards	37
7th Quality of teachers	37
8th Influence of religious groups in school education	33
9th Segregated schools are too costly	33
10th Ethnic division inside the school	32
11th Intellectual apathy	31
12th Intellectuals no longer exists	30
13th International community introduced religious education	21

Table 8.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Professors have lost their moral dignity	38	39	2
Intellectual apathy	31	33	2
Segregated schools are too costly	33	33	0
Intellectuals no longer exists	30	29	0
No vision for the future	47	46	-1
Influence of religious groups in school education	33	32	-1
No common curriculum for school	40	38	-2
Different educational standards	37	35	-2
Low standards of education	43	41	-3
Quality of university faculty	38	35	-3
Quality of teachers	37	33	-4
Ethnic division inside the school	32	28	-4
International community introduced religious education	21	13	-8

Table 9.1 And with regards to the role of women in society ...

	Male per cent	Very Significant	Female per cent	Very Significant
1st	Society does not provide for child care	51	The continuing effects of rape during the war	57
2nd	The continuing effects of rape during the war	50	Society does not provide for child care	55
3rd	Rural girls have fewer opportunities then urban girls	35	No effective equality commission	43
4th	No effective equality commission	32	Lack of support for women in politics with families	40
5th	Women have to take care of the elderly	31	Prejudice against women in work	39
6th	Lack of support for women in politics with families	29	Rural girls have fewer opportunities then urban girls	37
7th	Prejudice against women in work	28	Men refuse to share domestic duties	36
8th	Prejudice against women in the professions	27	Prejudice against women in the professions	36
9th	Girls encouraged to give priority to family	27	Girls encouraged to give priority to family	35
10th	Young women are not given easy access to contraception	27	Women have to take care of the elderly	34
11th	Not enough girls go on to higher education	26	Girls not encouraged to pursue a career	34
12th	Girls not encouraged to pursue a career	26	Not enough girls go on to higher education	33
13th	Men refuse to share domestic duties	24	Boys are considered more important then girls	30
14th	Boys are considered more important then girls	20	Young women are not given easy access to contraception	30

Table 9.2

Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
The continuing effects of rape during the war	61	The continuing effects of rape during the war	40	The continuing effects of rape during the war	54

Table 9.3

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	The continuing effects of rape during the war	54
2nd	Society does not provide for child care	53
3rd	No effective equality commission	38
4th	Rural girls have fewer opportunities then urban girls	36
5th	Lack of support for women in politics with families	34
6th	Prejudice against women in work	33
7th	Women have to take care of the elderly	32
8th	Prejudice against women in the professions	32
9th	Girls encouraged to give priority to family	31
10th	Men refuse to share domestic duties	30
11th	Girls not encouraged to pursue a career	30
12th	Not enough girls go on to higher education	30
13th	Young women are not given easy access to contraception	28
14th	Boys are considered more important then girls	25

Table 9.4 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Society does not provide for child care	53	55	3
Girls not encouraged to pursue a career	30	31	1
Lack of support for women in politics with families	34	34	0
Girls encouraged to give priority to family	31	31	0
Women have to take care of the elderly	32	33	0
The continuing effects of rape during the war	54	54	0
Men refuse to share domestic duties	30	29	-1
Boys are considered more important than girls	25	23	-2
Rural girls have fewer opportunities than urban girls	36	34	-2
No effective equality commission	38	35	-3
Prejudice against women in the professions	32	29	-3
Not enough girls go on to higher education	30	26	-3
Prejudice against women in work	33	29	-4
Young women are not given easy access to contraception	28	21	-8

Table 10.1 And with regards to the media ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Lack of professional standards	41	Too much gossip and unchecked stories	40	Journalists do not check their sources	30
2nd	Media segregated on ethnic lines	39	Media segregated on ethnic lines	39	Not enough investigative journalism	30
3rd	Too much gossip and unchecked stories	35	Lack of professional standards	39	Lack of professional standards	29
4th	Not enough investigative journalism	35	Not enough investigative journalism	35	Media segregated on ethnic lines	28
5th	Journalists do not check their sources	34	Media not critical of their own community	32	Too much gossip and unchecked stories	27
6th	Privately owned small town media is locally controlled	30	Journalists do not check their sources	31	Economy can not support a quality newspaper	27
7th	Editors do not serve the public interest	29	Editors do not serve the public interest	30	Self censorship	27
8th	Economy can not support a quality newspaper	29	Privately owned small town media is locally controlled	29	Ineffective regulation	26
9th	Media not critical of their own community	28	Economy can not support a quality newspaper	25	Privately owned small town media is locally controlled	26
10th	Ineffective regulation	27	Self censorship	24	Editors do not serve the public interest	25
11th	Self censorship	26	Journalists poorly paid	23	Media not critical of their own community	23
12th	Journalists poorly paid	23	Ineffective regulation	22	No subscriptions for magazines	22
13th	No subscriptions for magazines	21	No subscriptions for magazines	15	Journalists poorly paid	22

