

SURVEY ON YOUTH EMIGRATION

IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

- Research Report -



August, 2021

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Explanation
BD	Brčko District (self-governing administrative unit in north-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina)
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CSOs/NGOs	Civil society organisations/Non-governmental organisations
EU	European Union
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (one of the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)
RS	Republika Srpska (one of the two entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SEE	Southeast Europe
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund

Executive Summary

Background and Aims

Since the early 1990s, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter BiH) has experienced several waves of high-level rates of out-migration into the European Union and other developed countries of the world.

Since the beginning of 2011, when BiH citizens holding biometric passports were able to travel without a visa to all the countries within the Schengen Area as well as to Bulgaria, Romania, Cyprus and Croatia, the trends of outward migration have intensified, and it is estimated that around 200,000 citizens from BiH, from all ethnic groups and national minorities, left the country, including a high percentage of young and well-educated people. Such outward migration dynamics from Bosnia and Herzegovina will most likely continue in the future unless there is a drastic change in the institutional and public discourse signalling systematic plans that curb the causes and symptoms of the current negative migration trends.

There are various programs managed by different agents and institutions, including international and state- and local-level governments and NGOs, that have established mechanisms for assisting youth in resolving their daily and chronic challenges, but these programs do not address many of the vulnerabilities specific to the issues that predominantly drive youth out of the country and lower the potentials for their return to BiH. Additionally, gaps remain in the budgets and design of policy processes that could effectively eliminate some of the structural constraints and improve the lack of coordination among relevant agencies in charge of their implementation.

This report documents the main socio-economic factors and features that drive outward-oriented migration of young people from BiH, primarily taking into account individual characteristics of the respondents, such as sex, age, education level, employment status, political and civic engagement, place of residence, quality of living environment, positions and trust toward politics and policies in pre- and COVID19 period, as well as various other relevant elements. Migration potential was assessed by the application of a set of questions on migration intentions in the country of origin, while drivers of migration were explored by questions on the causes of migration aspirations that are observed as a result of macro (e.g. socio-economic situation), meso (e.g. social network abroad) and micro factors (e.g. characteristics of the individual).

The research study was conducted on a representative sample of 5,001 young people, aged 18-29. The research was based on a quantitative approach and collection of primary data collected in a large-scale face-to-face survey, implemented by a market research company, Ipsos BiH, between January and March 2021.

In line with the research aims, the results of this study have a threefold purpose:

- Descriptive: to present basic features, dynamics, and challenges related to youth outward migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as their role and motivations in the process;
- Analytical: to systematize and to compare respondents' perspectives, articulated through empirically collected data, with other relevant theories and views on the subject;
- Synthetic: to present a coherent set of recommendations and patterns for understanding the role of institutions and policies they adopt to change the dynamics of the ongoing processes and to articulate new concepts that can be useful for the theory and practice of mitigating the negative trend of out-migration from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

General Findings

The respondents, for whom socio-economic challenges are more pronounced in the post-conflict context, emphasize that their decisions to migrate outside of BiH are driven by their motivations to escape social and political insecurities, prospects of long-lasting unemployment or underemployment, the lack of or insufficient access to learning or job opportunities, and the lack of relevant policies, social services and/or security programmes that specifically target the needs of youth. All aforementioned factors reinforce one another and constitute strong push factors that drive the migration processes and reinforce other participants to consider this option.

Available results obtained through this survey study suggest that a substantial number of youth migrants lack:

- access to relevant knowledge and skill-building options, facilities, and structures that would enhance their prospects of employment in both formal and informal sectors;
- adequate policy frameworks that offer practical hands-on solutions for immediate and effective implementation, which results in insufficient and unreliable support for their youth's societal integration, reinforces their economic and social exclusion, and further increases their vulnerabilities and risks of outward migration;
- harmonized approach to their specific challenges in BiH and their integration within the existing social decision-making structures, including the specially tailored policies that address the needs of vulnerable youth groups that are prone to considering migration as an option;
- visible progress in the actual implementation of the existing recommendations and policies that deal with improving the capacities of youth to remain in BiH and plan their life and work locally or within other regions in the country, instead of abroad;

There is also a deficit of verifiable and reliable information concerning the numbers, specific profiles, and vulnerabilities of youth (potential) migrants, including a lack of monitoring and evaluation programmes closely observing outward migrations of youth from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Specific findings per investigated themes and topics

Young people in BiH, on average, are generally dissatisfied with the quality of their living environment.

Only 10 per cent of young people noted complete satisfaction with their life in BiH, while 33 per cent of the respondents indicated their dissatisfaction, primarily observed through insufficient availability of public services and programmes tailored to their needs (such as housing programmes for young people, quality of public transportation, availability of social benefits, quality of health care, educational programmes and volunteering opportunities in the area of living).

More than 40 per cent of young people believe that interethnic tensions in BiH are possible. Almost 73 per cent of respondents pointed out that they experience either stagnation or deterioration of the standard of living in their immediate environment, while only 27 per cent of surveyed young people believe that the standard of living is getting better.

On the other hand, 66 per cent of respondents do not feel discriminated against and feel that people treat them with respect and dignity. At the same time, more than 15 per cent of respondents feel just the opposite. Almost half of the respondents (i.e. 47 per cent), approximately the same ratio of men and women, believe equal opportunities available to young people in BiH are not subject to specific gender discrimination patterns.

The level of trust of young people in public institutions is fairly low.

Youth's trust in public institutions and state apparatus in BiH is quite low, and it is particularly visible in their perceptions and positions toward political parties, government, electoral procedures, and the judiciary. Around 70 per cent of surveyed young people believe that the BiH society is systemically corrupted, which affects their expectations about the social, economic and political future in BiH, and consequently their propensity to consider their migration options.

Surveyed youth have also indicated below average trust in media, which they believe are largely under the control of below-average-trusted public authorities. On the other hand, young people have expressed a slightly higher level of trust in non-governmental organizations and the work of police, which could be potentially explained by their direct and more visible involvement at community levels.

Young people do not perceive themselves as a significant driving force for changing the existing political and social system in BiH.

The obtained results indicate that young people have demonstrated low levels of participation in the past 12 months, including different types of political and civic engagement activities, such as signing petitions, participating in public gatherings (demonstrations and rallies), involvement in political parties and volunteering in CSOs and NGOs. Around 42 per cent of surveyed young people expressed an interest in participating in activities that contribute to solving problems in the local community and society. The most prominent form of civic engagement among young people in BiH is donating money to charity (48 per cent of responses) and volunteering to help others (35 per cent of responses).

Quite unpredictably, approximately 78 per cent of respondents said they would probably or definitely vote in the general or local elections if they would be held "next week". Given that significantly fewer young people actually vote in each election in comparison to youth preferences expressed in this survey, it would be worth exploring these gaps and investigating if any steps could be taken to ensure higher levels of youth participation in electoral processes in BiH.

Young people in BiH have expressed high levels of migration aspirations.

Almost a quarter of respondents have seriously considered leaving BiH permanently and an additional 23 per cent of them think about prospects of temporary migration abroad. The most pronounced migration aspiration is evidenced among men; 18 to 24 years old individuals; those with secondary education; those who are inactive in the labour market and persons who are currently employed part-time; single or divorced; respondents who hold dual citizenship; respondents who have family and friends living abroad; respondents who are less satisfied with their immediate living environment; respondents who do not display trust in the BiH public institutions and those who express some kind of interest in political and civic engagement.

Most of the surveyed participants have no previous migration experience (i.e. 87 per cent). However, the vast majority of them have close friends or family members living abroad (i.e. 78 per cent), while more than half of the respondents know more than 5 people from their close or immediate surroundings who have already left BiH (i.e. 58 per cent). Around 60 per cent of those who wish to leave the country think about emigration often, and their migration aspirations have grown stronger due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

It can be estimated, with a 95% of probability and a 3 per cent margin of error, that 269,066 young people in BiH, aged 18 to 29, are thinking about emigration (total migration potential), which is almost 8 per cent of the total population in the country as per the 2013 Census. In addition, for 77,209 young people it is probable that they have already gotten informed about certain aspects of life abroad (probable migration

potential), while 23,001 have actual migration potential i.e. estimates suggest they have already done necessary preparations to move, meaning their intentions to emigrate (either temporarily or permanently) are more probable to be actualized.

The pursuit of better living standards and future prospects is a major driver of migration motivations

The driving migration motivations and aspirations rest with youth's desire to actively pursue better living conditions and escape below-standard living conditions associated with underprivileged economic, political, and environmental factors. Surveyed youth intend to evade unsatisfactory living standards, which they deem are the product of financial instabilities in the country, high levels of unemployment among the general population and youth in particular, high prevalence of perceived corruption, and inability to develop personally and professionally.

Young people have indicated they would stay in BiH predominantly because of their family and friends, if the standard of living and quality of life could improve, and if they would be able to find better and more stable jobs that secure their financial and other needs.

General Recommendations

In light of the aforementioned observations and challenges, the following recommendations that have been formulated on the basis of the research results obtained in this study and as conclusions of several policy-oriented conversations with relevant partners and key stakeholders on how best to approach the identified issues:

1. Developing evidence-based strategies and systematic data collection mechanisms for policy design

- identifying the responsibilities of various levels of government and planning multiyear programs with adequate funding to tackle the structural deficiencies that push the BiH youth to consider outward migration;
- expanding or revising the current tracking, monitoring and evaluation systems and to build the minimum participatory, institutional, and policy-making capacity for integration of youth into local decision-making and service frameworks;
- working on creating campaigns aimed at restoring young people's trust in public institutions to tackle the general sense of stability and security as well as to the effectiveness of government and governance.

2. Strengthening the institutional and policy responses to outward migration dynamics

- formulating common basic standards and institutional principles regarding the work and assistance to be provided to youth who consider migrating abroad;
- harmonizing youth policies and strategies at all levels in BiH in order to minimize differences in opportunities for young people in different parts of BiH;
- developing strategies and mechanisms for increased participation of young women, young people with a lower level of education and older youth groups (aged 25 to 29);
- establishing a pilot fund and supplementing inter-sectorial instruments for assistance to youth who specifically need institutional interventions;
- supporting the development of (academic) research community or community of practice and further research activities in the field of youth emigration (e.g. research meetings, collaborative research projects, an open repository with all relevant information on implemented projects, surveys, research papers etc.)

- making young people more visible in public space by giving them opportunities to express the problems and challenges they face in the BiH society.

3. Developing social enterprise programmes for youth and vulnerable youth groups

- setting-up socially responsible youth-oriented (knowledge-generating, skills-building and income-generating) programmes that open up opportunities for youth and provide them with immediate assistance to resolve their existential challenges and improve their basic economic conditions and enhance social cohesion prospects.
- enhancing availability and accessibility to quality public services at both state/entity and the local level, including: better quality and greater variety of choices of formal, non-formal and informal education programmes and activities;
- enhancing accessibility of housing programmes for young individuals and families; quality health care services; clean, healthy and safe environment; transport infrastructure; and availability and accessibility to activities, and places and spaces – both indoor and outdoor.

1 Introduction

Migration is a global phenomenon and the number of international migration patterns continues to increase in both developed and developing regions. It is estimated that the number of international migrants in the pre-pandemic period was 272 million, which is an increase of 51 million since 2010 (UNDESA, 2019).

Bosnia and Herzegovina has recorded several waves of migration of its citizens in the last hundred years, with particularly intense period of forced migration during the war (1992 – 1995) which had devastating effects and long-term consequences on the demographic, political, socio-economic and cultural development of the country. Massive emigration flows during the 1990s transitioned into steady flows of migrants toward more developed countries in search of a better standard of living and better quality of life (Halilović et al, 2018).

According to the Migration Profile for 2019, an estimate of the total number of persons in the diaspora originating from Bosnia and Herzegovina (including persons born in BiH and the estimated number of their descendants born in the host countries, not including the pre-1990s migrants, i.e. the so-called *old emigration*) is between 2 and 2.2 million (Bosnia and Herzegovina Ministry of Security, 2020, p. 64). These estimates are based on the data from the statistical agencies of the host countries regarding the total number of BiH emigrants who have been staying in these countries for more than 12 months. However, countries like are Croatia, Serbia and Sweden, with which BiH concluded bilateral dual nationality agreements, do not keep records on the dual citizenships, i.e. when the nationals of BiH are granted the citizenship of the host country they are no longer registered as the BiH nationals in the statistical records of those 3 countries. Therefore, the existing estimates of the total number of people in the diaspora originating from BiH are probably underreported,¹

Based on OECD's international migration data record, it is estimated that around 184,000 people who emigrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina (permanently or temporarily) in the period between 2013 and 2017 have settled in one of the 36 OECD member countries,² which amounts to 36,800 people per year. When looking at the data for the five-year-long period, it is evident that the number of people who emigrated from BiH to one of the OECD member countries is increasing; in 2013 that number was 28,000, while in 2018 it enlarged to 44,700.³ Therefore, the estimated annual net outflow of BiH population, when the average outflow is corrected with the number of people who return to BiH annually, is around 18,200 people (Institute for Development and Innovation, 2020).

More detailed information on accurate numbers and profiles of those who leave or return do not exist at any level of administrative units (neither state nor entity/cantonal levels).

The structure of the migrating population is also changing and more and more young people and young families with stable living and working prospects in BiH are leaving, without any indicators of returning. According to the data provided by National Survey of Citizens' Perceptions in Bosnia and Herzegovina – NSCP-BiH 2019, 49 per cent of young people (18 to 24 years old) noted they were considering leaving the country, compared to 19 per cent of adults (USAID, 2020).

The intensified emigration of young people can be explained by challenges all Western Balkan countries share in common, i.e. high level of dissatisfaction caused by under- or unemployment rates among youth, high levels of corruption, frequent political

¹ Regarding the number of people emigrating from BiH on an annual basis, there are no reliable data because there is no requirement to report departures; the data are not collected systematically nor analysed on a regular basis. However, certain estimates have been made, based on the number of people who had requested criminal record certificates from the local police administrations for the purpose of obtaining visa in one of the host countries they wish to migrate to.

² The most commonly opted for destination countries for the BiH emigrants are Germany, Slovenia and Austria.

³ These numbers encompass all the people who leave the country in a year, including those who participate in the so-called temporary labour migration as well as the ones who leave the country temporarily for education purposes, which is in total around 18,600 per year.

disputes and radicalization, slow progress in reforms, deteriorating living conditions, as well as the prevalent hopelessness and despair (Malaj & de Rubertis, 2017; Vracic 2018; Hasic et al, 2020). At the same time, there is a strong tradition of emigrating from this region, as well as a strong connection with the diaspora, that additionally mitigate the whole emigration process. In addition, developed countries have introduced various policies and new measures in order to attract the working age population from less developed countries and allow them to access the job market and find long-term employment (e.g. Austria and Germany). Finally, the ability to adjust to the changes in the labour market, which determines the individual's movement for education purposes in order to acquire new knowledge and linguistic skills as well as to develop competences required for efficient work in the internationalised labour market, has also contributed to the migration trends (cf. King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Findlay, 2010).

The emigration of the young people and working age people from BiH affects the local society in various ways; it lessens the economic and social contributions of the educated and skilled people, it creates workers' shortages in all sectors, decline in overall productivity, and deficits in pension funds (Begović et. al., 2020). There is also little evidence of social benefits that emigration from BiH might cause in the local communities, in terms of investments, sharing technological, social, human capital, skills and ideas or advancing democratic processes. The remittances sent are mostly used for consumption purposes rather than for investments in socio-economic development (UNFPA, 2020).

In order to further systematize the existing data and to find new reliable information on migration trends and patterns of BiH youth, the UNFPA in BiH commissioned a survey that generates pertinent evidence on these trends and serves as foundation for developing new or revising the existing policies on the subject.

The main purpose of this research study is to:

- a)** determine the migration motivations and aspirations of young people (aged 18-29) as well as identify the underlying reasons for leaving and to trace the initial steps they have taken in realizing this goal;
- b)** map the root causes of youth emigration in BiH; and to compare and connect them with other relevant migration factors present among other groups of emigrants in the country;
- c)** unearth the minimum requirements that would suffice for young people to reconsider their motivations to leave the country;
- d)** evaluate the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on migration aspirations present among BiH youth.

The research report is structured as follows. The first section introduces a short overview of the conceptual framework, research methodology and the research sample. The second section describes and discusses research findings on the perception of the quality of life, trust in public institutions and political and civic engagement of young people in BiH. The third section outlines research findings on migration aspirations and the migration potential of young people in BiH. The fourth section analyses and discusses drivers of migration, while the final, fifth section, draws conclusions and provides recommendations for relevant stakeholders in BiH.

1.1 Conceptual Framework

Migration can be defined as the temporary or permanent move of individuals or groups of people from one geographic location to another for various reasons, ranging from better employment possibilities to persecution (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Different patterns of migration, settlement and acquisition of citizenships, affect both population's depletion within underdeveloped countries of migrants' origin and population's diversification in the host societies (cf. Caponio, 2008; Morawska, 2008).

Migration theories focusing on emigration process and driving factors that motivate migrants' decisions can be classified according to the level they focus on – micro, meso and macro theories. Micro-level theories focus on individual migration decisions and micro-level factors affecting those decisions that can be grouped as socio-economic, demographic and psychosocial or personality factors (e.g. sex, educational background, marital status, self-efficacy, sensation-seeking traits, etc.) (cf. Williams et al., 2018). Macro-level theories, on the other hand, look at aggregate migration trends and explain these trends with macro-level explanations. Most recent research on macro-level factors affecting migration revolves around a set of economic (for example data on aggregate migration trends or financial reasons) and non-economic factors (for example health, crime, corruption, etc.) (Begović et al., 2020). The meso level rests in between the micro and macro levels, i.e. the focus set on the household or community level, and seeks to understand both causes and perpetuation of migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Academic research also indicates that all macro, meso and micro factors are correlated and operate within very complex frames. Hence, the factors affecting migration are multi-dimensional and include social, psychological, structural and educational factors.

According to findings of the most prominent migration studies, young, educated and economically active residents of a country are most mobile and prone to migration (cf. Castles & Miller, 2003; Kvedaraite et al., 2015). As found by Boneva & Frieze (2001), individuals with a higher achievement and power motivation (higher objectives and motives) are more oriented toward employment and are willing to move abroad. The decision to leave is also determined by certain benefits gained by the departing individual compared to staying in the country of birth due to a different level of wages in the countries, as well as the willingness to have an economic freedom, to gain experience, to climb the career/opportunity ladder, to see the world and to attain a better life, etc.

In addition, available research indicates that having previous experiences in migration and an international network of family and friends, can likely drive or motivate the migration intentions. However, these connections should not be interpreted as causal effects, but rather as push and pull factors which contribute to the overall dynamics of the process.

Even though the dominant theoretical approach toward emigration is in essence economic one, the economic models used to analyse the migration motivations and patterns are not sufficient to determine, understand or explain outward migration decisions. In other words, individuals' aspirations and motivations to move abroad are determined by a multitude of intertwined social, economic and political factors.

Furthermore, emigration is not just concerning the individuals that are directly engaged in the process, but it is rather a social process, linking the emigrant with his/her family, social network or community in the country of origin (Palioni et al., 2001; Julca, 2011; Brettell & Hollifield, 2014).

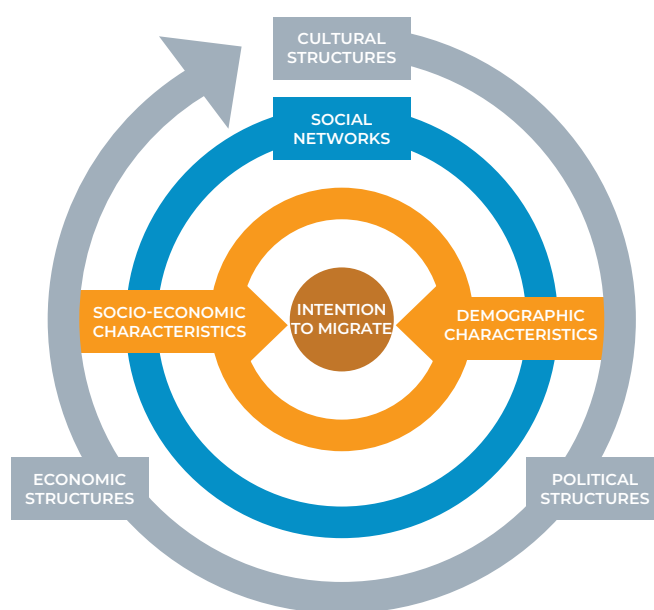
In the light of the above information, this research design is conceptualized upon both economic and social approaches to migration and grounded primarily on micro

analytical model, which focuses on individuals' (and/or family) decisions on whether or not to migrate. It also considers the effects of macro (political, economic and cultural structures) and meso levels (structure, strength, number and nature of social bonds) (Figure 1).

The key research questions that guided this research study were:

- What is the current migration potential of young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- What predominantly drives young people, aged between 18 and 29, to presently emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- Are there any significant and traceable differences between young individuals who have aspirations to emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina and those who do not?

Figure 1 Conceptual framework



1.2 Methodology

This research study is based on a quantitative approach and primary data collection by using the Computer-Assisted Personal Interviews (CAPI) method. Data were collected in a large-scale face-to-face survey, implemented by Ipsos BiH, a market research company.

The data collection took place between January and March 2021 and it included the representative sample of young citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, aged between 18 and 29. The size of the target audience was 574,134⁴, while the total sample size was 5,001 respondents. Sampling was done in line with 95% confidence level and margin of error of $\pm 3\%$ for the level of entities and each gender within the entities, and margin of error of $\pm 5\%$ for Brčko District and each gender. In order to analyse the results at the county level (L0), Ipsos used post-stratification procedures called RIM-weighting to get national representative sample at country level. Sampling for representative sample was done by using two-stage stratification: by region and by settlement type (size) within each region, both proportional to its size. For more details on sampling procedure, please, see the table below (Table 1).

⁴ Census 2013 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Agency for Statistics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2020)

Table 1 Sampling procedure

Sample frame	The sample frame comprises of all citizens of BiH, aged 18-29
Statistical documentation used to design the sample	Census 2013, Vital Statistics 2012 and Ipsos Adria Estimations based on Central election commission database, Agency for Identification Documents, Registers and Data Exchange of Bosnia and Herzegovina database.
Sampling frame	Address register
Type of sample	Two stage random representative stratified sample
Stratification, purpose and method	First level strata: region Second level strata: urban and rural settlements
Definition of urban/rural	Urban and rural division is based on administrative decision. Beside agricultural area (which are all categorized as rural), the administrative division of urban and rural is based on combination of several criteria: number of inhabitants in the area, infrastructure, presence/number of schools (elementary, secondary, universities), health institutions, etc. So, administrative decision is not completely arbitrary nor is it based on the criteria defined with precision sharp enough to allow one clear definition of urban and rural.
Planned sample size	4,970 face-to-face interviews in total (with 2-3% of oversample to ensure realization of initial sample size)

The questionnaire (attached as Annex 1) used for this survey contains 72 questions; 17 questions are related to respondents' demographic and socio-economic characteristics, 31 related to the satisfaction with the living environment and different aspects of life in BiH, 8 focusing on participants' trust in public institutions, 4 connected with their political and civic engagement and 12 pertaining to migration and perceived importance of the key motives for migration. The table below outlines the key constructs and variables (Table 2). The questionnaire was structured to assess the migration potential of young people in BiH, to quantify the prevalence of certain characteristics of young people and reasons and drivers of (potential) migration, and to assess the relationships between different variables and factors.

Table 2 Key survey constructs

Construct	Variables
Demographic information	Place of residence
	Gender
	Age
	Ethnicity
	Citizenship
	Marital status
Socio-economic status	Education level
	Employment status
	Source of income
	Living conditions
	Satisfaction with the standard of living

Construct	Variables
Satisfaction with the living environment	The educational system or the schools
	Availability of public transportation system; housing programmes for young people; informal education programmes; quality healthcare; welfare benefits; sports and cultural activities and events
	Opportunity to volunteer; to meet people and make friends
	Life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general
	Attitudes and feelings about different aspects of life in BiH (e.g. I feel my standard of living is getting better; I have opportunities to learn and grow every day; education and training that young people receive during their formal schooling in BiH is useful for getting a job; the BiH society is systemically corrupt, etc.)
Trust in public institutions	Having confidence in police, judiciary, government, financial institutions, media, CSOs/NGOs, political parties, fairness of elections.
Political and civic engagement	Voting and elections
	Involvement in activities in the local community
	Contribution to solving community and societal problems and issues
	Involvement in any type of political and civic engagement activities during the past 12 months (e.g. being a member of a political party, signing the petition, volunteering, donating money to charity, etc.)
Migration potential	Previous experience
	Migration-related network
	Migration aspiration
	Probability of migration
	Taking any initial steps to migrate
Drivers of migration	Key reasons for thinking about leaving the country (e.g. discovering new things, having sense of stability and perspective, having access to better public services, the only option for improving financial status, having better career prospects, living in less corrupted society etc.)
	Reasons to stay

Data Analysis

The evaluation of youth emigration features includes three diagnostic blocks: the status of young people, migration potential of young people, and drivers of migration. The status of young people in BiH is assessed through a set of questions on socio-demographic characteristics of young people, their perception of the quality of life in BiH, their level of trust in political institutions and their level of political and civic engagement. The second feature, migration potential, is assessed through a set of questions on migration intentions in the countries of origin, one of the most frequently used methods for prediction of migration potential (cf. Fassmann & Hintermann, 1998; Alvarez-Plata et al., 2003; Rangelova & Vladimirova, 2004; Božić & Burić, 2005; Pavlov, 2009). Finally, the third block covers identification and analysis of most prevalent drivers of migration.⁵

Statistical data analysis was conducted with the use of SPSS software package.⁶ Appropriate statistical operations and procedures,⁷ were applied so that inferences about the larger population from which the sample was drawn could be established.

Limitations

The set of collected data on migration aspirations and interest will provide valuable information on the basic characteristics of potential migrants and their reasons for migration. However, assessing the migration potential, through a set of questions on migration aspiration and interest, can be limiting. The basic restraint relates to the inability to predict if or when actual migrations will happen and if the migration will be permanent or temporary. Furthermore, the estimation of migration potential does not include different factors, such as legal barriers to migration to a specific country or restrictions in movement (for instance, due to the on-going COVID-19 pandemic).

In addition, the collected data cannot fully help in predicting whether the projections are fully accurate and realized, because Bosnia and Herzegovina does not have any mechanisms for monitoring and measuring the migrations. Finally, there is a lack of systematically collected and segregated data on youth emigration, which could complicate the analysis on trends and projections.

1.3 Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Sample

A total of 5,001 BiH citizens, aged from 18 to 29, have actively participated in the survey. The sample include an equal representation of male and female respondents, out of which 57.5 per cent live in the urban, while 42.5 per cent live in the rural area (Table 3).

The majority of the respondents have completed the secondary level of education i.e. high school (70 per cent), while almost 20 per cent of them have a university degree (either bachelor's or master's).⁸ Disadvantaged financial situation, inadequate access to services, lack of parental support and the lack of motivation for education or learning are listed as some of the primary reasons for leaving or not further continuing education.

Furthermore, the results indicate there are more young men than women with secondary education, and more young women than men who hold a university degree

⁵ With aims of identifying whether certain characteristics potentially affect person's decision to migrate, the variables, such as age, sex, education level, employment status, area of living (urban/rural) and place of residence (FBiH/RS/BD) are included as a part of analysis within each block. Socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, sex, place of residence, level of education and employment status, were used as a basis for identification of deviations, or lack of connection between certain types of evidence.

⁶ The final calculations were always observed and presented with a certain margin of error and the degree and confidence level.

⁷ For instance: regression analysis, analysis of variances and factor analysis.

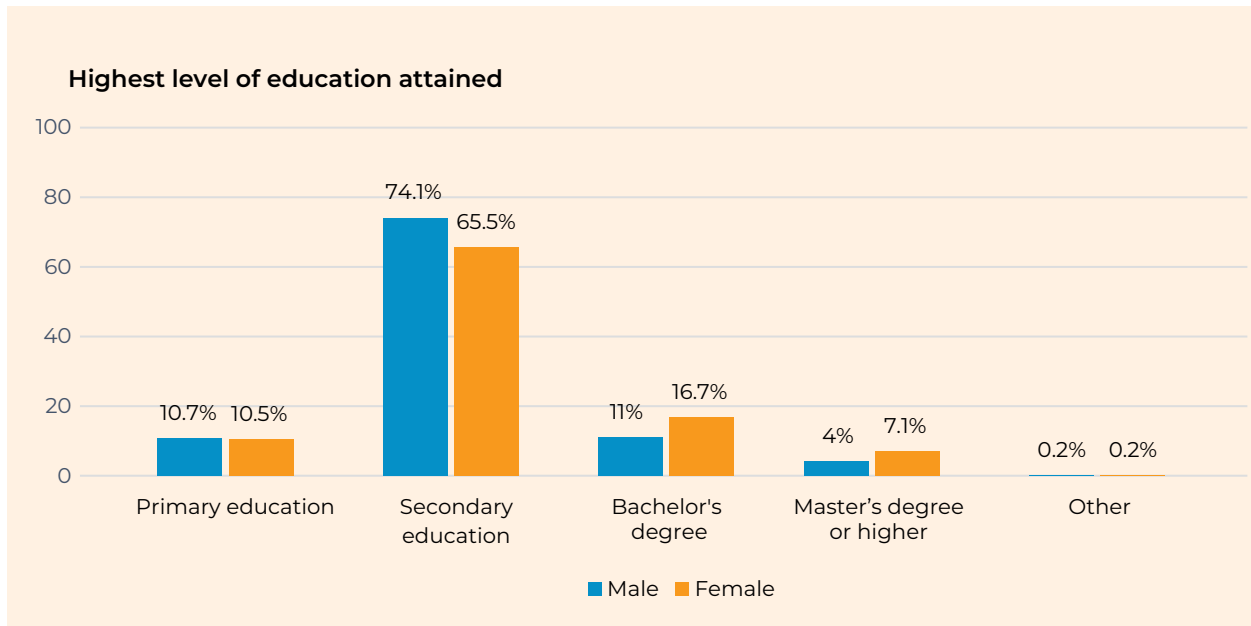
⁸ Table 3 outlines that 530 respondents (10.6 per cent) indicated their primary education is the highest level of education obtained. Given that 439 out of 530 respondents are 18 and 19 years old, it is possible to assume they are still in high school, meaning there is only 1.8 per cent of those over the age of 20 who have not yet finished high school.

(Figure 2), which is consistent with previous findings, considering that women enrol in universities more often than men and that trend has not changed in the recent years (the BiH Agency for Statistics, 2021).

Table 3 Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE		n	%
Gender	Male	2,488	49.8%
	Female	2,513	50.2%
	Total	5,001	100%
Age	18 – 19	1,131	22.6%
	20-24	2,028	40.6%
	25-29	1,842	36.8%
	Total	5,001	100%
Area of living	Urban area	2,876	57.5%
	Rural area	2,125	42.5%
	Total	5,001	100%
Highest level of education attained	Primary education	530	10.6%
	Secondary education	3,490	69.8%
	Bachelor degree	693	13.9%
	Master's degree or higher	278	5.6%
	Other	10	0.2%
	Total	5,001	100%
Current status	Employed full time	1,692	33.8%
	Employed part time	81	1.6%
	Self-employed	103	2.1%
	Freelancer	14	0.3%
	Intern	27	0.5%
	Student	1,138	22.8%
	Other	675	13.5%
	Unemployed and looking for a job	119	2.4%
	Unemployed but not looking for a job	1,152	23.0%
	Total	5,001	100%

Figure 2 Level of education in relation to sex



Regarding the current employment status, around 38 per cent of young people reported being employed, including full-time, part-time or self-employment, working as a freelancer or an intern; and around 36 per cent hold student status or other, while a quarter of the total sample remains unemployed (25.4 per cent). An overview of the employment status in relation to sex, age, education level, area of living and place of residence is presented in figures below (Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 5, Figure 6, Figure 7).

Figure 3 Employment status in relation to sex

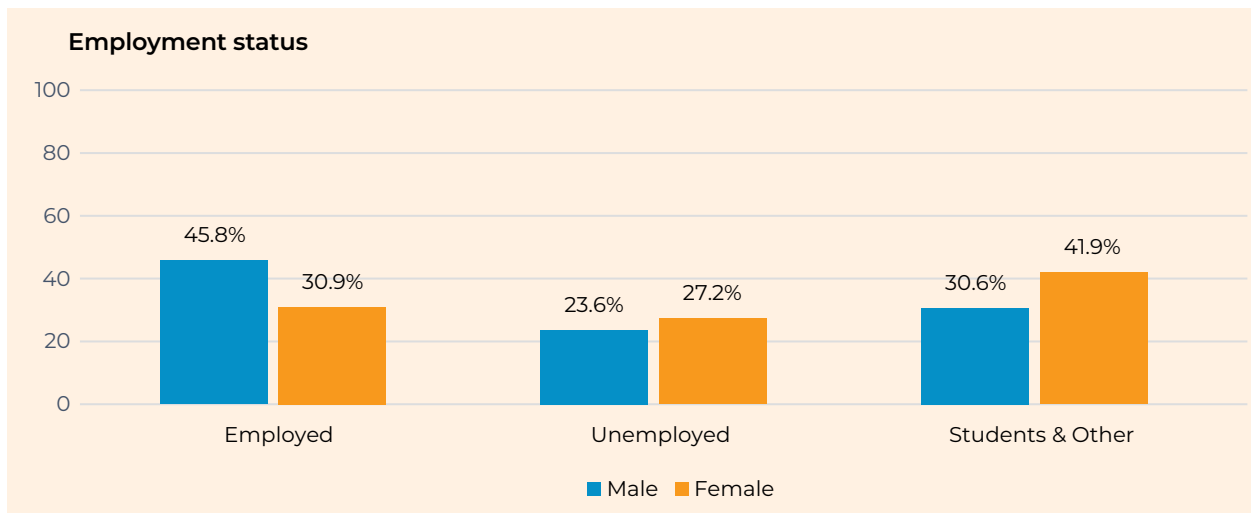


Figure 4 Employment status in relation to age

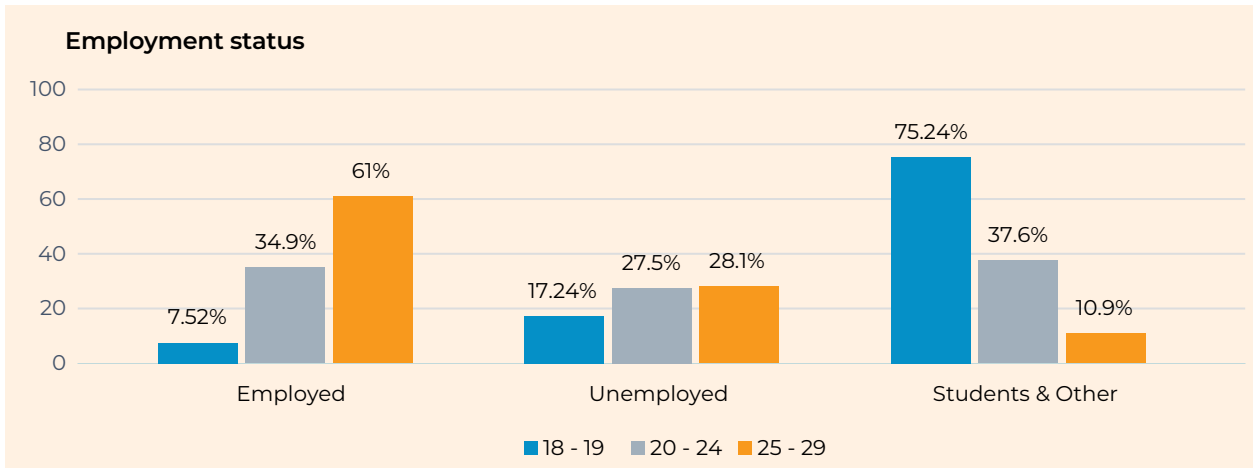


Figure 5 Employment status in relation to highest education level attained

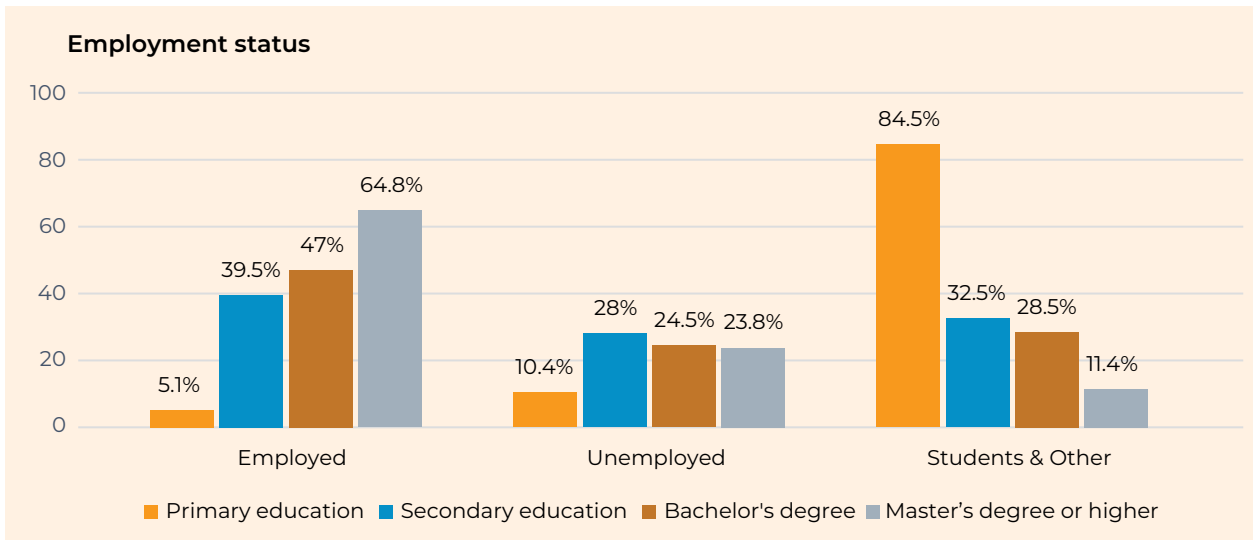


Figure 6 Employment status in relation to area of living

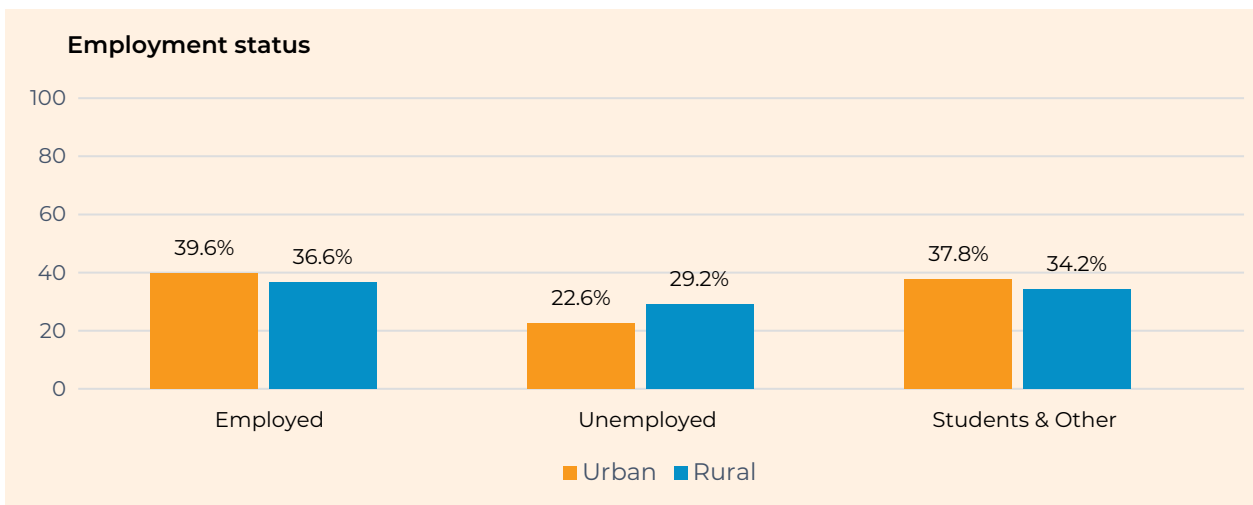
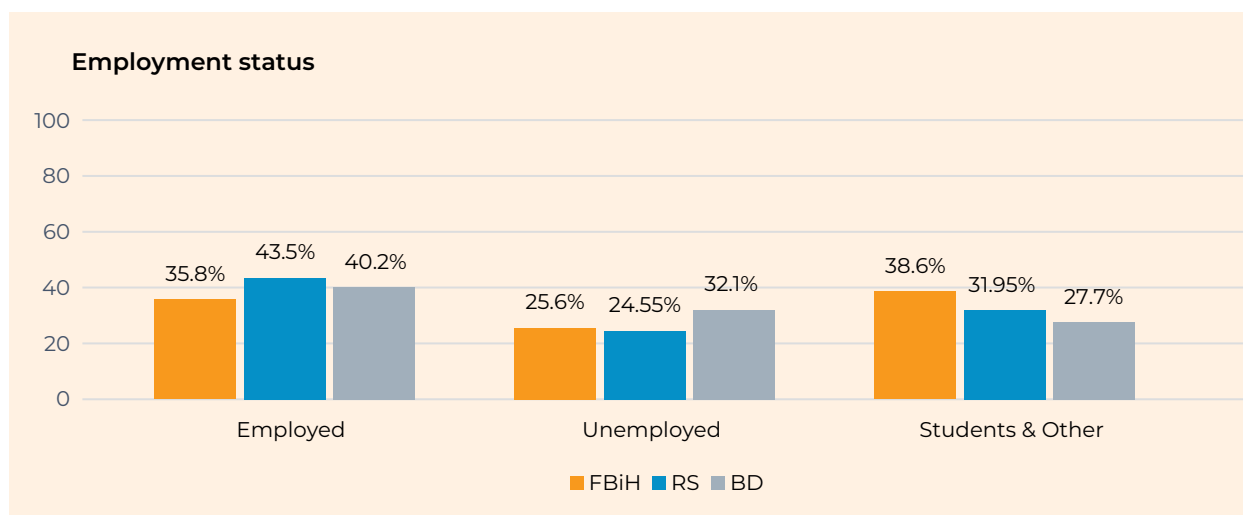


Figure 7 Employment status in relation to place of residence



The high percentage of unemployed young people is stable and mirrors the data recorded in earlier studies. Although the rate has been slowly decreasing in recent years, it still remains one of the main challenges young people face and is in direct correlation with quality of their lives (UNFPA, 2020). The majority of those reported as unemployed are women and those with secondary education (Figure 8). Also, almost half of the respondents (49 per cent) who are currently unemployed, as well as the respondents who marked “other”, have never held any professional position (Table 4). Duration of unemployment varies, from one month to twelve years, where the majority of unemployed respondents have been unemployed for six to twelve months (25 per cent) and 24 per cent of them for more than two years (Table 4). The long-term unemployment is strongly associated with negative economic and social standing of young people and unemployed youth in BiH are exposed to higher risks of poverty and social exclusion, since they are economically dependent on income generated by someone else.⁹

Furthermore, the long-term unemployment is also closely linked with loss of skills and motivation and it might become a negative indicator for prospective employer, which can push many young people to abandon the labour market and education altogether and seek opportunities elsewhere. The majority of unemployed youth (23 per cent) is not actively looking for a job, which puts them in the “at risk” category of young people who are jobless, inactive and not actively engaged in further education or training (Table 3).

