WHAT MATTERS TO BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA'S CITIZENS?

Public Opinion Poll

December 2021



NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE for international affairs

METHODOLOGY



METHODOLOGY

DATA COLLECTION

• December 2 – 29, 2021

METHOD

- Quantitative face-to-face survey within households
- Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI method)

POPULATION

- Population of Bosnia and Herzegovina aged 18+ SAMPLE FRAME
- Address registry

SAMPLE SIZE

- N=2,518 (1,564 in FBiH including oversample in Croat majority areas, 894 in RS)
- Data are weighted where necessary to reflect the true population allocation according to the 2013 census

SAMPLING ERROR

- +/- 2% on full sample
- +/- 2.5% on FBiH sample
- +/- 3.2% on RS sample

SAMPLE TYPE

Stratified sample

STRATIFICATION

• Within each entity the sample was stratified by region and settlement type

STEPS OF RANDOM SELECTION

- Step 1: Random selection of polling stations
- Step 2: Random selection of households (random route technique)
- Step 3: Random selection of respondents within HH

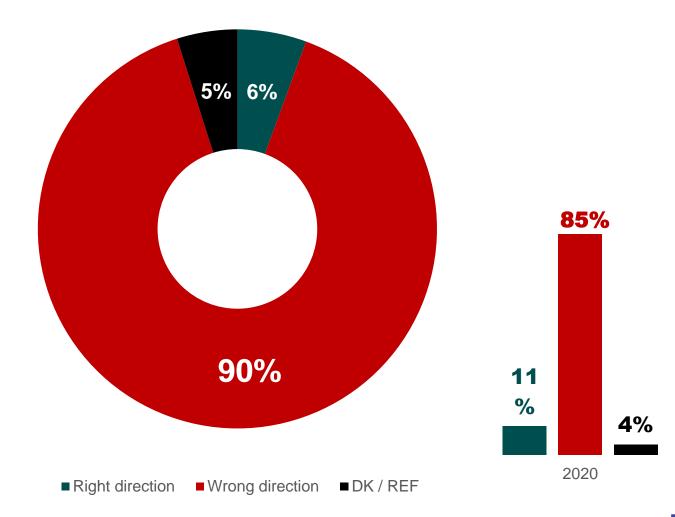


PUBLIC MOOD & PRIORITIES



Citizens are more likely than ever to see BiH moving in the wrong direction, with decline across all major groups since 2020.

Is Bosnia and Herzegovina moving in the right or wrong direction?

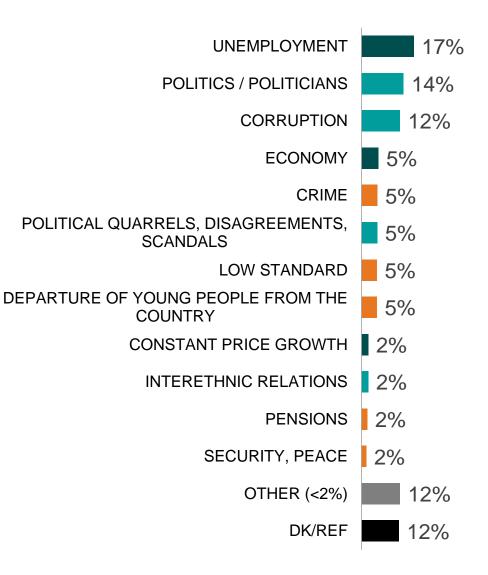




For the second year in a row, politicans are ranked high as a problem.

Other social problems emanate from these two core issues.

What are the biggest problems facing BiH?





Respondents do not react strongly when asked to rate specific sources of personal fear.

- Deteriorating health and loss of income or employment seem most real to people.
- The political crisis, armed conflict, social issues, and natural disasters are less likely to provoke anxiety.