Table 10.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Lack of professional standards	38
2nd	Media segregated on ethnic lines	37
3rd	Too much gossip and unchecked stories	36
4th	Not enough investigative journalism	34
5th	Journalists do not check their sources	33
6th	Privately owned small town media is locally controlled	29
7th	Media not critical of their own community	29
8th	Editors do not serve the public interest	29
9th	Economy can not support a quality newspaper	27
10th	Self censorship	26
11th	Ineffective regulation	25
12th	Journalists poorly paid	23
13th	No subscriptions for magazines	19

Table 10.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Journalists do not check their sources	33	38	5
Journalists poorly paid	23	27	4
Media not critical of their own community	29	30	2
Not enough investigative journalism	34	36	2
Economy can not support a quality newspaper	27	29	2
Editors do not serve the public interest	29	30	1
Too much gossip and unchecked stories	36	36	1
Lack of professional standards	38	40	1
Ineffective regulation	25	26	1
Self censorship	26	26	0
Privately owned small town media is locally controlled	29	28	-1
Media segregated on ethnic lines	37	35	-2
No subscriptions for magazines	19	17	-2

Table 11.1 And with regards to government and municipalities ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Lack of justice	64	High welfare costs and low employment	65	High welfare costs and low employment	76
2nd	Too many levels of government	61	Lack of justice	61	No one takes responsibility	67
3rd	High welfare costs and low employment	60	No one takes responsibility	60	Too many levels of government	65
4th	Some issues fall between levels	59	Infrastructure requires repair	59	With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work	65
5th	With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work	58	Very wasteful and expensive civil service	57	Lack of justice	63
6th	No one takes responsibility	58	Welfare costs for veterans and families of deceased soldiers	55	Some issues fall between levels	63
7th	Very wasteful and expensive civil service	57	With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work	55	Too complicated	61
8th	Infrastructure requires repair	57	Income not distributed	55	The citizens are not considered more important	60
9th	Poor use of international resources	55	Very slow service	54	Infrastructure requires repair	59
10th	Welfare costs for veterans and families of deceased soldiers	55	Poor use of international resources	53	Welfare costs for veterans and families of deceased soldiers	59
11th	The citizens are not considered more important	53	The citizens are not considered more important	53	Very slow service	58
12th	No ecological responsibility	52	Too complicated	51	Arrogant civil service	58
13th	State level of government not properly developed	52	No ecological responsibility	50	Very wasteful and expensive civil service	57
14th	Income not distributed	51	Too many levels of government	49	No culture of public service	53
15th	Too complicated	50	Some issues fall between levels	49	No ecological responsibility	53
16th	Very slow service	49	No culture of public service	49	Income not distributed	50
17th	No culture of public service	48	Slow to implement laws of municipal self management	46	Lack of transparency	49
18th	Arrogant civil service	47	Arrogant civil service	45	Poor use of international resources	47
19th	Poor management of projects	45	State level of government not properly developed	43	No information about the state locally	46
20th	Slow to implement laws of municipal self management	41	Poor management of projects	41	Poor management of projects	45
21st	Poor expertise	41	Poor expertise	38	Poor expertise	44
22nd	Lack of transparency	39	Lack of transparency	37	Slow to implement laws of municipal self management	43
23rd	No information about the state locally	37	No information about the state locally	36	Very centralised control	43
24th	Municipal workers opposed to reform	35	Very centralised control	33	State level of government not properly developed	43
25th	Very centralised control	33	Municipal workers opposed to reform	29	Municipal workers opposed to reform	41
26th	Top managers poorly paid	30	Top managers poorly paid	27	Top managers poorly paid	37

Table 11.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	High welfare costs and low employment	64
2nd	Lack of justice	63
3rd	No one takes responsibility	60
4th	With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work	58
5th	Infrastructure requires repair	58
6th	Too many levels of government	58
7th	Very wasteful and expensive civil service	57
8th	Some issues fall between levels	56
9th	Welfare costs for veterans and families of deceased soldiers	56
10th	The citizens are not considered more important	54
11th	Poor use of international resources	53
12th	Too complicated	52
13th	Very slow service	52
14th	Income not distributed	52
15th	No ecological responsibility	51
16th	No culture of public service	50
17th	Arrogant civil service	48
18th	State level of government not properly developed	47
19th	Poor management of projects	44
20th	Slow to implement laws of municipal self management	43
21st	Poor expertise	40
22nd	Lack of transparency	40
23rd	No information about the state locally	38
24th	Very centralised control	35
25th	Municipal workers opposed to reform	34
26th	Top managers poorly paid	30