⁹ Almost 66 per cent of respondents live at their parent's/in a family house/apartment and 46 per cent get financial support from their parents and/or family (Table 5).

Figure 8 Education level in relation to unemployment status

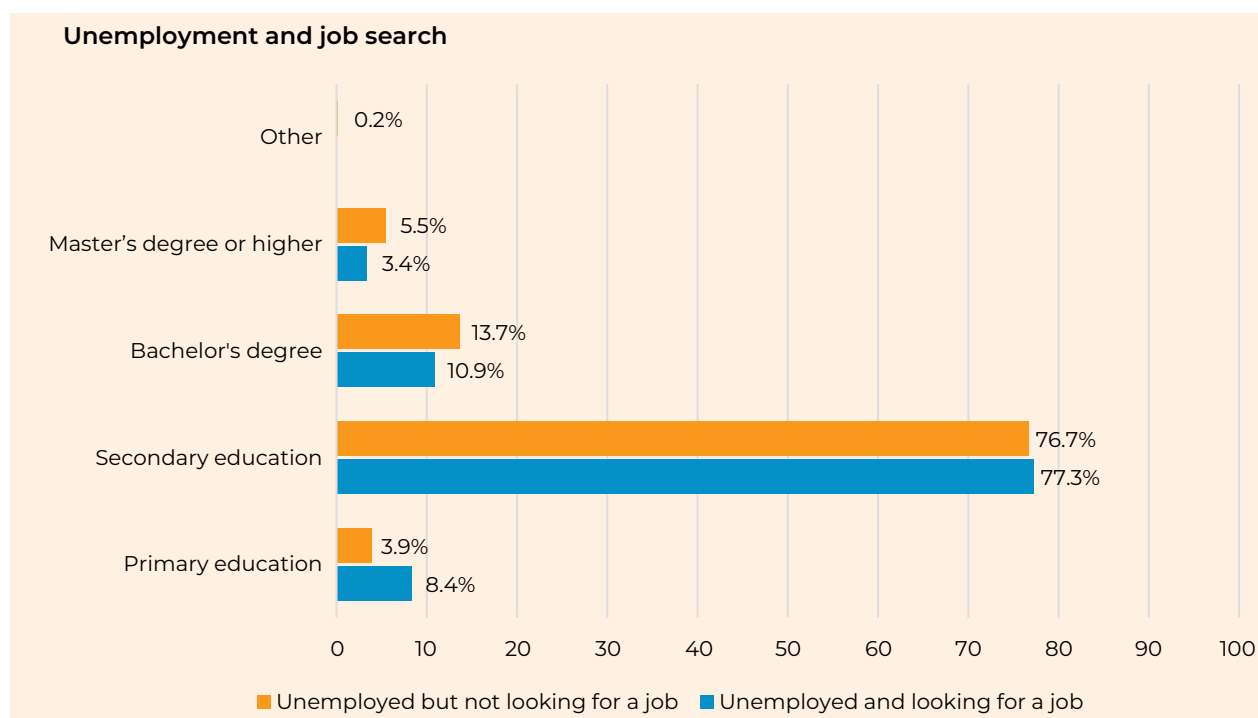


Table 4 Employment experience and unemployment by duration

Employment experience and unemployment by duration		n	%
Have you ever been employed?	Yes	702	51.4%
	No	663	48.6%
	Total	1,365	100%
How long have you been unemployed (months)?	< 3 months	194	14.2%
	3- 6 months	226	16.5%
	6 - 12 months	335	24.6%
	12 - 18 months	79	5.7%
	18 - 24 months	198	14.5%
	24 months <	331	24.5%
Total		1,363	100%

As evidenced in some previous studies (for instance UNDP, 2017), surveyed young people outline several challenges which prevent them from finding adequate jobs, as follows: lack of work experience, lack of contacts and connections, mismatch between education and the labour market and corruption and nepotism in recruitment and employment. More than 60 per cent of respondents of this survey indicated it is very hard to gain any kind of work experience, including student jobs or internships (Figure 9). However, attitudes toward quality of formal education are divided; around 40 per cent of respondents agree that formal education and training in BiH is useful for finding and holding a job and it equips young people with the minimum necessary skills and competences for living and working in the 21st century, while 30 per cent of the respondents are not sure about that and the remaining 29 per cent do not agree with either (Figure 10, Figure 11).

Figure 9 Attitude toward employment opportunities in BiH

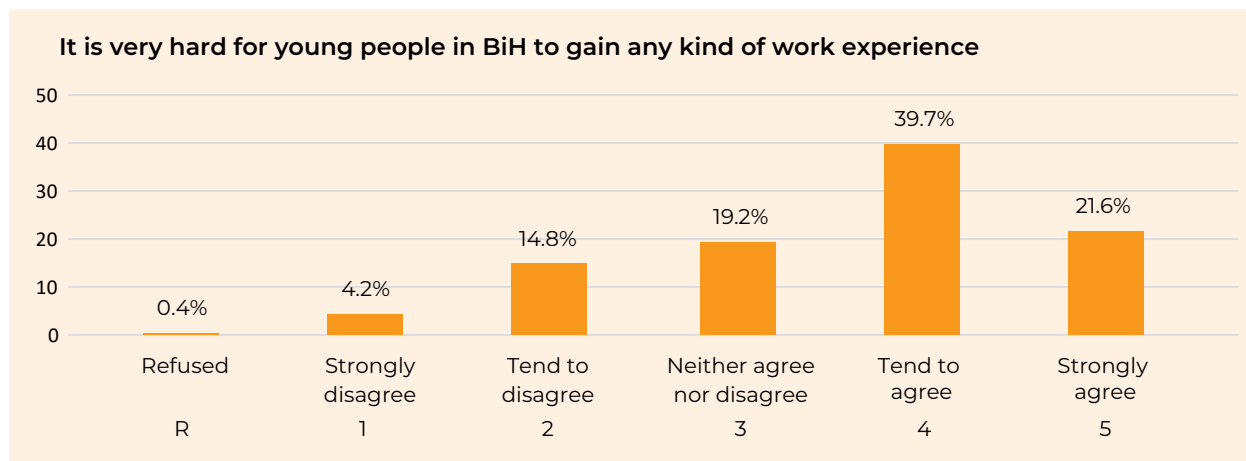


Figure 10 Quality of formal education and training (1)

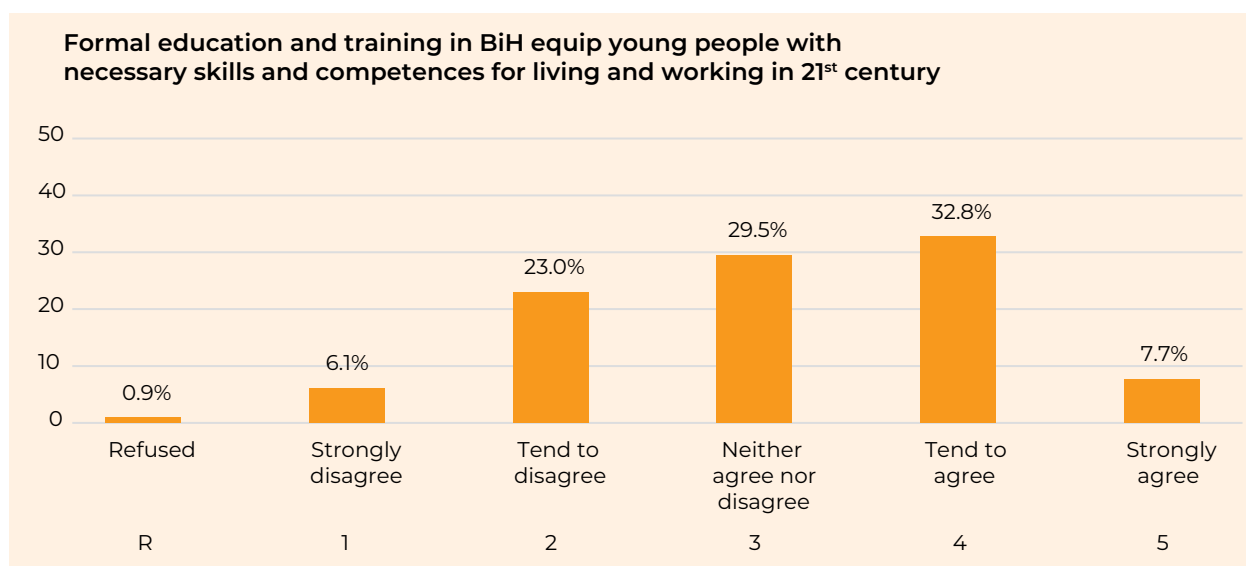
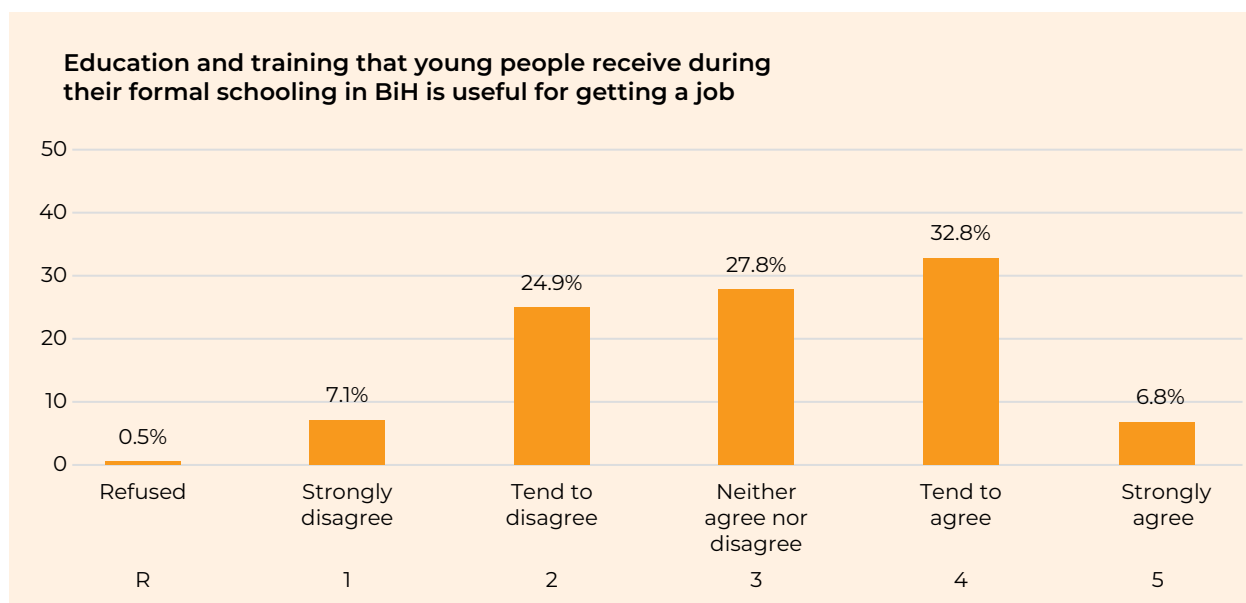


Figure 11 Quality of formal education and training (2)



When asked about their preferences regarding the stability of employment and working conditions compared to income levels, 45 per cent of respondents stated that they preferred the stability of employment (Figure 12), while 51 per cent would accept whatever the job and working conditions were if the wage was sufficient enough (Figure 13). The obtained results correspond with the findings of the Youth Study from 2014, which indicated that for almost half of respondents the income level would be a crucial factor for accepting a particular job, whereas the job stability position would be crucial in 30 per cent of cases (Žiga et al., 2015).

Figure 12 Stability of employment vs income level

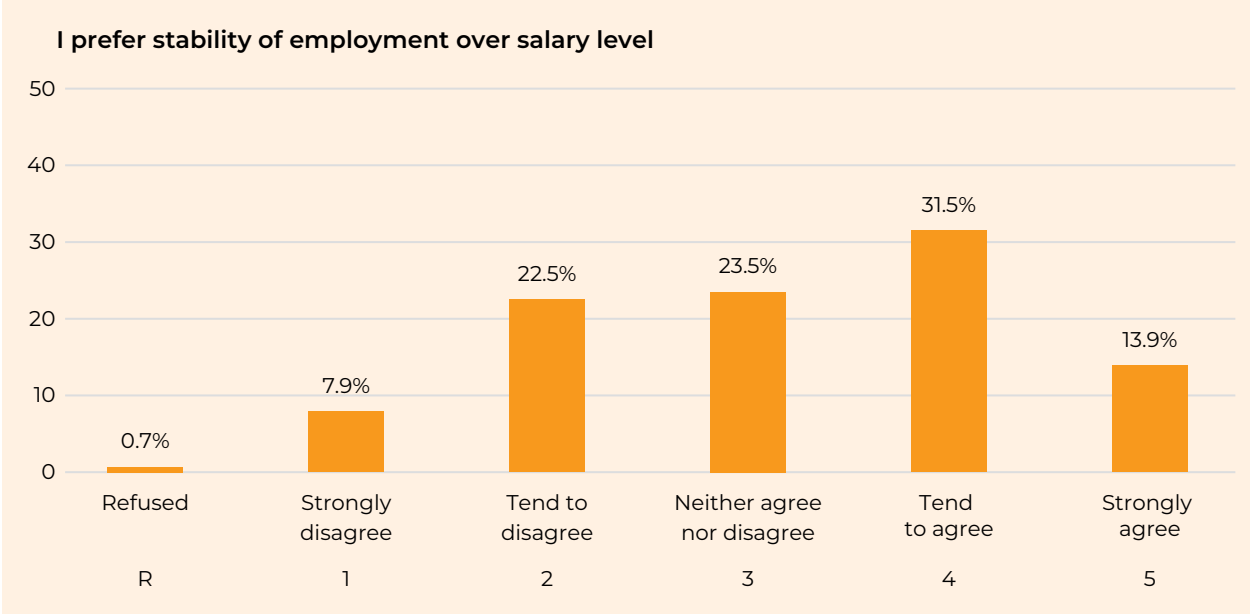
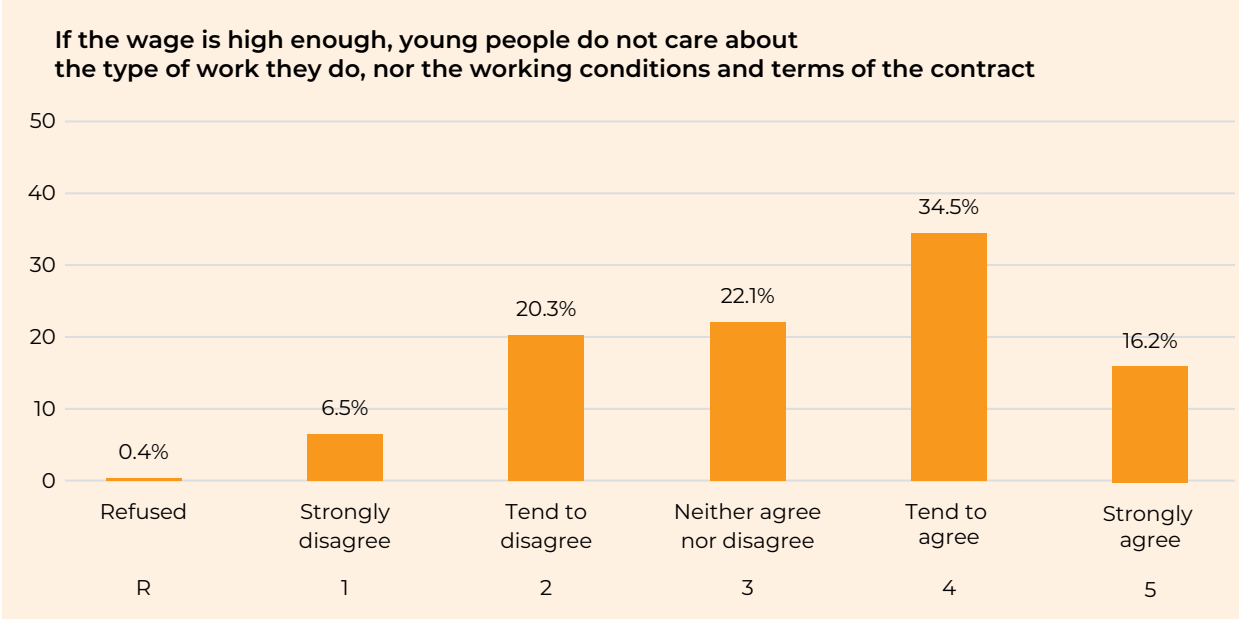
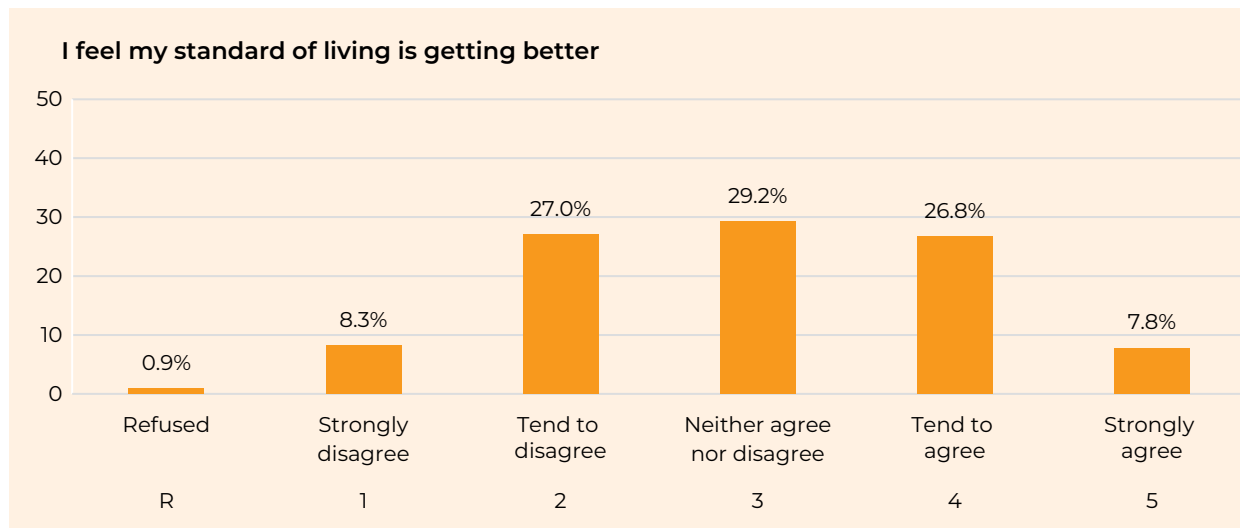


Figure 13 Importance of income level



When asked about their feelings regarding their household income, more than half of the respondents (i.e. 54 per cent) reported that they are “getting by”, other 30 per cent reported they are ‘living comfortably’ with their present income, while almost 11 per cent reported that they are finding it (very) difficult to live with the income they generate (Table 5). Most respondents are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their standards of living (40 per cent), 37 per cent of them are satisfied, whilst 20 per cent are generally dissatisfied (Table 5). Some believe that their standard of living is getting better (35 per cent), whereas for the rest it is staying the same or getting worse (Figure 14).

Figure 14 Living standard



When it comes to marital status, 77 per cent of respondents have declared to be single and only 20 per cent are married. A small percentage state that they live in a consensual union (0.6 per cent), 0.9 per cent are divorced and 0.1 per cent are a widow/widower.¹⁰

Table 5 Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample - continued

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE		n	%
Marital status	Prefer not to answer	38	0.8%
	Single	3,878	77.5%
	Married	1,004	20.1%
	Live in a consensual union	29	0.6%
	Divorced	45	0.9%
	Widowed	7	0.1%
	Total	5,001	100%

¹⁰ Almost 12 per cent have dependents, which includes child/children, spouse/partner and/or parent(s)/other family member(s) (Table 5).

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE		n	%
Current living conditions	Prefer not to answer	33	0.7%
	My own house/apartment	1,327	26.5%
	Rented house/apartment	285	5.7%
	My parents, family house/ apartment	3,314	66.3%
	Other	42	0.8%
	Total	5,001	100%
Dependents	Yes	598	12.0%
	Child/children	372	
	Spouse/partner	157	
	Parent(s) or other family member(s)	172	
	Other	22	
	No	4,403	88.0%
	Total	5,001	100%
Means for living	Prefer not to answer	133	2.7%
	My regular job	1,831	36.6%
	Unemployment or social security benefits	13	0.3%
	Stipend	53	1.1%
	My parents and/or family	2,293	45.9%
	My family or friends living abroad (remittances)	125	2.5%
	My partner	375	7.5%
	Work in the informal, "grey" economy	109	2.2%
	Other	69	1.4%
	Total	5,001	100%
	Household income	Prefer not to answer	242
Finding it very difficult on present income		116	2.3%
Finding it difficult on present income		427	8.5%
Getting by on present income		2,697	53.9%
Living comfortably on present income		1,519	30.4%
Total		5,001	100%

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE		n	%
Standards of living	Prefer not to answer	110	2.2%
	Dissatisfied	1,028	20.6%
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	2,021	40.4%
	Satisfied	1,842	36.8%
	Total	5,001	100%

Current residency of the surveyed respondents is as follows: 66.4 per cent live in the Federation of BiH, 31.4 per cent in the Republika Srpska and 2.2 per cent in the Brčko District (Table 6). When it comes to ethnicity, 56 per cent of respondents have identified themselves as Bosniaks, 28 per cent as Serbs, 12 per cent as Croats, 1.7 per cent as Bosnians and Herzegovinians, 0.6 percent as Others, 0.2 per cent as Roma, while 1.2 per cent did not declare their ethnicity (Table 7).

Only 3.5 per cent of respondents hold dual citizenship, out of which 125 respondents hold Croatian and 42 respondents have Serbian citizenship (Table 7). When observing individual ethnic groups, the majority of respondents with dual citizenship identify themselves as Croats and Others (Table 8).

Table 6 Residence - Canton/Region/BD

Entity/District	Canton/Region	n	%
FBiH	Una-Sana Canton	429	8.6%
	Tuzla Canton	689	13.8%
	Zenica-Doboj Canton	551	11.0%
	Central Bosnia Canton	371	7.4%
	Herzegovina-Neretva Canton	317	6.3%
	West Herzegovina Canton	138	2.8%
	Sarajevo Canton	582	11.6%
	Canton 10	120	2.4%
	Posavina Canton	70	1.4%
	Bosnian-Podrinje Canton	54	1.1%
	Total FBiH	3,321	66.4%
BD	Brčko District	112	2.2%
RS	Banja Luka Region	757	15.1%
	Doboj Region	250	5.0%
	Bijeljina Region	317	6.3%
	East Sarajevo Region	150	3.0%
	Trebinje Region	94	1.9%
	Total RS	1,568	31.4%
	Total BiH	5,001	100%

Table 7 Ethnicity and Citizenship

Ethnicity and citizenship		n	%
Ethnicity	Bosniak	2,789	55.8%
	Croat	603	12.1%
	Serb	1,422	28.4%
	Roma	12	0.2%
	Bosnian and Herzegovinian	87	1.7%
	Jew	0	0.0%
	Other	30	0.6%
	Did not declare	58	1.2%
	Total	5,001	100%
Citizenship	BiH	4,824	96.5%
	BiH and other country	177	3.5%
	Total	5,001	100%
Dual citizenship	Croatia	125	70.6%
	Serbia	42	23.7%
	Montenegro	2	1.1%
	Slovenia	1	0.6%
	Other (Australia, Germany, Slovakia, Switzerland...)	7	4.0%
	Total	177	100%

Table 8 Citizenship in relation to ethnicity

		Citizenship					
		Bosnia and Herzegovina		Bosnia and Herzegovina and other country		Total	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Ethnicity	Bosniak	2,772	99.4%	17	0.6%	2,789	100%
	Croat	494	81.9%	109	18.1%	603	100%
	Serb	1,362	95.8%	60	4.2%	1,422	100%
	Roma	12	100.0%	0	0.0%	12	100%
	Bosnian and Herzegovinian	85	97.7%	2	2.3%	87	100%
	Jew	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	100%
	Other	27	90.0%	3	10.0%	30	100%
	Did not declare	56	96.6%	2	3.4%	58	100%

Key Findings & Research Implications - Socio-Demographic Characteristics

- The majority of respondents have completed the **secondary level of education** i.e. high school (70 per cent) while almost 20 per cent have a university degree (either bachelor's or master's). There are more young men than women with secondary education and more young women than men who hold a university degree.
- The quarter of the total sample is **unemployed** (25 per cent), which is below the average reported in the official statistical data available. The majority of the unemployed respondents are with secondary education and there are more young unemployed women.
 - o 24 per cent have been unemployed for more than two years implying a long-term unemployment that can further discourage and push many young people to abandon the labour market and education altogether. The majority of unemployed youth (23 per cent) is not actively looking for a job, which puts them in the "at risk" category of young people who are jobless, inactive and not actively engaged in further education or training.
 - o More than 60 per cent state that it is very hard to gain any kind of work experience (including student jobs or internships).
 - o Around 30 per cent of respondents believe **formal education** and training in BiH might **not be useful** in getting a job.
- The majority of respondents is still dependent on their parents and family.
 - o 66 per cent of respondents **live at their parent's/family house/apartment** and 46 per cent **get financial support from their parents** and/or family.
 - o 77 per cent of respondents are **single**, while 20 per cent of them are married.

Most respondents are **neither satisfied nor dissatisfied** with their **standard of living** (40 per cent). Almost 11 per cent reported that they are finding it (very) difficult to live on present income.

The findings imply that youth unemployment remains one of the key difficulties of young people in BiH and it significantly correlates with the quality of their lives, making the unemployed youth more vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion.

Besides young people, the youth unemployment directly contributes to the living conditions in their households, as average disposable income per person becomes lower for all members of the household. The youth unemployment, consequently, considerably lowers the quality of life not only for them but also for those in their immediate surrounding. The fact that 23% of young people are inactive in the labour market, the ratio, which is almost equal to the number of young people in formal education, shows how big resources remain untapped that could be utilised for country's development.

Additionally, the fact that almost 25% young people holding bachelor's degree and 24% of those holding a master's degree are still unemployed shows a significant mismatch between the labour market needs and educational programmes. Higher unemployment in rural areas is also a strong push factor for in-country and outward migration. However, if the capacities of those young people migrating to urban areas are not recognized and utilized, this increases either the risk of long-term unemployment or their migration abroad and consecutively long-term loss of human capital. Socio-demographic data can also be linked to their childbearing capacities, pushing it toward the post-youth age, as only 7.44% of the surveyed young people reported having children. This consequently furthers shrinking of the pool of new generations and a decrease in country's human capital.

2 Young People in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Their Quality of Life

Migration research studies indicate that dissatisfaction with the current place of living has a tendency to increase the potential for one's decision to migrate abroad; as emigration rates increase, the migrants' overall quality of life, reflected in financial status and job satisfaction, access to quality medical and education services and multiple leisure opportunities, can potentially elevate (Krieger, 2004; Mocanu 2020).

The following section discusses three important factors which are relevant in explaining what might indicate migration aspirations and migration behaviour: quality of living environment, trust in public institutions, and political and civic engagement.

2.1 Quality of Living Environment

In addition to striving for integration within a social community or a certain geographical area, people also strive for security that can be manifested through the realization of existential needs and better and safer living conditions (Haldvadžija & Rešidagić, 2019). The quality of living conditions is seen as one of the important factors when making a decision to migrate and it is assumed that unstable living conditions encourage people to leave their place of origin (Lapshyna & Düvell, 2015; Mallick, Sultana & Bennett, 2020). This study observed the quality of life through the prism of the living environment satisfaction and opportunities for growth and self-expression.

The level of satisfaction with different aspects of living environment was assessed through a scale, constructed with the aim of evaluating everyday life in a community, including environment, housing and infrastructure. Respondents were asked to rate, on a five-point Likert-type scale (from 1 – very dissatisfied to 5 – very satisfied), to which extent they are satisfied with different aspects of their immediate living environment. Additional analysis confirmed that the scale has satisfactory metric characteristics (please, see Annex 2).

The obtained results indicate that young people in BiH are neither dissatisfied nor satisfied with their current living environment ($M=3.04$). The figure below shows the average values of responses for each item. As outlined, young people are not satisfied with the availability of (public) services in their immediate living environment, especially not with the availability of housing programmes for young people, public transportation, welfare benefits, quality healthcare, informal education programmes and opportunity to volunteer in the city/area where they live. They express a slightly higher level of satisfaction with the opportunities to meet people and make friends. However, that level of satisfaction is still low (Figure 15).

When asked *How do you feel about your life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general?*, 33 per cent of the respondents noted dissatisfaction, 24 per cent indicated they are neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, 32 per cent are somewhat satisfied, while only 10 per cent are very satisfied with their life in BiH (Figure 16).

Figure 15 Living environment scale (average values on a scale from 1- very dissatisfied to 5- very satisfied)

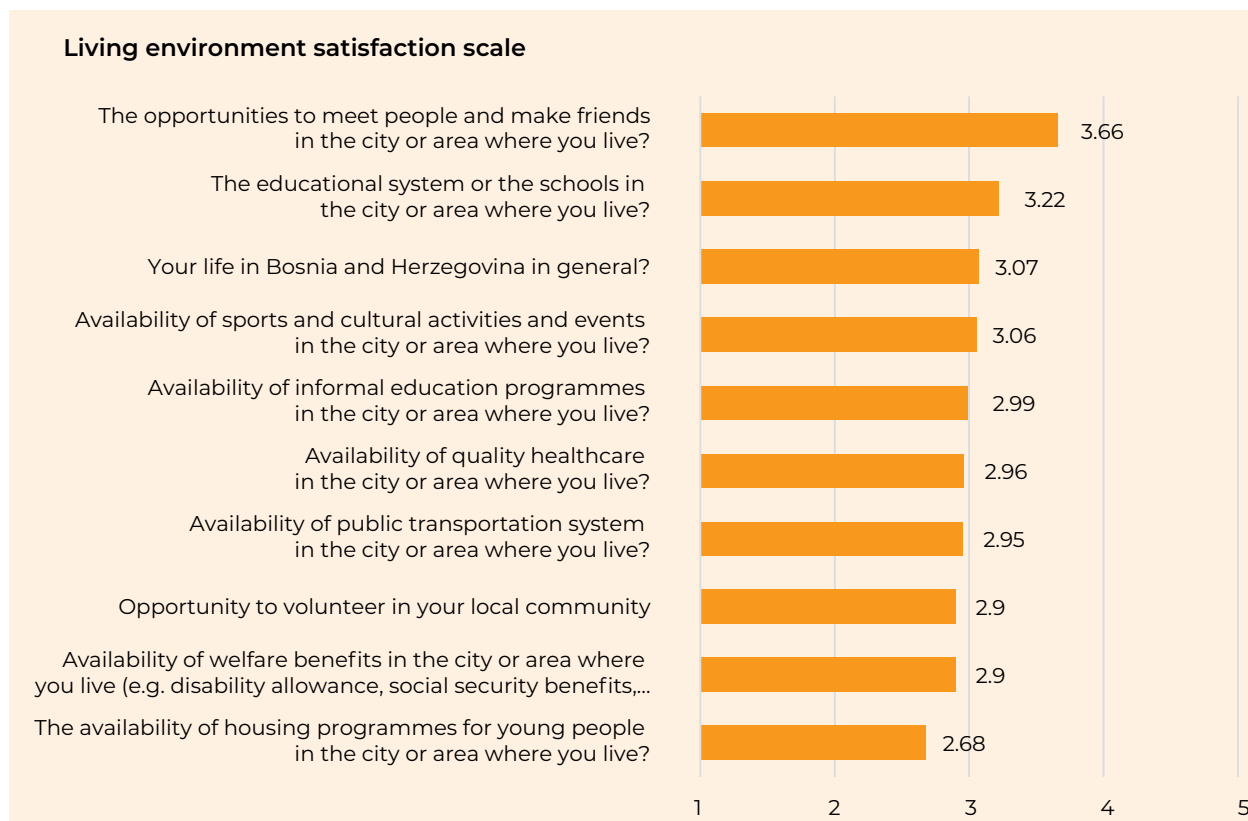
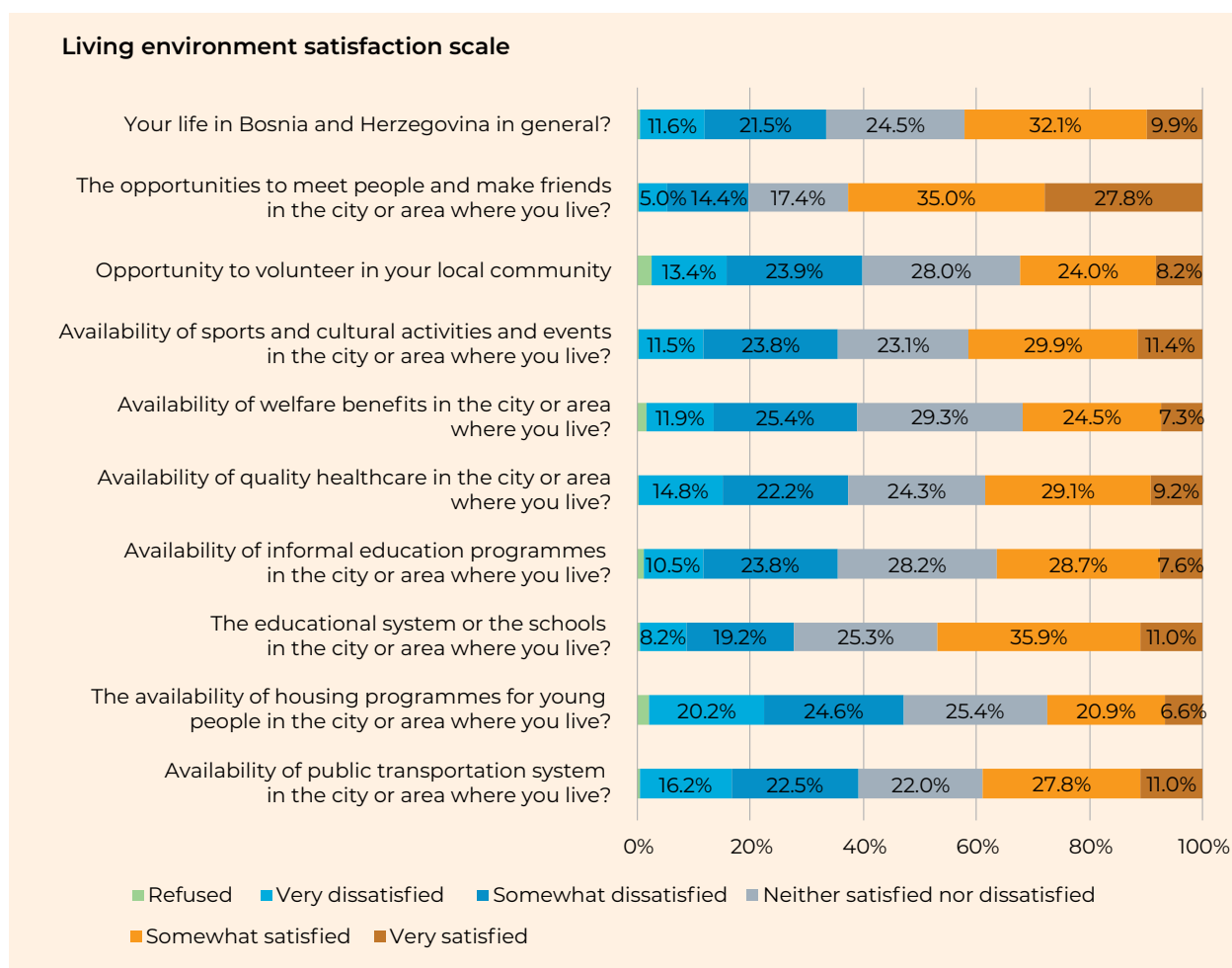
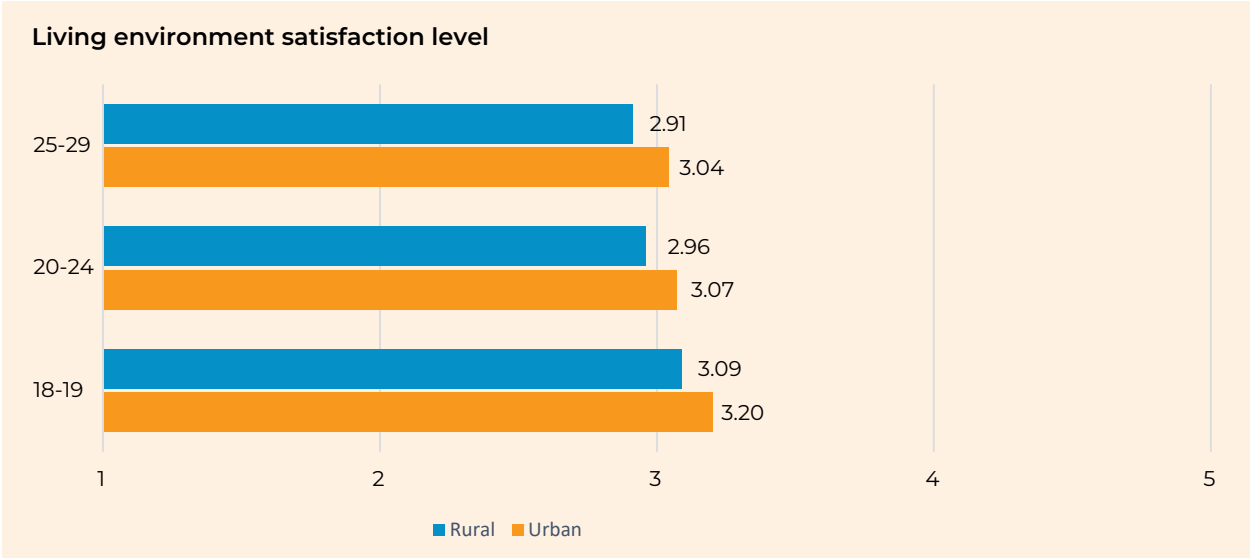


Figure 16 Living environment scale – response distribution



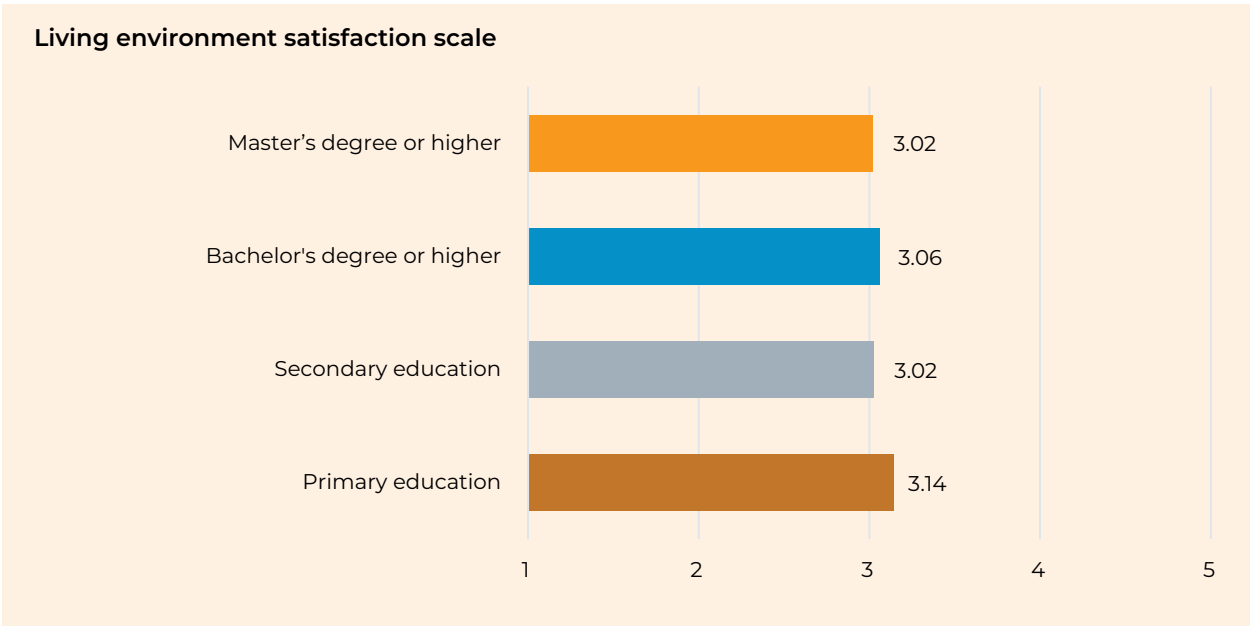
Additional analyses showed that there are no statistically significant differences in responses between respondents of different age, sex and the place of residence. Slightly higher results on the scale of satisfaction with the living environment were achieved by respondents aged 18-19 ($p=0.004$; $p<0.01$), respondents aged 20-24 ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$) and respondents aged 25-29 years ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$) living in urban areas compared to their peers in rural areas (Figure 17).