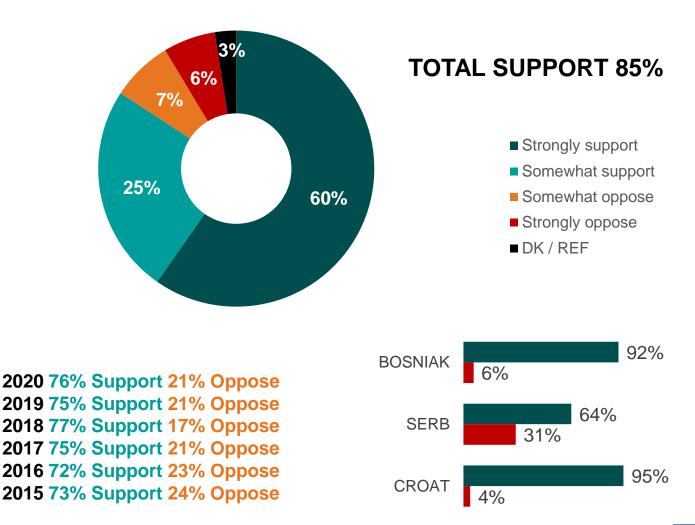
Rate the level of fear that you or your family will be directly impacted by the following:

| Deteriorating health | 24% | 2 | 1% 23 | 3% <mark>13</mark> % | 6 16% | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|--------------------|----------------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| Loss of income or employment | 23% | 21 | <mark>%</mark> 21% | ő 14% | 19% | | | | |
| Ongoing political disputes | 18% | 22% | 22% | 14% | 22% | | | | |
| Armed conflict in BiH | 16% | 19% | 21% | 16% | 26% | | | | |
| Worsening social prejudice or inequality | 15% | 18% | 27% | 19% | 17% | | | | |
| Natural disaster like storms or floods | 14% | 19% | 27% | 18% | 21% | | | | |
| ■ 5 - the highest level of fear ■ 4 ■ 3 ■ 2 ■ 1 - the lowest level of fear Base: Total N=2518 | | | | | | | | | |

Support for EU accession is the most broad and intense that we have seen in years.

 Most importantly, Serb support is up sharply from one year earlier, from 55% to 64%.

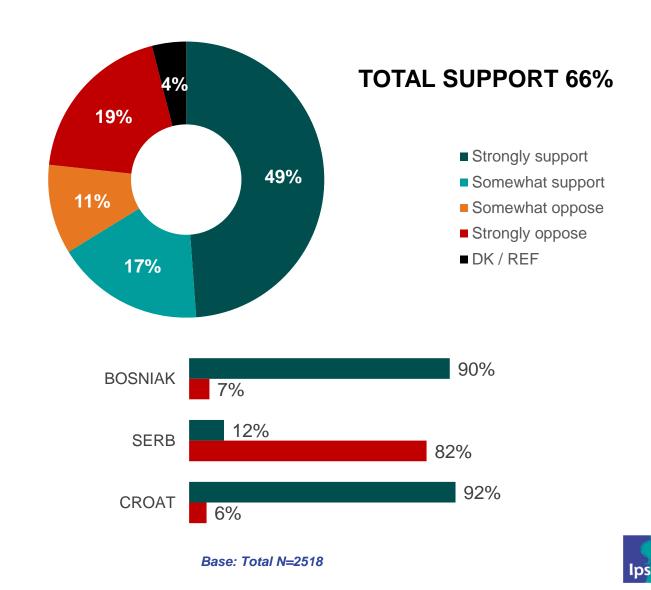
Do you support or oppose BiH accession to the EU?





Movement toward NATO membership is much more divisive, with strong support from Bosniaks and Croats, and firm opposition among Serbs

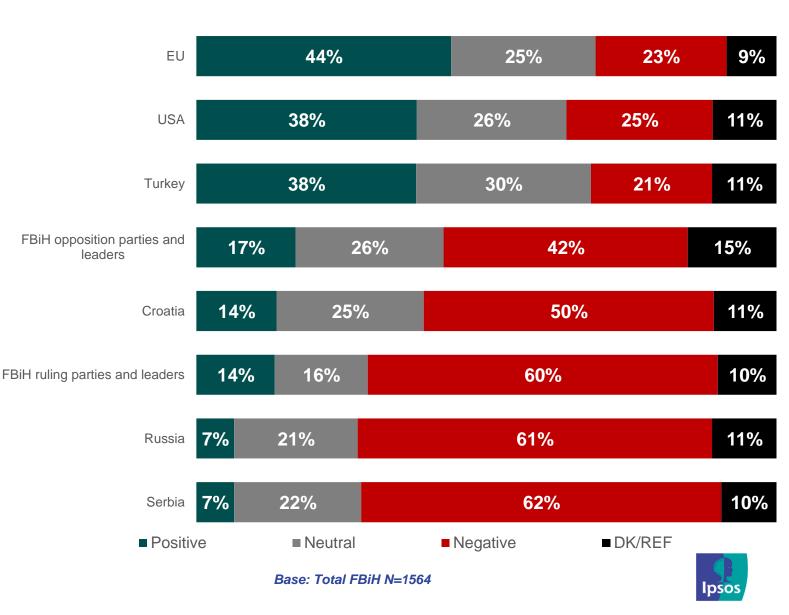
Do you support or oppose BiH accession to NATO?