Table 11.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
No ecological responsibility	51	59	8
Infrastructure requires repair	58	65	7
High welfare costs and low employment	64	66	2
No information about the state locally	38	40	2
Top managers poorly paid	30	31	1
Income not distributed	52	52	0
Welfare costs for veterans and families of deceased soldiers	56	55	-1
Very centralised control	35	34	-1
State level of government not properly developed	47	42	-5
Poor expertise	40	34	-7
Too many levels of government	58	50	-8
Slow to implement laws of municipal self management	43	36	-8
Poor management of projects	44	36	-8
With 280 ministries and staff the constitution does not work	58	50	-9
Municipal workers opposed to reform	34	23	-10
Some issues fall between levels	56	45	-11
Lack of transparency	40	25	-14
No one takes responsibility	60	45	-15
Arrogant civil service	48	31	-17
Very wasteful and expensive civil service	57	41	-17
Poor use of international resources	53	36	-17
No culture of public service	50	31	-18
Lack of justice	63	43	-19
Too complicated	52	32	-20
Very slow service	52	31	-22
The citizens are not considered more important	54	32	-23

Table 12.1 And with regards to the international community ...

	Bosniak per cent	Very Significant	Serb per cent	Very Significant	Croat per cent	Very Significant
1st	Paid very much more than local staff	54	Paid very much more than local staff	60	Paid very much more than local staff	57
2nd	They do not pay tax	50	They do not pay tax	58	Lack of accountability	54
3rd	Belgrade politicians still want a greater Serbia	49	Do not understand local issues	58	Little commitment of temporary appointees	53
4th	Lack of accountability	48	Lack of accountability	56	They place the interests of their own country first	53
5th	Do not understand local issues	47	They place the interests of their own country first	54	Too much spent on donors	51
6th	Inappropriate use of resources	47	Do not consult	54	Do not understand local issues	51
7th	Little commitment of temporary appointees	46	Inappropriate use of resources	52	Do not consult	50
8th	Lack of transparency	45	Resources given along ethnic and not economic lines	52	Resources given along ethnic and not economic lines	50
9th	They place the interests of their own country first	45	Little commitment of temporary appointees	48	Inappropriate use of resources	49
10th	Resources given along ethnic and not economic lines	45	Do not use local resources	47	Not sufficient money gets through	49
11th	They do not give good value for money	44	Lack of transparency	47	They do not pay tax	49
12th	Not sufficient money gets through	44	Too much spent on donors	47	They do not give good value for money	49
13th	Do not consult	43	Bosniak politicians still want a unitary state	45	Wrong choice of partners	46
14th	Improvisation of poorly planed projects	42	They do not give good value for money	45	Do not use local resources	46
15th	Too much spent on donors	42	Not sufficient money gets through	45	Lack of transparency	46
16th	Wrong choice of partners	41	Improvisation of poorly planed projects	44	BiH no longer an important international issue	42
17th	Zagreb politicians still want a greater Croatia	41	Wrong choice of partners	43	Improvisation of poorly planed projects	41
18th	BiH no longer an important international issue	40	Wondering in political concepts and ideas	42	Wondering in political concepts and ideas	38
19th	Do not use local resources	40	Bosniak politicians do not really want Bosnian Serbs and Croats anymore	37	Bosniak politicians still want a unitary state	25
20th	Wondering in political concepts and ideas	36	Zagreb politicians still want a greater Croatia	34	Bosniak politicians do not really want Bosnian Serbs and Croats anymore	23
21st	Bosniak politicians still want a unitary state	31	BiH no longer an important international issue	34	Belgrade politicians still want a greater Serbia	21
22nd	Zagreb do not really want Bosnian Croats to join them anymore	26	Belgrade politicians still want a greater Serbia	23	Zagreb do not really want Bosnian Croats to join them anymore	19
23rd	Belgrade do not really want Bosnian Serbs to join them anymore	22	Zagreb do not really want Bosnian Croats to join them anymore	20	Belgrade do not really want Bosnian Serbs to join them anymore	19
24th	Bosniak politicians do not really want Bosnian Serbs and Croats anymore	20	Belgrade do not really want Bosnian Serbs to join them anymore	19	Zagreb politicians still want a greater Croatia	17

Table 12.2

	All Respondents per cent	Very Significant
1st	Paid very much more than local staff	57
2nd	They do not pay tax	53
3rd	Do not understand local issues	52
4th	Lack of accountability	52
5th	Inappropriate use of resources	50
6th	They place the interests of their own country first	50
7th	Resources given along ethnic and not economic lines	48
8th	Do not consult	48
9th	Little commitment of temporary appointees	48
10th	Lack of transparency	46
11th	They do not give good value for money	45
12th	Too much spent on donors	45
13th	Not sufficient money gets through	45
14th	Do not use local resources	44
15th	Wrong choice of partners	43
16th	Improvisation of poorly planned projects	42
17th	Wondering in political concepts and ideas	39
18th	BiH no longer an important international issue	38
19th	Belgrade politicians still want a greater Serbia	36
20th	Zagreb politicians still want a greater Croatia	35
21st	Bosniak politicians still want a unitary state	35
22nd	Bosniak politicians do not really want Bosnian Serbs and Croats anymore	27
23rd	Zagreb do not really want Bosnian Croats to join them anymore	23
24th	Belgrade do not really want Bosnian Serbs to join them anymore	20