Figure 17 Living environment scale - average values in relation to age and area of living



Surveyed respondents, regardless of their education background, expressed a neutral attitude when it comes to their satisfaction with the living environment (*neither satisfied nor dissatisfied*). However, a slightly higher response rate on this scale was achieved by respondents who have primary education, as the highest level of education attained compared to respondents who have completed secondary education ($p=0.001$; $p<0.01$) and the second cycle of studies ($p=0.049$; $p<0.05$), as indicated in Figure 18.

Figure 18 Living environment scale - average values in relation to the education level



Regarding the issue of safety and stability, only 27 per cent of young people agree that the standard of living in the area where they live is getting better, while the rest experience either stagnation or deterioration in the standard of living in their immediate environment (Figure 19). Additionally, more than 40 per cent of young people, aged 18 to 29, think that interethnic tensions in BiH are possible and that they make young people feel insecure, i.e. their sense of safety, security and stability is shaken (Figure 20).

Figure 19 Perception of the socio-economic conditions in the city/area of living

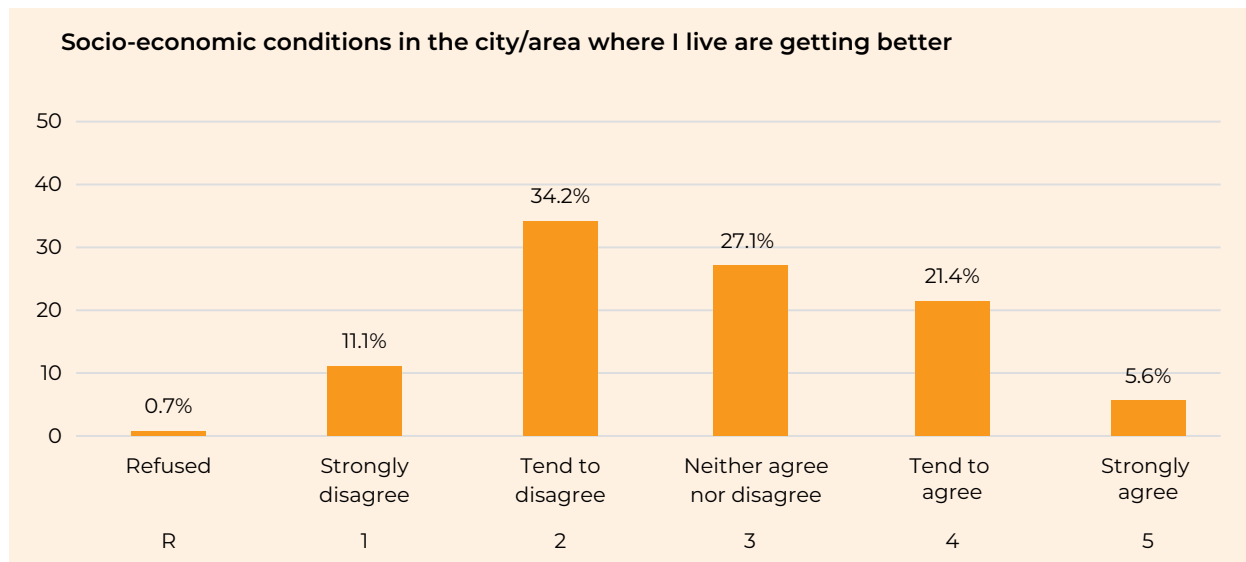
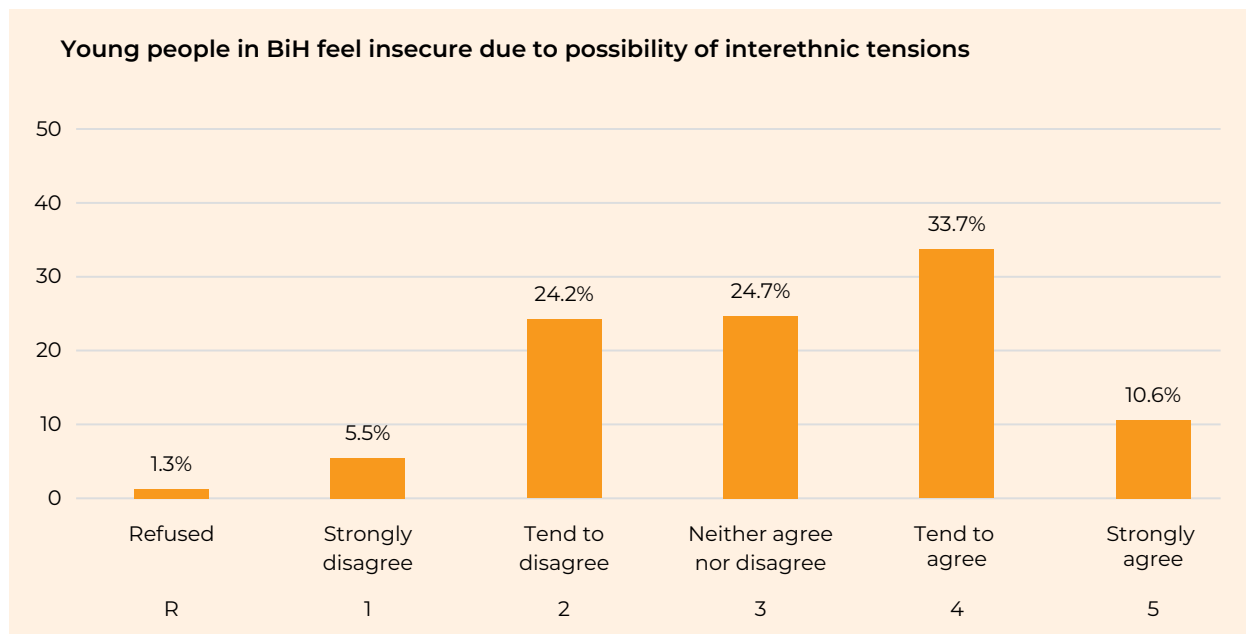


Figure 20 Perceptions of overall security and the possibility of interethnic tensions



Respondents were also asked a set of questions about how supportive their environment is for their personal growth and development (Figure 21).

Half of the respondents stated that they have opportunities to learn something on a daily basis; for 23 per cent those opportunities are rarer, while for the rest, 26 per cent of them, those opportunities are quite rare or non-existent (Figure 23).

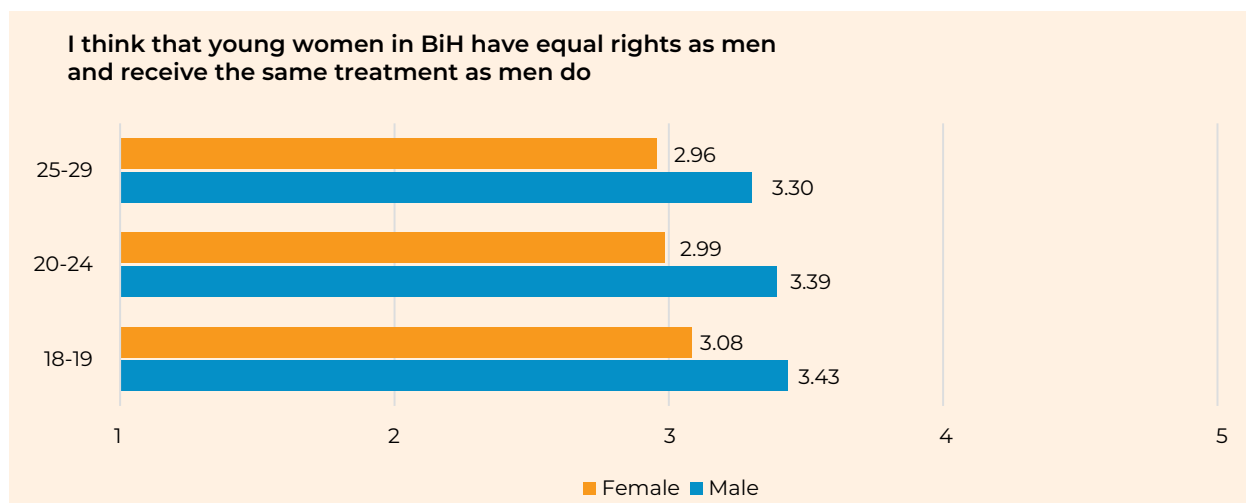
The results also indicate that around 66 per cent of young people feel that they can freely express themselves, that they do not feel discriminated on any basis (e.g. due to sex, ethnic origin, age, disabilities, sexual orientation), and that people treat them with respect and dignity. At the same time, more than 15 per cent feel just the opposite (Figure 23).

When it comes to the perception of the gender equality in BiH, opinions and attitudes are not unanimous; around 47 per cent agree (*tend to agree* and *strongly agree*), 20 per cent are undecided, while 33 per cent disagree (*tend to disagree* and *strongly disagree*) that young women in BiH have equal rights as men and receive the same treatment as men do (Figure 23). Additional analysis showed that slightly higher results are noted for men compared to women ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), i.e. men, regardless of the age group they belong to, are more convinced that woman in BiH have equal rights and receive the same treatment as men do (Figure 22).

Figure 21 Opportunities to grow and express oneself (average values on a scale from 1- strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree)



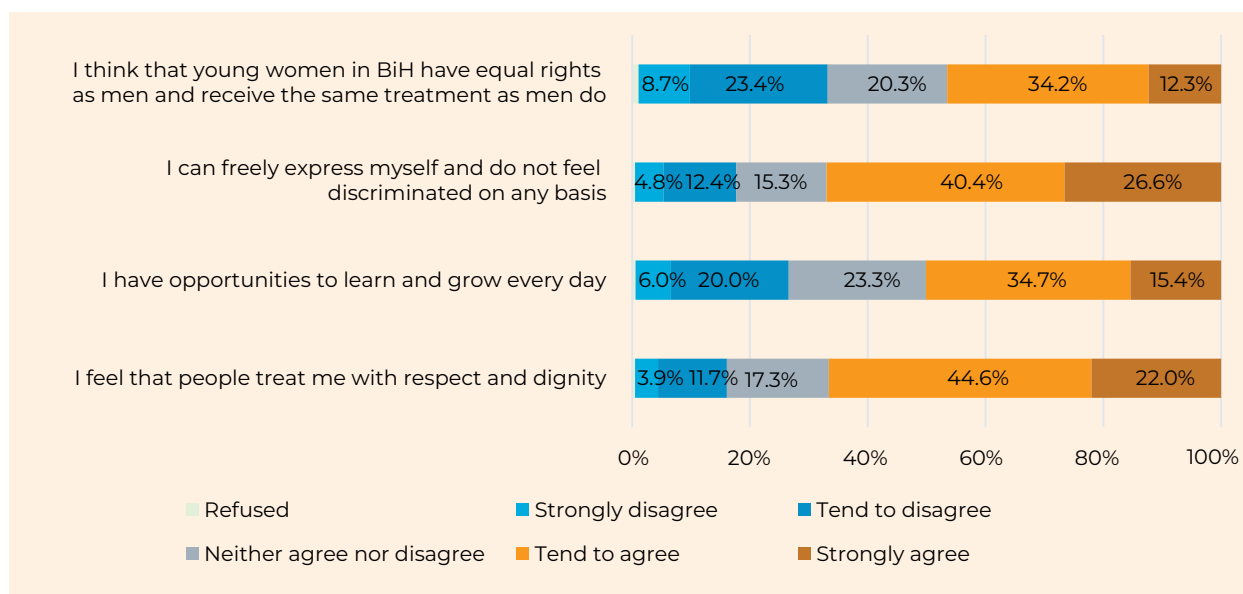
Figure 22 Perception of gender equality in BiH in relation to sex



All these findings are important, not just for gaining an insight into how the young people in BiH perceive the quality of their current living environment but also for better understanding of the factors, which might affect and inform their decisions on leaving the said environment.

Previous research findings signpost that people are more satisfied with their lives if they live in a society where equality is respected (cf. Bjørnskov, Dreher, & Fischer, 2007). This also affects gendered migration pathways, which have disproportionately deleterious outcomes for women and girls in migration (Hennebry, 2018). Consequently, feelings of belonging are viewed as an important component of identity and unfulfilled need for belongingness can lead to feelings of social exclusion (Mellor et al., 2008), which can strengthen the interest in migration.

Figure 23 Opportunities to grow and express oneself



Key Findings & Research Implications – Quality of Living Environment

- Young people in BiH are **neither dissatisfied nor fully satisfied** with their current living environment, especially not with the availability of **housing programmes** for young people, public **transportation**, welfare **benefits**, quality healthcare, informal **education programmes** and **opportunity to volunteer** in the city/area where they live.
 - o Only 10 per cent is very satisfied with their life in BiH.
 - o Only 27 per cent of young people agree that the standard of living in the city/area where they live is getting better.
- More than 40 per cent of young people, aged 18 to 29, think that **interethnic tensions in BiH are possible**, which makes young people feel insecure.
- Half of the respondents stated that they have opportunities to learn something on a daily basis, while for the 26 per cent those opportunities are quite rare or non-existent.
- Around 66 per cent of young people feel they can freely express themselves, that they **do not feel discriminated against** on any basis and that people treat them with respect and dignity; at the same time, more than 15 per cent feel just the opposite.

The findings imply that young people in BiH, on average, will consider migrating because they find their quality of life to be somewhat unstable and unpredictable. The unstable living conditions they most often list as descriptors of their dissatisfaction (i.e. poor public services, sense of insecurity and risk of social exclusion) play an important role in their decision-making process and drive their motivation toward considering migrations abroad as one of the viable options. Being socially disenfranchised leads them to isolation, which curbs full-scale collaboration among youth belonging to various ethnic groups.

Gendered perspectives on employment and security issues also contribute to decreasing perceptions of quality of life. There is also a connection between youth's perceptions on quality of life and propensity to consider migration abroad. The current migration patterns vary by youth's education levels, their social capital and the level of economic development in their local surrounding. The increasing rates of opportunity-induced migration abroad crowds out the most qualified labour and leads to depletion of high-qualified workers in BiH, which consequently erodes the countries' economy and its international competitiveness position.

2.2 Trust in Public Institutions

Although there are different approaches in defining trust, the one that was contextually most relevant for the purpose of this study describes it as '*holding a positive perception about the actions of an individual or an organization*', i.e. something that gives us confidence that others will act according to our expectations either in a particular action or in a set of actions (OECD, 2017, p.16).

The issue of systemic or institutional trust is of particular importance to the study of youth and their migration propensities because it represents a foundation upon which the legitimacy of public institutions is built. Furthermore, trust has a substantial role in the effectiveness of government and implementation of public policies and reform agendas as well as in maintaining social cohesion.

Evidence indicates that values, such as integrity, fairness, transparency and inclusiveness and competence in creating and delivering public services (e.g. responsiveness, efficiency, reliability and predictability) are strong predictors of public trust (OECD, 2017). This means that institutional trust is created and boosted when citizens perceive and evaluate public institutions as efficient, fair, honest and as the ones that keep their promises, protect public interest and mitigate corruption, which is then positively reflected in the citizens' willingness to be cooperative, to respond to public policies and to contribute to socio-economic development. The lack of trust, on the other hand, is associated with indifference and resistance, even to things that seem to be in the person's overall best interest.

Even though trust might be based on one's actual experience, it is often based on interpretation or perception as much as on facts. The level of trust in public institutions, in this survey, was assessed on a five-point Likert-type scale (from 1 – strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree) that was constructed to reflect citizens' institutional confidence. Respondents were asked directly about their level of trust in the following institutions and processes – political parties, government, elections, judiciary, police, financial institutions, CSOs/NGOs (including community-based and humanitarian organizations as well as local and international non-governmental organizations) and media. This type of measure is frequently used in research on institutional and public trust and additional analysis confirmed that the scale has satisfactory metric characteristics (please see Annex 2).

The survey results show that the level of trust of young people in public institutions in BiH is quite low (M=2.44).

Average values for each item indicate that the level of trust is particularly low toward political parties, government, fairness of elections and judiciary (Figure 24). Somewhat higher level of trust is expressed toward CSOs/NGOs and police, however, that does not affect the generally low assessment of young people's confidence in public institutions.

Female respondents projected a slightly higher score on this scale compared to men ($p=0.027$; $p<0.05$), as did younger respondents (18 to 19 years old) compared to the older ones – 20 to 29 years old ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 26, Figure 27. No significant difference in the assessment of trust in public institutions was found between the respondents living in the FBiH, RS and Brčko District ($p=0.05$), neither between respondents who live in urban areas and those living in rural areas ($p=0.058$; $p>0.05$).

Figure 24 Trust in public institutions - average values on a scale from 1- strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree



Figure 25 Trust in public institutions – response distribution

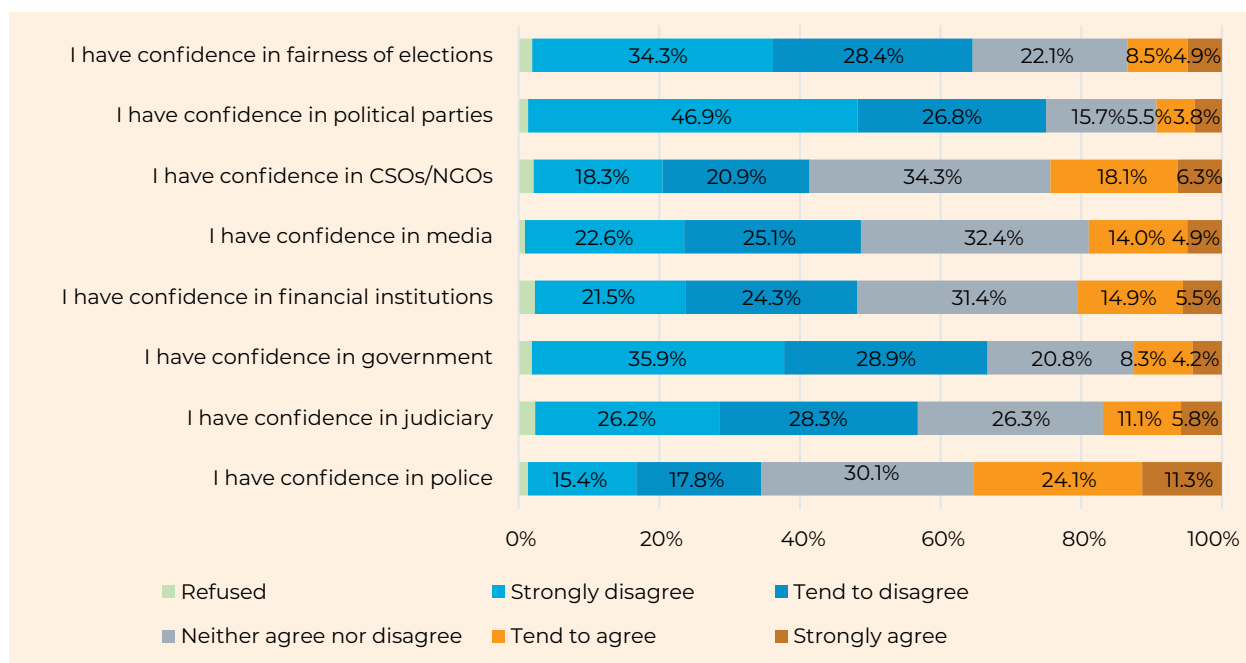


Figure 26 Trust in public institutions in relation to sex - average values on a scale from 1 to 5

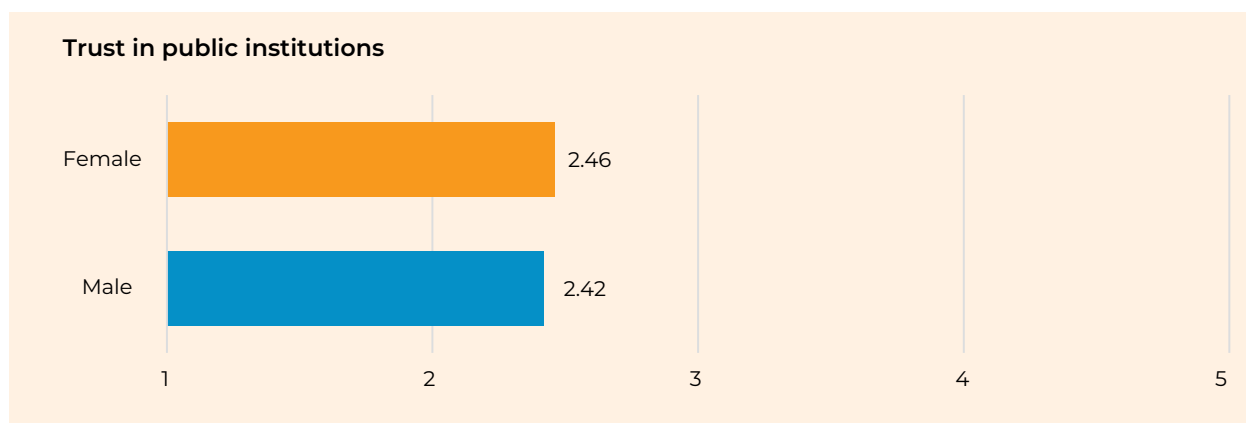
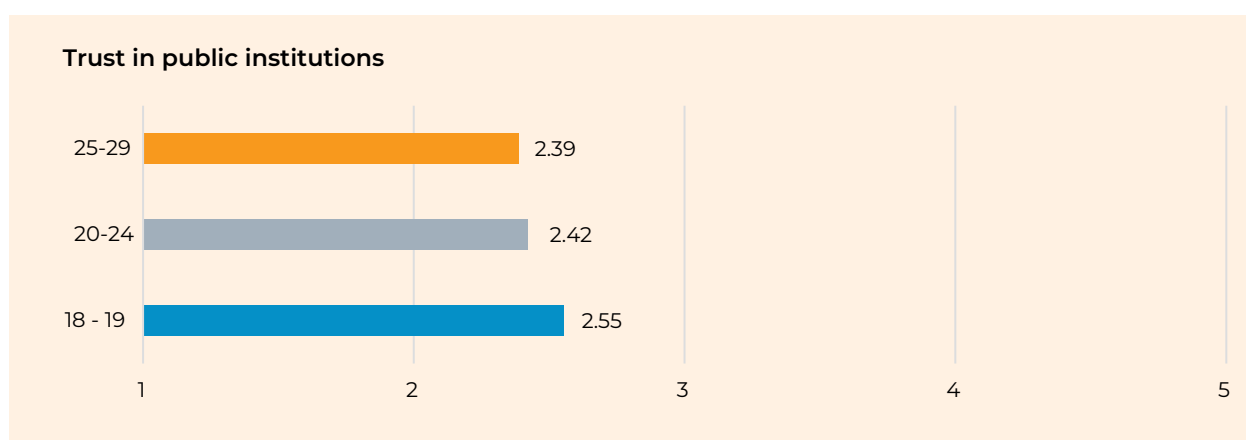


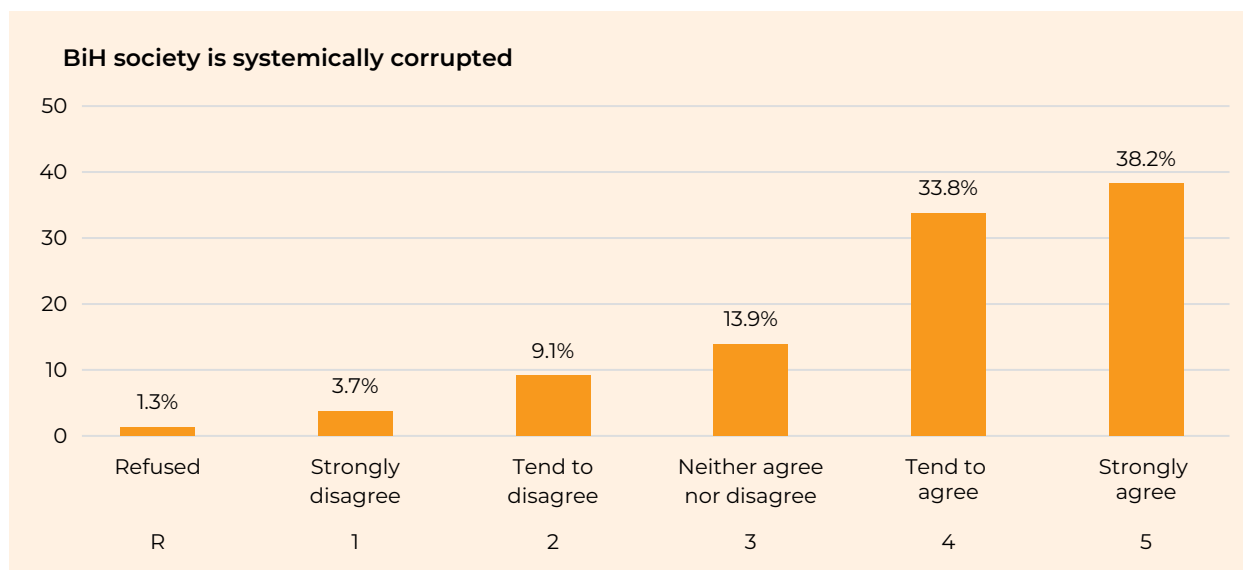
Figure 27 Trust in public institutions in relation to age - average values on a scale from 1 to 5



These results are also in line with the findings of the previous research. The empirical research of SEE youth 2012/2013 (Flere et al., 2015) revealed that young people's trust in institutions is very low, compared to the level of trust in family and close friends. Furthermore, the Youth Study from 2014 (Žiga, et al., 2015) and the one from 2018/2019 (cf. Turčilo et al., 2019) showed generally low level of trust in public institutions in BiH and particular distrust toward political institutions, such as the BiH Parliament and political parties. Religious leaders and police were the only two organizations which generated certain level of trust among youth, probably because they act locally and provide direct and visible services to citizens (Turčilo et al., 2019).

The results also show that more than 70 per cent of young people believe that the BiH society is systemically corrupted (Figure 28). Having in mind that corruption and mismanagement in the public sector are usually cited as among the most important sources of mistrust (OECD, 2017) it becomes clear why young people in BiH express such a low level of trust toward public institutions in BiH.

Figure 28 Perception of corruption incidence in BiH society



Key Findings & Research Implications – Trust in Public Institutions

- The level of **trust** shared among young people toward public institutions in BiH is quite low, and it is **particularly low** toward **political parties, government, fairness of elections** and **judiciary**, which, to a large extent, can be explained by a high level of perceived mismanagement in the public sector, i.e. more than 70 per cent of young people believe that **BiH society is systemically corrupted**.
- There is a below average trust in media recorded among the surveyed youth, mostly due to their largely perceived dependency on not so trusted public authorities.
- On the other hand, young people's trust is tilted more positively toward the work of CSOs, as alternative service providers.
- The results are in line with the findings of previous research on similar topics, meaning that perceptions of youth toward BiH political and public institutions has not changed much during the past seven years and not much was done to inspire public trust among citizens, including youth.

The research findings imply that young people do not believe public institutions designed to address their particular interests. Without confidence in public institutions that should anticipate their needs and plan and deliver adequate and tailored public services, young people are being continuously discouraged from innovating their approaches to their surrounding and adapting their actions to the work of public institutions and are prone to considering alternative arrangements outside of the country. Youth's below average trust in media, which are perceived to be largely under control of not so trusted public authorities, also shows that communication channels between government authorities and young people are fairly underdeveloped and do not work properly to eliminate the root causes of youth's distrust. Relatively higher trust levels toward the work of the police indicates potentially encouraging signals that an increased trust levels in other institutions might occur if other societal factors are properly aligned.

2.3 Political and Civic Engagement

Young people's participation and attitudes toward politics and political and civic engagement is very important when discussing their quality of life, because it provides us with an insight on how and to what extent young people are interested, involved, and enabled to create and shape policies that directly affect their lives. In addition, political and civic engagement represents one of the key drivers and guarantees for development of democracy and democratic future of a country.

Previous research on politics, democracy and youth in BiH indicate that young people are not particularly interested in politics and political engagement (Đipa & Fazlić, 2012; Puhalo & Perišić, 2013; Žiga et al; Turčilo et al., 2019). Apart from voting, young people tend not to get involved in either formal or semi-formal types of engagement, such as work for political parties, or in more informal, subject-oriented actions and activities, such as protests, petitions or online activism. Furthermore, according to the research findings, young people mostly considered themselves uninformed on political issues (Turčilo et al., 2019).

In this survey, both political and civic engagement were assessed by likelihood of voting, level of community engagement and types of political and civic engagement. Respondents were asked a set of questions, from *How likely are you to vote in the elections?* to *During the past 12 months have you been politically or civically active?* Results for each question are presented below.

Likelihood of Voting

The majority of respondents (78 per cent) outlined they would (*probably* or *definitely*) vote if the elections were held next week (Table 9). However, the results indicate that there are significant differences in responses between respondents of different age group, gender, education level, area of living (urban/rural) and place of residence (i.e. FBiH, RS, and BD).

Somewhat older youth respondents (from 20 to 24, and 25 to 29 years old) are more likely to vote than those who had just been granted their voting rights and had no opportunity to vote before (Figure 29). Male respondents (Figure 30), especially those with higher level of education (Figure 31), living in urban areas (Figure 32), located in FBiH (Figure 33), on average, are also more likely to vote.

Table 9 Likelihood of voting

	How likely are you to vote if the elections were held next weekend?	
	n	%
Refused	172	3.4%
Definitely will not vote	474	9.5%
Probably will not	476	9.5%
Probably will vote	2,033	40.7%
Definitely will vote	1,846	36.9%
Total	5,001	100.0%

A statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 20 to 24 (37 per cent), and 25 to 29 (39 per cent) would definitely vote, compared to 33 per cent of 18 and 19 years old respondents ($p=0.024$; $p<0.05$, and $p=0.002$; $p<0.01$).

Also, a statistically significant higher percentage of men (40 per cent) would definitely vote if the elections were held next week, compared to 34 per cent of women ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$).

Figure 29 Likelihood of voting in relation to age

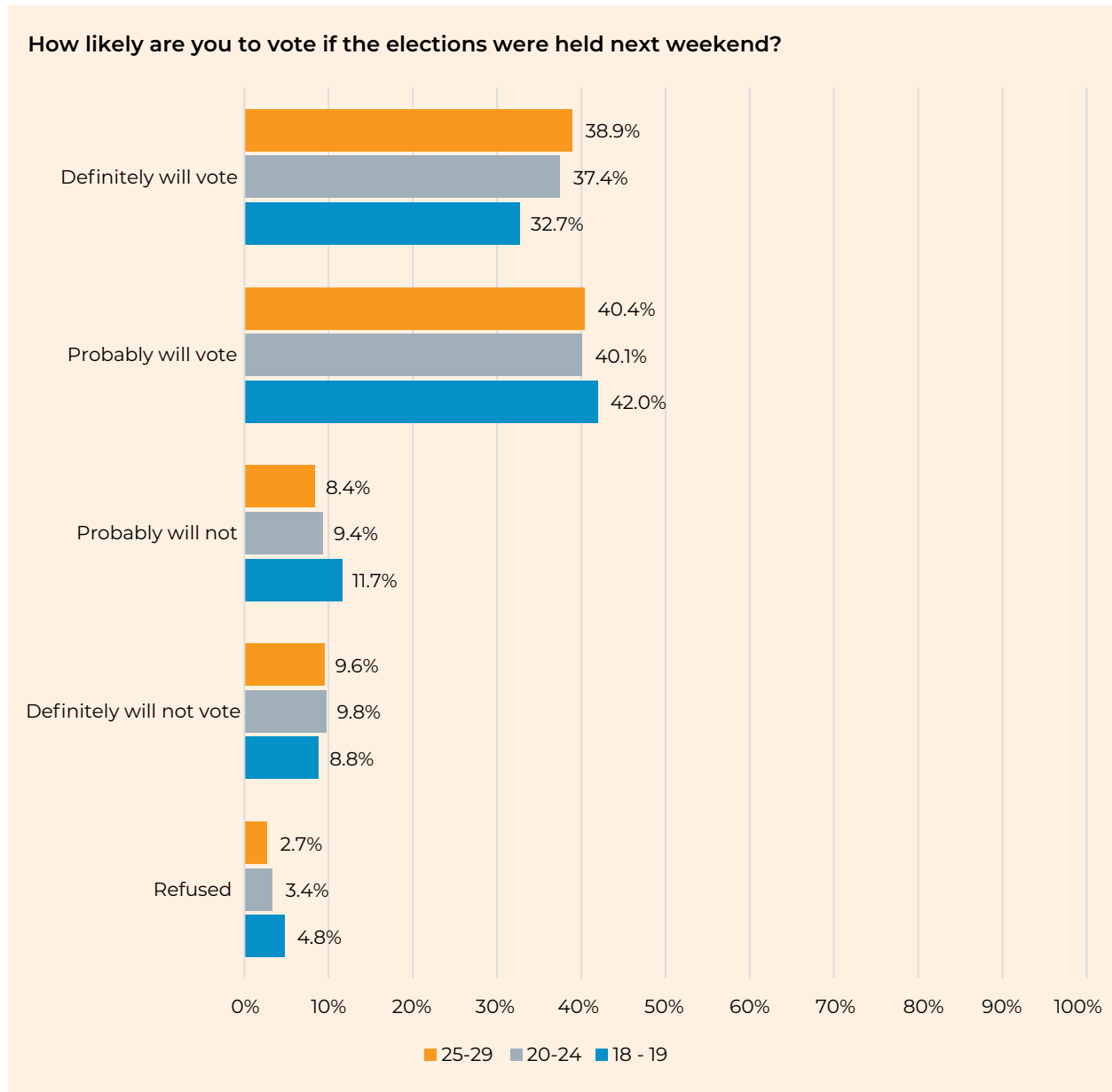
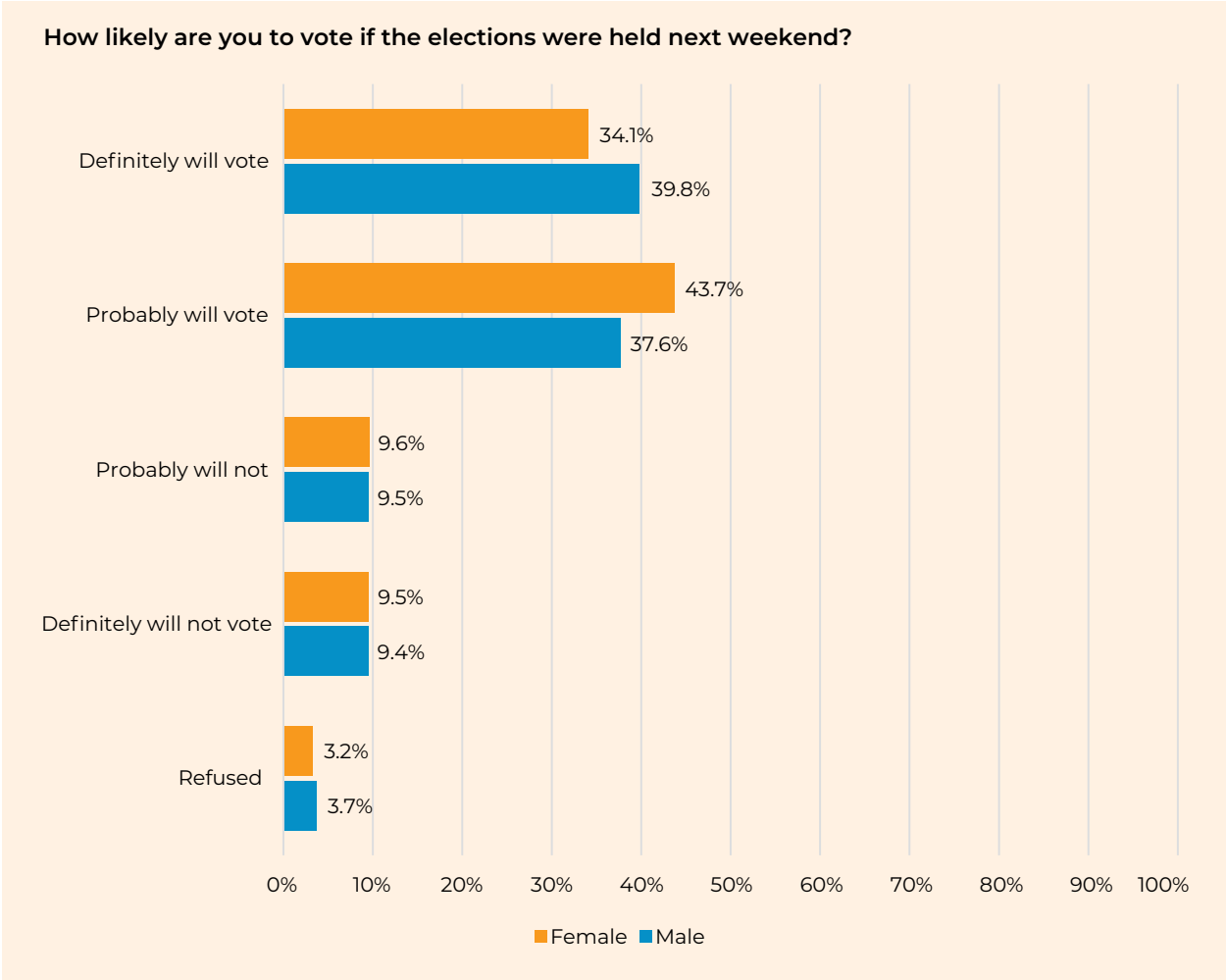
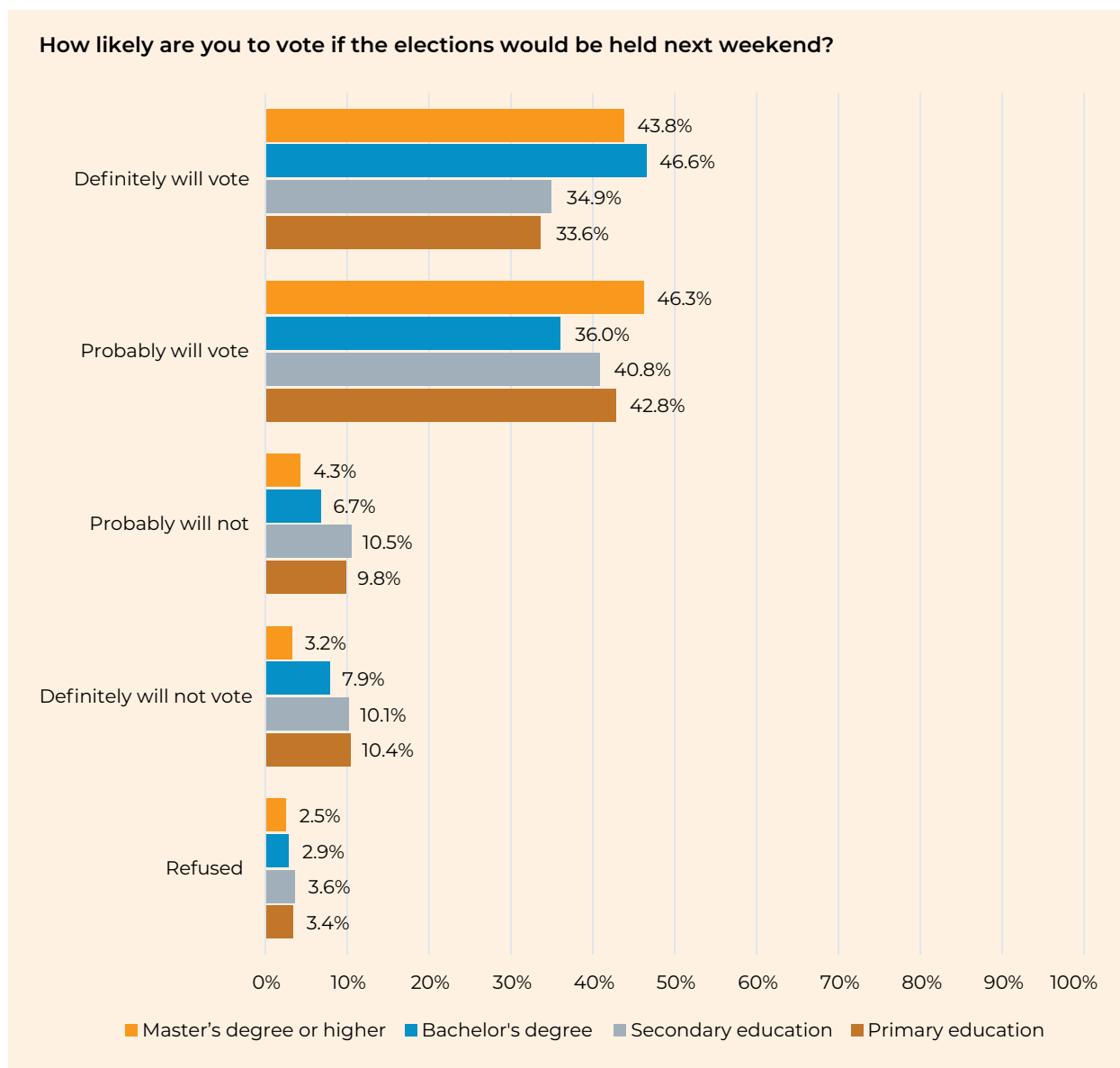


Figure 30 Likelihood of voting in relation to sex



Furthermore, a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents with higher education would definitely vote in elections, compared to respondents with lower levels of education ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$).