The influence of the EU, USA, and Turkey are perceived as more positive than domestic and regional actors, but this is driven by Bosniaks.

- Croats agree that the EU plays a constructive role and are unexpectedly segregated on Croatia's role (Positive: 61%, Neutral:16%, Negative: 5%, DK/REF: 18%).
- Parties are not seen as a positive influence, but the opposition are not as bad as ruling parties.

Please tell us the role the following actors play in the current political crisis. (Federation only)



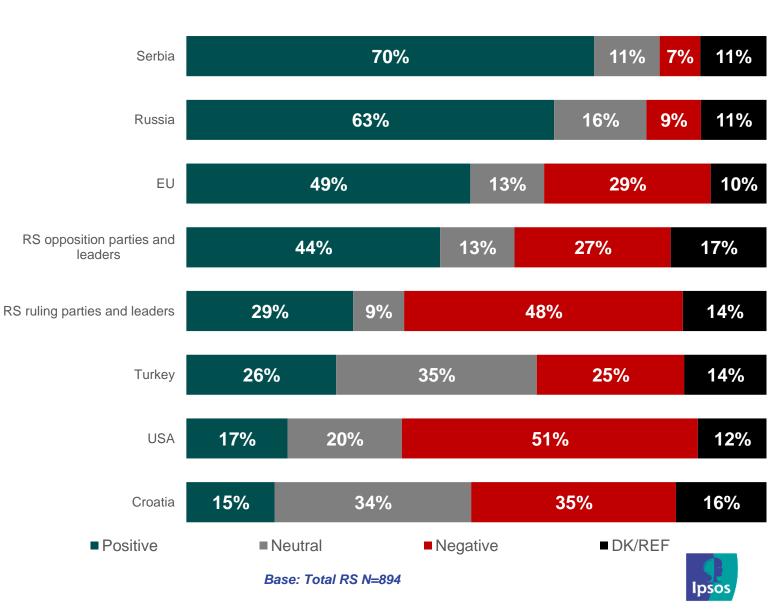
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Most in RS view Serbia and Russia as playing positive roles in the current crisis.

- Almost half see the EU as a constructive player - though Bosniaks contribute to this, a plurality of Serbs agree.
- The RS opposition is considered more helpful than the ruling parties and leaders.
- The USA lacks credibility in RS.

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Please tell us the role the following actors play in the current political crisis. (Republika Srpska only)

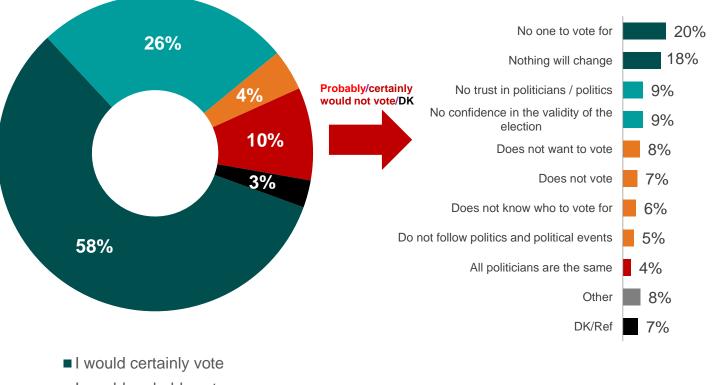


Almost six-in-ten say they would certainly vote if elections are held next autumn, indicating high turnout intention.

• Those least likely to vote cite futility, apathy, and distrust.

Q3. How likely is it that you would vote if elections are held next autumn?

Q3A. If probably/certainly would note vote/DK: Why is it that you will not vote or are not sure about voting?



- I would probably vote
- I probably would not vote
- I certainly would not vote
- DK / REF



POLITICAL CRISIS & ETHNIC STRIFE



There is general agreement that the substance of the law on genocide denial was right and Dodik's reaction is wrong.