Table 12.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Significant	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Wondering in political concepts and ideas	39	40	1
Bosniak politicians do not really want Bosnian Serbs and Croats anymore	27	28	1
They place the interests of their own country first	50	50	0
BiH no longer an important international issue	38	39	0
Bosniak politicians still want a unitary state	35	35	0
Little commitment of temporary appointees	48	46	-2
Lack of accountability	52	50	-2
They do not pay tax	53	50	-3
Do not consult	48	45	-3
Do not understand local issues	52	50	-3
Improvisation of poorly planned projects	42	40	-3
Belgrade do not really want Bosnian Serbs to join them anymore	20	18	-3
Paid very much more than local staff	57	54	-4
Inappropriate use of resources	50	45	-4
Lack of transparency	46	42	-4
Resources given along ethnic and not economic lines	48	44	-4
Zagreb do not really want Bosnian Croats to join them anymore	23	19	-4
Do not use local resources	44	38	-5
Wrong choice of partners	43	39	-5
They do not give good value for money	45	38	-7
Not sufficient money gets through	45	37	-8
Too much spent on donors	45	37	-8
Zagreb politicians still want a greater Croatia	35	28	-8
Belgrade politicians still want a greater Serbia	36	27	-9

Table 13.1 From the different possibilities listed below what do you think will happen if the people of Bosnia and the International Community fail to take the necessary steps needed to help secure reconciliation, economic independence and effective government. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very probable', 'Probable', 'Not sure' about, 'Improbable' or 'Very improbable'.

	Bosniak Very Probable or Probable	Per cent	Serb per cent Very Probable or Probable	Per cent	Croat per cent Very Probable or Probable	Per cent
1st	Source of very cheap labour	78	Source of very cheap labour	73	Source of very cheap labour	73
2nd	Will join EU	72	Withdrawal of international support	63	European "black hole"	67
3rd	Withdrawal of international support	66	Will join EU	62	EU will give up and go elsewhere	66
4th	EU will give up and go elsewhere	62	European "black hole"	58	Withdrawal of international support	65
5th	Walls set up around the state	61	Terrorism from separatist groups	55	Will join EU	63
6th	European "black hole"	59	Walls set up around the state	54	Walls set up around the state	51
7th	Reduced to situation like Albania	55	EU will give up and go elsewhere	51	Reduced to situation like Albania	46
8th	End of development of Bosnia	47	Reduced to situation like Albania	46	Terrorism from separatist groups	42
9th	Terrorism from separatist groups	46	End of development of Bosnia	43	End of development of Bosnia	41
10th	Region will destabilise	41	Region will destabilise	41	Region will destabilise	36
11th	Return to war	37	Croat cantons will join Croatia	40	Bosnia will break up	28
12th	Bosnia will break up	34	Serb entity will join Serbia	38	Return to war	27
13th	Serb entity will join Serbia	34	Bosniak state of residual Bosnia	38	Bosniak state of residual Bosnia	25
14th	Bosniak state of residual Bosnia	34	Bosnia will break up	37	Serb entity will join Serbia	22
15th	Croat cantons will join Croatia	32	Return to war	31	Croat cantons will join Croatia	22

Table 13.2

	All Respondents Very Probable or Probable	Per cent
1st	Source of very cheap labour	76
2nd	Will join EU	67
3rd	Withdrawal of international support	65
4th	European "black hole"	60
5th	EU will give up and go elsewhere	59
6th	Walls set up around the state	58
7th	Reduced to situation like Albania	51
8th	Terrorism from separatist groups	49
9th	End of development of Bosnia	45
10th	Region will destabilise	41
11th	Bosnia will break up	35
12th	Return to war	34
13th	Bosniak state of residual Bosnia	34
14th	Serb entity will join Serbia	34
15th	Croat cantons will join Croatia	34

Table 13.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Very Probable	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Bosnia will break up	18	22	5
Region will destabilise	18	20	2
European "black hole"	28	30	1
Reduced to situation like Albania	25	26	1
Terrorism from separatist groups	25	26	0
Source of very cheap labour	42	41	-1
End of development of Bosnia	23	22	-1
Return to war	18	17	-1
Serb entity will join Serbia	17	16	-1
Croat cantons will join Croatia	17	15	-2
Withdrawal of international support	29	26	-3
"Walls" set up around the state	31	27	-4
Will join EU	38	33	-6
EU will give up and go elsewhere	27	22	-6

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for a secure, stable and better future.