Figure 31 Likelihood of voting in relation to the education level



Similar differences are found for the likelihood of voting in relation to the area of living and the place of residence; a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents from urban areas would definitely vote, compared to respondents from rural areas ($p=0.008$; $p<0.01$), as well as respondents from FBiH, compared to respondents from the RS and the Brčko District ($p=0.002$; $p<0.01$).

Figure 32 Likelihood of voting in relation to the area of living

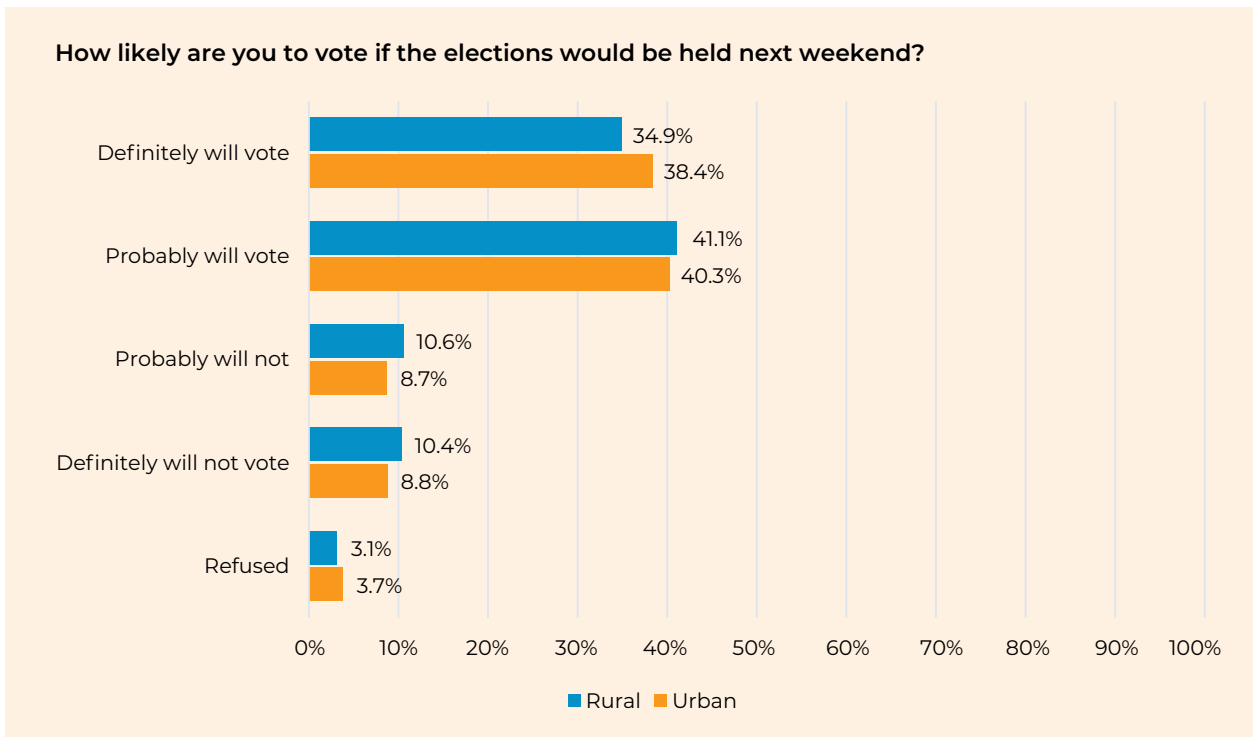
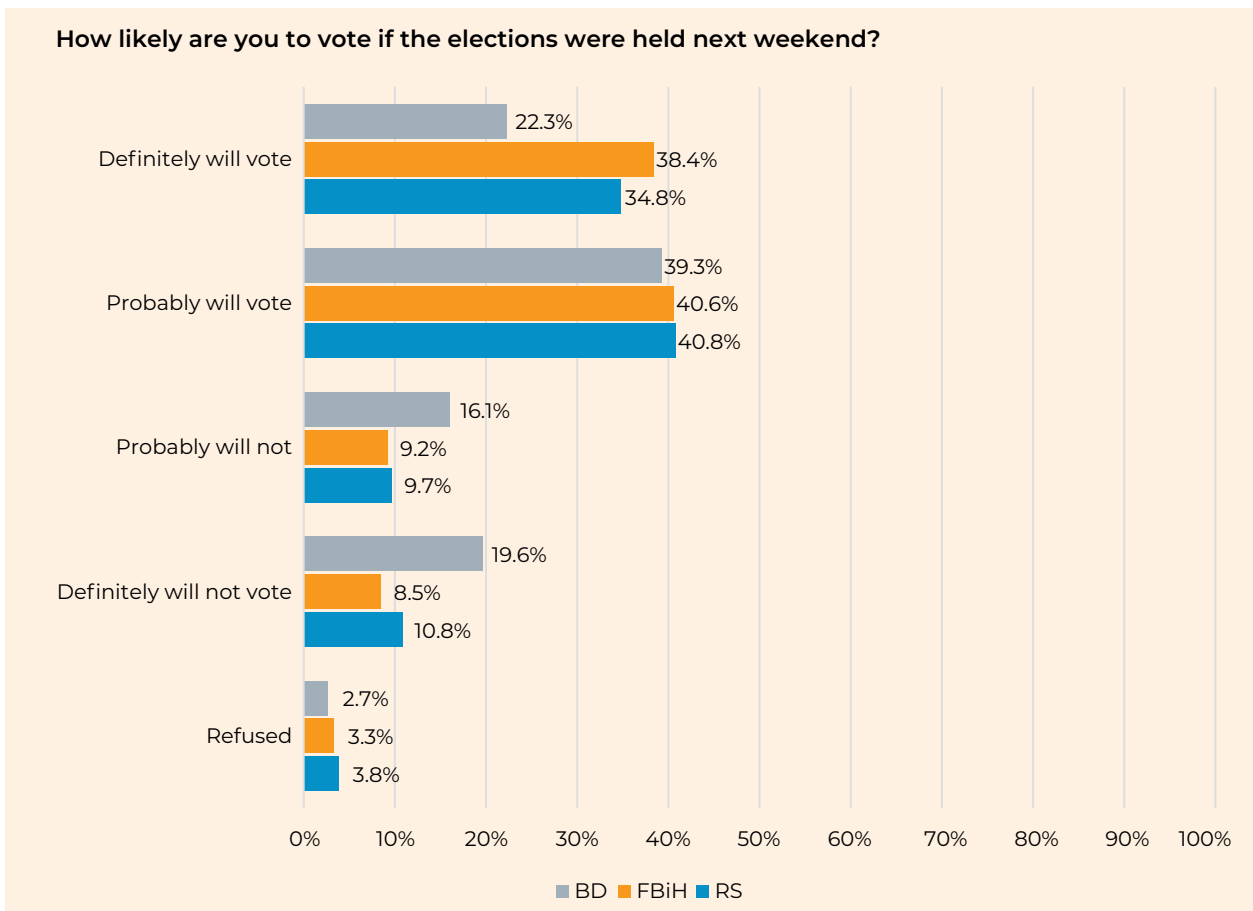


Figure 33 Likelihood of voting in relation to place of residence



Level of Community Engagement

When asked about the extent to which youth can be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in local community and society, 22 per cent of surveyed young people responded that they themselves do not want to be involved, 36 per cent were not sure, while 42 per cent expressed their interest in being involved (Table 10).

In addition, more than 50 per cent of young people think they are giving their contribution to solving community and societal problems and issues, 23 per cent do not contribute as much as they would like to, whereas 11 per cent believe that dealing with community and societal issues is not something they should get involved with (Table 10).

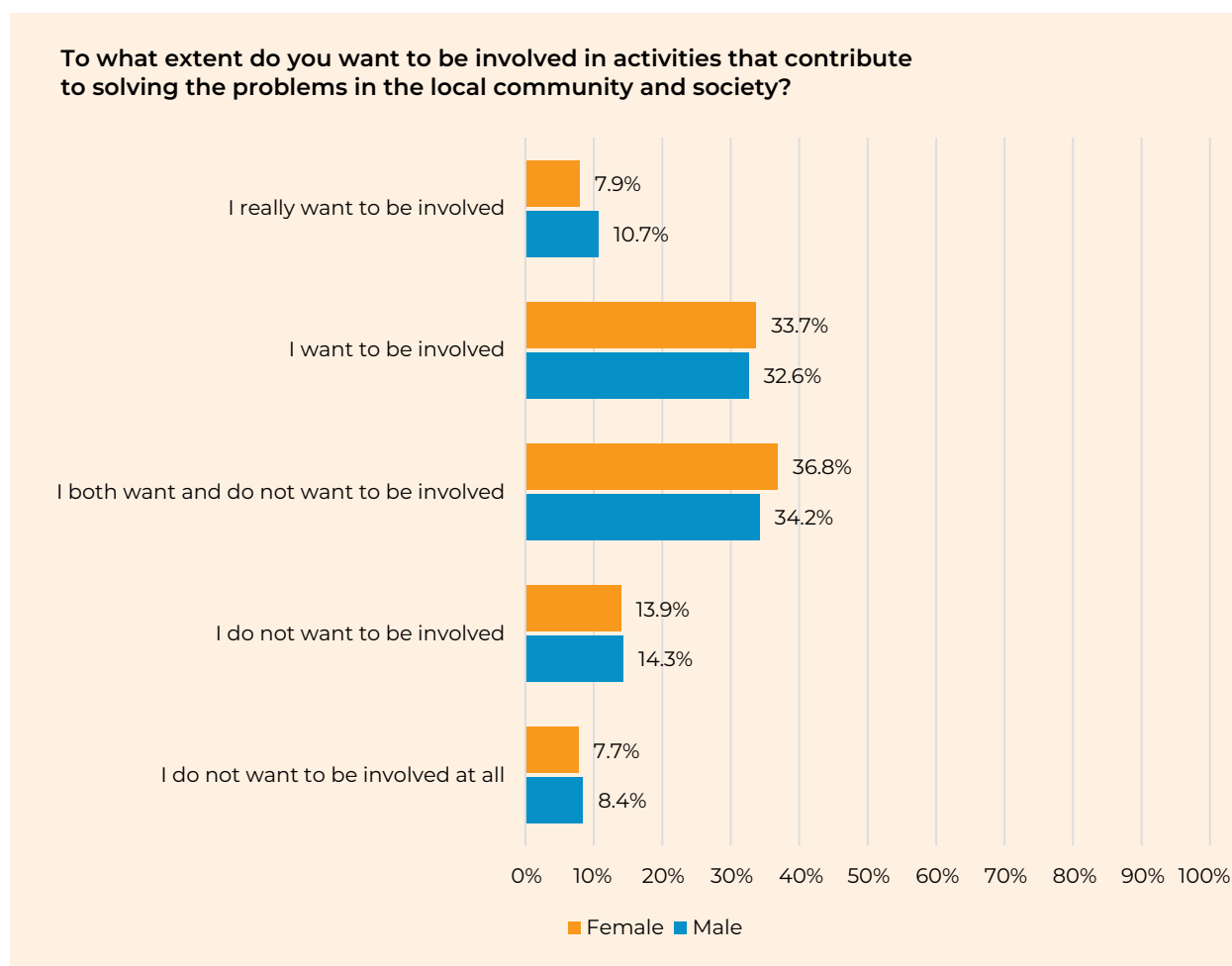
Survey results also indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in responses between young men and young women when it comes to their level of community engagement, as well as between younger and older respondents, between respondents with higher and those with lower level of education and between respondents who live in different parts of BiH (Figure 34, Figure 35, Figure 36, Figure 37).

Young men express stronger desire than young women to be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in local community and society (Figure 34).

Table 10 Community engagement and contributing to problem solving

Community engagement and contributing to problem solving		n	%
To what extent do you want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in local community and society?	I do not want to be involved at all	402	8.0%
	I do not want to be involved	705	14.1%
	Both want and do not want to be involved	1,775	35.5%
	I want to be involved	1,656	33.1%
	I really want to be involved	463	9.3%
	Total	5,001	100.0%
To what extent do you contribute to solving community and societal problems and issues?	I should not get involved in solving societal problems	573	11.5%
	I do not contribute as much as I would like	1,128	22.6%
	I contribute according to my abilities	2,859	57.2%
	I contribute enough	441	8.8%
	Total	5,001	100.0%

Figure 34 Community engagement in relation to sex



A statistically significant higher percentage of men really want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in local community and society (11 per cent), compared to women (8 per cent) ($p=0.001$; $p<0.01$).

On the other hand, the older group of youth respondents, 25 to 29 years old, is less interested in community engagement than the younger ones, i.e. 18 to 19 and 20 to 24 years old (Figure 35). A statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 25-29 do not want to be involved at all in activities that contribute to solving problems in local community and society (10 per cent), compared to respondents aged 20-24 (7 per cent) ($p=0.004$; $p<0.01$).

Analysis also showed that a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents with a university degree want to be included in the aforementioned activities (42 per cent), compared to respondents with secondary education (31 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 36.

A statistically significant higher percentage of respondents from FBiH (35 per cent) and the Brčko District (40 per cent) want to be included in activities oriented toward solving community problems, compared to respondents from the Republika Srpska (28 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 37.

There was no statistically significant difference in the proportion of responses between respondents living in urban and rural areas ($p=0.434$; $p>0.05$).

Figure 35 Community engagement in relation to age

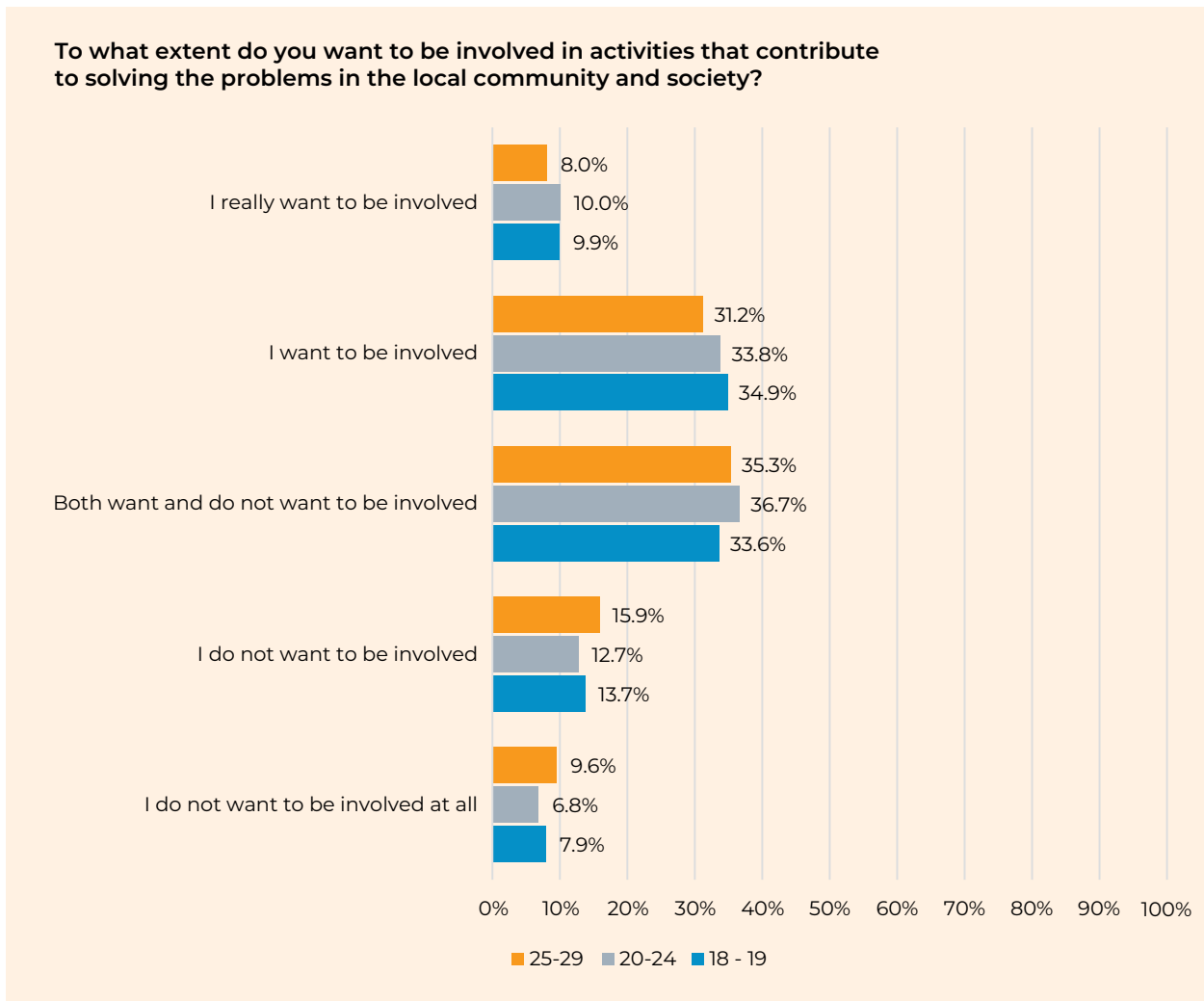


Figure 36 Community engagement in relation to education level

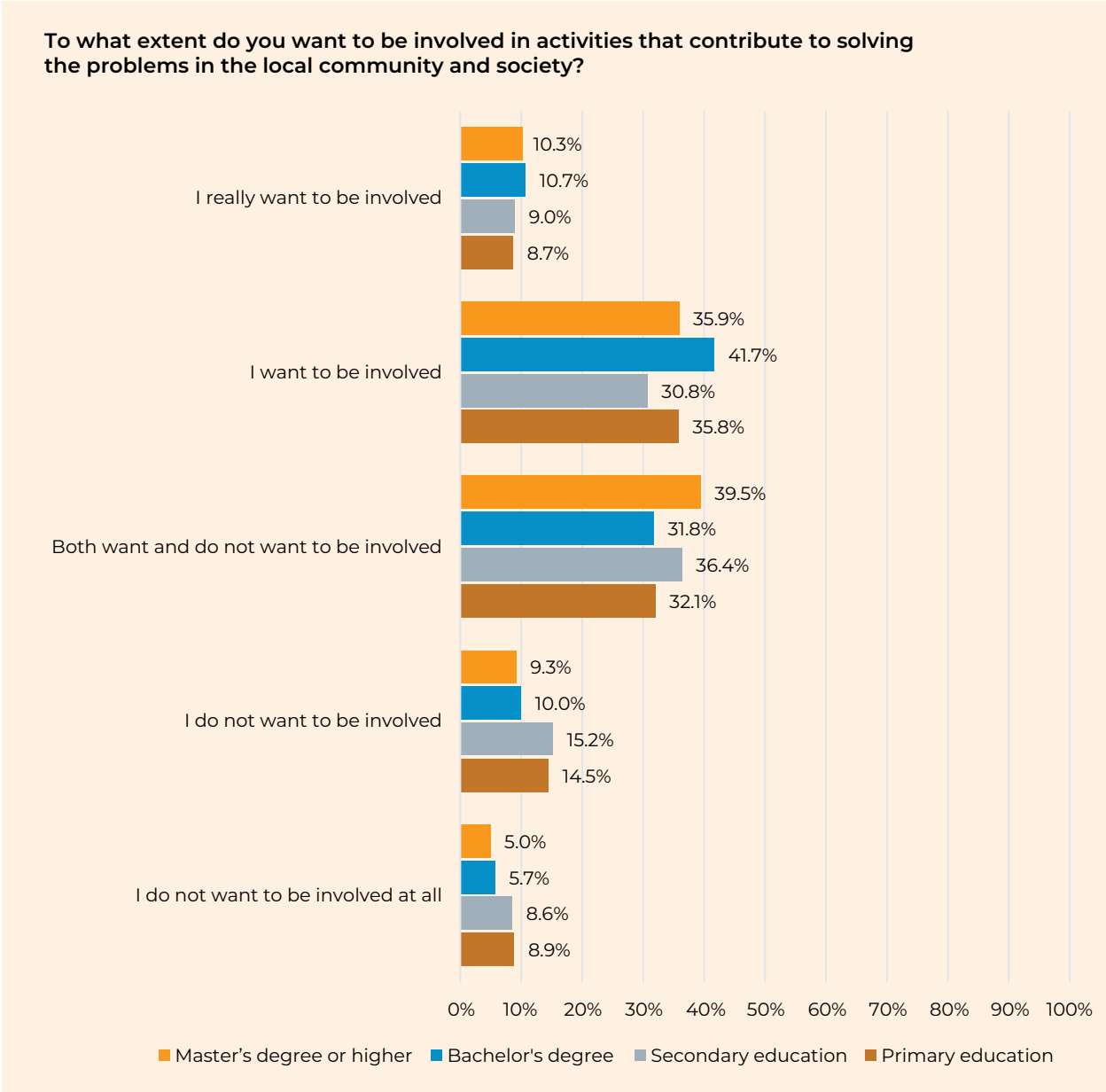
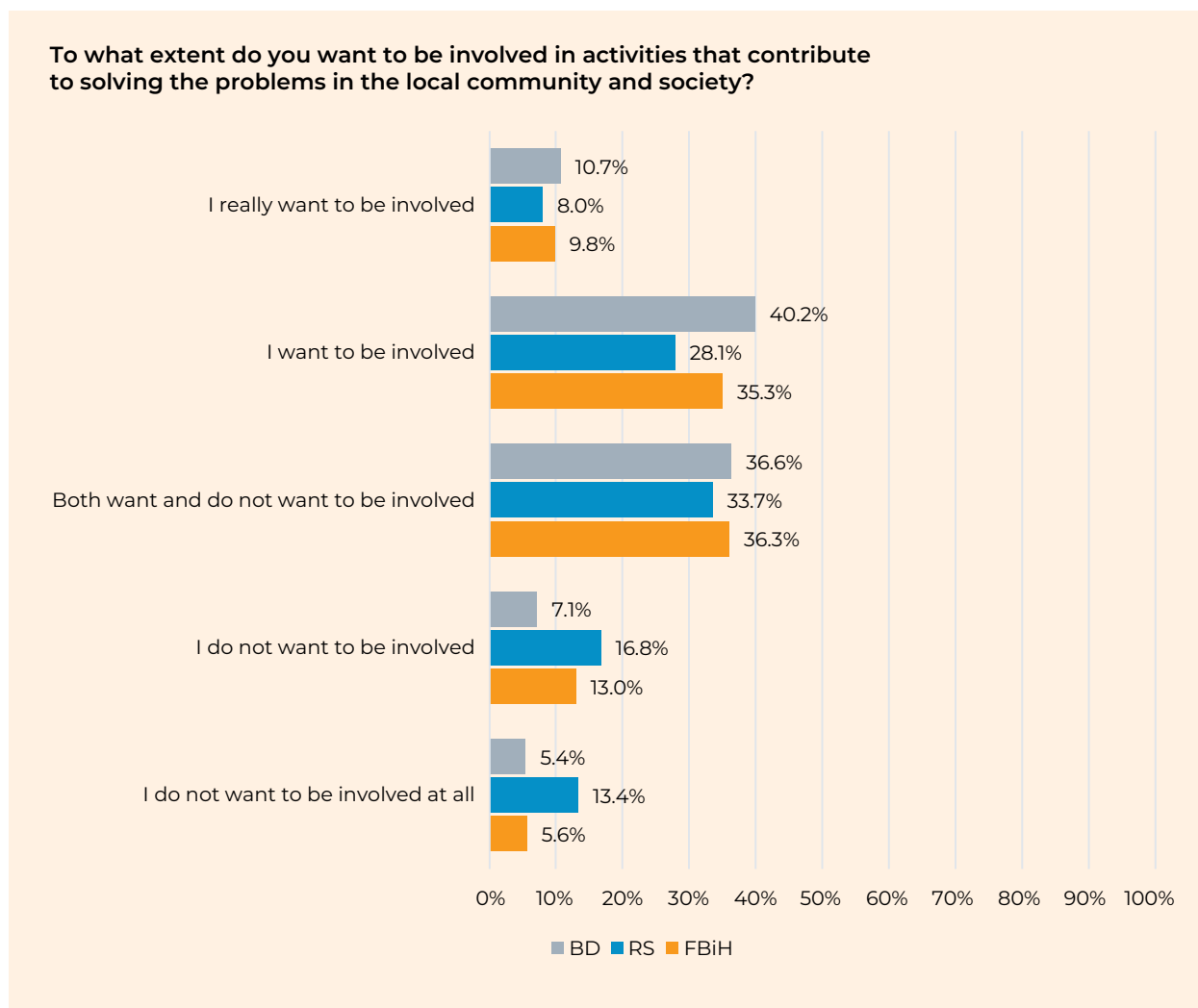


Figure 37 Community engagement in relation to the place of residence



Types of Political and Civic Engagement

Respondents were also asked if they have done, or been involved in, any of the political and civic engagement type of activities during the past twelve months (Table 11). The answers they provided indicate that the most prevalent type of civic engagement among young people in BiH is donating money to a charity (48 per cent of responses) and volunteering their time to helping others e.g. older persons, children, persons living with disability (35 per cent of responses). Signing a petition or volunteering in a CSO/NGO is noted in 12 per cent of cases, while the least represented type of political and civic engagement refers to participating in a public assembly, such as demonstrations and rallies (8 per cent of responses) and joining a political party or a group (i.e. 7 per cent of responses).

Table 11 Political and civic engagement

Have you been politically or civically active during the past 12 months?	Yes	
	n	%
a) Been a member of the political party/group?	332	6.6%
b) Signed a petition (online), supported the cause?	603	12.1%
c) Participated in a public assembly (e.g. demonstration, rally, etc.)?	379	7.6%
d) Volunteered in a CSO/NGO?	605	12.1%
e) Donated money to a charity?	2,387	47.7%
f) Volunteered your time to help others (e.g. older persons, children, persons living with disability)?	1,755	35.1%
g) Other type of political and/or civic engagement activity?	239	4.8%
h) None of the above	1,530	30.6%

The obtained results indicate that there are no significant differences in responses between men and women or between respondents living in urban and rural areas when it comes to their involvement in political and civic engagement activities. However, there are differences in responses between different age groups, different education levels and different parts of BiH.

The younger respondents, 18 to 19 years old, are less interested and involved in these types of activities as well as respondents with lower level of education, meaning that there is a greater probability that they have not been involved in any of the aforementioned activities during the past twelve months than it is the case with older and more educated respondents (Figure 38). As the results indicate, there is a statistically significant higher percentage of 18 and 19 years old respondents who did not participate in any of the activities related to political and civic engagement in the past twelve months (34 per cent) compared to respondents aged 20 to 24 (29 per cent) and respondents aged 25 to 29 years (30 per cent) ($p=0.012$; $p<0.05$), Figure 40.

Furthermore, a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents from the Republika Srpska (41 per cent) did not participate in any of the aforementioned activities during the past twelve months, compared to respondents from FBiH (26 per cent) and the Brčko District (23.2 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 39.

Figure 38 Political and civic (non)participation in relation to education level

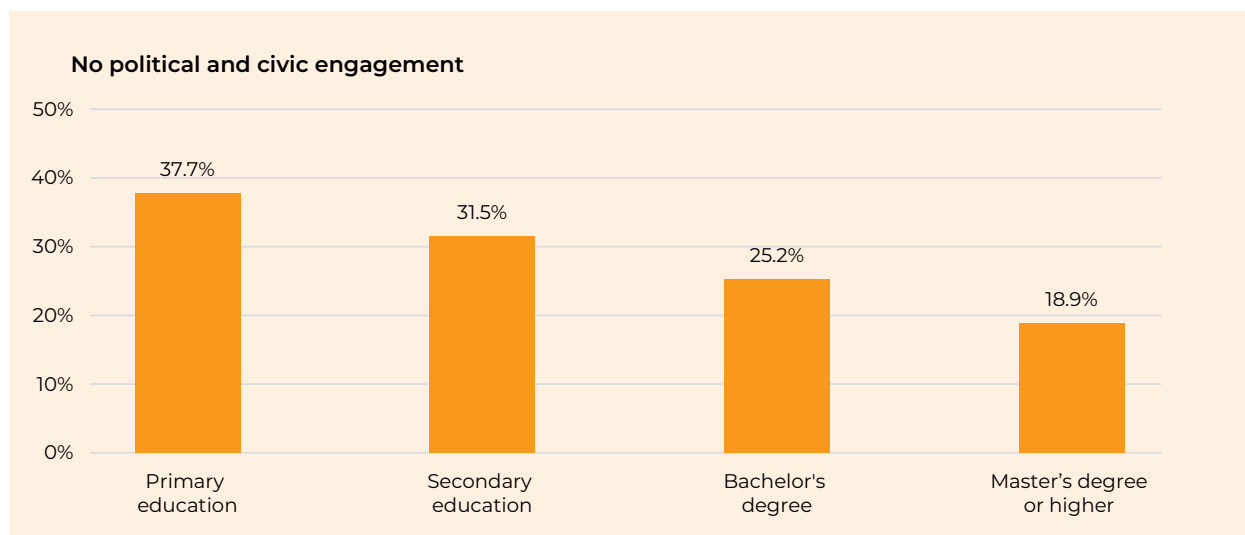
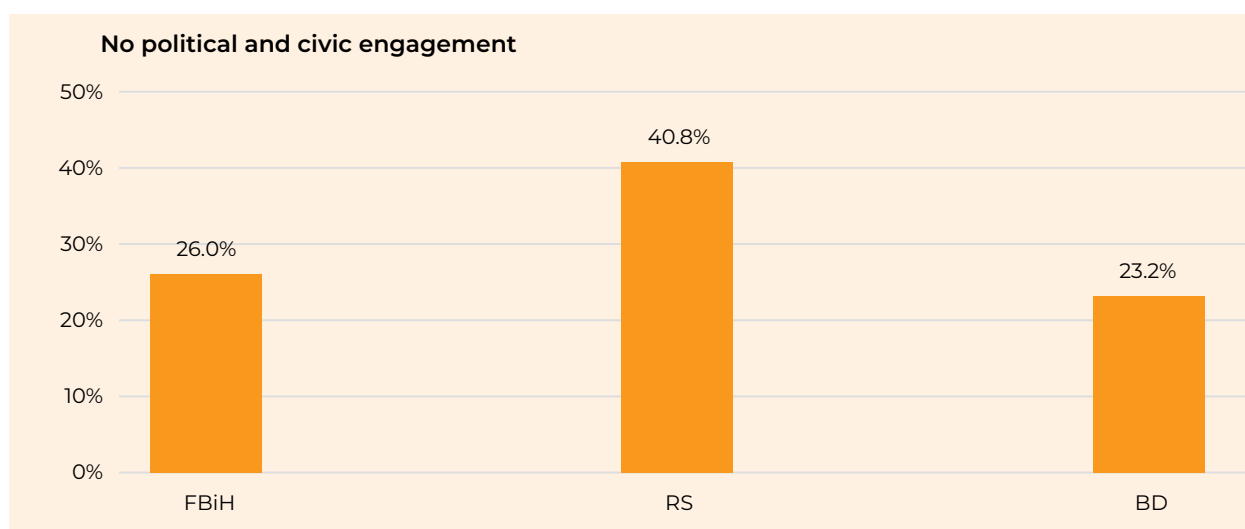


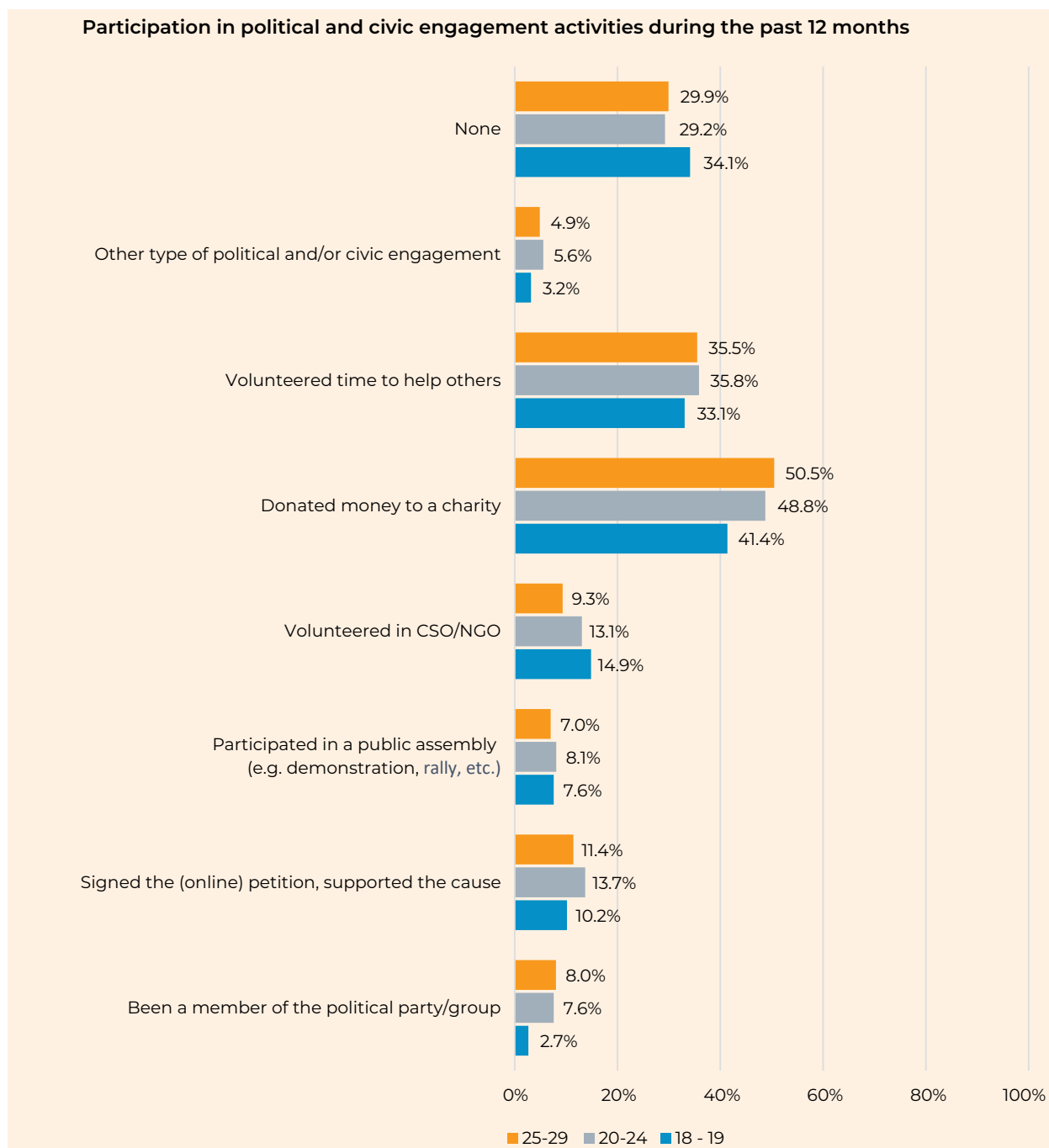
Figure 39 Political and civic (non)participation in relation to the place of residence



When involved, younger respondents (18 to 19 years old) tend to be more involved in volunteering in a CSO/NGO than older respondents. On the other hand, older respondents are more inclined to donate money to a charity than to sign a petition or to join a political party.

A more detailed overview of responses is provided below.

Figure 40 Political and civic participation in relation to age



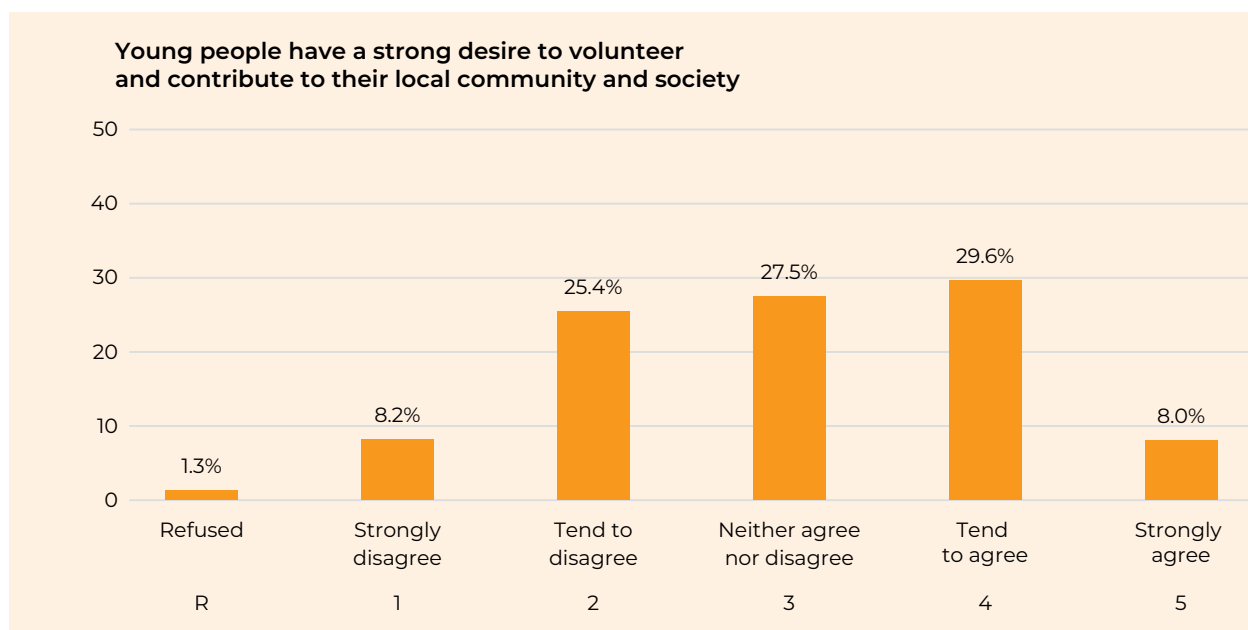
According to the results, most respondents, regardless of age, have not been members of a political party in the past twelve months. Additional analyses show that a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 20 to 24 (8 per cent) and aged 25 to 29 (8 per cent) were members of a political party, compared to 18 and 19 years old respondents (3 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$).