 People see Dodik's reaction as a convenient way to dodge responsibility for poor performance and corruption.

 Bosniaks agree most strongly with these statements.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about the law promulgated by the High Representative?

| Blocking state institutions does no good for anyone | 48% | | | 26 | 13% | | 8% 6% | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|-------|--|
| The substance of the law is correct: glorification of war crimes has no place in our politics | 42% | | | 26% | | 13% | 10% | 6 10% | |
| This issue is a smokescreen for politicians to avoid dealing with real economic problems and corruption | 38% | | | 27% | | 15% | | 6 10% | |
| BiH has faced many political crises– we will get through this and continue as before | 34% | | | 35% | | 16% | | % 7% | |
| The law has caused more problems that it solved | 33% | | 26% | | 18% | 18% | | 8% | |
| The current political crisis is the worst since the war | 30% | | 28% | | 20% | 20% | | 9% | |
| The HR should not have authority to impose such a law | 24% | 219 | % | 18% | | 27% | | 11% | |
| The substance of the law is correct but the timing was wrong | 19% | 28% | | 18% | | 22% | | 13% | |
| My ethnic group is threatened in BiH today | 18% | 29% | | 23% | | 23% | | 7% | |

Completely agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Completely disagree DK/REF



There is general agreement that the substance of the law on genocide denial was right and Dodik's reaction is wrong.

- People see Dodik's reaction as a convenient way to dodge responsibility for poor performance and corruption.
- Clear majorities of Serbs agree as well.

...Republika Srpska only.

| Blocking state institutions does no good for anyone | 46% | | | 30% | | | <mark>9% </mark> | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------|-------------|---|-----|--|
| The law has caused more problems that it solved | 41% | | | 25% | | 13% | | 13% | |
| The HR should not have authority to impose such a law | 38% | | | 19% | 16% | 12 | % | 16% | |
| This issue is a smokescreen for politicians to avoid dealing with real economic problems and corruption | 35% | | | 27% | 13 | % 79 | % | 18% | |
| BiH has faced many political crises– we will get through this and continue as before | 32% | | 39% | | 12 | | <mark>!% 5%</mark> 12% | | |
| The substance of the law is correct: glorification of war crimes has no place in our politics | 29% | | 31% | | 11% 1′ | | | 19% | |
| The current political crisis is the worst since the war | 24% | | 29% | | 22% | 1 | 1% | 14% | |
| The substance of the law is correct but the timing was wrong | 17% | 27% | | 14% | 19 | % | | 23% | |
| My ethnic group is threatened in BiH today | 14% | 28% | | 24% | | 24 | % | 10% | |

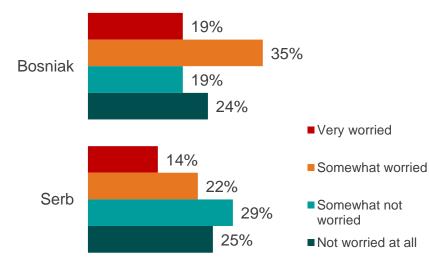
Completely agree Somewhat agree Somewhat disagree Completely disagree DK/REF

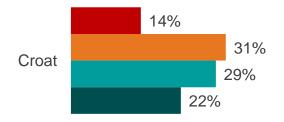


- Bosniaks express the most worry about each of these outcomes, followed by Croats then Serbs.
- However, the intensity of concern is low across the board.

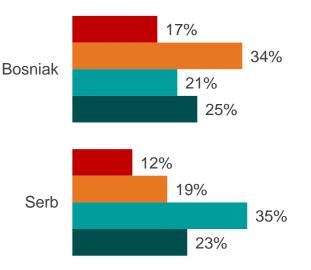
How worried are you that:

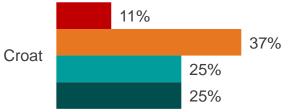
The ethnic tensions facing BiH at this time might lead to armed conflict.





The ethnic tensions facing BiH at this time might lead to the dissolution of the state.



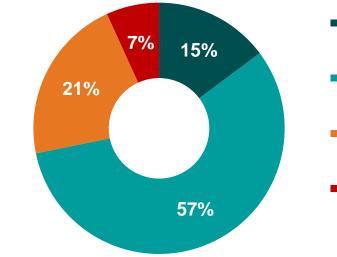




A majority believes that the international community should take a hard stance against Dodik and his threats, but this is driven by Bosniaks and Croats.