For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

For the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – *You believe this option is necessary part of a secure, stable and better future and should be fully implemented.*

'Desirable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

'Acceptable' – *This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

'Tolerable' – *This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

'Unacceptable' – *This option is completely unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

Table 14.1 As steps needed to **help secure a stable and better future** please indicate which of the following options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Develop the economy	67	22	8	2	1
Remove wealth of war criminals	57	27	11	2	2
Involve everyone in their future	56	29	12	2	1
Arrest those accused of war crimes	54	26	13	4	3
International Community should not take any side at all	52	28	14	4	2
Do not live in the past and move forward	50	30	14	3	2
Comprehensive regional aid and development plan linked to cooperation	47	35	14	2	0
Stop blaming each other for the war	37	33	18	6	5
Give amnesty to those not accused	20	22	20	11	26
Amnesty for telling the truth	20	20	22	14	22

Table 14.2

Per cent ‘Unacceptable’	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
Give amnesty to those not accused	29	16	41
Amnesty for telling the truth	26	11	38

Table 14.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
International community should not take any side at all	52	61	10
Develop the economy	67	76	10
Comprehensive regional aid and development plan linked to cooperation	47	51	4
Arrest those accused of war crimes	54	58	4
Do not live in the past and move forward	50	54	4
Involve everyone in their future	56	60	4
Remove wealth of war criminals	57	59	2
Stop blaming each other for the war	37	38	0
Give amnesty to those not accused	20	12	-8
Amnesty for telling the truth	20	12	-9

Table 15.1 And now with regard to **politics and elections** please indicate which of the following options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Separate politics and religion	50	29	14	4	3
Political leadership based on successful government	49	31	16	3	1
Politicians should stay out of religious affairs	43	34	17	4	2
Religious leaders should stay out of politics	41	36	17	3	2
The international community should recognise relationship between religions and political parties	36	35	22	5	1
Minimum standards for political candidates	36	36	22	5	2
Establish quota for young politicians	36	34	22	5	3
Restrictions on family members in politics	35	29	23	8	5
School’ for political candidates / leaders	33	34	23	8	2

Table 15.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Minimum standards for political candidates	36	47	12
Political leadership based on successful government	49	57	9
Establish quota for young politicians	36	42	7
Religious leaders should stay out of politics	41	46	5
Politicians should stay out of religious affairs	43	46	3
"School" for political candidates / leaders	33	35	3
Separate politics and religion	50	50	1
The international community should recognise relationship between religions and political parties	36	36	0
Restrictions on family members in politics	35	34	-1

Table 16.1 And with regard to **inter-ethnic relations** ...

Per cent					
	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Become equal citizens of Bosnia	62	28	7	1	1
Religious leaders should work for peace	61	26	10	1	1
Become citizens of Europe	55	29	12	3	1
Some politicians should recognize B&H as their state	52	31	13	2	1
There should be acknowledgement by all groups over wrongs they have done	50	34	12	2	1
Introduce EU standards for culture of nationalities	46	35	15	3	2
There should be some dedicated reconciliation process	41	31	21	3	3

Table 16.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential			
	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Some politicians should recognize B&H as their state	52	63	11
Become equal citizens of Bosnia	62	72	10
There should be acknowledgement by all groups over wrongs they have done	50	58	9
Religious leaders should work for peace	61	68	7
Introduce EU standards for culture of nationalities	46	50	5
There should be some dedicated reconciliation process	41	46	5
Become citizens of Europe	55	59	4

Table 17.1 And with regards to public corruption ...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Prosecute and jail corrupt politicians	62	25	10	2	1
Prosecution of all corruption	61	26	10	2	0
Build an efficient state to end corruption	57	29	11	2	1
Universities responsible for honest degrees	56	28	14	2	0
End corruption of donor states	54	28	13	3	2
Cut funding from corrupt faculties	51	31	14	2	1
Student unions expose corrupt professors	49	33	14	2	1
Reform of public administration	45	35	17	3	1
Computerise public services	41	35	17	5	1
Transparency	39	33	21	5	2
Hiring on merit	37	33	15	4	10
Use employees better – better managers	36	36	22	4	2
Promotion on merit not just time in job	35	38	16	5	6
Better salaries for managers	28	28	25	10	8
Better salaries for public officials	20	24	20	13	23

Table 17.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Better salaries for public officials	20	50	30
Computerise public services	41	63	22
Transparency	39	54	15
Promotion on merit not just time in job	35	48	13
Hiring on merit	37	48	10
Better salaries for managers	28	38	10
Universities responsible for honest degrees	56	65	9
Build an efficient state to end corruption	57	66	9
Prosecution of all corruption	61	66	6
Cut funding from corrupt faculties	51	57	6
Reform of public administration	45	49	5
End corruption of donor states	54	58	5
Use employees better - better managers	36	40	4
Student unions expose corrupt professors	49	53	4
Prosecute and jail corrupt politicians	62	64	2