Most respondents, regardless of their age, have not signed an online petition in the past twelve months. However, additional analysis show that a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 20 to 24 signed an online petition (14 per cent), compared to respondents aged 18 and 19 (10 per cent) ($p=0.008$; $p<0.01$).

Furthermore, in the past twelve months, most respondents have not participated in a public assembly. No statistically significant difference was found between different age groups in the proportion of responses ($p=0.445$; $p>0.05$).

When it comes to volunteering, respondents are divided in their opinion on young people's willingness to volunteer and contribute to their local community and society; around 38 per cent *tend to agree* or *strongly agree* that young people have strong desire to volunteer and give their contribution to society, 28 per cent are not sure about that, while 34 per cent think that young people are not willing to use their time for this purpose (Figure 41). According to the results, there is a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 18 to 19 (15 per cent) and respondents aged 20 to 24 (13 per cent) who volunteered in CSOs/NGOs in the past year, compared to respondents aged 25 to 29 (9 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$). No statistically significant difference is found in the proportion of responses between different age groups when it comes to volunteering their time to helping others ($p=0.262$; $p>0.05$), Figure 40. Finally, a statistically significant higher percentage of older respondents aged 20 to 24 (49 per cent) and respondents aged 25 to 29 (51 per cent) donated money to charity in the past twelve months, compared to respondents aged 18 and 19 (41 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 40.

Figure 41 Willingness to volunteer



As it can be seen from the results, young people in BiH express low interest in political and civic engagement and these findings correspond to prior research of these issues. As outlined in the Youth Study from 2018/2019 (Turčilo et al., 2019), the abstinence from politics and political action occurs as a result of multiple factors, i.e. combination of democratic transition, delays in economic development and the dominance of political elites creates a certain pattern of behaviour, characterized by abstinence which represents a form of protest and revolt against a political system that does not seem to care about young people's future.

Key Findings & Research Implications – Political and Civic Engagement

- Surveyed young people in BiH, apart from traditional model of participation through voting in an election, express **low interest** in either formal or semi-formal types of **political and civic engagement**.
 - o The majority of respondents (78 per cent) indicated they would (*probably* or *definitely*) **vote** if the elections were held next week.
- More than 50 per cent of young people think they are giving their contribution to solving community and societal problems and issues, 23 per cent do not contribute as much as they would like, while 11 per cent believe that dealing with community and societal issues is not something they should get involved with.
 - o Young men express stronger desire to be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in local communities and society than young women as well as younger respondents (18 to 19, and 20 to 24), and respondents with university degree compared to respondents with secondary education.
- The most prevalent type of civic engagement among young people in BiH is **donating money to a charity** (48 per cent of responses) and **volunteering time to helping others** e.g. older persons, children, persons living with disability (35 per cent of responses).
 - o Signing a petition or volunteering in CSOs/NGOs is noted in 12 per cent of cases, while least represented type of political and civic engagement refers to participating in a public assembly, such as demonstrations and rallies (8 per cent of responses), and joining a political party (7 per cent of responses).

The findings correspond to previous research of these issues implying that young people in BiH continue to be absent from politics and political action and that the BiH youth does not identify with the existing political and social system, assumingly because their needs are marginalized in public policies and practices. Given that significantly fewer young people vote in each election in comparison to youth preferences in this survey, it would be worth exploring why such a difference occurs and if any steps could be taken to ensure higher youth participation in democratic processes.

Furthermore, the results indicate that the civic engagement of young people in BiH is mostly evident through helping others and donating money to a charity. This form of civic involvement may be the result of the need for direct and visible community engagement and collectivism as a social value. Nevertheless, the low percentage of young people that are interested and politically and civically engaged imply that the majority is not, meaning that many of them do not see themselves as an important driving force for changing the system, either because they are not interested or because they are not enabled to create and shape policies that directly affect their lives or because they use their abstinence as a form of protest against a socio-political system that does not seem to care about young people's future.

A similar observation could be made in terms of youth engagement in community development where younger generations prefer to get personally involved in helping others or volunteering in a CSO/NGO (probably because of more free time and small or no disposable income).

3 Migration Aspirations and Migration Potential

The theoretical model of *aspiration–ability* distinguishes between a person's aspiration for migration and the ability to realize it. The tendency to migrate can be analysed on two levels. At the macro level, the question arises as to why a large number of people want to migrate. When answering this question, different authors refer to the social, economic and political aspects of an environment. At the micro level, the question arises as to who wants to migrate and who wants to stay in their home country. Socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, education and social status, could be indicators that might guide answers to the set questions.

However, migration behaviour does not depend only on migration aspirations and is mediated by other variables, such as the ability to achieve the said behaviour. Also, migration behaviour depends on the perceived realism of migration aspirations determined by individual characteristics (personality, resources, skills, etc.), environmental characteristics (networks, family responsibilities, etc.) and the macro-structural context (migration-related regulations, labour market opportunities, etc.) (Carling, 2014).

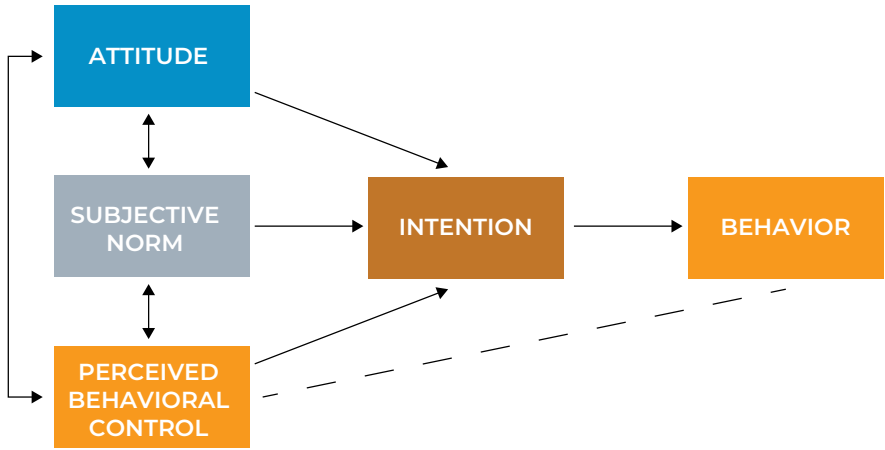
A useful theoretical framework for explaining the relationship between migration intentions and actual behaviour is the socio-psychological theory of planned behaviour (Lu, 1999; Nikić, 2017). According to the theory of planned behaviour (Figure 42), attitudes about certain behaviours, such as migration, play an important role in explaining human behaviour and can be both positive and negative. Another important variable in explaining the intent to perform a particular behaviour is the subjective norm. This factor is related to the perceived social pressure associated with performing a particular activity, i.e. whether or not a person should migrate. That is, subjective norms represent the influence that the social environment has on an individual's behaviour.

The influence of subjective norms assumes that people will express a greater intention to migrate if they believe that people they trust view migration as a desirable behaviour. In addition, perceived behaviour control refers to an individual's perception of the presence or absence of resources or the ability to perform a particular behaviour. In this case, perceived behaviour control is defined as the expected ease of leaving the home country. The assumption is that individuals will not have a strong intention to migrate if they assess that they do not have the resources or opportunities to migrate, even when they have a positive attitude toward migration and when important others approve this behaviour.

Perceived behavioural control contains the two separate but interconnected components: perceived self-efficacy and perceived ability to control. Perceived self-efficacy refers to the perception of the ability to have a particular behaviour realized. On the other hand, the perceived possibility of control refers to the individual's personal control over behaviour, which can be influenced by other variables, such as a migration policy.

Figure 42 Theory of planned behaviour by Ajzen and Fisbein
 Retrieved from <https://www.comminit.com/malaria-africa/content/theory-planned-behavior>

Theory of Planned Behavior



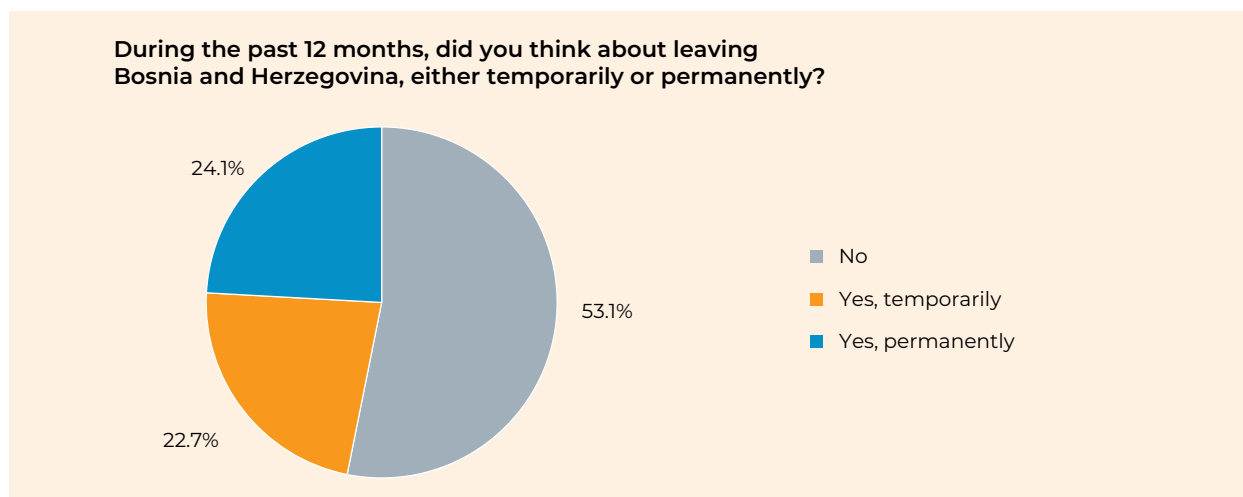
Therefore, the survey results regarding migration intentions will be presented as follows: first, the results on migration aspirations of young people in BiH, i.e. how many respondents have the desire to emigrate and what are their characteristics, followed by the results on migration potential, i.e. how many young people are more likely to undertake actual migration behaviour.



3.1 Migration Aspirations

Migration aspirations can be defined as *the conviction that migration is desirable*, given the specific context an individual is situated in, in combination with his/her personal characteristics (Carling, 2014). According to the survey results, 47 per cent of young people in BiH expressed aspiration to leave the country; 23 per cent would like to leave temporarily, while 24 per cent have thought about leaving the country permanently (Figure 43).

Figure 43 Migration aspiration



Of those who have migration aspiration, around 60 per cent are often thinking about emigration. More than 40 per cent would like to leave in the next year and 35 per cent are convinced they will manage to migrate from BiH in the intended period (Table 12). The majority is planning to use support from relatives and personal savings to finance migration, while 14 per cent still do not know how and where to get the necessary funds (Table 13).

In addition, the results show that there are statistically significant differences in responses on migration aspirations between the respondents of different age group, sex, education level, employment status, marital status, citizenship and migrant network. No statistically significant difference in the proportion of responses was found between respondents living in the Federation of BiH, the Republika Srpska and the Brčko District ($p=0.069$; $p>0.05$) nor was it found between the respondents who live in urban and rural areas ($p=0.606$; $p>0.05$), Figure 44, Figure 45.

Figure 44 Migration aspiration in relation to place of residence

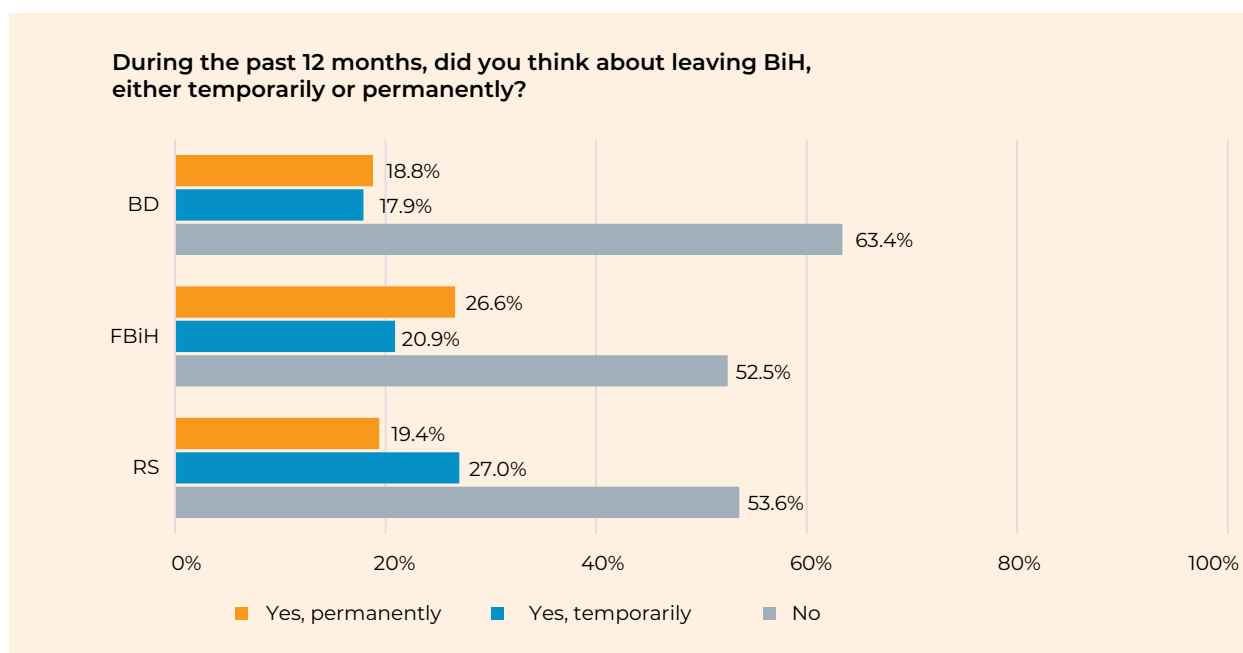
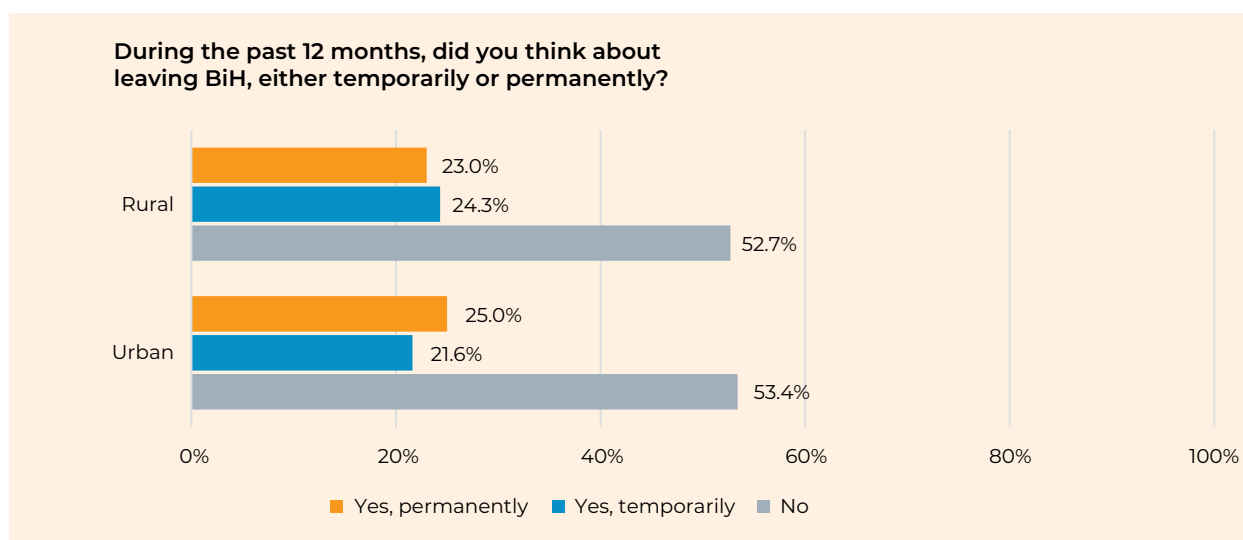


Figure 45 Migration aspirations in relation to area of living



A more detailed overview of the responses is provided below.

Table 12 Migration intention

Migration intention		n	%
During the past 12 months, have you thought about leaving/moving away from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	2,657	53.1%
	Yes, temporarily	1,137	22.7%
	Yes, permanently	1,207	24.1%
	Total	5,001	100%
How often, during the past 12 months, have you thought about leaving/moving away from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	Rarely	118	5.0%
	Sometimes	805	34.3%
	Often	939	40.1%
	All the time	482	20.6%
	Total	2,344	100%
How soon would you like to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina?	In the next six months	552	23.5%
	In the next year	440	18.8%
	In one to two years	590	25.2%
	In more than two years	309	13.2%
	Do not know	453	19.3%
	Total	2,344	100.0%
How likely is it that you will manage to migrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the intended period?	Extremely unlikely	144	6.1%
	Very unlikely	380	16.2%
	More or less likely	989	42.2%
	Very likely	604	25.8%
	Extremely likely	227	9.7%
	Total	2,344	100%

Table 13 Means for financing migration

		n	%
How do you plan to finance your migration?	Savings	748	31.9%
	Loan	196	8.4%
	To sell household assets	63	2.7%
	Support from relatives	1,350	57.6%
	Other	31	1.3%
	Do not know	340	14.5%

A statistically significant higher percentage of men have considered leaving BiH in the past twelve months (50 per cent), compared to women (44 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 46.

There is also a statistically significant higher percentage of respondents aged 18 and 19 (51 per cent) and 20 to 24 (49 per cent) who have considered leaving BiH in the past 12 months, compared to respondents aged 25 to 29 (42 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 47.

Figure 46 Migration aspiration in relation to sex

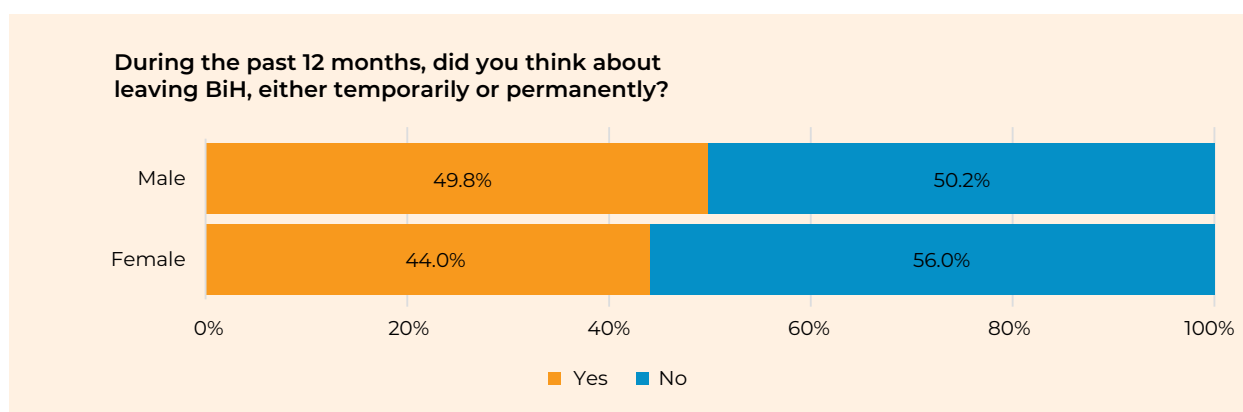
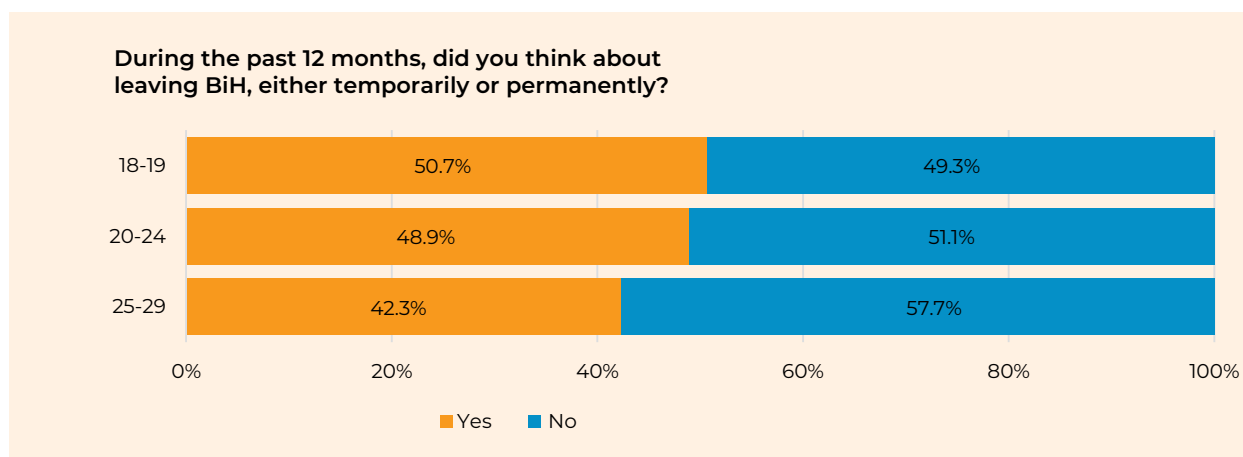


Figure 47 Migration aspiration in relation to age



In addition, there are more respondents with secondary education (48 per cent) than with bachelor degree (43 per cent) ($p=0.049$; $p<0.05$), Figure 48, who have thought about leaving BiH; more respondents who are employed part-time (59 per cent) than respondents employed full-time (40 per cent) ($p=0.025$; $p<0.05$); more unemployed individuals who are not looking for a job (59 per cent) than those who are employed full time (40 per cent), those with the student status (43 per cent) and respondents who described their current working status as “other” (47 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 49.

Figure 48 Migration aspiration in relation to the education level

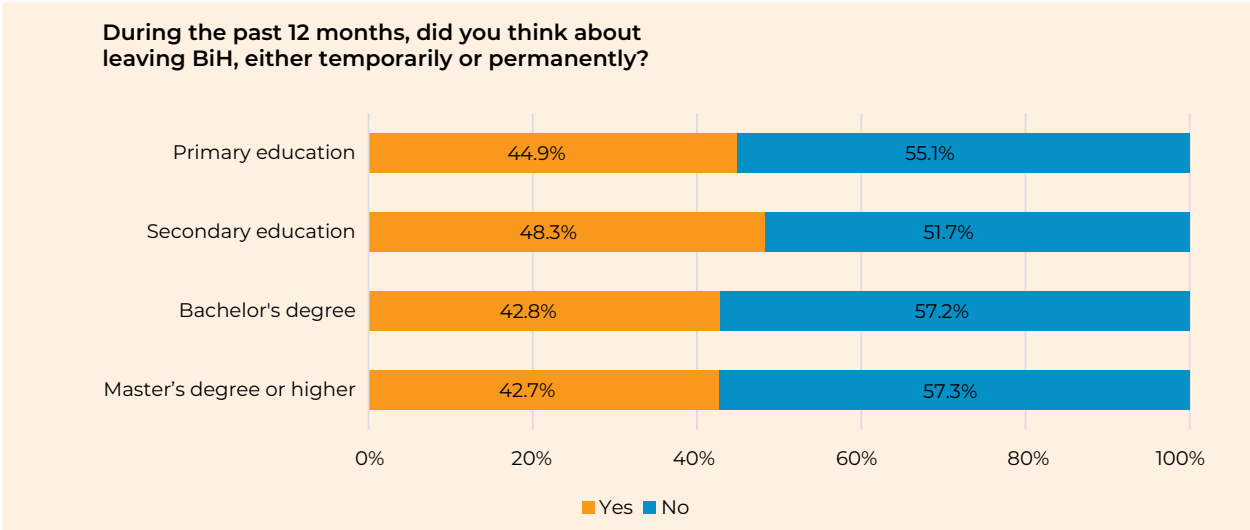
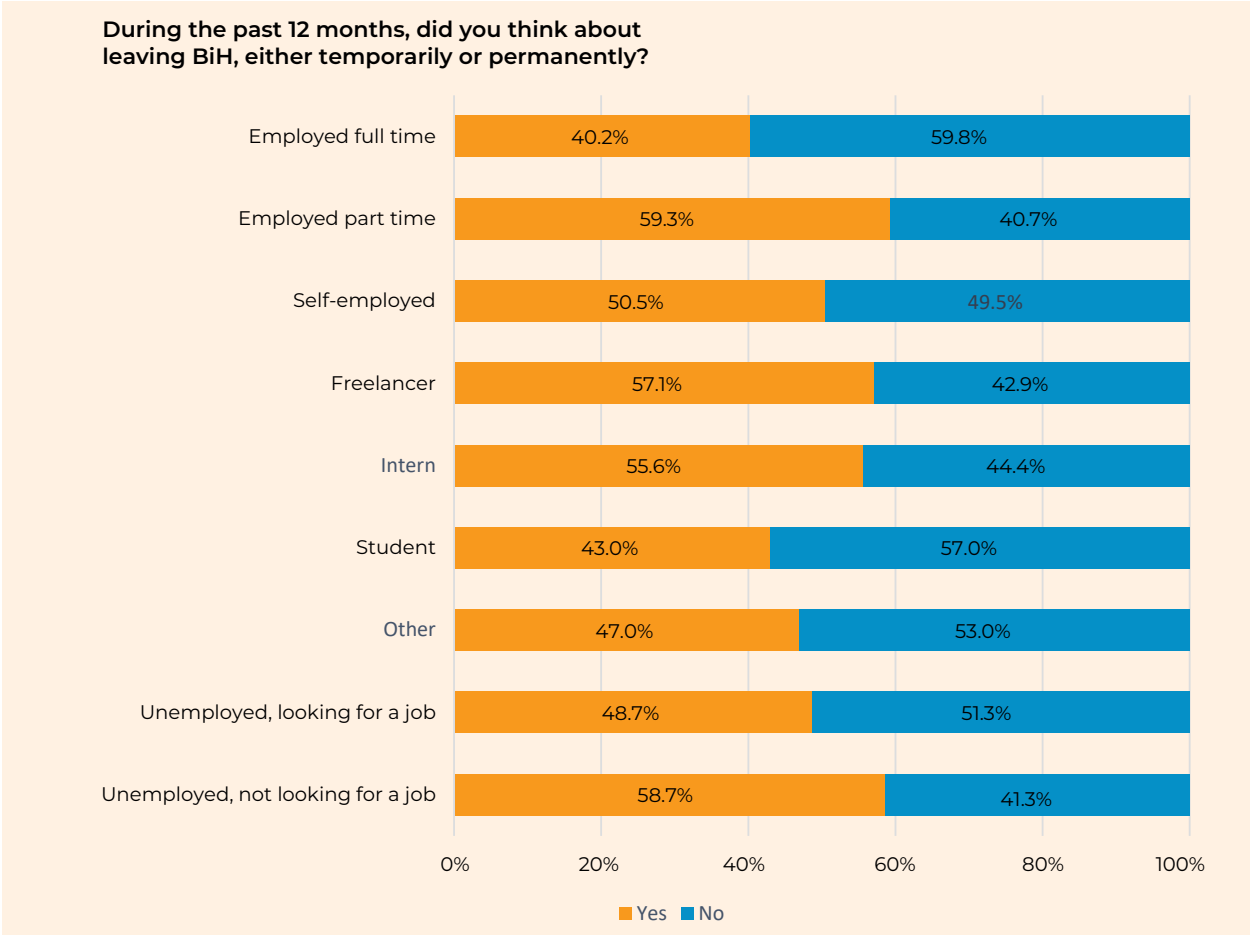


Figure 49 Migration aspiration in relation to employment status



Compared to married respondents (40 per cent), a statistically significant higher percentage of single (48 per cent) ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$) and divorced respondents (67 per cent) ($p=0.004$; $p<0.01$) have been considering leaving BiH, Figure 53.

There are also more respondents with dual citizenship who are considering leaving BiH (58 per cent), compared to respondents with only BiH citizenship (47 per cent) ($p=0.002$; $p<0.01$), Figure 54.

The network of relatives and friends who have previously emigrated and are living abroad has been one of the major factors discussed in international migration research. These types of ties and community networks are seen as major assets for migrants, making emigration more possible (Massey, 1999). According to social capital theory, people who are socially related to current or former migrants have access to social capital which significantly increases the likelihood that they themselves will migrate, because migrant network connections lower the costs and risks of movement, facilitate information transmission and increase the expected net returns to migration (Palloni et al., 2001).

According to the survey results, the majority of young BiH citizens do not have a previous experience with migration, i.e. they have not lived abroad for more than a month in the past ten years (87 per cent). However, most respondents state that they have close friends or family members living abroad (78 per cent) and more than half of respondents know more than five people from their immediate environment who have left BiH (58 per cent), Table 14. Respondents who have family and friends living abroad are more inclined to emigrate than those who do not ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 55.

Table 14 Previous migrant experience and migrant networks

Previous migrant experience and migrant networks		n	%
During the last 10 years, have you spent more than a month living abroad, not including tourist travel?	No	4,357	87.1%
	Yes	644	12.9%
	Total	5,001	100%
Do you have any close friends or family members living abroad?	No	1,122	22.4%
	Yes	3,879	77.6%
	Total	5,001	100%
How many people from your immediate environment do you know (e.g. family, friends, acquaintances) who left Bosnia and Herzegovina?	None	281	5.6%
	One	486	9.7%
	More than one, less than 5	1,331	26.6%
	More than 5	2,903	58.0%
	Total	5,001	100%

Therefore, respondents who tend to express greater migration aspirations are: 18 to 24 years old individuals; men; those with secondary education; unemployed respondents who are not looking for a job and persons who are currently employed part-time; those who are single or divorced; respondents who hold dual citizenship and respondents who have family and friends living abroad.

These findings concerning the profile of a potential migrant are mostly in line with the findings of others research studies (see Fassmann & Hintermann, 1997; Alvarez-Plata et al., 2003; Krieger 2004; Božić & Burić, 2004; Rangelova & Vladimirova, 2004; McKenzie, 2006; Pavlov, 2009).

As indicated in other research as well, younger people express a higher migration aspiration and they are more mobile. From the economic point of view, they have better labour prospects in the receiving countries due to their readiness to accept lower paid jobs and jobs beneath their level of qualification, and there is also a greater chance for a better return on investment than it is the case with the older workers (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1999, as in Krieger, 2004). Furthermore, according to socio-economic models, younger people have a higher degree of dissatisfaction and stronger feeling of frustration with the existing conditions in their country of origin. Combined with their place and position in the family hierarchy (and society), it results in a greater willingness to migrate (Krieger, 2004).

As indicated in the previous sections, the status of young people in BiH, considering their satisfaction with the quality of life, trust in public institutions and political and civic engagement is unfavourable. They assess their level of satisfaction with their current living environment in BiH as neither dissatisfactory nor satisfactory; their level of trust in public institutions is low and they express a low level of interest in political and civic engagement.

Therefore, it is not surprising that those who are less satisfied with their immediate living environment (e.g. availability of housing programmes for young people, availability of quality healthcare or welfare benefits, opportunity to volunteer and their life in BiH in general), those who do not have confidence in the BiH public institutions (e.g. government, political parties, judiciary and media), and those who express some kind of interest in political and civic engagement (e.g. voting, interest and involvement in community issues, volunteering, petitioning, protesting etc.) are more likely to have migration aspirations ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), Figure 50, Figure 51, Figure 52.

Figure 50 Migration aspiration in relation to the level of satisfaction with the living environment

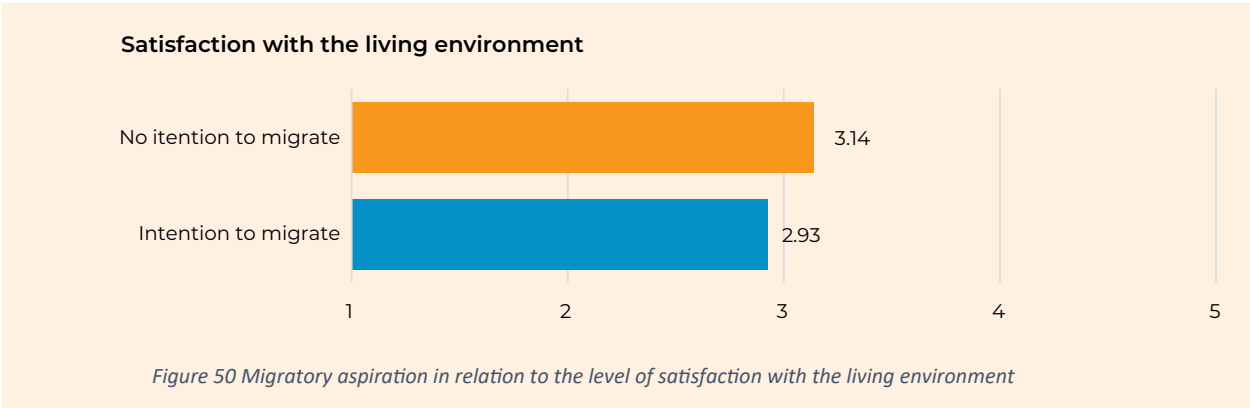


Figure 51 Migration aspiration in relation to the level of trust in public institutions

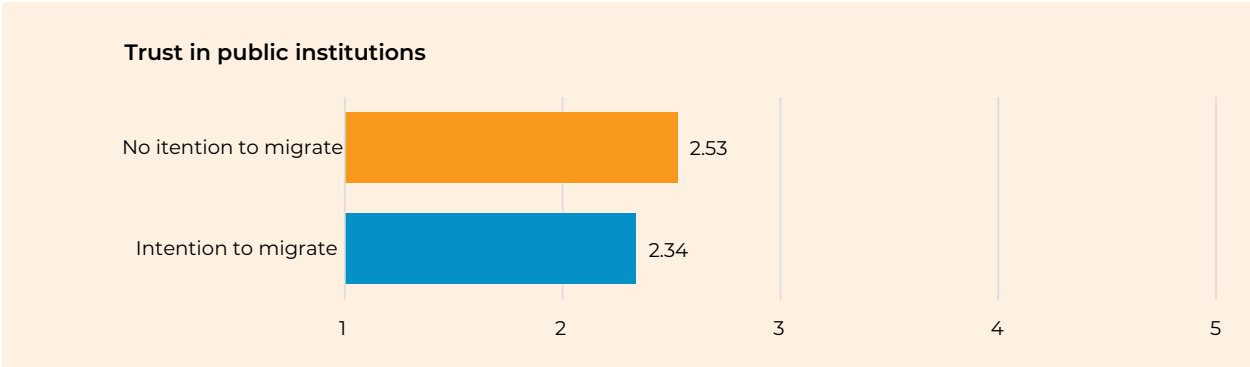
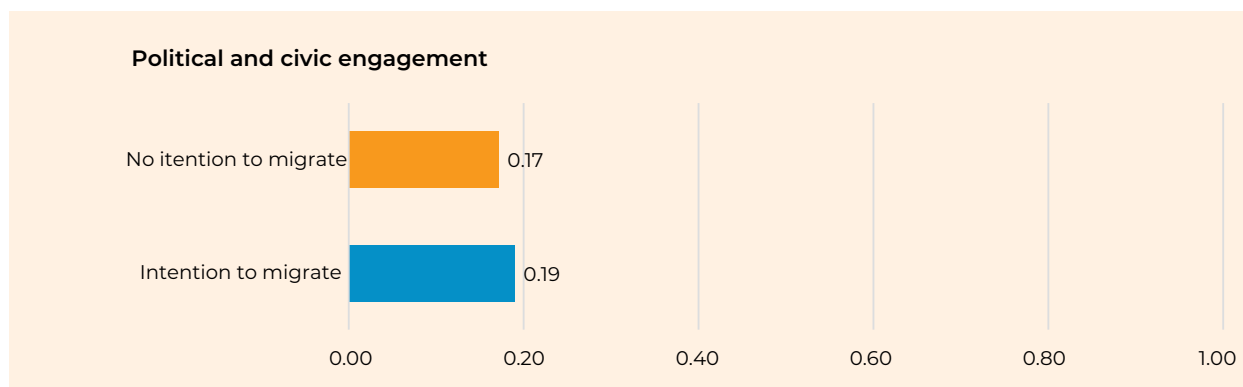


Figure 52 Migration aspiration in relation to the level of political and civic engagement



Looking at the overall numbers regarding migration aspiration, men are more inclined to migrate which confirms the traditional perspective that young men are to be sent away for work, while young women should stay at home and take care of a family. However, the share of women who express an intention to migrate is also relatively high, at almost 45 per cent, which goes in favour of the hypothesis of the *feminisation* of migration. Several authors observed that the old patterns regarding female migration have changed and that women are not migrating just for family re-unification. As noted by Nyberg-Soerensen et al. (2002) more and more women move independently (i.e. without older relatives or as a part of family strategy). This change in trends could be explained by an increasing level of education for women and the change of the traditional model of a man as a breadwinner, by the frequent loss of employment and high unemployment rate (particularly for women with lower education levels) and also by search for new employment opportunities, especially when it comes to the various employment opportunities in health care and household-related services of the receiving countries.

Regarding the propensity to migrate and education level, survey results indicate that respondents with secondary education are more inclined to migrate than the respondents with a university degree. According to Bauer and Zimmermann (1999), that can be explained by the prevalence of low-skilled labour markets for migrants in the destination countries, which makes migration for high-skilled individuals less attractive and riskier. The same argument can be used to explain the effect of the employment status. The key assumption is that unemployed people, particularly in countries with high unemployment rates, are more mobile than the employed people.

The BiH youth survey confirms this, the respondents who are unemployed or part-time employed express a greater interest in emigration than the full-time employed individuals. However, according to socio-economic concepts, in order for migration to actually happen, a minimum of resources is needed, and as the results of this survey show, the respondents plan to find those resources in the form of savings or support from family and friends.

Finally, migration intentions can also be explained by the importance of social networks in the place of origin and in the receiving country for migration (Krieger, 2004). Young people who are married and who do not have friends and family living abroad are less willing to migrate, compared to the single or divorced individuals with developed migrant networks, because they are less willing to sacrifice their strong integration in the existing social networks and to accept a low potential for social integration in the receiving countries.

According to Ajzen's theory of planned behaviour, the difference between intention and behaviour is smaller in social groups with higher internal control and weaker outside dependency, meaning that the better educated, younger and single people have a higher degree of internal control in their personal life and thus a higher probability to fulfil their intentions than it is a case with those who are also educated, but who are older and married (Pavlov, 2009).