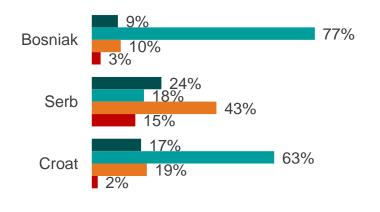
 Serbs are more likely to view Dodik's moves as an internal matter with no role for the international community.

What is your view of the international community response to Dodik's moves to withdraw from state institutions and transfer jurisdiction to the RS?



- The international community should negotiate with Dodik to find a solution to the crisis
- The international community should take a hard stand against Dodik and his threats.
- This is an internal matter and the international community has no role in it.

DK/REF





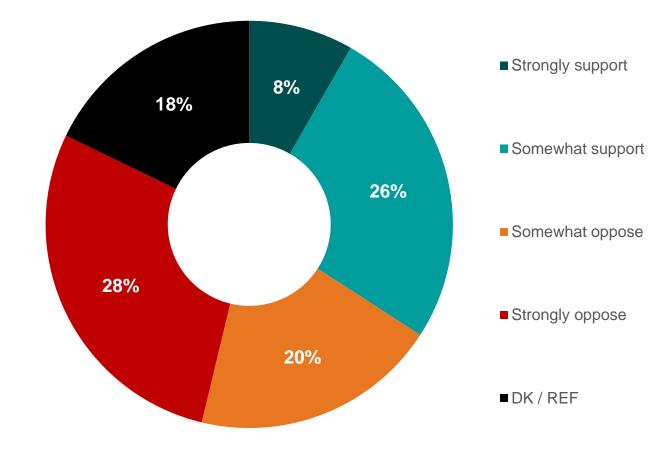
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The prospect of RS withdrawal from state institutions finds weak support across the entity.

- Support for withdrawal and transfer of competencies is a bit deeper in East RS (sum+ 40%), where Dodik is more popular than in North RS (sum+ 31%).
- But neither the population at large nor Serbs in particular rally to this position.

Do you support or oppose Dodik's announcement that RS would withdraw from state institutions and transfer competencies to the RS government? (indirect tax administration, armed forces and the high judicial and prosecutorial council)

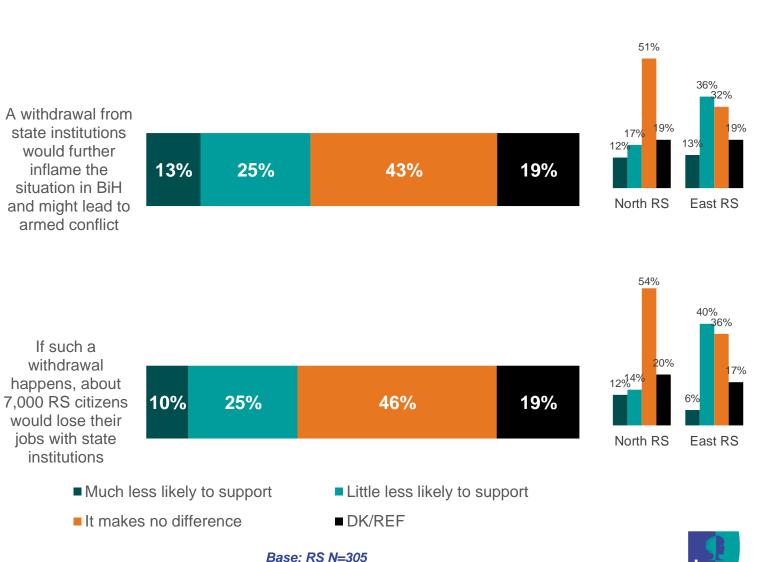


Serbs: 42% Support sum 37% Oppose sum



Counterarguments that focus on likely job losses and possible armed conflict won't fundamentally change the debate but could blunt support for the move.