Table 18.1 And with regards to police, courts and the law ...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Public officials who take bribes should be prosecuted	59	28	10	1	1
People who pay bribes should be prosecuted	59	29	8	2	1
Establish confidence in the rule of law	58	32	8	1	1
Retire police who have abused human rights	54	31	12	2	1
Courts need reform from the State level down	49	37	12	2	0
State police	47	28	13	5	6
Hire newly trained young police	44	34	16	3	2
Good salaries for police	38	30	22	7	4

Table 18.2

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
State police	0	14	3

Table 18.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Establish confidence in the rule of law	58	71	13
Good salaries for police	38	50	13
Courts need reform from the state level down	49	60	12
Retire police who have abused human rights	54	58	5
Hire newly trained young police	44	49	5
Public officials who take bribes should be prosecuted	59	64	5
People who pay bribes should be prosecuted	59	64	5
State police	47	50	3

Table 19.1 And with regards to the economy ...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Develop agriculture	64	25	8	2	1
Invest in education	64	26	8	1	1
Develop small businesses	60	28	9	2	1
Develop heavy industry	59	25	11	3	2
EU standards for pollution controls	56	27	13	2	1
All social care responsibility of the state	55	27	13	3	2
Organise state along economic not ethnic regions	52	28	11	3	4
Simplify administration for businesses	50	32	14	3	1
Banks have to adjust to new situation	50	33	13	3	1
Reduce the number of regulations	49	33	15	2	1
Effective tax collection	49	32	14	3	2
Stimulate international investment with tax breaks	48	32	14	3	2
Make special provision for young business people	47	35	13	3	1
Stimulate international partnerships with tax breaks	46	33	14	4	2
Use EU guidelines for regional development	45	33	16	3	2
Fiscal policy to encourage businesses	44	35	17	3	1

Table 19.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Effective tax collection	49	66	17
Stimulate international partnerships with tax breaks	46	56	10
Develop small businesses	60	69	9
Stimulate international investment with tax breaks	48	58	9
Invest in education	64	72	8
Fiscal policy to encourage businesses	44	52	8
EU standards for pollution controls	56	63	7
Simplify administration for businesses	50	56	6
Develop agriculture	64	69	5
Reduce the number of regulations	49	54	5
Banks have to adjust to new situation	50	54	5
Make special provision for young business people	47	52	5
All social care responsibility of the state	55	58	4
Use EU guidelines for regional development	45	48	3
Organise state along economic not ethnic regions	52	53	1
Develop heavy industry	59	55	-4

Table 20.1 And with regards to education ...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
End upbringing in nationalist way through school programmes	48	27	17	4	4
Teach respect for own and other community	46	33	17	4	1
Common curriculum for universities	43	26	20	6	5
Curriculum for peace and reconciliation	43	30	21	4	1
EU standards for university education	42	37	17	2	1
Student exchange	41	38	16	3	1
Common curriculum for primary schools	41	27	20	6	6
Common curriculum for high schools	41	28	19	6	5
One education system for Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks	41	24	16	6	11
Partnerships with other EU institutions	39	39	19	3	1
Education for EU needs to EU standards	38	38	20	3	1
State and business partnerships for technical education	37	38	21	3	1
Teach culture of religions not single religion	36	33	20	6	5
State monitor and set standards	35	37	23	5	1
Adult education for the unemployed	34	37	21	5	3
Education programmes for teachers	34	35	25	4	1
Train teachers in reconciliation	34	34	24	6	2
Secular schools	33	27	20	6	13
Reduce the number of universities and keep the best	32	29	22	7	10
Separate schools subject to available funding and state standards of education	30	29	25	8	8
No state funding for religious schools	29	25	22	9	15

Table 20.2

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
One education system for Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks	3	14	34
Secular schools	7	12	34
No state funding for religious schools	9	16	35
Separate schools subject to available funding and state standards of education	3	7	27

Table 20.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Education programmes for teachers	34	46	12
Train teachers in reconciliation	34	42	9
State monitor and set standards	35	43	8
Teach respect for own and other community	46	52	6
Teach culture of religions not single religion	36	42	6
EU standards for university education	42	46	4
Reduce the number of universities and keep the best	32	37	4
Secular schools	33	38	4
Common curriculum for primary schools	41	44	3
Curriculum for peace and reconciliation	43	46	3
Separate schools subject to available funding and state standards of education	30	33	3
End upbringing in nationalist way through school programmes	48	50	2
Student exchange	41	43	1
Education for EU needs to EU standards	38	38	0
Partnerships with other EU institutions	39	38	0
Common curriculum for high schools	41	41	0
Common curriculum for universities	43	42	0
No state funding for religious schools	29	28	0
State and business partnerships for technical education	37	36	-1
One education system for Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks	41	38	-3
Adult education for the unemployed	34	29	-5