Figure 53 Migration aspiration in relation to marital status

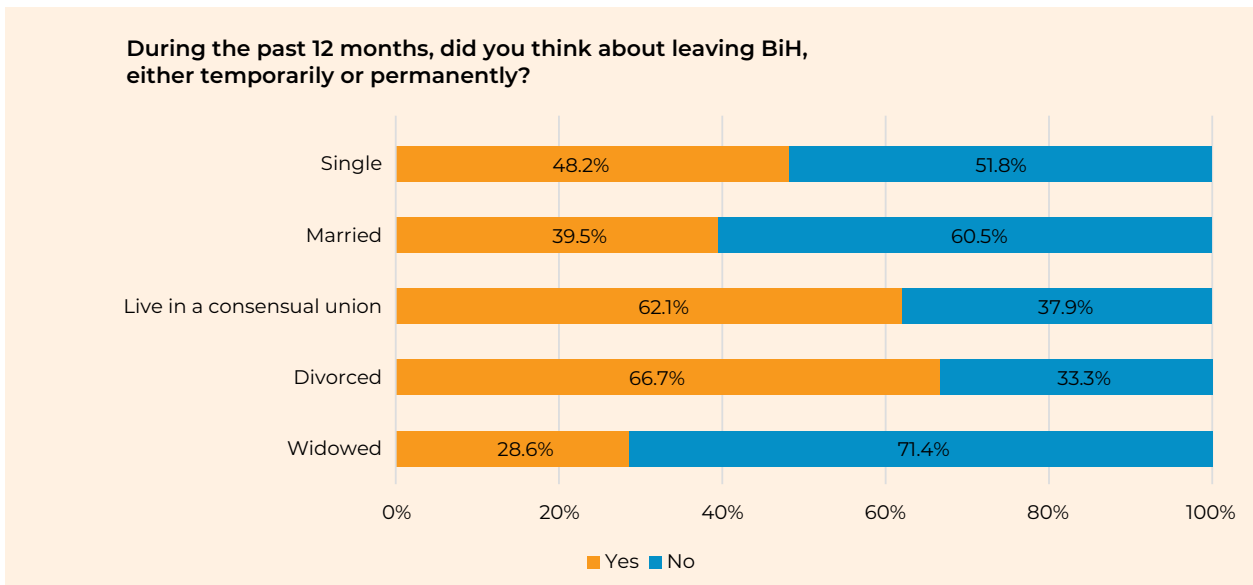


Figure 54 Migration aspiration in relation to citizenship

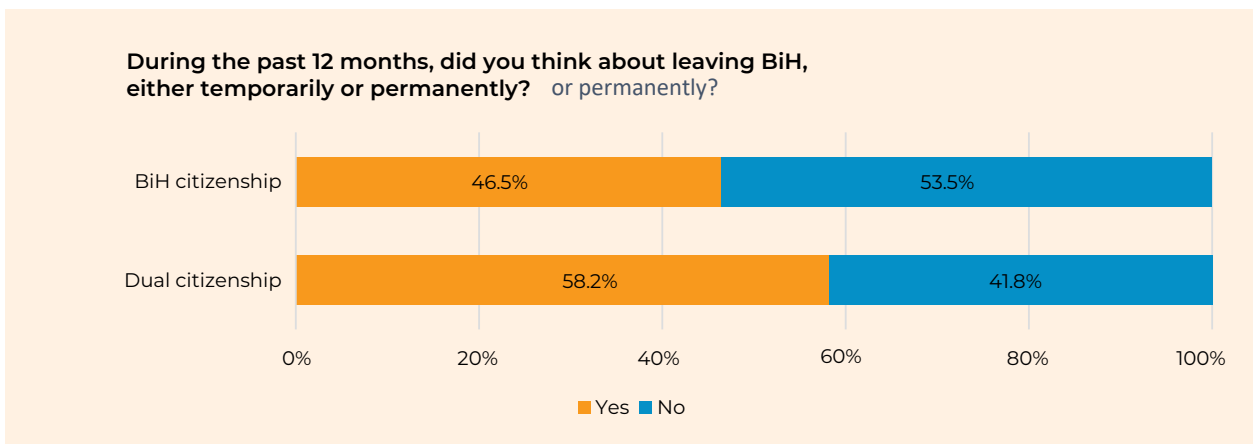
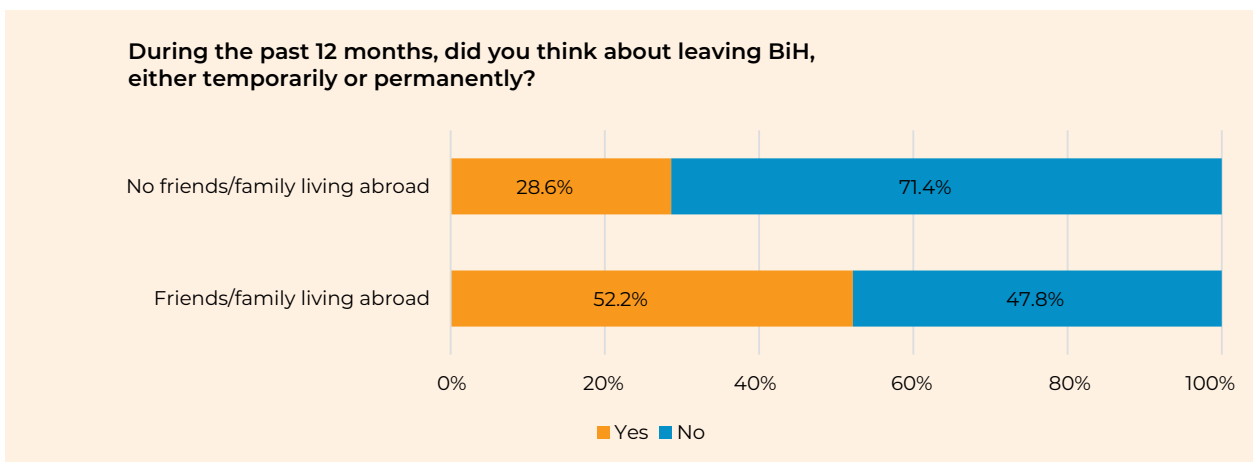


Figure 55 Migration aspiration in relation to migrant network



Migration Aspirations – Temporary vs Permanent Migrations

The survey results indicate that there are statistically significant differences between those who aspire to migrate temporarily and those who aspire to migrate permanently in relation to the following characteristics of the respondents: sex, education level, area of living and place of residence. No statistically significant difference in the proportion of responses was found between different age groups ($p=0.091$; $p>0.05$) nor between the respondents with different marital and employment statuses ($p=0.491$; $p>0.05$).

Women, more than men, aspire to migrate permanently ($p=0.018$; $p<0.05$) as well as respondents with secondary education, compared to the respondents with primary education and respondents with master's degree, compared to the respondents with lower levels of education ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$).

Respondents who live in urban areas ($p=0.017$; $p<0.05$) and respondents from the FBiH and the Brčko District, compared to the respondents from the RS ($p=0.000$; $p<0.01$), are also more inclined to emigrate permanently (Figure 56, Figure 57, Figure 58, Figure 59). These results imply that there are certain differences in the motives and reasons for emigration, which might differ between those who aspire to emigrate temporarily and those who aspire to emigrate permanently.

Figure 56 Permanent or temporary migration aspiration in relation to sex

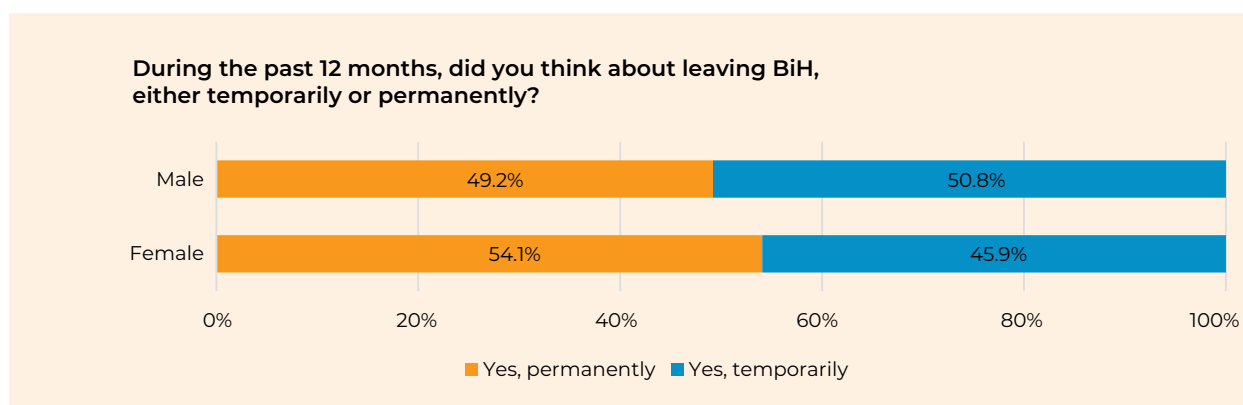


Figure 57 Permanent or temporary migration aspiration in relation to the education level

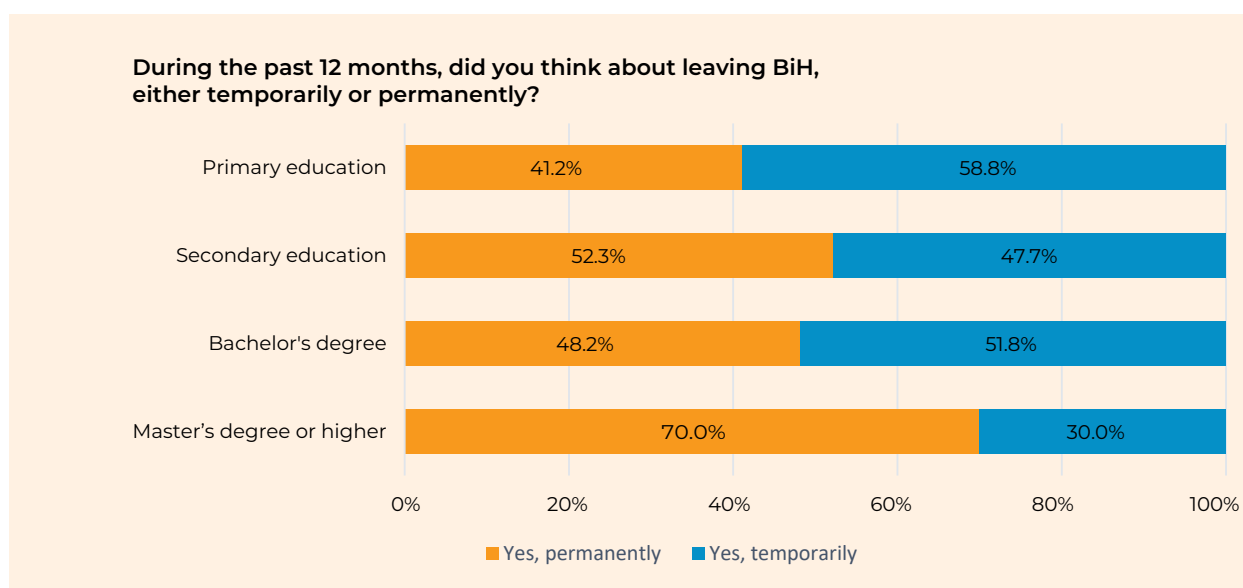


Figure 58 Permanent or temporary migration aspiration in relation to the area of living

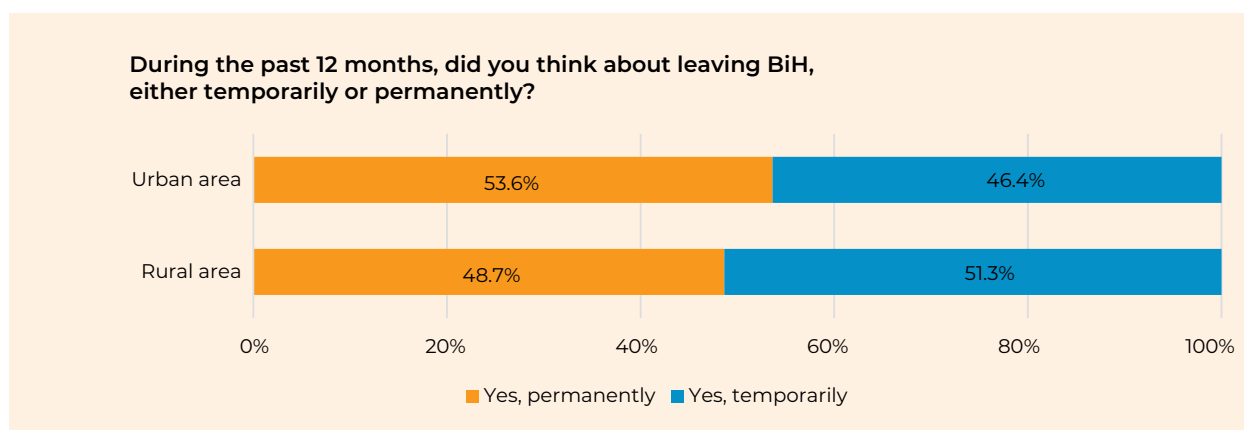
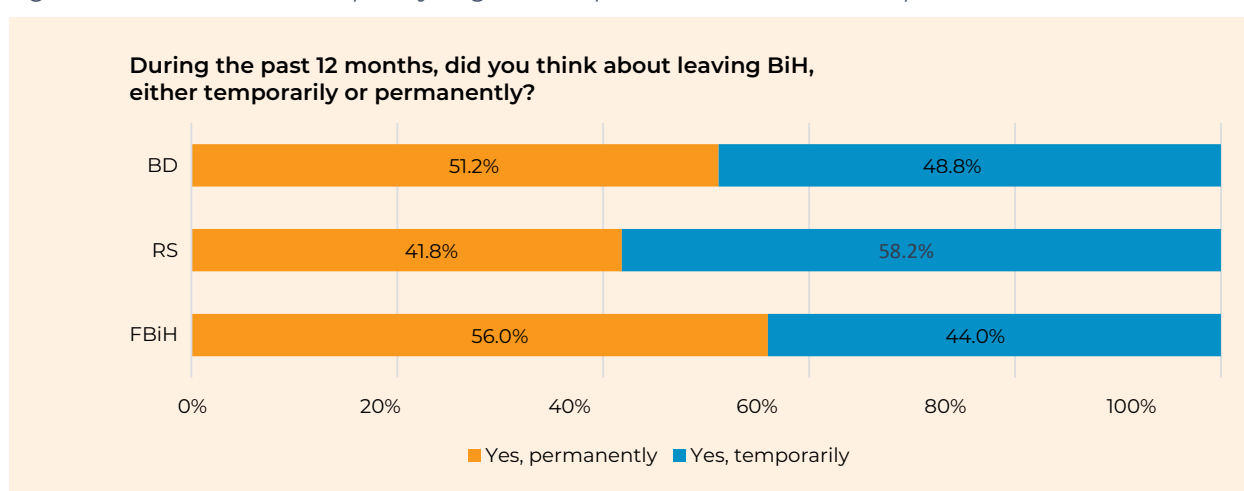


Figure 59 Permanent or temporary migration aspiration in relation to the place of residence



The Effects of the COVID-19 Pandemic

More than half of the respondents (60 per cent) have stated that COVID-19 pandemic did not affect their intention to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina, while in 36 per cent of responses the desire/intention to emigrate is even stronger (Table 15). The remaining 4 per cent have stated that COVID-19 pandemic has affected their intention to migrate and that they are not sure any more whether they want to emigrate, which can be explained by the weaker labour demand, travel restrictions, widespread use of telework, as well as with the high level of unemployment in the EU due to the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic that may negatively affect the policy discourse related to the labour migration (OECD, 2020; Migration Policy Institute, 2020).

Table 15 The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on migration aspirations

Has the COVID-19 pandemic affected your desire/intention to emigrate?		
	n	%
Yes, my desire/intention is stronger	836	35.7%
No, it has not	1,417	60.5%
Yes, I realized I do not want to emigrate	91	3.9%
Total	2,344	100.0%

What is important to emphasize is that migration aspirations do not necessarily imply actual migration behaviour, because young people might express aspirations to move but due to the different factors and circumstances they might be prevented from taking all the necessary steps for actual emigration. Therefore, migration aspirations of youth should *'be treated as a measure of migration potential rather than a proxy measure of actual future migration'* (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson 2006, p.291 as in Mol, 2016).

3.2 Total, probable and actual migration potential

Migration potential is usually used synonymously with the expected intensity of probable emigration from some countries. Scholars and experts studying migration potential generally define it as a combination of an interest in migration and a willingness to undertake migration-related activities. One of the most frequently used methods for prediction of migration potential is the application of the set of questions on migration intentions in the countries of origin (see Fassmann & Hintermann, 1997; Alvarez-Plata et al., 2003; Krieger 2004; Božić & Burić, 2004; Rangelova & Vladimirova, 2004; Pavlov, 2009).

Migration potential, in this survey, was operationally defined by the following questions:

- a) During the past 12 months, have you thought about emigrating from Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- b) How often, during the past 12 months, have you thought about emigrating?
- c) How soon would you like to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina?
- d) How likely is it that you will manage to emigrate in the intended period?
- e) Have you done any preparation for this move?

There are three types or three levels of migration potential that depend on the level of concreteness of migration intentions of potential migrants:

- *total* (those who have considered emigration in the last year)
- *probable* (those who believe that they will emigrate in the next six months or a year and who claim to have been informed on certain aspects of life abroad), and
- *actual or real* (those who claim they will emigrate in the next six months or a year, who consider it probable or very probable and who state that they have already done the necessary preparations to move).

Therefore, the total migration potential implies a low level of actual migration behaviour, the probable potential implies a moderate level, whilst the actual/real migration potential implies a high level of active involvement in the emigration process.

As the results indicate, 47 per cent out of the total survey sample (N=5001) had considered emigration during the past twelve months and they might, or might not, have taken some concrete actions in realizing their migration intentions, meaning they belong to the total migration contingent (Table 16, Figure 60).

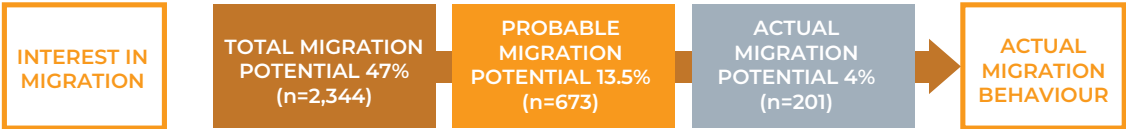
Table 16 Migration potential

Migration potential	n	%
Total migration potential	2,344	46.87%
Probable migration potential	673	13.46%
Actual/real migration potential	201	4.02%

Probable migration contingent consists of 13.5 per cent of respondents (n=673) who were not just thinking about emigration (either sometimes, often or all the time) during the past twelve months, but who also believe they will emigrate in the next six months or a year and who claim to have been informed on certain aspects of life abroad (e.g. city/region/country, accommodation opportunities and costs, employment opportunities and available jobs, scholarship opportunities), meaning that they have undertaken certain actions to concretize their migration intentions.

Actual or real migration contingent consists of 4 per cent of respondents (n=201) who were thinking about emigration either sometimes, often or all the time during the past twelve months, who believe they will emigrate in the next six months or a year, consider it probable or very probable and who state that they have already done the necessary preparations to move (e.g. already applied for a work permit, have a secured job position, have secured placement at university/education program, have dual citizenship and/or residence permit), meaning that their intentions to emigrate are more probable to be actualized.

Figure 60 Migration potential levels



An overview of the response distribution is presented in figures below (Figure 61, Figure 62, Figure 63, Figure 64, Figure 65, Figure 66, Figure 67).

Figure 61 Migration potential in relation to sex

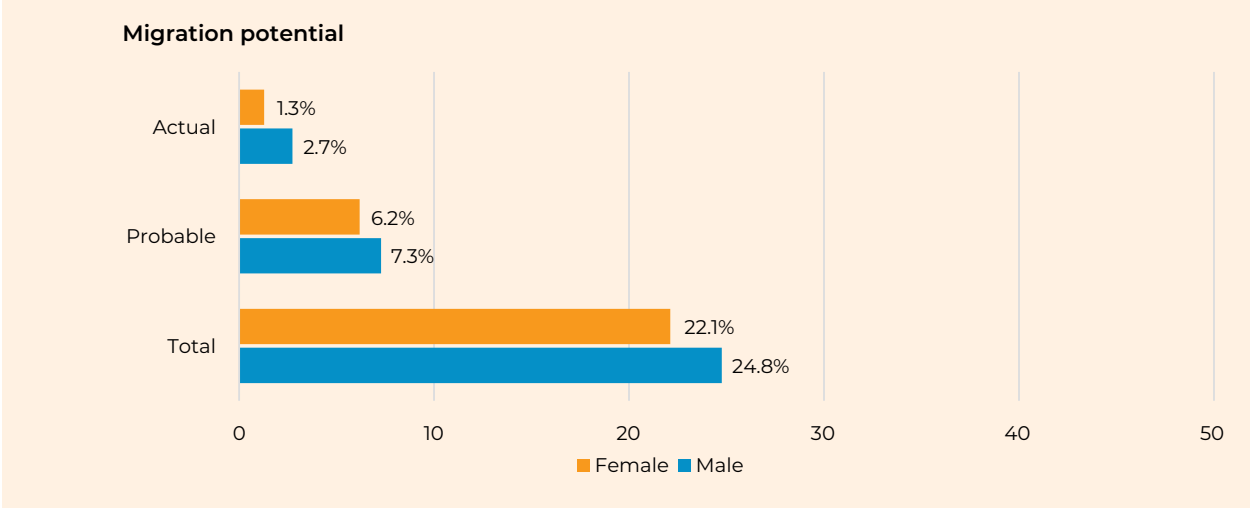


Figure 62 Migration potential in relation to age

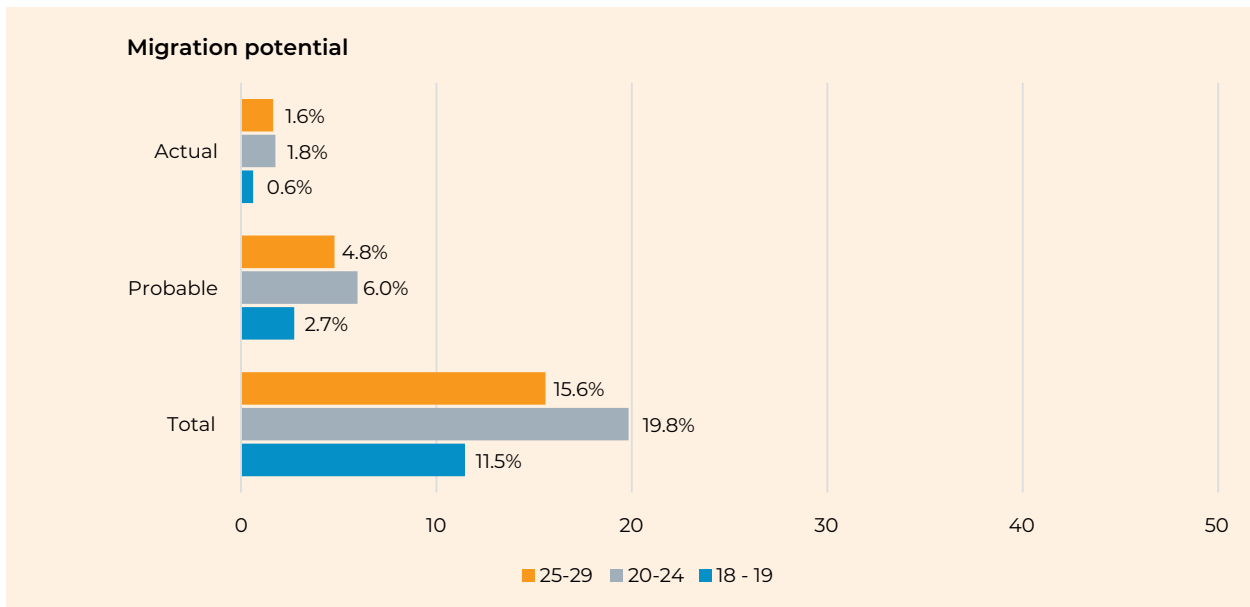


Figure 63 Migration potential in relation to education level

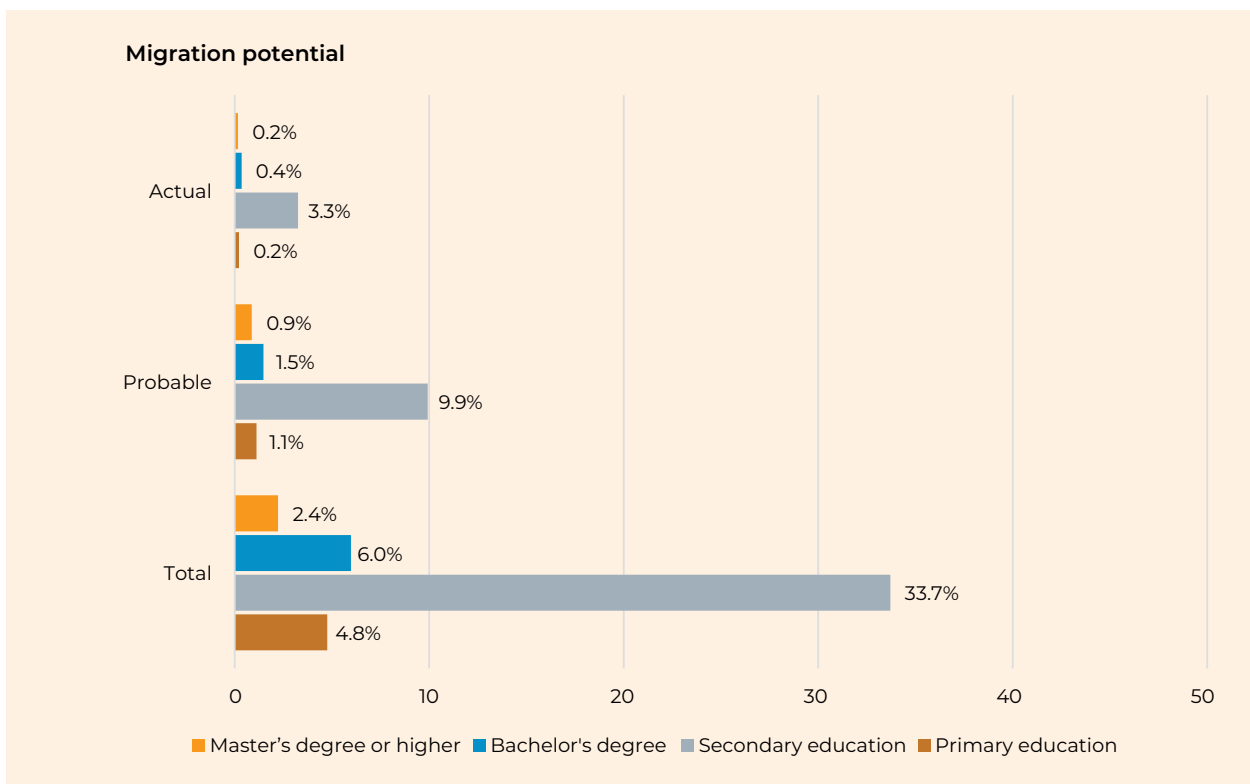


Figure 64 Migration potential in relation to the area of living

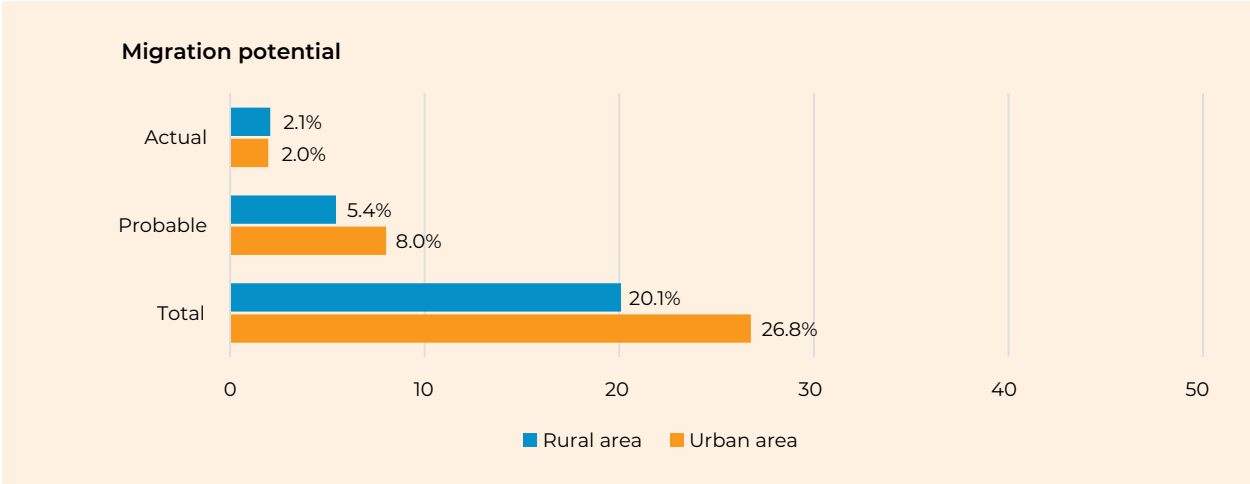


Figure 65 Migration potential in relation to place of residence

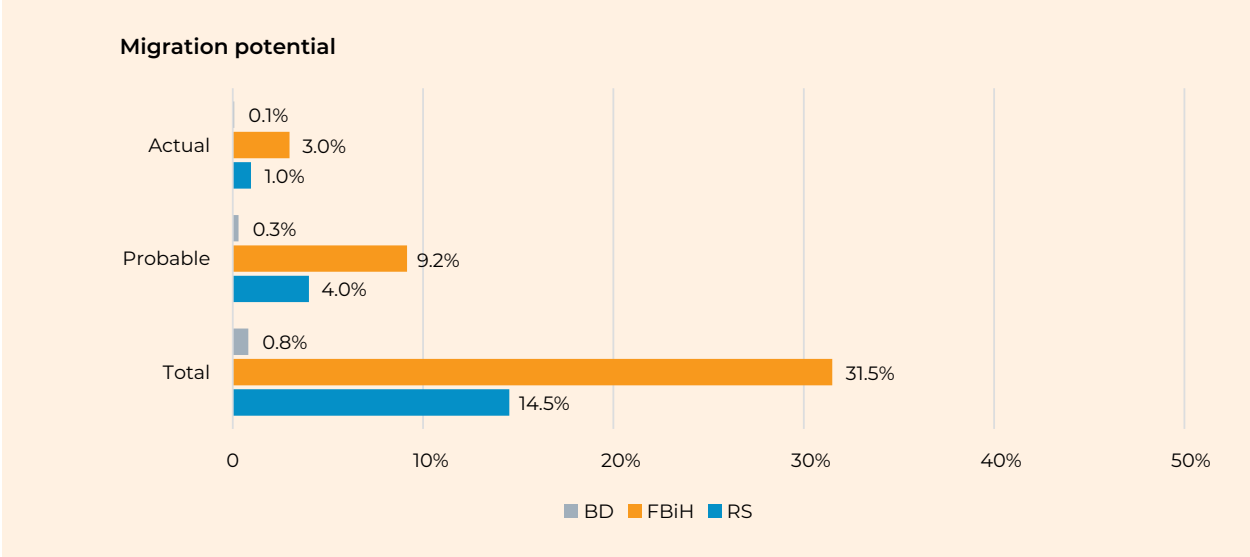


Figure 66 Migration potential in relation to citizenship

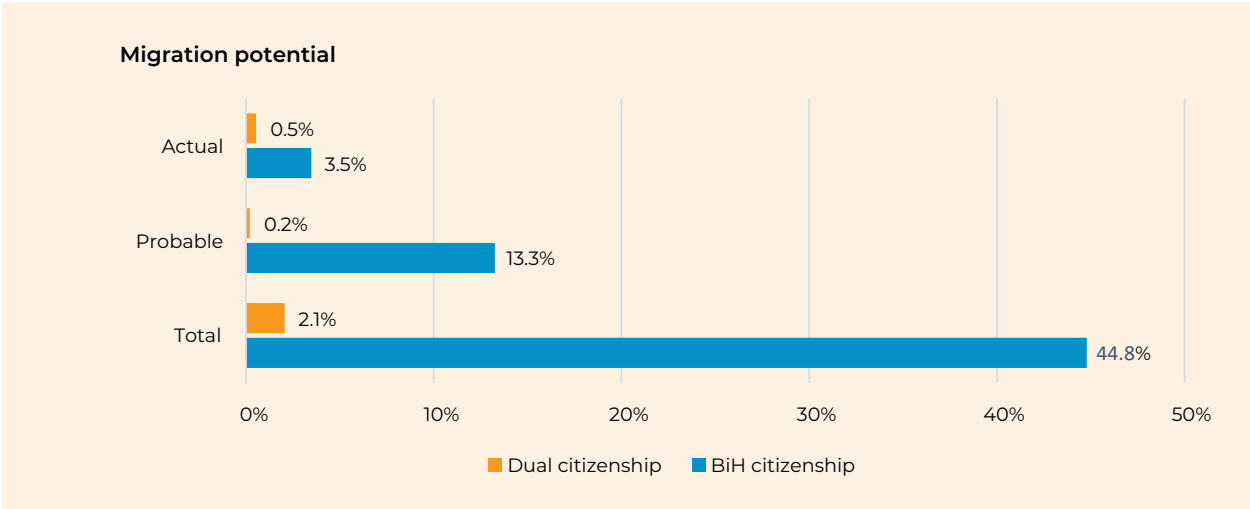
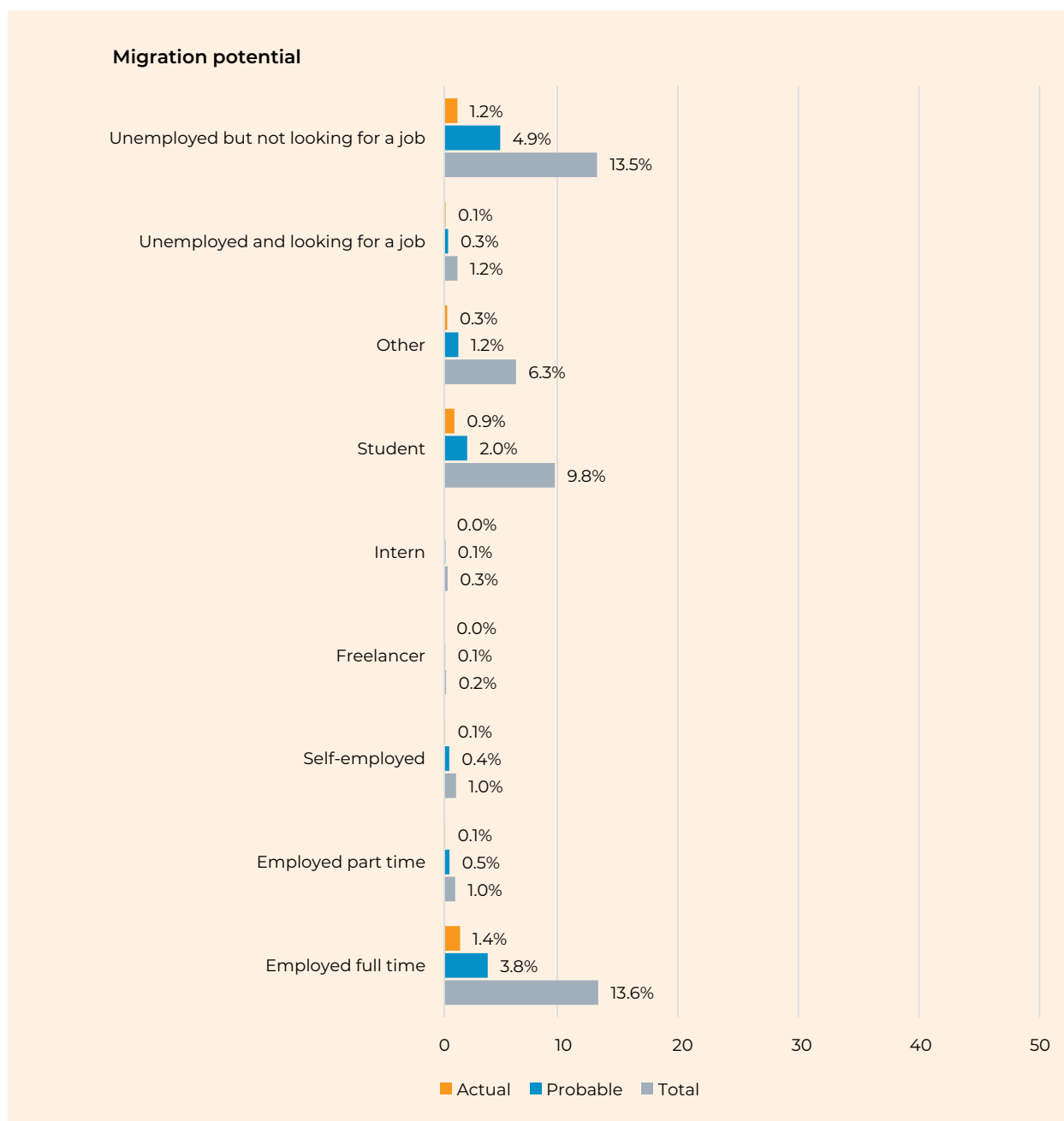


Figure 67 Migration potential in relation to employment status



The Estimates of Migration Potential

According to the 2013 census for Bosnia and Herzegovina, the number of persons who are between 18 and 29 years old is 574,134 and that number represents the size of the total population for which the estimates of migration potential are calculated.

Based on the collected data, it can be estimated, with a 95% probability and with a 3 per cent margin of error, that 269,066 young people (the mean between lower and upper bound) aged 18 to 29 in BiH are thinking about emigration (total migration potential); for 77,209 it is probable that they have already got informed about certain aspects of life abroad (probable migration potential), while 23,001 have actual migratory potential, meaning that they have probably undertaken some actions/initial steps for actual migration to happen (Table 17).

In other words, research results suggest that over the next twelve months, a minimum of 15,629 and a maximum of 16,599 of young men and a minimum of 6,876 and a maximum of 7,307 young women aged 18 to 29 can be expected to emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently (Table 18).

The estimates for the entity level and the Brčko District are calculated within confidence intervals of 0,03 (for FBiH and RS) and 0,04 for BD, and are presented in the tables below (Table 19, Table 20, Table 21).

Table 17 Migration potential estimates - BiH level

	BiH level estimates		
	Lower bound		Upper bound
Total	260,948	269,066	277,184
Probable	74,875	77,209	79,542
Actual	22,307	23,001	23,696

Table 18 Migration potential estimates in relation to sex

	Estimates in relation to gender					
	Male			Female		
	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound
Total	141,751	146,160	150,569	119,521	123,241	126,961
Probable	41,813	43,118	44,423	33,302	34,340	35,377
Actual	15,629	16,114	16,599	6,876	7,091	7,307

Table 19 Migration potential estimates - FBiH

	Estimates for Federation of BiH								
	Male			Female			Total		
	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound
Total	93,391	96,279	99,167	80,034	82,510	84,985	173,147	178,502	183,857
Probable	27,395	28,242	29,089	23,019	23,731	24,443	50,318	51,874	53,430
Actual	12,112	12,487	12,862	4,476	4,614	4,753	16,370	16,876	17,382

Table 20 Migration potential estimates - RS

	Estimates for Republika Srpska								
	Male			Female			Total		
	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound
Total	46,062	47,487	48,912	37,327	38,481	39,636	83,361	85,939	88,518
Probable	13,358	13,771	14,184	9,589	9,885	10,182	22,933	23,642	24,351
Actual	3,340	3,443	3,546	2,169	2,236	2,303	5,504	5,674	5,844

Table 21 Migration potential estimates - BD

	Estimates for Brčko District								
	Male			Female			Total		
	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound	Lower bound		Upper bound
Total	2,298	2,394	2,490	2,160	2,250	2,340	4,440	4,625	4,810
Probable	1,061	1,105	1,149	694	723	752	1,624	1,692	1,760
Actual	177	184	192	231	241	251	433	451	469

Key Findings & Research Implications – Migration Aspiration & Potentials

- **23 per cent** of young people in BiH would like to leave the country **temporarily**, while **24 per cent** is thinking about leaving BiH **permanently**.
 - o More than 40 per cent would like to **leave BiH in the next year** and 35 per cent are convinced they will manage to migrate from BiH in the intended period.
 - o The majority is planning to use support from relatives and personal savings to finance migration. Previous migration experiences of relatives and friends abroad contribute to the decision-making process dynamics.
- Respondents who tend to express greater migration aspiration are: **18 to 24** years old individuals; **men**; those with **secondary education**; those **inactive** in the labour market and persons who are currently employed part-time; **single or divorced**; respondents who hold **dual citizenship** and respondents who have **family and friends living abroad**. On average, the more stable job young people have, the less they are interested in considering their relocation abroad.
- Skilled workers are those who predominantly consider leaving the country, which further contributes to already difficult situation in the labour market in terms of availability of skilled workers in certain professions.
- Women are more prone to considering permanent migrations as well as the respondents with secondary education, compared to respondents with primary education. As a result of higher proportion of female population emigrating, it is expected that the fertile contingent will be further misbalanced, leading to further decline in fertility rates in the country (or lesser children born).

Respondents who live in urban areas and respondents from the FBiH and the Brčko District compared to the respondents from the RS, are also more inclined to emigrate permanently.

The Effect of COVID-19 Pandemic

- More than half of the respondents (60 per cent) stated that the **COVID-19 pandemic** did not affect their intention to leave BiH, in 36 per cent of cases the **desire/intention to emigrate is even stronger**, while 4 per cent stated that the COVID-19 pandemic has affected their intention to migrate and they are not sure or do not want to emigrate anymore. This shows strong intentions of young people to migrate that will require significant investments in improving their assumed future perspective in the country that would eventually result in their stay.

Estimates of Youth Emigration

- It can be estimated, with a 95% of probability and with a 3 per cent margin of error, that 269,066 young people aged 18 to 29 in BiH are thinking about emigration (total migration potential), which is estimated as almost 8 per cent of the current total population in the country. By losing this many young people at such high rates, the proportion of older persons in the country would indirectly increase by almost 2 p.p. while the proportion of working age population would decrease by almost 3 p.p.
- For 77,209 young people it is probable that they have already gotten informed about certain aspects of life abroad (probable migration potential). **23,001** have **actual migration potential** i.e. estimates suggest they have already done necessary **preparations to move**, meaning their intentions to emigrate (either temporarily or permanently) are more probable to be actualized.