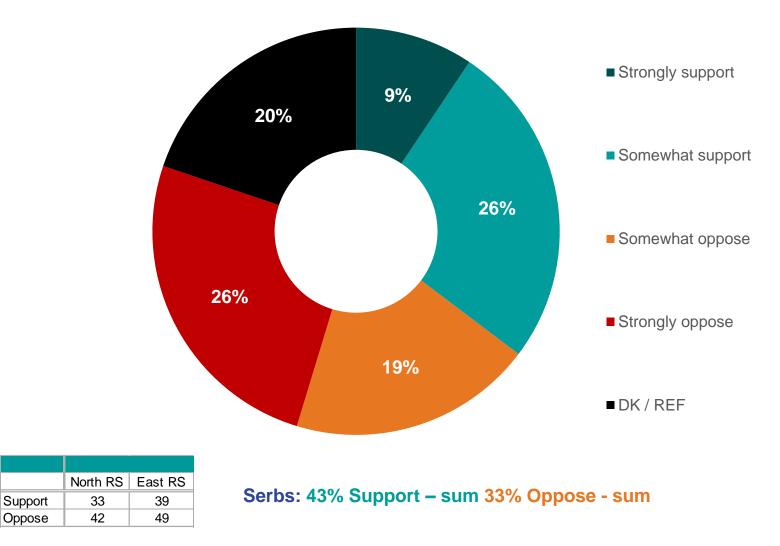
 Messages pushing back on the withdrawal and transfer are more persuasive in East RS than in North RS, suggesting a possible path to undermine support in Dodik's base. (If Strongly/Somewhat Support): Please tell us whether the following arguments impact your support for RS withdrawal from state institutions.



Support for RS independence is fairly weak.

 As on the previous question, support is stronger in East RS and among Serbs than in the overall RS population, but nowhere near majorities.

Do you support or oppose RS declaring independence?

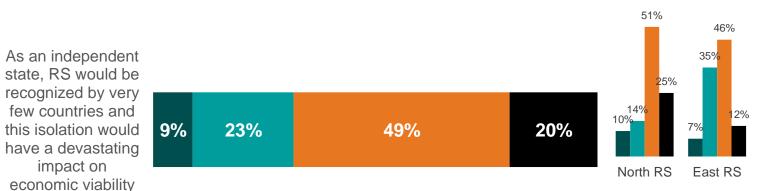


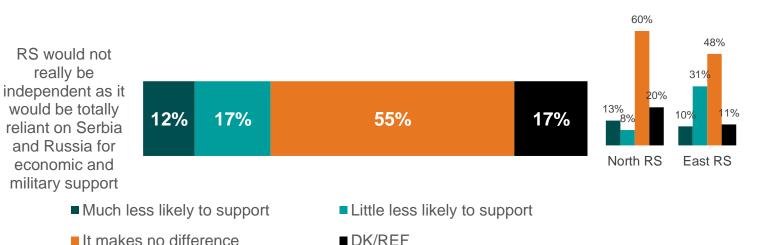


RS independence supporters tend to turn down counterarguments.

- Greater awareness of negative impact could dampen support somewhat.
- These messages are also significantly more impactful in East RS than in the North, providing a rhetorical touchstone in Dodik's base.

(If Strongly/Somewhat Support): Please tell us whether the following arguments impact your support for RS independence.





Base: RS N=316

and travel



Keeping the peace and building the economy are much more important than whatever Dodik's concept of "Serb unity" might be, and people want their parties and leaders to focus on these priorities.

 RS respondents regard peace (72%) and economy (69%) over Serb unity (49%) though Bosniaks and Croats contribute to this.
23 - © lpsos

Please tell us whether you agree/disagree with each of the following statements.

| Keeping the peace is much more important than "Serb unity" and RS parties should start focusing on that | 439 | 29 | 9% | 14% 3% | | |
|--|--------------|---------|---------|--------|-------|----|
| The economy is much more important than "Serb unity" and RS parties should focus on that | 42% | 6 | 27% | | 14% 5 | 5% |
| "Serb unity" is just a political phrase used to take the public's attention away from corruption in the RS | 30% | 22 | .% | 20% | 12% | 6 |
| Opposition parties in RS should stand up to Dodik and work to protect both the RS and the stability of the state structure | 26% | 26% 23% | | 6 15% | | |
| Opposition parties should have resisted the decision to block state institutions - the ruling parties are only manipulating them | 24% | 23% | | 16% | 16% | |
| Dodik's response to the genocidal denial law is a legitimate effort to protect Serb interests | 22% | 25% | 5% 21% | | 12% | |
| Serb unity is the most important thing; political parties in RS should stick together and protect the RS no matter what happens | 21% | 28% | 28% 20% | | 14% | D |
| ■ Strongly agree ■ Som | Strongly dis | agree | | | | |

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME!

February 2022



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