Table 21.1 And with regards to the role of women in society please indicate which options you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full state support for maternity leave	58	25	13	2	1
Regular access to gynaecologist	53	28	15	3	1
Full state support for day care	48	29	18	4	2
Full state support for after school care	44	29	19	5	3
Working men and women should share domestic duties	41	31	17	7	3
Equality commission with effective powers	40	40	16	3	2
Policies for hiring women in public office	36	41	19	3	1
Quotas for hiring women in public office	33	37	22	4	2

Table 21.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Regular access to gynaecologist	53	59	6
Policies for hiring women in public office	36	41	5
Full state support for day care	48	53	5
Quotas for hiring women in public office	33	38	4
Full state support for after school care	44	48	4
Full state support for maternity leave	58	61	3
Equality commission with effective powers	40	42	2
Working men and women should share domestic duties	41	41	0

Table 22.1 And with regards to the media ...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Courts must pursue corruption	47	26	14	3	9
Degree in journalism and qualifications	46	32	18	3	1
Reform state regulation of TV and radio	36	34	22	6	2
Code of good practice for journalists	34	43	19	3	1
Good salaries for qualified journalists	34	35	24	5	2
Effective regulatory body for the print media	28	43	22	4	2
Private ownership of the media	24	29	31	9	6

Table 22.2

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
Courts must pursue corruption	8	13	7

Table 22.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Effective regulatory body for the print media	28	42	14
Code of good practice for journalists	34	49	14
Degree in journalism and qualifications	46	59	13
Courts must pursue corruption	47	60	13
Good salaries for qualified journalists	34	42	8
Reform state regulation of tv and radio	36	44	8
Private ownership of the media	24	26	2

Table 23.1 And with regards to government and municipalities...

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Spend money on projects not levels of government	53	30	12	3	2
Hire top professionals for projects	52	32	12	2	1
Give money to good projects	51	30	15	3	1
Civil service responsible to public	49	34	13	3	1
Clear lines of responsibility	49	34	13	3	1
Smaller and effective system of government	49	32	14	2	1
Ask the users of Municipal services about improvements that could be made	48	36	11	3	1
Fewer levels of government	47	31	17	3	2
Ask citizens what projects they want	45	37	15	2	1
Establish a Constitutional Commission to advise on reform	45	32	16	4	2
Simplify government services to municipal level	44	39	13	3	1
Transparency in decisions	44	35	16	4	1
Head of Municipality should delegate	44	34	15	4	2
Do not duplicate services in Entities, Cantons and Municipalities	44	34	15	4	2
Move Entity functions to the State level like other EU states	44	31	13	6	7
Give more money locally	43	32	19	4	2
Implement EU standards for state and municipal responsibilities and control	41	37	16	4	1
Reform the Constitution through Parliament	41	32	17	6	3
Explain new freedom of information laws	40	44	12	3	0
State laws for local management	38	37	19	4	2
State laws for local budgets	38	34	19	5	4
Give more jurisdiction locally	37	34	21	5	2
Professional qualifications for managers	34	40	20	4	2
Re-education of civil service	34	38	21	4	2
Good managers should be rewarded	30	44	19	5	2

Table 23.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Give more jurisdiction locally	37	52	15
Give more money locally	43	55	13
Professional qualifications for managers	34	46	12
Head of municipality should delegate	44	56	12
Civil service responsible to public	49	61	12
Transparency in decisions	44	54	10
Good managers should be rewarded	30	38	9
Re-education of civil service	34	44	9
Clear lines of responsibility	49	58	9
Explain new freedom of information laws	40	47	7
Hire top professionals for projects	52	59	7
Ask citizens what projects they want	45	52	7
Do not duplicate services in entities, cantons and municipalities	44	51	7
Ask the users of municipal services about improvements that could be made	48	55	6
State laws for local management	38	42	4
Give money to good projects	51	55	4
Simplify government services to municipal level	44	48	4
Spend money on projects not levels of government	53	56	3
State laws for local budgets	38	41	2
Implement EU standards for state and municipal responsibilities and control	41	43	2
Smaller and effective system of government	49	50	1
Fewer levels of government	47	46	-1
Reform the constitution through parliament	41	41	-1
Establish a constitutional commission to advise on reform	45	44	-1
Move entity functions to the state level like other EU states	44	41	-3

Table 24.1 And with regards to the **international community** please indicate which reforms you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