The findings imply that population of young people in BiH is characterized by **high migration potential**. Concerning the profile of a potential migrant, the findings are mostly in line with the findings from other studies on migration i.e. young, single men with secondary education, without employment or no permanent employment and with developed social networks in the receiving country for migration are most likely to have high migration aspirations.

Due to high youth unemployment rate and a high degree of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions and their status in the country, it can be assumed that young unemployed individuals are more mobile than the employed ones, because they are more ready to accept lower paid jobs and jobs beneath their level of qualification in the destination countries which have a high prevalence of low-skilled labour markets for migrants. Young people who are inactive in the labour market in BiH are among the first in line to consider emigration.

However, in order for migration to actually happen, a minimum of resources is needed and the findings imply that the networks of relatives and friends who have previously emigrated and are living abroad represent a major asset for potential young emigrants from BiH, both in terms of increased prospects and better opportunities for social integration in the receiving countries as well as in terms of lowering the costs and risks of movement.

The results also imply that there are certain differences in the motives and reasons for emigration, which might differ between those who aspire to emigrate temporarily and those who aspire to emigrate permanently. Women, more than men, aspire to migrate permanently as well as respondents with the higher level of education and respondents who live in urban areas. These results can be explained by the change in the old patterns regarding female migration and the change of the traditional model of a man as a breadwinner i.e. women are not migrating just for family re-unification, but also for search for education and employment opportunities. Furthermore, it is assumed that higher levels of education provide a greater ability to collect and process information as well as to offer increased income returns for specific segments of the labour market, which lowers the risk and increases the propensity of migration for high-skilled individuals.

Regarding the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, results imply that the COVID-19 pandemic can be a barrier to migration for some, but for majority it can act as an additional driver of emigration from BiH.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the estimates of potential young emigrants from BiH are just estimates, and that it is not possible to determine if or when the actual migrations will happen, and if the migrations will be permanent or temporary. Furthermore, the estimates made will be affected by a number of different factors, primarily those related to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic and its consequences and impact on public health situation, cross-border travel, economy and society in general, not just in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in the potential countries of destination as well.

4 Drivers of Migration

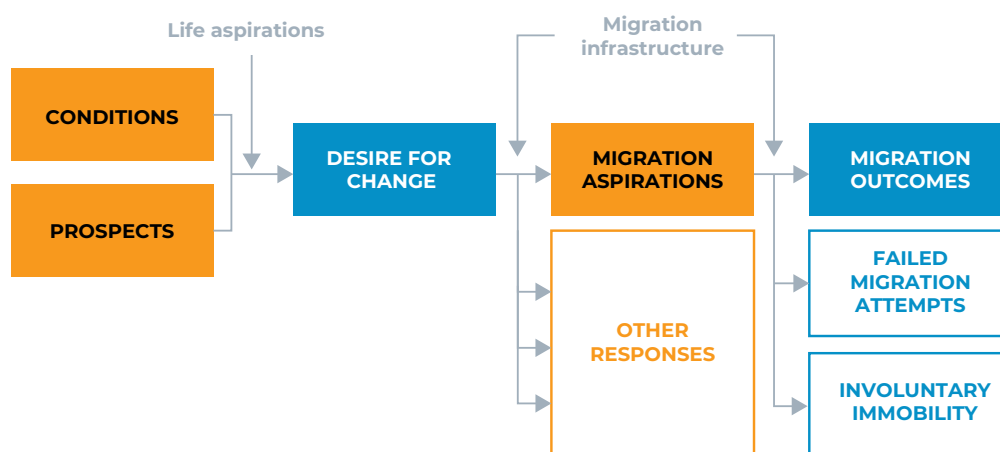
Migration, as discussed in the previous sections, is seen as the outcome of the formation of migration aspirations and the ability to achieve those aspirations. The desire for a change is the result of the conditions in which individuals live, the prospects for improvement of those conditions and their life aspirations. The desire for a change, consequently, can produce migration aspirations that represent the first step toward migration.

However, the range of possible responses to migration aspirations can be diverse. For example, residents of countries with dictatorial regimes may try to escape them, but they may also choose to fight for a change. Another concept that is integrated into migration theories is the “migration infrastructure”, which affects migration processes in two ways. First, migration infrastructure affects how people perceive the possibility of migration, compared to the other responses to migration aspirations. Second, migration infrastructure affects whether migration aspirations are achievable or not, where the possibility of realizing migration aspirations depends on migration-related regulations, access to information and other dimensions of migration infrastructure. Ultimately, there are three possible outcomes of migration aspirations: migration or leaving the home; a failed migration attempt, and a situation of involuntary immobility, i.e. inability to fulfil a migration aspiration (Carling & Talleraas, 2016), as indicated in Figure 68.

The causes of migration aspirations, and migration as a possible response to them, will be discussed below.

Figure 68 A model of the mechanisms that produce migration

(Source: Carling, J., & Talleraas, C. (2016). *Root causes and drivers of migration*. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), 2016, 1-44.)



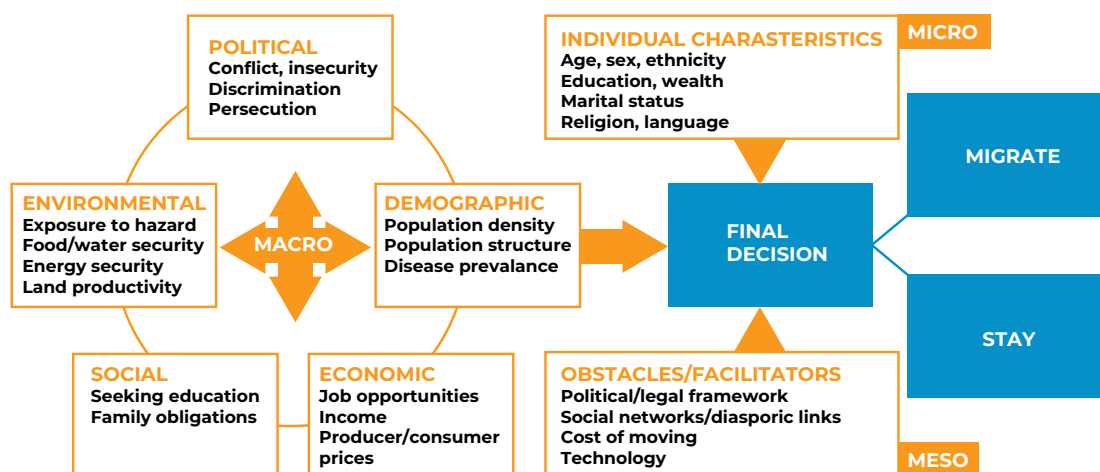
Historically, people have always been on the move and migrations have been an important mean of economic and social development. However, in the last decades, the number of people moving within the borders of the home country and beyond has been steadily growing. According to the United Nations, there were 258 million international migrants in 2017. It is estimated that this figure is 70% higher than it was in 1990. This emphasizes the need to understand the causes of migration, i.e. to find the answer to the question: “Why do people leave their homes?”.

The initial approaches to understanding the causes of migration have focused on migrations that are the result of economic opportunities and the desire to maximize individual potentials.

That was followed by studies on forced migration, which were focused on understanding migration as a response to violence or conflict.

Finally, newer approaches to the notion of migration take into account the fact that migration processes are a result of a multitude of factors and their interactions. Accordingly, migration aspirations are observed as a result of *macro*, *meso* and *micro* factors (Kuhnt, 2019). Macro factors include political, demographic, socio-economic and environmental situations that contribute to migration, and, generally, the individual has no control over these factors. Meso factors, such as communication technologies, social networks abroad, etc. also play an important role in migration flows. These factors are closely related to the individual, but are not under his/her complete control. The final decision on migration is also influenced by micro factors related to the characteristics of the individual and personal attitudes toward migration (Castelli, 2018), Figure 69.

Figure 69 Drivers of migration: macro, meso, and micro factors (Source: Castelli, F. (2018). Drivers of migration: why do people move? Journal of travel medicine, 25(1), tay040.)



In order to better understand migration flows, migration drivers can also be divided into: *predisposing*, *proximate*, *precipitating* and *mediating* drivers. These migration drivers shape the conditions and environment in which people choose to migrate. Predisposing drivers contribute to creating a context that increases the likelihood of migration. These drivers are manifested in the structural differences between the place of origin and the destination. Economic differences between the place of origin and the destination include differences in earnings, livelihoods and living standards that are the product of inequalities in economic development. Political differences are often linked to differences in many dimensions of respect for human rights and human security. Environmental disparities include differences in the presence or absence of resources, soil fertility, water availability and forest cover extent. Ultimately, geographical factors imply the proximity of the desired destination.

Proximate drivers have a more pronounced impact on migration as a result of the desire to achieve better living conditions, such as the opportunity to find employment or the opportunity for better education. It is important to mention that some predisposing drivers, such as economic, political or environmental factors, can also act as proximate drivers.

Precipitating drivers are usually tied to a specific event. In the economic sphere, these include financial crises, rising unemployment, factory closures, declining quality of health, education and other services. In the political sphere, these factors may include escalating conflicts, outbreaks of wars, and persecution. Then, migration can be a result of natural disasters, such as earthquakes or floods.

Mediating drivers potentially enable or restrict migration flows. The drivers that facilitate migration relate to the presence and quality of transport, the availability of information and the resources needed to travel. Drivers that restrict migration include the lack of infrastructure and resources needed to migrate. Policies and practices in areas, such as trade, education, agriculture, social welfare and housing, can also be drivers that enable or limit migration flows (Van Hear, Bakewell & Long, 2018).

Furthermore, push-pull theory of migration offers another approach to the causes of migration, which are, according to this theory, divided into two groups: *push* and *pull*. Push factors are the reasons why individuals make the decision to leave the country of their origin. In contrast, pull factors refer to the characteristics that make a particular country attractive for immigration (Halvadžija & Rešidagić, 2019). The figure below offers a list of examples of push and pulls factors (Douglas et al., 1993, as in Halvadžija & Rešidagić, 2019), Figure 70.

Figure 70 Push and pull factors (Source: Douglas et al., 1993, as cited in Halvadžija & Rešidagić, 2019)



In order to assess what drives young people to emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina, survey respondents who expressed migration aspirations were asked to rank up the three main reasons for wishing to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 1 – most important to 3 – less important).

For the purpose of statistical data processing, items were recoded, meaning that a lower score suggests that a particular reason is a less important reason for leaving BiH, and a higher score suggests that a particular reason is more important for leaving BiH.

According to the results, the following statements are, in most cases, ranked as one of the top three reasons (Table 22, Figure 71):

- I want to have a sense of stability and perspective (M=1.08)
- I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession (M=0.81)
- It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status (M=0.75)
- I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth (M=0.70)
- I want to live in a less corrupted society (M=0.66).

Table 22 Drivers of migration

Which statement best describes the reason why you are considering leaving the country?	1 High importance		2 Medium importance		3 Low importance		0 Not selected	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I want to discover new things and experience different cultures	78	3.3%	86	3.7%	141	6.0%	2,039	87.0%
I want to have a sense of stability and perspective	474	20.2%	380	16.2%	349	14.9%	1,141	48.7%
I want to have an access to better public services	55	2.3%	108	4.6%	118	5.0%	2,063	88.0%
It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status	345	14.7%	246	10.5%	246	10.5%	1,507	64.3%
I need access to better health care services due to my health condition/disability	56	2.4%	65	2.8%	65	2.8%	2,158	92.1%
I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession	318	13.6%	314	13.4%	310	13.2%	1,402	59.8%
I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth	270	11.5%	281	12.0%	258	11.0%	1,535	65.5%
I want to have access to a wider range of education opportunities (e.g. different universities, formal and informal programs and courses)	101	4.3%	111	4.7%	87	3.7%	2,045	87.2%
I want to live in a safe environment where no one will discriminate against me or violate my rights	124	5.3%	144	6.1%	158	6.7%	1,918	81.8%
I want to live closer to my family and friends	81	3.5%	66	2.8%	60	2.6%	2,137	91.2%

Which statement best describes the reason why you are considering leaving the country?	1 High importance		2 Medium importance		3 Low importance		0 Not selected	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I want to live in a less corrupted society	229	9.8%	302	12.9%	267	11.4%	1,546	66.0%
I want to live in a more politically stable society without inter-ethnic tensions	121	5.2%	141	6.0%	165	7.0%	1,917	81.8%
I want to live in an environment where I can have more opportunities to volunteer or be involved in different types of civic engagement	46	2.0%	52	2.2%	40	1.7%	2,206	94.1%
Other	31	1.3%	13	0.6%	80	3.4%	2,220	94.7%

Figure 71 Drivers of migration (average values on a scale from 0 to 3)



Respondents who have expressed an interest in emigration were then asked what would be the one main thing that would motivate them to stay in BiH. The question was answered by 94% of respondents with migration aspirations (2,198 out of 2,344). Answers to this open-ended question were categorized and the frequencies and examples of the responses are presented in the boxes below.

In almost 27 per cent of cases, the respondents have stated that they do not have or cannot come up with any reason that would make them change their mind about leaving (a few examples of the responses are provided below).

Examples of the open-ended question answers - No reason to stay

No reason to stay
<i>I don't believe anything will ever change here.</i>
<i>There is no reason for me to stay in this country, nothing is right.</i>
<i>I'm definitely leaving, and nothing can stop me.</i>
<i>There is no perspective for young people in BiH.</i>
<i>If there were any reasons to stay before, they are all gone now.</i>
<i>I will definitely leave, as soon as I finish college, I am gone.</i>
<i>I no longer believe there is anything that can keep me here.</i>
<i>I simply don't like being here, and there's nothing that can stop me from leaving.</i>
<i>I have no reason to stay, most of my friends have already left.</i>
<i>There is definitely nothing to keep me here.</i>
<i>I doubt there is anything that could keep me here, because I think it will never get better, it can only get worse.</i>

Other, most prevalent answers included the following (Table 23):

- Family and friends (26 per cent of answers)
- Better and more stable job (22 per cent of answers)
- Better standard of living and better quality of life (17 per cent of answers)
- Better pay and better financial security (16 per cent of answers).

Table 23 Reasons to stay

Response category	n	%
a) Family and friends; relationship and marriage	517	25.72
b) Better and more stable job; better working conditions; better opportunities for professional and career development and promotion	452	22.49
c) Better standard of living and better quality of life; better socio-economic situation and more active labour market; better public services (education, health care, social protection)	334	16.62
d) Better pay and better financial security	325	16.17

Response category	n	%
e) Less corruption; more effective and transparent political system; rule of law	108	5.37
f) Prospects for a better future of children and youth and better status and treatment of youth in society	69	3.43
g) Better sense of individual and societal security and stability (political, social, economic, physical)	61	3.03
h) Radical changes in society and big public reforms; change of government(s) and greater participation of young people in politics	52	2.59
i) Love for my country, natural beauty, culture, tradition, food	51	2.54
j) Other	29	1.44
k) More progressiveness and freedom, less traditionalism, more (cultural) content, opportunities to gain new experiences, to learn	12	0.60
Total count of responses	2,010	100

Referring to the push-pull theory of migration, the reasons that would motivate the respondents to stay in their home country are precisely those pull factors that make other countries attractive for immigration. Furthermore, staying in the home country implies eliminating the previously described causes of migration aspirations which relate to the lack of stability, inadequate financial and working conditions and living in a corrupt society.

Examples of the open ended question answers - Family and friends

Family and friends; relationship, marriage
<i>The kids are still very young, so it's not the time yet.</i>
<i>Only marriage would keep me here.</i>
<i>The commitment to my family would keep me from leaving.</i>
<i>People who are close to me, my family and my friends would keep me here.</i>
<i>My parents would be the reason to stay.</i>
<i>I would stay because my friends are here.</i>
<i>Starting a family would be a reason to stay.</i>

Examples of the open ended question answers - Better job

Better and more stable job; better working conditions; better opportunities for professional and career development and promotion
<i>Job that is appropriate to my profession and my qualifications.</i>
<i>Better jobs, more stability and better protection of labour and employees' rights.</i>
<i>Better career opportunities.</i>
<i>Better jobs and better working conditions.</i>

Better and more stable job; better working conditions; better opportunities for professional and career development and promotion
<i>If I got a permanent job here, in BiH, I wouldn't go anywhere.</i>
<i>To have a permanent employment and a normal salary.</i>
<i>The only strong reason would be to have a permanent and stable job until retirement.</i>
<i>That I have a stable job.</i>
<i>If workers were more protected and their rights respected, I would not think about leaving.</i>
<i>If I knew that I would have a secure employment placement after my graduation and that the salary level would suit my qualifications, I would not think about leaving.</i>
<i>Better employment opportunities. Better working conditions.</i>
<i>A job with decent income and normal working hours.</i>
<i>Permanent job placement.</i>
<i>Better living conditions and better employment opportunities, the only options I have now are either to work as a sawmill or cold storage worker.</i>
<i>Better career opportunities, better opportunities for advancement and professional development.</i>
<i>Guaranteed job after school.</i>
<i>To get a job after school.</i>

Examples of the open ended question answers - Better standard of living

Better standard of living and better quality of life; better socio-economic situation and more active labour market; better public services (education, health care, social protection)
<i>Better salaries and a standard of living for all workers.</i>
<i>Better economic situation and more employment opportunities.</i>
<i>Better standard of living.</i>
<i>Better opportunities for normal life.</i>
<i>Better choice in employment.</i>
<i>Better living conditions.</i>
<i>Better health care, education, higher salaries.</i>
<i>If the infrastructure in BiH improved.</i>
<i>To improve the economic and social situation in the country.</i>
<i>A better way of life.</i>
<i>If only the standard was like in Slovenia.</i>
<i>Better health, education, government, etc.</i>
<i>Improved socio-economic situation in BiH in general.</i>

Better standard of living and better quality of life; better socio-economic situation and more active labour market; better public services (education, health care, social protection)

Better services in all spheres of public and social life.

If one could live normally on a salary and have good public services.

If there would be better health care.

To improve the education system and the situation in the country.

The only reason to stay in Bosnia would be to have higher salaries and lower prices.

Examples of the open ended question answers - Better pay

Better pay and better financial security

To find a job appropriate to my profession and qualifications that will be well paid.

Better paid job.

To be able to live normal life on my salary.

Higher salaries.

If I had monthly earnings higher than 1000 BAM I would not think about leaving.

Better earnings.

Minimum monthly net earnings of 1000 BAM plus health and social benefits.

To have minimal salary of 700 BAM a month for the trader's job.

I would stay if I would have higher personal income.

Examples of the open ended question answers - Less corruption

Less corruption; more effective and transparent political system; rule of law

Better organized state system.

Improved rule of law and equal treatment

Better judiciary system.

Better protection of human rights.

If BiH as a state and system were regulated, I probably wouldn't go.

A better system in the country, integration into the European Union.

Better political system, less corruption, injustice and more responsible politicians.

The change of politics. Less corruption, more work.

If employment processes were transparent without bribery and nepotism... which is impossible.

Fair election process.

Less bribery and corruption.

Less corruption; more effective and transparent political system; rule of law
<i>Better political situation.</i>
<i>Better political system in BiH.</i>
<i>A state without corruption and nepotism.</i>
<i>To create a better political system.</i>
<i>If the government was less corrupt.</i>
<i>Better political system, less corruption.</i>
<i>Better organization of the whole system.</i>
<i>A better organized entity.</i>
<i>Less corruption, lies, deception and fraud.</i>

Examples of the open ended question answers - Radical changes

Radical changes in the society and big public reforms; change of government(s) and greater participation of young people in politics
<i>More young people involved and more young leaders on the political scene.</i>
<i>Change of government.</i>
<i>Changes of the BiH election law.</i>
<i>Thorough change of the whole system, governance and the way this country functions.</i>
<i>Major reforms in the whole state.</i>
<i>A complete system needs to change.</i>
<i>Total change of government and politics.</i>
<i>Big political changes.</i>
<i>In case of an absolute change of everything.</i>
<i>If everything changes.</i>
<i>Radical changes in BiH.</i>

Examples of the open ended question answers - Better prospects

Better sense of individual and societal security and stability (political, social, economic, physical)
<i>I want to live in a country that is more politically stable.</i>
<i>Greater social security.</i>
<i>Improved security of us, citizens.</i>
<i>Stabilization of the region.</i>
<i>A safer future.</i>

Better sense of individual and societal security and stability (political, social, economic, physical)

The endangered sense of security is one of the main reasons for leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A more stable society.

A politically more stable and secure country.

A safer environment.

State stability.

Social security.

Stability and security.

Prospects for a better future of children and youth and better status and treatment of youth in society

A better life for my children.

Better treatment and better status and position of young people.

If I was sure of a better future for young people.

Better perspective.

Better environment for young people to grow and express their potential.

The perspective of development, progress and a better life.

Examples of the open ended question answers

Love for my country, natural beauty, culture, tradition, food

The reason to stay would be beautiful nature and natural wealth of BiH.

Because I love my city.

Because I feel I belong here.

Because I want to preserve and maintain my religious and cultural identity and tradition.

Traditional way of life in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a reason to stay here.

Other

Health problems would be something to keep me here.

If I were to win the lottery.

If everyone who left came back.

If marijuana was legalized.

More progressiveness and freedom, less traditionalism, more (cultural) content, opportunities to gain new experiences, to learn
<i>If our mentality changed; if people were more open-minded and less lethargic and indolent.</i>
<i>If cities were nicer and safer.</i>
<i>I want to change something in my life.</i>
<i>I want to enjoy and be exposed to more cultural richness.</i>
<i>If there was greater freedom of expression and if everyone could live their life freely.</i>

Based on the obtained results, it can be concluded that macro factors, such as the lack of sense of general stability and perspective manifested in various spheres (economic, political, social and environmental), are the ones that significantly shape migration aspirations of young people in BiH. If unfavourable financial status, reduced opportunities for professional growth and development, and life in a corrupt society is added to that, then it becomes clear that migration aspirations are rooted in necessity rather than a choice.

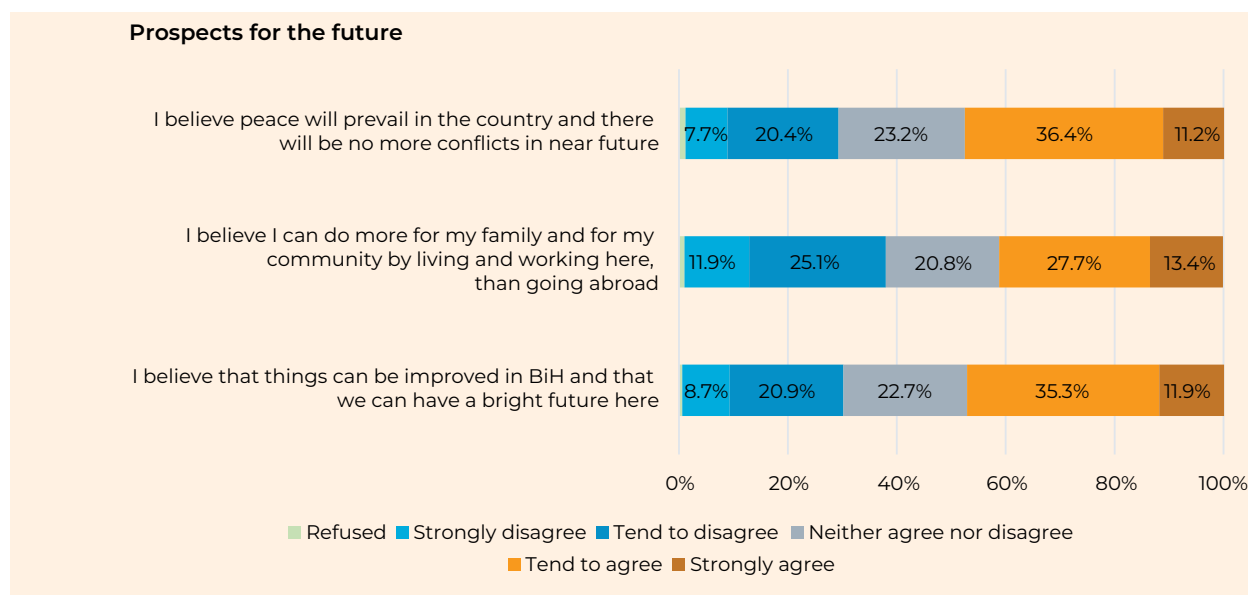
Similar findings were reported in previous research on youth and youth migration (Žiga, et al., 2015; Turčilo et al., 2019; Academy of Sciences and Arts of BiH, 2019). In a research study “*Mass Exodus of Young People from BiH: Search for Jobs or Escape from Reality?*” conducted on a sample of respondents aged 18-35 who left BiH, the following reasons for emigration were identified: employment opportunities, continuing education, poor economic, political and social situation in BiH (Centre for Election Studies and Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2017).

As mentioned, these macro factors are generally not under the control of an individual, but they do affect the perception of prospects for the future in home country that consequently (might) lead to migration (Figure 72).

When asked about their perception of the future, respondents were cautious, but to a certain degree still optimistic in their expectations for the future of BiH. The results show that around 47 per cent of respondents believe (35 to 36 per cent *tend to believe* and around 11 per cent *strongly believe*) that things in BiH can improve, that BiH residents can have a better future, and that the peace will prevail and there will be no more conflicts in the near future. On the other hand, almost 30 per cent of respondents do not share those beliefs and are not convinced there is a bright future for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Figure 72). These findings are in line with the results of a migration study conducted in 2019 on a representative sample of 2,028 respondents from BiH aged 18 and over in which 68 per cent of respondents stated they were concerned about their own future and expressed distrust toward the future in BiH regarding political, economic, and security aspect (Academy of Sciences and Arts of BiH, 2019).

Positive view of the future depends on various factors and according to psychological theories supported by empirical research, some of humans’ primary needs are the need for security (Fulgosi, 1981) and the need for a structured and predictable future (Rietzschel, De Drau, & Nijstad, 2007). Furthermore, negative perception of one’s own future and the future of the society potentially results in reduced life satisfaction (Ilišin & Gvozdrenović, 2017). Therefore, if these needs are not met and a person is not satisfied with a quality of life in his/her home country, he/she may show a greater tendency to migrate.

Figure 72 Prospects for the future - response distribution



Key Findings & Research Implications – Drivers of Migration or Why Do People Leave Their Homes?

- Almost 30 per cent of respondents do not believe that things in BiH can improve, that BiH residents can have a better future and that the peace will prevail and there will be no more conflicts in the near future.
- The key drivers of migration for BiH youth include following:
 - o wanting to have a sense of **stability and perspective**
 - o wanting to find a **job** that is **appropriate** to his/her level of **qualifications** and **profession**
 - o emigration is the **only option** for improving personal or family **financial situation**
 - o wanting to have **better career prospects**
 - o wanting to live in a **less corrupt society**.
- The most prevalent reasons that would motivate young people to stay in BiH include:
 - o **family and friends**
 - o better and more **stable jobs**
 - o **better standard of living** and better quality of life
 - o better pay and better **financial security**.

The findings imply that macro factors, such as the lack of sense of general stability and perspective manifested in various spheres (economic, political, social, and environmental), and meso factors, such as physical proximity, structure, strength and the quality of social networks and social bonds, are the ones that significantly shape migration aspirations of young people in BiH.

The findings also indicate that staying in the home country implies eliminating the previously described causes of youth migration aspirations, which relate to the lack of stability, inadequate financial and working conditions, persistent problems of corruption and the lower standard of living and quality of life of young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina where higher quality of life implies changes not only in terms of economic development, but also in terms of formal and informal education, health care services, other forms of protection etc.

5 Conclusions and Recommendations

Bosnia and Herzegovina can be characterized as a country with a long tradition of emigration, which was particularly intensified in the last three decades. Massive conflict-induced emigration flows during the 1990s have slowly transitioned into steady trends of economic-migration flows toward more developed countries, in search of a better standard of living and a better quality of life. During the last few years, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina has faced a new dimension of migrations, and the general impression is that the structure of the migrating population is changing and that more and more young people are considering outward migration and leaving without any intentions of returning, which has an immense impact on social, economic and demographic trends and development.

The scope and size of migrations from any given country strongly depends on the migration potential of the population. As indicated in other research on migration patterns of young people, unfavourable economy in the country of origin, network support in the countries of destination and other environmental factors foster the conditions for young people to consider leaving their country. The research findings on migration aspiration and migration potential of BiH youth reflect the very same trends and configurations.

According to the survey results, 47 per cent of young people in BiH had been thinking about leaving the country; 23 per cent would like to leave the country temporarily, while 24 per cent are thinking about leaving BiH permanently. The survey results also indicate high migration potential of the BiH youth population; 47 per cent have total, 13 per cent have probable, while 4 per cent have actual migration potential, meaning that estimates suggest that between 22,300 and 23,700 of young people (aged 18 to 29) have probably already undertaken some actions/initial steps for actual migration to happen, and it can be expected they will emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently, over the next twelve months. Migration aspirations do not necessarily imply actual migration behaviour, because young people might express aspirations to move, but due to different factors and circumstances, they might be prevented from taking all the necessary steps for realizing these steps.

According to the survey results, young people in BiH are faced with an unsatisfactory standard of living and quality of life, which is a product of unfavourable socio-economic conditions, high youth unemployment rate, insufficient availability and/or accessibility to quality public services as well as non-supportive environment and the lack of opportunities for personal growth and professional development. At the same time, the level of trust of young people in public institutions in BiH is quite low, which can be explained by a high level of perceived corruption and mismanagement in the public sector i.e. more than 70 per cent of young people believe that the BiH society is systemically corrupt.

These findings imply that young people do not believe that public institutions in BiH care about their interests and that level of institutional distrust might result in indifference and resistance and lack of willingness to contribute to political and socio-economic development. Furthermore, the institutional distrust might also lead to a growing dissatisfaction with the living environment and feed a pessimistic attitude about the future (both personal and social), which are all important determinants of migration aspirations. Insufficiently responsive institutions also drive youth's decisions to emigrate, which consequently shrinks the pool of skilled workers and professionals that will serve to replace generations and contribute to systems that require intergenerational solidarity (such as health care and social protection).

This could seriously affect the quality of public services provided to older generations and negatively contribute to lowering the fertility rates. This in turn results in less development and more emigration, a trend that has been observed in more developed countries where such issues are addressed by establishing immigration programmes for young, skilled workers from other countries.

The results regarding political and civic engagement of youth correspond to prior research and indicate that young people in BiH, apart from the traditional model of participation through voting in elections, express low interest in either formal or semi-formal types of political engagement. The civic engagement, on the other hand, is mostly evident through helping others and donating money to a charity. These findings imply that many of young people in BiH do not see themselves as an important driving force for changing the system, either because they are not interested or because they are not enabled to create and shape policies that directly affect their lives or because they use their abstinence as a form of protest against a socio-political system that does not seem to recognize their needs and interests within existing public policies and practices.

The findings imply that macro factors, such as the lack of sense of general stability and perspective manifested in various spheres (economic, political, social, and environmental), and meso factors, such as structure, strength and the quality of social networks, are the ones that significantly shape migration aspirations of young people in BiH. If dissatisfaction in attaining goals (in terms of financial stability, career prospects and better quality of life) and unmet needs for security and structured, predictable and optimistic future are added to that, then it becomes clear that migration aspirations and migration-related behaviours of young people in BiH are driven by necessity rather than a choice.

Therefore, youth migration should be addressed and treated as a complex issue, because a decision to migrate is affected by a compound set of economic, structural, social, psychological and educational factors and their inter-relationships with the social background of an individual. This implies that dealing with youth migration issues demands active involvement and commitment of different actors, stakeholders, policy and decision makers at different levels who will, in line with their mandates, work on improvement of structures and opportunities for the better quality of life for young people in BiH and creation of an environment in which young people will thrive rather than being 'pulled' and 'pushed' abroad.

Recommendations & Further Considerations

The recommendations and further considerations are based on the research results and are presented within two thematic categories. The first one refers to the policies, programmes and initiatives that should be implemented by relevant stakeholders in BiH, including public and private sector as well as civil society, so the quality of the living environment for young people and their position and status in BiH society can be improved (e.g. governmental institutions at different levels, schools, universities, companies, local and international NGOs/CSOs, youth organisations and informal groups, media etc.). The second one refers to the further research on the topic of youth migration and utilization of migration data, because migration data are important for shaping the country's migration policies, and if there is the lack of reliable data and systems for monitoring the phenomenon of migration, then the space for evidence-based policy-making is limited or non-existent.

Policies, Programmes and Initiatives Aimed at Improving the Quality of Life of Young People in BiH

Research results indicate that young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are disrespected in regard to their social status and position, which significantly affects their quality of life. Having in mind that life dissatisfaction is a strong determinant of migration intentions, the key question is how BiH society, i.e. institutions can change, and what can be done so the young people in BiH can have better standard of living and quality of life, and enjoy equal opportunities provided to their peers in a more stable, healthy and advanced socio-political and economic systems.

In order for any meaningful and long-lasting changes to happen, in the sphere of economic development, security and employment, legal and political regulation, governance effectiveness and transparency, education quality etc., further continuation

and initiation of more effective, efficient, relevant and accountable implementation of ongoing and new public sector reforms is crucial.

One of the important tasks within these larger processes of change and transformation should be development, revision, implementation and adequate evaluation of youth policies (i.e. frameworks, strategies, action plans, programmes, projects and initiatives), at different BiH levels, that address the following issues:

- **School – work transition**, young worker's rights and responsibilities, youth **unemployment**, youth **inactivity** (young people neither in employment nor in education and training) and youth **poverty**, with particular considerations of short-term and long-term effects and consequences (health, social and economic) of ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.
- **Availability and accessibility to quality public services** at both state/entity and the local level, including: better quality and greater variety of choices of formal, non-formal and informal education programmes and activities; accessibility of housing programmes for young individuals and families; quality health care services; clean, healthy and safe environment; transport infrastructure; and availability and accessibility of activities and places and spaces – both indoor and outdoor – where young people can enjoy in diverse leisure activities e.g. cultural, sports, social that are not part of short-term donor driven projects.
- **Restoring young people's trust in public institutions** is essential to the general sense of stability and security, as well as to the effectiveness of government and governance. However, it requires an increase in citizen **participation in policy making** which cannot be achieved without greater effectiveness, inclusion, transparency and reliability of public institutions, which should protect public interest, mitigate corruption and provide public services that are accessible and citizen-oriented.
- Types and forms of **political and civic engagement** of young people in BiH – interest, knowledge, resources and opportunities. Young people are entitled to participate actively in all decision-making, which affects their lives, their voice is important and relevant, it needs to be louder, and it needs to be heard. Therefore, the role of all those dealing with youth issues is to make that happen and some of the ways to do so are following:
 - identification of the reasons for low interest and low level of political and civic engagement;
 - making young people more visible in public space by giving them opportunity to express the problems and challenges they face in the BiH society;
 - exploration and assessment of the content of the existing non-governmental, cultural, sports organizations, and identification of the socio-political dimension of their activities;
 - exploration of different approaches for encouraging young people to get involved, especially those who would like to be involved but do not know how (informing and educating young people how they can contribute to solving problems in the local community and society, why their engagement is important, what are their rights and opportunities, how specific mechanisms and tools work and how they can be used for achieving certain socio-political goals);
 - development of strategies and mechanisms for increased participation of young women, young people with lower level of education and older youth groups (aged 25 to 29);
 - harmonization of youth policies and strategies at all levels in BiH in order to minimize differences in opportunities for young people in different parts of BiH.

- The prevalence and persistency of **negative stereotyping of young people** as passive, indifferent, incompetent and useless, together with the notion that only 'losers' stay in BiH, while the brave and the smart leave. This issue, in itself, represents further deterioration of young people's status and additionally reinforces the unequal treatment of youth in different spheres of public life. Therefore, it requires different types of interventions (e.g. from awareness raising campaigns about the nature and impact of negative stereotyping, greater positive media representations of young people and greater promotion of success stories to development of guidelines on the media coverage of young people and youth-related issues).

The perception of young people as a homogeneous group is extremely problematic, especially if certain changes are to be introduced. Young people differ, regarding their backgrounds, characteristics, needs, experiences and aspirations, implying they have different sets of issues and challenges in their daily life, and any type of generic solution is ineffective in addressing those problems. Therefore, although types of interventions might be similar, different approaches are needed for different groups (e.g. younger, older, men, women, young people from rural areas, young people with lower education level etc.), meaning that interventions/programmes/activities need to be tailored (in approach, content and implementation) to specific needs and characteristics of each target group.

Further Research and Data Utilization

The major issue regarding youth emigration from BiH is the lack of reliable statistics and monitoring systems, as well as unwillingness to base strategic measures on accumulated evidence on youth migration. If data is not collected systematically and longitudinally, then it is hard to make an assessment of migration trends, meaning that adequate monitoring and early identification of the target population with the highest migration potential is hindered. Therefore, some of the proposed activities and initiatives are as follows:

- To invest additional efforts and resources (expertise, finances and infrastructure) for further development of migration policies, institutional and legal framework and harmonized methodologies for continuous and systematic collection and analysis of real-time migration data and ensure better migration data quality and utilization in order to gain better insight into migration trends in BiH, which also implies comparability with the global trends.
- To support the development of (academic) research community or community of practice and further research activities in the field of youth emigration (e.g. research meetings, collaborative research projects, an open repository with all relevant information on implemented projects, surveys, research papers etc.) that can result in assessments on trends or changes in future developments. These resources can also be used for an early identification of the target population to be affected and factors that should be taken into account in order to retain potential migrants or encourage their return to the home country.
- The existing migration data and research results on youth emigration should be used as a starting point for exploring and developing a comprehensive set of recommendations and strategies (e.g. through panel and thematic workshops and discussions) while considering the question of which target groups should be influenced and how, and which factors should be taken into account for either keeping potential migrants or encouraging their circular movement and investment into the country of origin. The recommendations and strategies should be used for developing new or revising existing policies on youth and youth migration in BiH and the whole process requires active involvement and participation of different stakeholders and key informants from relevant fields, e.g. experts, researchers, academics in demography, sociology, psychology, economics, education, health, political science, gender studies etc., as well as programme managers, youth workers and activists.

- To promote, introduce and implement the evidence-based policy making on youth migration issues within relevant governmental institutions at different levels of BiH governance (e.g. capacity building workshops, seminars, training for institutional representatives, policy and decision makers).
- To raise awareness on the effects and importance of migrations for the development of the private, academic and non-governmental sector and the media (e.g. through different types of specially designed public communication campaigns and initiatives).
- To use existing youth migration data and existing research findings on youth emigration for encouraging and developing partnerships in projects of interest for BiH e.g. work with diaspora to attract their interest in BiH and utilize their capacities (social, human and financial) for country development.

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7 Annex 1

SURVEY ON YOUTH EMIGRATION IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA – QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction:

Hello, my name is [INTERVIEWER NAME] and I am here on behalf of an independent research company [NAME OF THE COMPANY]. We are conducting a survey to solicit opinions of young BiH citizens on different social issues.

Your opinions matter, because you are one of the [N] citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina selected to participate in this survey.

I will read the questions from the questionnaire exactly as they are written. I will either read you the answer options or show them to you or tell you that you should answer the question in your own words. Depending on the question, I will let you know whether you should choose/give one or more answers. If some of the questions I read are not clear to you or you do not quite understand them, feel free to say so – I will read them again, but I am not allowed to assist you while you are answering the questions. Your participation is voluntary, and all information that you provide will be kept in strict confidence. We will not mention anyone's name in any of our reports, but only numbers showing how many people out of [N] gave specific answers. Therefore, it is very important that your answers are complete and sincere.

I SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

E1. What is respondent's place of residence?

- a) Republika Srpska (if yes, which region)
- b) Federation of BiH (if yes, which canton)
- c) Brčko Distrikt

E2. Where does respondent live?

- a) Urban area
- b) Rural area

E3. What is your gender?

- a) Male
- b) Female
- c) Other
- d) Prefer not to answer

E4. What is your age?

- a) ≤ 18
- b) 18 - 19
- c) 20-24
- d) 25-29
- e) $30 \leq$

E5. What is your ethnicity? (mark one answer only)

- a) Bosniak
- b) Croat
- c) Serb
- d) Roma

- e) Bosnian and Herzegovinian
- f) Jew
- g) Other
- h) Does not declare

E6. Are you a citizen of?

- a) Bosnia and Herzegovina
- b) Bosnia and Herzegovina and other country (please specify) _____

E7. What best describes your current marital status?

- a) Single
- b) Married
- c) Live in a consensual union
- d) Divorced
- e) Widowed
- f) Prefer not to answer

E8. What is your highest education level attained?

- a) Primary education
- b) Secondary education
- c) University degree - bachelor degree
- d) University degree - master's degree or higher
- e) Other (please specify) _____

E9. What best describes your current status?

- a) Employed full time
- b) Employed part time
- c) Self-employed
- d) Freelancer
- e) Intern
- f) Student
- g) Other
- h) Unemployed and looking for a job (*if yes go to E9a and E9b*)
- i) Unemployed but not looking for a job (*if yes go to E9a and E9b*)

If unemployed

E9a. For how long have you been unemployed (months)? _____

E9b. Have you ever been employed?

- a) Yes
- b) No

E10. Where do you get most of your money from?

- a) My regular job
- b) Unemployment or social security benefits
- c) Stipend
- d) My parents and/or family
- e) My family or friends living abroad (remittances)
- f) My partner
- g) Work in the informal, "grey" economy
- h) Other
- i) Prefer not to answer

E11. What best describes your current living conditions?

I live at

- a) my own house/apartment
- b) rented house/apartment
- c) my parents, family house/apartment
- d) Other
- e) Prefer not to answer

E12. Which of the following best describes your own feelings about your household's income these days?

- a) Living comfortably on present income
- b) Getting by on present income
- c) Finding it difficult on present income
- d) Finding it very difficult on present income
- e) Prefer not to answer

E13. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your standard of living and all the things you can buy and do?

- a) Satisfied
- b) Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- c) Dissatisfied
- d) Prefer not to answer

E14. Do you have any dependents (someone who depends on your financial support)?

- a) Yes
- b) No

E14a. If YES, please specify

- a) Child/children
- b) Spouse/partner
- c) Parent(s) or other relative(s)
- d) Other

E15. How would you rate your network of friends, those you can rely on for social support in difficult times?

- a) very good
- b) good
- c) neither weak nor good
- d) weak
- e) very weak

II LIVING ENVIRONMENT

A1. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following:	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	Refused
a) Availability of public transportation system in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
b) The quality of air in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
c) The quality of water and sanitation in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
d) The availability of housing programmes for young people in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
e) The educational system or the schools in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
f) Availability of informal education programmes in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
g) Availability of quality healthcare in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
h) Availability of welfare benefits in the city or area where you live (e.g. disability allowance, social security benefits, housing benefit)?	1	2	3	4	5	R

A1. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the following:	Very dissatisfied	Somewhat dissatisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Very satisfied	Refused
i) Availability of sports and cultural activities and events in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
j) Opportunity to volunteer in your local community	1	2	3	4	5	R
k) The opportunities to meet people and make friends in the city or area where you live?	1	2	3	4	5	R
l) Your life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general?	1	2	3	4	5	R

A2. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements? I have confidence in...	Strongly disagree	Tend to disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to agree	Strongly agree	Refused
a) ... police	1	2	3	4	5	R
b) ... judiciary	1	2	3	4	5	R
c) ... government	1	2	3	4	5	R
d) ... financial institutions	1	2	3	4	5	R
e) ... media	1	2	3	4	5	R
f) ... CSOs/NGOs	1	2	3	4	5	R
g) ... political parties	1	2	3	4	5	R
h) ... fairness of elections	1	2	3	4	5	R

III POLITICAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

B1. How likely are you to vote if the elections would be held next weekend?

- a) Definitely will not vote
- b) Probably will not
- c) Probably will vote
- d) Definitely will vote
- e) Refused

B1a. To what extent do you want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving the problems in the local community and society?

- a) I really want to be involved
- b) I want to be involved
- c) both want and do not want to be involved
- d) I do not want to be involved
- e) I do not want to be involved at all

B1b. To what extent do you contribute to solving community and societal problems and issues?

- a) I contribute enough
- a) I contribute according to my abilities
- b) I do not contribute as much as I would like
- c) I should not get involved in solving societal problems

B2. Have you done any of the following during the past 12 months? (check all that apply)

- a) Been a member of the political party/group
- b) Signed the (online) petition, supported the cause
- c) Participated in a public assembly (e.g. demonstration, rally, etc.)
- d) Volunteered in CSO/NGO
- e) Donated money to a charity
- f) Volunteered your time to help others (e.g. elderly, children, disabled)
- g) Other type of political and/or civic engagement activity
- h) None of the above

IV MIGRATION POTENTIAL

C1. During the last 10 years, did you spend more than a month living abroad, not including tourist travel?

- a) Yes
- b) No

C2. Do you have any close friends or family members living abroad?

- a) Yes
- b) No

C2a. How many people from your immediate environment do you know (e.g. family, friends, acquaintances) who left Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- a) None
- b) One
- c) more than one, less than 5
- d) More than 5

C3. During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?

- a) Yes, temporarily
- b) Yes, permanently
- c) No (*if NO, go to the question D3*)

C4. Has the COVID-19 pandemic affected your desire/intention to emigrate?

- a) Yes, my desire/intention is stronger
- b) Yes, I realised I do not want to emigrate
- c) No, it has not

C5. How often, during past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?

- a) Rarely
- b) Sometimes
- c) Often
- d) All the time

C6. How soon would you like to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- a) In the next six months
- b) In the next year
- c) In one to two years
- d) In more than two years
- e) Do not know

C7. How likely is it that you will manage to migrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the intended period?

- a) Extremely unlikely
- b) Very unlikely
- c) More or less likely
- d) Very likely
- e) Extremely likely

C8. Have you done any preparation for this move, made any initial steps? (check all that apply)

- a) I got informed about city/region/country in which I plan to move to
- b) I got informed about accommodation opportunities and costs
- c) I got informed about employment opportunities and available jobs
- d) I am in contact with people who will help me to find the job and accommodation
- e) I have already applied for scholarship
- f) I have already applied for work permit which is required in the country I intend to move to
- g) I already have a secured job position
- h) I have already secured my placement at desired university/education program

- i) I have dual citizenship or residence permit and need no preparation
- j) Other
- k) None of the above

C8a. How do you plan to finance your migration?

- a) Savings
- b) Loan
- c) To sell household assets
- d) Support from relatives
- e) Other (please specify)
- f) Do not know

V DRIVERS OF MIGRATION

<p>D1. Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country? Please choose up to 3 answers and rank them (1 – most important, 3 – less important)</p>
a) I want to discover new things and experience different cultures
b) I want to have sense of stability and perspective
c) I want to have access to better public services
d) It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status
e) I need access to better health care services due to my health condition/disability
f) I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession
g) I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth
h) I want to have access to a wider range of education opportunities (e.g. different universities, formal and informal programs and courses)
i) I want to live in a safe environment where no one will discriminate me or violate my rights
j) I want to live closer to my family and friends
k) I want to live in a less corrupted society
l) I want to live in a more politically stable society without inter-ethnic tensions
m) I want to live in an environment where I can have more opportunities to volunteer or be involved in different types of civic engagement
n) Other (please specify) _____

D2. What would be one, main thing to motivate you to change your mind about leaving the country?

D3. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly disagree	Tend to disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to agree	Strongly agree	Refused
a) I feel my standard of living is getting better	1	2	3	4	5	R
b) I feel that people treat me with respect and dignity	1	2	3	4	5	R
c) I have opportunities to learn and grow every day	1	2	3	4	5	R
d) I can freely express myself and do not feel discriminated on any basis (e.g. due to colour of my skin, sex, ethnic origin, age, disabilities, sexual orientation)	1	2	3	4	5	R
e) I prefer stability of employment over salary level	1	2	3	4	5	R
f) I believe I can do more for my family and for my community by living and working here, than going abroad	1	2	3	4	5	R
g) I think that young people have easy access to informal/non-formal education in a city/area where I live	1	2	3	4	5	R
h) I think that socio-economic conditions in the city/area where I live, as a whole, are getting better	1	2	3	4	5	R
i) I believe that things can be improved in BiH and that we can have a bright future here	1	2	3	4	5	R
j) I believe peace will prevail in the country and there will be no more conflicts in near future	1	2	3	4	5	R

D4. How strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements?	Strongly disagree	Tend to disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Tend to agree	Strongly agree	Refused
a) Education and training that young people receive during their formal schooling in BiH is useful for getting a job.	1	2	3	4	5	R
b) Formal education and training in BiH equip young people with necessary skills and competences for living and working in 21st century (e.g. critical thinking, problem solving, decision making, digital literacy, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	R
c) Young people in BiH feel insecure due to possibility of inter-ethnic tensions	1	2	3	4	5	R
d) BiH society is systemically corrupted	1	2	3	4	5	R
e) Young women in BiH have equal rights as men and receive the same treatment as men do	1	2	3	4	5	R
f) It is very hard for young people in BiH to gain any kind of work experience, including student jobs or internships	1	2	3	4	5	R
g) If the wage is high enough, young people do not care about the type of work they do, nor the working conditions and terms of the contract	1	2	3	4	5	R
h) Young people have a strong desire to volunteer and contribute to their local community and society	1	2	3	4	5	R

8 Annex 2

Descriptive tables

The results shown in the tables below are presented as absolute numbers (N), percentages (%) or as average scores achieved on the scales used in the study (M).

8.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of the sample

Table 24 Education level in relation to sex

		Sex			
		Male		Female	
		n	%	n	%
Highest level of education attained	Primary education	266	10.7%	264	10.5%
	Secondary education	1,843	74.1%	1,647	65.5%
	Bachelor's degree	274	11.0%	419	16.7%
	Master's degree or higher	100	4.0%	178	7.1%
	Other	5	0.2%	5	0.2%
	Total	2,488	100.0%	2,513	100.0%

Table 25 Education level in relation to unemployment status

		Current employment status			
		Unemployed and looking for a job		Unemployed but not looking for a job	
		n	%	n	%
Highest level of education attained	Primary education	10	8.4%	45	3.9%
	Secondary education	92	77.3%	884	76.7%
	Bachelor's degree	13	10.9%	158	13.7%
	Master's degree or higher	4	3.4%	63	5.5%
	Other	0	0.0%	2	0.2%
	Total	119	100.0%	1,152	100%

8.1.1 Employment characteristics of the sample

The largest percentage of men are employed (45.8 per cent), followed by 30.6 per cent of them have the status of a student or “other”, while 23.6 per cent of men are unemployed. On the other hand, the largest percentage of women have the status of a student or “other” (41.9 per cent). Approximately the same percentage of women are employed (30.9 per cent) or unemployed (27.2 per cent) (Table 26).

Furthermore, the largest percentage of respondents aged 18-19 have the status of a student or “other” (75.2 per cent), while more than half of respondents aged 25-29 are employed (61 per cent). When it comes to respondents aged 20-24, approximately the same percentage of them are employed (34.9 per cent) or have the status of a student status or “other” (37.6 per cent), while 27.5 per cent are unemployed (Table 27).

The largest percentage of respondents with completed primary education have the status of a student or “other” (84.5 per cent). On the other hand, respondents who have completed secondary education (39.5 per cent), the first cycle of studies (47 per cent), and the second cycle of studies or more (64.8 per cent) are mainly employed (Table 28).

Table 26 Employment status in relation to sex

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Sex	Male	1,140	45.8%	587	23.6%	761	30.6%
	Female	777	30.9%	684	27.2%	1,052	41.9%

Table 27 Employment status in relation to age

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Age	18 - 19	85	7.5%	195	17.2%	851	75.2%
	20-24	708	34.9%	558	27.5%	762	37.6%
	25-29	1,124	61.0%	518	28.1%	200	10.9%

Table 28 Employment status in relation to education level

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Highest level of education attained	Primary education	27	5.1%	55	10.4%	448	84.5%
	Secondary education	1,380	39.5%	976	28.0%	1,134	32.5%
	Bachelor's degree	328	47.0%	171	24.5%	199	28.5%
	Master's degree or higher	182	64.8%	67	23.8%	32	11.4%

Approximately the same percentage of respondents living in urban areas are employed (39.6 per cent) or have a student status or “other” (37.8 per cent), while 22.6 per cent are unemployed. Likewise, approximately the same percentage of respondents living in rural areas are employed (36.6 per cent) or have the status of a student status or “other” (34.2 per cent), while 29.2 per cent of respondents are unemployed (Table 29). Respondents from Republika Srpska (43.5 per cent) and Brčko District (40.2 per cent) are mostly employed. From FBiH, most respondents have the status of students or “other” (38.6 per cent), followed by respondents who are employed (35.8 per cent) (Table 30).

Table 29 Employment status in relation to the area of living

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Area of living	Urban area	1,139	39.6%	650	22.6%	1,087	37.8%
	Rural area	778	36.6%	621	29.2%	726	34.2%

Table 30 Employment status in relation to place of residence

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Place of residence	Republika Srpska	682	43.5%	385	24.6%	501	32.0%
	Federation of BiH	1,190	35.8%	850	25.6%	1,281	38.6%
	Brčko District	45	40.2%	36	32.1%	31	27.7%

More than half of the employed respondents live in their own home (51.8 per cent). Respondents with student status or “other” (42.9 per cent) mostly live with their parents (Table 31).

Table 31 Employment status in relation to living conditions

Employment status		Employed		Unemployed		Students & Other	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Living conditions	Prefer not to answer	10	30.3%	16	48.5%	7	21.2%
	My own house/apartment	687	51.8%	347	26.1%	293	22.1%
	Rented house/apartment	142	49.8%	65	22.8%	78	27.4%
	My parents, family house/apartment	1,066	32.2%	827	25.0%	1,421	42.9%
	Other	12	28.6%	16	38.1%	14	33.3%

8.2 Quality of living environment

The *Living environment scale* originally numbered 12 items. Due to low factor saturation, two items describing satisfaction with air quality, and water and sanitation were excluded from detailed analysis. In order to check the factor structure of the scale, a factor analysis was performed where the values of the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test (0.860) and the Bartlett sphericity test ($\chi^2=7960.171$; $df= 66$; $p= 0.000$; $p<0.01$) indicate the factorability of the data. That is, the KMO index is higher than the recommended value of 0.6, while the Bartlett sphericity test determined via the approximate chi-square is significant at the level of 99.9 per cent ($p<0.01$). The first main component explained 28.109 per cent of the variance of the results. The scale has satisfactory metric characteristics. That is, a high internal reliability coefficient of Cronbach $\alpha=0.760$ was found. By comparing the average scores achieved on each item, and the relationship between the minimum and maximum scores, we can say that the scale has a satisfactory sensitivity. That is, the scale makes it possible to distinguish between respondents who are dissatisfied and respondents who are satisfied with different aspects of their immediate living environment (Table 32).

Table 32 Results of exploratory factor analysis of self-assessment on the living environment scale

Items	Component	h^2	Min.	Max.	M	SD
Availability of informal education programmes in the city or area where you live	.617	.465	1	5	2.99	1.125
Availability of welfare benefits in the city or area where you live	.605	.368	1	5	2.90	1.129
The educational system or the schools in the city or area where you live	.593	.362	1	5	3.22	1.129
Availability of sports and cultural activities and events in the city or area where you live	.591	.437	1	5	3.06	1.206
Availability of quality healthcare in the city or area where you live	.583	.366	1	5	2.96	1.216
The availability of housing programmes for young people in the city or area where you live	.576	.390	1	5	2.68	1.210
Opportunity to volunteer in your local community	.541	.376	1	5	2.90	1.169
Your life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general	.502	.265	1	5	3.07	1.182
Availability of public transportation system in the city or area where you live	.488	.243	1	5	2.95	1.263
The opportunities to meet people and make friends in the city or area where you live	.467	.218	1	5	3.66	1.172
Eigenvalue	3.373					
% of explained variance	28.109%					

Table 33 shows the average scores on each items within the satisfaction scale for different aspects of the living environment. Based on the obtained results, we can say that the respondents expressed a neutral attitude (neither satisfied nor dissatisfied) when it comes to satisfaction with the living environment.

Table 33 Living environment scale - average values

Living environment assessment	n	Mean	Std. Deviation
a) Availability of public transportation system in the city or area where you live?	4,978	2.95	1.263
b) The quality of air in the city or area where you live?	4,990	3.28	1.396
c) The quality of water and sanitation in the city or area where you live?	4,984	3.46	1.271
d) The availability of housing programmes for young people in the city or area where you live?	4,891	2.68	1.210
e) The educational system or the schools in the city or area where you live?	4,978	3.22	1.129
f) Availability of informal education programmes in the city or area where you live?	4,947	2.99	1.125
g) Availability of quality healthcare in the city or area where you live?	4,986	2.96	1.216
h) Availability of welfare benefits in the city or area where you live?	4,918	2.90	1.129
i) Availability of sports and cultural activities and events in the city or area where you live?	4,987	3.06	1.206
j) Opportunity to volunteer in your local community	4,873	2.90	1.169
k) The opportunities to meet people and make friends in the city or area where you live?	4,985	3.66	1.172
l) Your life in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general?	4,978	3.07	1.182
Total	4,613		

Only 27 per cent of respondents believe that the standard of living in the area where they live is getting better. In contrast, 73 per cent experience stagnation or deterioration in living standards. Furthermore, a high percentage of respondents (44.3 per cent) believe that interethnic tensions in BiH are possible, which makes them feel insecure (Table 34).

Table 34 Perception of the socio-economic conditions in the city/area of living and sense of the security and the possibility of interethnic tensions

	Refused		Strongly disagree		Tend to disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Tend to agree		Strongly agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I think that socio-economic conditions in the city/area where I live, as a whole, are getting better	34	0.7%	554	11.1%	1,708	34.2%	1,354	27.1%	1,072	21.4%	279	5.6%
Young people in BiH feel insecure due to possibility of inter-ethnic tensions	67	1.3%	275	5.5%	1,208	24.2%	1,237	24.7%	1,686	33.7%	528	10.6%

Most respondents expressed the view that other people treat them with respect and dignity (66.6 per cent), and that they do not feel discriminated against and could express themselves freely (67 per cent). Half of the respondents stated that they have opportunities to learn something on a daily basis, for 23 per cent those opportunities are rarer, while for the rest, 26 per cent, those opportunities are quite rare or non-existent. When it comes to the perception of gender equity in BiH, opinions and attitudes are not unanimous; around 47 per cent agree (tend to agree and strongly agree), 20 per cent are undecided, while 33 per cent disagree (tend to disagree and strongly disagree) that young women in BiH have equal rights as men and receive the same treatment as men do (Table 35).

Table 35 Perception of opportunities to grow and express yourself

Opportunities to grow and express yourself	Refused		Strongly disagree		Tend to disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Tend to agree		Strongly agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I feel that people treat me with respect and dignity	25	0.5%	193	3.9%	586	11.7%	863	17.3%	2,232	44.6%	1,102	22.0%
I have opportunities to learn and grow every day	32	0.6%	298	6.0%	1,001	20.0%	1,164	23.3%	1,735	34.7%	771	15.4%
I can freely express myself and do not feel discriminated on any basis (e.g. due to colour of my skin, sex, ethnic origin, age, disabilities, sexual orientation)	26	0.5%	240	4.8%	618	12.4%	765	15.3%	2,020	40.4%	1,332	26.6%
Young women in BiH have equal rights as men and receive the same treatment as men do	55	1.1%	436	8.7%	1,172	23.4%	1,013	20.3%	1,709	34.2%	616	12.3%

8.3 Trust in public institutions

The scale of *Trust in public institutions* has 8 items and respondents were asked to rate the extent to which the statements applied to them (from 1-strongly disagree to 5-strongly agree). In order to check the factor structure of the scale, a factor analysis was performed where the values of the Kaiser-Mayer-Olkin test (0.883) and the Bartlett test of sphericity ($\chi^2=10233.204$; $df=28$; $p=0.000$; $p<0.01$) indicate the factorability of the data. That is, the KMO index is higher than the recommended value of 0.6, while the Bartlett sphericity test determined via the approximate chi-square is significant at the level of 99.9 per cent ($p<0.01$). The scale is of one-dimensional character, and the first main component explains 45.244 per cent of the variance of the results. The scale has satisfactory metric characteristics. That is, a high internal reliability coefficient Cronbach $\alpha=0.824$ was found. By comparing the average scores achieved on each item, and the relationship between the minimum and maximum scores, we can say that the scale has a satisfactory sensitivity. That is, the scale makes it possible to distinguish between respondents who have low and respondents who have high confidence in public institutions (Table 36).

Table 36 Results of exploratory factor analysis of self-assessment on the scale of trust in public institutions

Items	Component	h^2	Min.	Max.	M	SD
I have confidence in government	.750	.562	1	5	2.14	1.131
I have confidence in judiciary	.718	.516	1	5	2.41	1.167
I have confidence in fairness of elections	.712	.508	1	5	2.20	1.153
I have confidence in financial institutions	.701	.491	1	5	2.58	1.153
I have confidence in political parties	.682	.464	1	5	1.91	1.095
I have confidence in CSOs/ NGOs	.614	.377	1	5	2.73	1.153
I have confidence in media	.610	.372	1	5	2.53	1.134
I have confidence in police	.573	.328	1	5	2.98	1.228
Eigenvalue	3.620					
% of explained variance	45.244%					

According to the results shown in Table 37, respondents expressed very low confidence in political parties ($M=1.91$), fairness of elections ($M=2.20$), government ($M=2.14$) and the judiciary system ($M=2.41$). A slightly higher level of trust was expressed towards CSOs / NGOs ($M=2.73$) and towards the police ($M=2.98$). Furthermore, a high percentage of respondents believe that BiH society is systemically corrupt (72 per cent) (Table 38).

Table 37 Trust in public institutions - average values

Trust in public institutions	n	Mean	Std. Deviation
a) I have confidence in police	4,935	2.98	1.228
b) I have confidence in judiciary	4,883	2.41	1.167
c) I have confidence in government	4,907	2.14	1.131
d) I have confidence in financial institutions	4,886	2.58	1.153
e) I have confidence in media	4,956	2.53	1.134
f) I have confidence in CSOs/NGOs	4,894	2.73	1.153
g) I have confidence in political parties	4,934	1.91	1.095
h) I have confidence in fairness of elections	4,905	2.20	1.153
Total	4,663		

Table 38 Perception of corruption incidence in BH society

Perception of corruption	Refused		Strongly disagree		Tend to disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Tend to agree		Strongly agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
BH society is systemically corrupted	66	1.3%	184	3.7%	454	9.1%	696	13.9%	1,691	33.8%	1,910	38.2%

8.4 Political and civic engagement

8.4.1 Likelihood of voting

Based on the results shown in the tables below, we can see that respondents, regardless of sex, age, education level, place of residence and area of living would probably or definitely vote in the elections if they were held next week.

Table 39 Likelihood of voting in relation to sex

		Male		Female	
		n	%	n	%
How likely are you to vote if the elections would be held next weekend?	Refused	91	3.7%	81	3.2%
	Definitely will not vote	235	9.4%	239	9.5%
	Probably will not	236	9.5%	240	9.6%
	Probably will vote	936	37.6%	1,097	43.7%
	Definitely will vote	990	39.8%	856	34.1%
	Total	2,488	100.0%	2,513	100.0%

Table 40 Likelihood of voting in relation to age

		18 - 19		20-24		25-29	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
How likely are you to vote if the elections would be held next weekend?	Refused	54	4.8%	68	3.4%	50	2.7%
	Definitely will not vote	100	8.8%	198	9.8%	176	9.6%
	Probably will not	132	11.7%	190	9.4%	154	8.4%
	Probably will vote	475	42.0%	813	40.1%	745	40.4%
	Definitely will vote	370	32.7%	759	37.4%	717	38.9%
	Total	1,131	100.0%	2,028	100.0%	1,842	100.0%

Table 41 Likelihood of voting in relation to place of residence

		Republika Srpska		Federation of BiH		Brčko District	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
How likely are you to vote if the elections would be held next weekend?	Refused	60	3.8%	109	3.3%	3	2.7%
	Definitely will not vote	170	10.8%	282	8.5%	22	19.6%
	Probably will not	152	9.7%	306	9.2%	18	16.1%
	Probably will vote	640	40.8%	1,349	40.6%	44	39.3%
	Definitely will vote	546	34.8%	1,275	38.4%	25	22.3%
	Total	1,568	100.0%	3,321	100.0%	112	100.0%

8.4.2 Community engagement

When asked to what extent they want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving problems in the local community and society, a high percentage of men (43.3 per cent) and women (41.6 per cent) answered that they want to be involved. Also, a high percentage of respondents aged 18-19 years (44.8 per cent), ages 20-24 years (43.8 per cent) and ages 25-29 years (39.2 per cent) gave an affirmative answer. However, regardless of sex and age, a high percentage of respondents expressed insecurity and disinterest in participating in these activities (Table 42, Table 43). Furthermore, the opinions of the respondents on the readiness of young people to volunteer and thus make a contribution in their local community and society were divided. That is, about 38 per cent of respondents think that young people have a strong desire to volunteer, 28 per cent of respondents are not sure about it, and 34 per cent of respondents think that young people are not ready to use their time for the purpose of volunteering (Table 44).

Table 42 Community engagement in relation to sex

		Male		Female	
		n	%	n	%
To what extent do you want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving the problems in the local community and society?	I do not want to be involved at all	208	8.4%	194	7.7%
	I do not want to be involved	355	14.3%	350	13.9%
	both want and do not want to be involved	850	34.2%	925	36.8%
	I want to be involved	810	32.6%	846	33.7%
	I really want to be involved	265	10.7%	198	7.9%
	Total	2,488	100.0%	2,513	100.0%

Table 43 Community engagement in relation to age

		18 – 19		20-24		25-29	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
To what extent do you want to be involved in activities that contribute to solving the problems in the local community and society?	I do not want to be involved at all	89	7.9%	137	6.8%	176	9.6%
	I do not want to be involved	155	13.7%	258	12.7%	292	15.9%
	both want and do not want to be involved	380	33.6%	744	36.7%	651	35.3%
	I want to be involved	395	34.9%	686	33.8%	575	31.2%
	I really want to be involved	112	9.9%	203	10.0%	148	8.0%
	Total	1,131	100.0%	2,028	100.0%	1,842	100.0%

Table 44 Willingness to volunteer

Interest in volunteering	Refused		Strongly disagree		Tend to disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Tend to agree		Strongly agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Young people have a strong desire to volunteer and contribute to their local community and society	63	1.3%	411	8.2%	1,271	25.4%	1,376	27.5%	1,479	29.6%	401	8.0%

8.5 Migration aspiration and migration potential

8.5.1 Migration aspiration

The tables below show the results on the extent of migration aspirations in relation to the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents: sex, age, educational status, employment status, marital status, place of residence, citizenship, and family members abroad.

- In the past 12 months, 49.8 per cent of men and 44 per cent of women have considered leaving BiH.
- Half of the respondents aged 18-19 (50.7 per cent) and aged 20-24 (48.9 per cent) considered leaving BiH, while 42.3 per cent of respondents aged 25-29 expressed migration aspirations.
- In the past period, respondents who have completed secondary education (48.3 per cent), part-time respondents (59.3 per cent), freelancers (57.1 per cent), unemployed respondents who are not looking for a job have thought the most about leaving BiH. cent), trainees (55.6 per cent) and self-employed respondents (50.5 per cent).
- Divorced respondents (66.7 per cent), out-of-wedlock respondents (62.1 per cent) and singles (48.2 per cent) thought the most about leaving BiH.
- More than half of the respondents who, in addition to BiH citizenship, also have the citizenship of another country, thought about leaving BiH (58.2 per cent), while 46.5 per cent of respondents who have only BiH citizenship thought about it.
- Approximately the same percentage of respondents living in urban (46.6 per cent) and rural areas (47.3 per cent) considered leaving BiH. Also, approximately the same percentage of respondents from RS (46.4 per cent) and FBiH (47.5 per cent) considered leaving BiH, while 36.6 per cent of respondents from Brčko District expressed migration aspirations.
- More than half of respondents who have family members living abroad thought about leaving BiH (52.2 per cent), while 28.6 per cent of respondents who do not have family members abroad thought about it.

Table 45 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to sex

		Male		Female	
		n	%	n	%
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	1,250	50.2%	1,407	56.0%
	Yes, temporarily	629	25.3%	508	20.2%
	Yes, permanently	609	24.5%	598	23.8%
	Total	2,488	100.0%	2,513	100.0%

Table 46 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to age

		18-19		20-24		25-29	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	558	49.3%	1,036	51.1%	1,063	57.7%
	Yes, temporarily	296	26.2%	485	23.9%	356	19.3%
	Yes, permanently	277	24.5%	507	25.0%	423	23.0%
	Total	1,131	100.0%	2,028	100.0%	1,842	100.0%

Table 47 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to education level

		Primary education		Secondary education		University degree – bachelor's degree		University degree - master's degree or higher	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	292	55.1%	1,804	51.7%	399	57.2%	161	57.3%
	Yes, temporarily	140	26.4%	805	23.1%	155	22.2%	36	12.8%
	Yes, permanently	98	18.5%	881	25.2%	144	20.6%	84	29.9%
	Total	530	100.0%	3,490	100.0%	698	100.0%	281	100.0%

Table 48 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to employment status

		No	Yes, temporarily	Yes, permanently	Total	
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	Employed full time	n	1,011	324	357	1,692
		%	59.8%	19.1%	21.1%	100.0%
	Employed part time	n	33	19	29	81
		%	40.7%	23.5%	35.8%	100.0%
	Self-employed	n	51	24	28	103
		%	49.5%	23.3%	27.2%	100.0%
	Freelancer	n	6	2	6	14
		%	42.9%	14.3%	42.9%	100.0%
	Intern	n	12	7	8	27
		%	44.4%	25.9%	29.6%	100.0%
	Student	n	649	240	249	1,138
		%	57.0%	21.1%	21.9%	100.0%
	Other	n	358	170	147	675
		%	53.0%	25.2%	21.8%	100.0%
	Unemployed and looking for a job	n	61	26	32	119
		%	51.3%	21.8%	26.9%	100.0%
	Unemployed but not looking for a job	n	476	325	351	1,152
		%	41.3%	28.2%	30.5%	100.0%

Table 49 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to marital status

During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?												
	Prefer not to answer		Single		Married		Live in a consensual union		Divorced		Widowed	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No	12	31.6%	2,007	51.8%	607	60.5%	11	37.9%	15	33.3%	5	71.4%
Yes, temporarily	14	36.8%	944	24.3%	163	16.2%	5	17.2%	10	22.2%	1	14.3%
Yes, permanently	12	31.6%	927	23.9%	234	23.3%	13	44.8%	20	44.4%	1	14.3%
Total	38	100.0%	3,878	100.0%	1,004	100.0%	29	100.0%	45	100.0%	7	100.0%

Table 50 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to citizenship

	BiH		BiH and other country		
	n	%	n	%	
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	2,583	53.5%	74	41.8%
	Yes, temporarily	1,093	22.7%	44	24.9%
	Yes, permanently	1,148	23.8%	59	33.3%
	Total	4,824	100.0%	177	100.0%

Table 51 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to place of residence

	Republika Srpska		Federation of BiH		Brčko District		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	841	53.6%	1,745	52.5%	71	63.4%
	Yes, temporarily	423	27.0%	694	20.9%	20	17.9%
	Yes, permanently	304	19.4%	882	26.6%	21	18.8%
	Total	1,568	100.0%	3,321	100.0%	112	100.0%

Table 52 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to the area of living

	Urban		Rural		
	n	%	n	%	
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	1,537	53.4%	1,120	52.7%
	Yes, temporarily	621	21.6%	516	24.3%
	Yes, permanently	718	25.0%	489	23.0%
	Total	2,876	100.0%	2,125	100.0%

Table 53 Thinking about leaving BiH in relation to family members abroad

Do you have any close friends or family members living abroad?					
		No		Yes	
		n	%	n	%
During past 12 months, did you think about leaving/moving out from Bosnia and Herzegovina, either temporarily or permanently?	No	801	71.4%	1,856	47.8%
	Yes, temporarily	205	18.3%	932	24.0%
	Yes, permanently	116	10.3%	1,091	28.1%
	Total	1,122	100.0%	3,879	100.0%

8.5.2 Migration potential

In the tables below (Table 54, Table 55, Table 56, Table 57, Table 58, Table 59, Table 60) the migration potential in relation to the following socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents is presented: sex, age, educational status, employment status, citizenship, the area of living.

Table 54 Migration potential in relation to sex

	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	1,238	24.75%	1,106	22.12%	2,344	46.9%
Probable	364	7.28%	309	6.18%	673	13.5%
Actual	137	2.74%	64	1.28%	201	4.0%

Table 55 Migration potential in relation to age

	18 – 19		20-24		25-29		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	573	11.5%	992	19.8%	779	15.6%	2,344	46.9%
Probable	136	2.7%	298	6.0%	239	4.8%	673	13.5%
Actual	31	0.6%	88	1.8%	82	1.6%	201	4.0%

Table 56 Migration potential in relation to education level

	Primary education		Secondary education		University degree – bachelor's degree		University degree - master's degree or higher		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	238	4.8%	1,686	33.7%	299	6.0%	120	2.4%	2,343	46.9%
Probable	56	1.1%	496	9.9%	74	1.5%	47	0.9%	673	13.5%
Actual	11	0.2%	163	3.3%	18	0.4%	9	0.2%	201	4.0%

Table 57 Migration potential in relation to employment status

	Total		Probable	Actual
	n			
Employed full time	n	681	192	70
	%	13.6%	3.8%	1.4%
Employed part time	n	48	23	4
	%	1.0%	0.5%	0.1%
Self-employed	n	52	22	4
	%	1.0%	0.4%	0.1%
Freelancer	n	8	4	0
	%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%
Intern	n	15	5	1
	%	0.3%	0.1%	0.0%
Student	n	489	101	45
	%	9.8%	2.0%	0.9%
Other	n	317	62	13
	%	6.3%	1.2%	0.3%
Unemployed and looking for a job	n	58	17	6
	%	1.2%	0.3%	0.1%
Unemployed but not looking for a job	n	676	247	58
	%	13.5%	4.9%	1.2%
Total	n	2,344	673	201
	%	46.9%	13.5%	4.0%

Table 58 Migration potential in relation to citizenship

	Bosnia and Herzegovina		Bosnia and Herzegovina and other country		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	2,241	44.79%	103	2.06%	2,344	46.9%
Probable	663	13.26%	10	0.20%	673	13.5%
Actual	174	3.48%	27	0.54%	201	4.0%

Table 59 Migration potential in relation to the area of living

	Urban area		Rural area		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	1,339	26.76%	1,005	20.09%	2,344	46.9%
Probable	401	8.02%	272	5.44%	673	13.5%
Actual	98	1.96%	103	2.06%	201	4.0%

Table 60 Migration potential in relation to place of residence

	Republika Srpska		Federation of BiH		Brčko District		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Total	727	14.53%	1,576	31.50%	41	0.82%	2,344	46.9%
Probable	200	4.0%	458	9.16%	15	0.30%	673	13.5%
Actual	48	0.96%	149	2.98%	4	0.08%	201	4.0%

8.6 Drivers of migration

According to the results following statements are, in most cases, ranked as one of the top three reasons (Table 61):

- I want to have a sense of stability and perspective (M=1.08)
- I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession (M=0.81)
- It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status (M=0.75)
- I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth (M=0.70)
- I want to live in a less corrupted society (M=0.66).

The described reasons for leaving the home country are prioritized regardless of the sex and age of the respondents (Table 62, Table 63).

Table 61 Drivers of migration – descriptive statistics

Descriptive Statistics					
Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
a) I want to discover new things and experience different cultures	2,344	0	3	.23	.672
b) I want to have a sense of stability and perspective	2,344	0	3	1.08	1.205
c) I want to have access to better public services	2,344	0	3	.21	.633
d) It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status	2,344	0	3	.76	1.130
e) I need access to better health care services due to my health condition/disability	2,344	0	3	.15	.574
f) I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession	2,344	0	3	.81	1.113
g) I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth	2,344	0	3	.70	1.069
h) I want to have access to a wider range of education opportunities (e.g. different universities, formal and informal programs and courses)	2,344	0	3	.26	.739
i) I want to live in a safe environment where no one will discriminate me or violate my rights	2,344	0	3	.35	.817

Descriptive Statistics					
Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	n	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
j) I want to live closer to my family and friends	2,344	0	3	.19	.644
k) I want to live in a less corrupted society	2,344	0	3	.66	1.033
l) I want to live in a more politically stable society without inter-ethnic tensions	2,344	0	3	.35	.810
m) I want to live in an environment where I can have more opportunities to volunteer or be involved in different types of civic engagement	2,344	0	3	.12	.518
n) Other	2,344	0	3	.08	.410
Total	2,344				

Table 62 Drivers of migration in relation to sex

Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	Sex	n	Mean
I want to discover new things and experience different cultures	Male	1,238	.22
	Female	1,106	.25
	Total	2,344	.23
I want to have a sense of stability and perspective	Male	1,238	1.12
	Female	1,106	1.04
	Total	2,344	1.08
I want to have access to better public services	Male	1,238	.21
	Female	1,106	.21
	Total	2,344	.21
It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status	Male	1,238	.78
	Female	1,106	.73
	Total	2,344	.76
I need access to better health care services due to my health condition/ disability	Male	1,238	.15
	Female	1,106	.16
	Total	2,344	.15
I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession	Male	1,238	.79
	Female	1,106	.82
	Total	2,344	.81
I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth	Male	1,238	.69
	Female	1,106	.70
	Total	2,344	.70

Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	Sex	n	Mean
I want to have access to a wider range of education opportunities (e.g. different universities, formal and informal programs and courses)	Male	1,238	.22
	Female	1,106	.31
	Total	2,344	.26
I want to live in a safe environment where no one will discriminate me or violate my rights	Male	1,238	.35
	Female	1,106	.35
	Total	2,344	.35
I want to live closer to my family and friends	Male	1,238	.15
	Female	1,106	.22
	Total	2,344	.19
I want to live in a less corrupted society	Male	1,238	.70
	Female	1,106	.62
	Total	2,344	.66
I want to live in a more politically stable society without inter-ethnic tensions	Male	1,238	.37
	Female	1,106	.32
	Total	2,344	.35
I want to live in an environment where I can have more opportunities to volunteer or be involved in different types of civic engagement	Male	1,238	.11
	Female	1,106	.14
	Total	2,344	.12
Other	Male	1,238	.07
	Female	1,106	.10
	Total	2,344	.08

Table 63 Drivers of migration in relation to age

Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	Age	n	Mean
I want to discover new things and experience different cultures	18 - 19	573	.27
	20-24	992	.23
	25-29	779	.21
	Total	2,344	.23
I want to have sense of stability and perspective	18 - 19	573	1.08
	20-24	992	1.08
	25-29	779	1.08
	Total	2,344	1.08
I want to have access to better public services	18 - 19	573	.18
	20-24	992	.24
	25-29	779	.21
	Total	2,344	.21
It is the only option for me or my family to improve our financial status	18 - 19	573	.65
	20-24	992	.74
	25-29	779	.86
	Total	2,344	.76
I need access to better health care services due to my health condition/ disability	18 - 19	573	.15
	20-24	992	.14
	25-29	779	.18
	Total	2,344	.15
I want to find a job that is appropriate to my level of qualification and my profession	18 - 19	573	.83
	20-24	992	.85
	25-29	779	.73
	Total	2,344	.81
I want to have better career prospects, e.g. more professional challenges, more opportunities for professional development and growth	18 - 19	573	.76
	20-24	992	.71
	25-29	779	.63
	Total	2,344	.70
I want to have access to a wider range of education opportunities (e.g. different universities, formal and informal programs and courses)	18 - 19	573	.44
	20-24	992	.23
	25-29	779	.17
	Total	2,344	.26

Which statement best describes the reason you are considering to leave the country?	Age	n	Mean
I want to live in a safe environment where no one will discriminate me or violate my rights	18 - 19	573	.35
	20-24	992	.35
	25-29	779	.35
	Total	2,344	.35
I want to live closer to my family and friends	18 - 19	573	.20
	20-24	992	.18
	25-29	779	.18
	Total	2,344	.19
I want to live in a less corrupted society	18 - 19	573	.51
	20-24	992	.70
	25-29	779	.73
	Total	2,344	.66
I want to live in a more politically stable society without inter-ethnic tensions	18 - 19	573	.30
	20-24	992	.30
	25-29	779	.43
	Total	2,344	.35
I want to live in an environment where I can have more opportunities to volunteer or be involved in different types of civic engagement	18 - 19	573	.16
	20-24	992	.13
	25-29	779	.08
	Total	2,344	.12
Other	18 - 19	573	.06
	20-24	992	.08
	25-29	779	.11
	Total	2,344	.08

Table 64 Prospects for the future - response distribution

Prospects of future	Refused		Strongly disagree		Tend to disagree		Neither agree nor disagree		Tend to agree		Strongly agree	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
I believe that things can be improved in BiH and that we can have a bright future here	28	0.6%	434	8.7%	1,044	20.9%	1,133	22.7%	1,765	35.3%	597	11.9%
I believe I can do more for my family and for my community by living and working here, than going abroad	51	1.0%	596	11.9%	1,257	25.1%	1,042	20.8%	1,384	27.7%	671	13.4%
I believe peace will prevail in the country and there will be no more conflicts in near future	58	1.2%	384	7.7%	1,020	20.4%	1,158	23.2%	1,822	36.4%	559	11.2%