Per cent	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give hope to the people	59	32	6	2	1
Restrict activities to key issues	52	32	12	2	1
Maximum per cent to solving problems	51	34	11	3	1
Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajavo should cooperate to join the EU together	51	27	15	4	4
Give resources for economic and not ethnic reasons	50	31	14	3	1
Independent auditing	48	31	13	4	2
Belgrade should not interfere in BiH affairs	48	26	14	5	6
Zagreb should not interfere in BiH affairs	47	27	15	4	6
Transparency	46	34	15	3	1
EU programme to explain 16 entry criteria to people of BiH	44	39	13	3	1
Spend less on donor organisations and their administration	43	34	18	3	2
Transparency of OHR and international companies	41	34	19	4	2
Respond to local needs	40	38	17	3	1
Train local people to be part of management	40	35	18	5	1
Include local people in key positions	40	34	18	5	3
OHR should solicit and find partners for projects	33	40	20	4	3
HR should impose EU standards	33	31	19	7	9
OHR information programme for BiH social and economic policies and resources	32	34	23	8	3
Bosniak politicians still want unitar state	25	16	17	9	32

Table 24.2

Per cent ‘Unacceptable’	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
Bosniak politicians still want unitar state	25	35	47

Table 24.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Transparency	46	57	11
Transparency of OHR and international companies	41	51	10
Independent auditing	48	57	9
Maximum per cent to solving problems	51	56	5
Train local people to be part of management	40	46	5
Restrict activities to key issues	52	56	4
Zagreb should not interfere in BiH affairs	47	51	4
Belgrade should not interfere in BiH affairs	48	51	3
Give resources for economic and not ethnic reasons	50	53	2
Respond to local needs	40	42	2
Include local people in key positions	40	42	2
Spend less on donor organisations and their administration	43	43	1
OHR information programme for BiH social and economic policies and resources	32	32	0
OHR should solicit and find partners for projects	33	33	0
Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajavo should cooperate to join the EU together	51	51	0
Hr should impose EU standards	33	33	-1
Bosniak politicians still want unitar state	25	25	-1
EU programme to explain 16 entry criteria to people of BiH	44	41	-3
Give hope to the people	59	54	-5

Table 25.1 There has recently been quite a lot of discussion about possible changes to the Dayton Agreement and the need to reform the Constitution. With regards to possible future political and regional changes to the system of government for Bosnia and Herzegovina please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it was before the war during the existence of the SFRJ	31	22	13	8	26
Bosnia and Herzegovina with decentralised regions in accordance with European standards	24	21	19	11	24
Bosnia and Herzegovina as a decentralised state with powers going to the Municipalities instead of the entities and cantons which will go.	21	17	14	9	37
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the District of Brcko.	20	16	17	15	32
Bosnia and Herzegovina with three entities - each for 3 constital people	16	14	18	13	39
The abolition of cantons and a federation between Bosnia Herzegovina and Republica Srpska as two entities	16	12	16	14	41
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of just cantons without entities or a District	13	14	19	16	38
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of a large number of federal units with equal powers	11	15	17	17	39
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the District of Brcko but with the higher levels of responsibilities given to the state.	10	14	21	20	35
Separation and union of some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina with neighbouring states	10	9	14	8	59

Table 25.2

Per cent 'Unacceptable'	Bosniak	Serb	Croat
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it was before the war during the existence of the SFRJ	11	32	60
Bosnia and Herzegovina with decentralised regions in accordance with European standards	17	28	39
Bosnia and Herzegovina as a decentralised state with powers going to the Municipalities instead of the entities and cantons which will go.	17	52	66
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the District of Brcko.	40	10	60
Bosnia and Herzegovina with three entities - each for 3 constital people	55	22	22
The abolition of cantons and a federation between Bosnia Herzegovina and Republica Srpska as two entities	40	31	69
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of just cantons without entities or a District	22	53	51
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of a large number of federal units with equal powers	25	47	58
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the District of Brcko but with the higher levels of responsibilities given to the state.	34	25	62
Separation and union of some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina with neighbouring states	71	36	72

Table 26.1 Do you want the people of Bosnia and the international community to negotiate, agree and implement a programme of political, social and economic reform from all the options reviewed here?

Yes	94
No	4

Table 25.3 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent Essential	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Bosnia and Herzegovina with three entities - each for 3 constital people	16	19	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina as a decentralised state with powers going to the municipalities instead of the entities and cantons which will go.	21	23	2
The abolition of cantons and a federation between Bosnia Herzegovina and Republica Srpska as two entities	16	18	2
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of a large number of federal units with equal powers	11	10	-1
Bosnia and Herzegovina with decentralised regions in accordance with European standards	24	23	-1
Separation and union of some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina with neighbouring states	10	9	-1
Bosnia and Herzegovina made up of just cantons without entities or a District	13	11	-2
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the district of Brcko but with the higher levels of responsibilities given to the state.	10	6	-4
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it is now with two entities and the district of Brcko.	20	15	-5
Bosnia and Herzegovina as it was before the war during the existence of the SFIJ	31	14	-17

Table 26.2 Citizens and Municipal Employees

Per cent 'Yes' or 'No'	Citizens	Municipal Employees	Difference
Yes	94	92	-2
No	4	4	0