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Biljana Kovacevic, Ivan Sijakovic, Jagoda Petrovic

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1. Author information

Biljana Kovacevic

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Ivan Sijakovic

Department of Sociology, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Jagoda Petrovic

Department of Social work, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina

2. Author e-mail address

Biljana Kovacevic

E-mail: bilja.kovac@gmail.com

Ivan Sijakovic

E-mail: sijakovici@gmail.com

Jagoda Petrovic

E-mail: jagodapetrovic@yahoo.com

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Youth and Social Capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Biljana Kovacevic*, Ivan Sijakovic*, Jagoda Petrovic**

Corresponding author:
Biljana Kovacevic
E-mail: bilja.kovac@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines levels of social trust and its influence on the development of social capital among young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the first part of the paper, we give an initial theoretical overview that serves as a framework for the survey. The aim of the paper is to investigate different types of social capital and to review the extent in which the social trust enables efficient building of social networks, connections and ties. In the second part of the paper, we present our survey, conducted in the year 2017. The case of a 1,352 people from 15 to 30 years of age. The survey is showing a general lack of trust among young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its negative impact on society's development.

Keywords: social capital, social trust, youth.

1. Introduction

Generally speaking, a social capital purports and includes all forms of interpersonal relations, connections, affiliations, cooperation, solidarity and trust. It can be seen as a string, necessary for the development of social networks, organizations and associations.

In our research, we define the social capital as a set of mutual activities and relations of individuals, groups and communities (social actors) who build a specific social network. A social network, further continues to develop actual or/and potential resources that provide opportunities for social actors to achieve their goals. Social capital is built through trust, friendship, support,

* Department of Sociology, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

** Department of Social work, University of Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

and solidarity among people in their groups, communities and institutions, but also outside of them. Social capital, although a form of intangible capital, represents an important factor in the development of material and cultural capital. Also, it should be pointed out that social capital can have both a positive, creative, mobilizing and motivating role in society, but it can also create a negative, discouraging and even destructive force (for example corruption and organized crime).

The survey in this paper aims to show the degree of trust that young people of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹ have in interpersonal relationships, institutions, organizations and different social groups. In our research, we also aim to find out what influences the development of social trust and social capital, and which advantages or disadvantages arising from this type of social bonding could have an effect on the young people in B&H.

In the continuation of this paper, we will first outline some of the most important theoretical views on social capital, its forms and importance for the development of society in economic, social and political terms. We will then point out the importance of trust for the development of social capital and give a brief note on the previous research of social capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The second part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of the results of the empirical research of social capital in the youth between 15 and 30 years of age in B&H.

2. Theoretical overview

2.1 Three concepts of understanding social capital

Social capital implies social ties that are used as the means for individuals to access group resources, having as the main outcome of that usage a gain, usually an economic one. For Bourdieu 'social capital is the aggregate of actual or potential sources of network capabilities, more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' of the group members (Bourdieu, 1986: 141). Social capital is a 'collective ownership of the network of connections' which gives members the 'credentials' that can be used as a 'credit' for a longer or shorter period (Bourdieu, 1986: 142).

Coleman sees social capital as a set of resources that are interwoven inside of social connections and relations. 'It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within structure.' (Coleman 1988: 98).

¹ In further text, we will use abbreviation (B&H).

The main actors are individuals, groups and communities that develop mutual trust as a basic instrument used in the performance of a goal oriented action.

Social capital acquires properties of a public good, however, to fulfill the function of a public good there should be strong relationships that create a 'closing' mechanism as an expression of closely related bonds. If social bonds are weaker, then it comes to a network openness and lowers a chance for social capital to become a common public good (Tzanakis, 2013). Social capital is formed through social networks, norms and trust that enable individuals to act more effectively in achieving their objectives (Putnam, 2008). The social capital is a component of human capital that allows the members of a society to trust each other and cooperate in the formation of new groups and associations. Social capital requires getting used to the norms or virtues of the community such as loyalty, honesty and sense of interdependence. (Fukuyama, 1997: 36). Nan Lin understands a social capital as 'an investment in social relations with expected returns in marketplace' (Lin, 2001: 19). Social relationships are a market in which social capital can realize economic, social, political and cultural benefits for individuals, communities and groups. Actors create a network of mutual ties for an easier access to social resources and benefits. Thus, social capital is manifested in two ways: first, as an individual investment in social relations through social networks and second, as an individual profit and benefit functioning as a return for the investment in a group. Lin and colleagues point out that there are two types of resources that an individual has: personal and social resources (Lin; Ensel, Vaughn, 1981). Personal resources are material and symbolic assets (diplomas, knowledge, skills) that an individual acquires and possesses, while social resources are social networks to which individual approaches.

Hank Flap defines social capital as an activity 'to mobilize social resources' (Flap, 1991). He points out three elements that make up the social capital: first, the number of people in one's own social network who are ready to offer support and assistance, secondly, the strength of bond of those who are willing to help and the third, resources they possess. According to Flap, social capital includes the availability of social resources and the willingness of stakeholders to give them to other individuals as a support and help for their activity. Social capital is 'a set of relationships among members of a group and the values that they share that enable them to solve collective problems in the present and future' (Ostrom, 2009: 21). Social capital involves the interaction of small groups that make network of cultural, regulatory, structural and institutional relationships and thus create conditions for solving common problems. Some relationships are formal, some informal, while others may be strong or weak, dense or diluted, superficial, visible, reciprocal, unilateral or blurred. For Michael Woolcock social capital is a set of 'norms and networks

that facilitate collective action.’ Such as ‘human capital resides in individuals, social capital resides in relationships’ (Woolcock, 2001: 6, 9).

It can be concluded that there are three concepts of understanding and comprehension of social capital (Pavićević, 2012). The first, *self-centered* concept is based on the individual as an actor and its efforts to use the social capital as a privilege or a potential opportunity to achieve his objectives (representatives are Bourdieu and partly Coleman). The second concept, *socio-central*, sees social capital as a shared resource, located in networks of mutual relations from which it can be drawn as ‘a collective profit for the whole society.’ (Putnam and Fukuyama). And the third concept of social capital favors the *influence of the social environment* through norms, values, customs, fixed and implied expectations. Representatives of this concept are Woolcock, Narayan, Flap and partially Nan Lin and Portes.

2.2 Types of social capital

There are different types of social capital, which have as a criterion a character and firmness of connections within the group, between groups and outside of them. Putnam (2008) has pointed out two basic types of social connections that produce social capital: *bonding and bridging*. *Bonding* (solid, glued) social ties create bonding social capital, typical for relations between family, close friends, small communities and small religious or ethnic groups. Bonding social capital connects people based on similarities and likeness, by using the so-called horizontal linking. This type of capital contributes to maintaining the homogeneity among members of one group. *Bridging* social ties and bridging social capital Putnam sees as relations between different groups and communities that make links outside of them and thus make a wider range of networks and resources available to different individuals. The specificity of this type of capital is reflected in the fact that it links, in some way, competing groups, as well as opposing elements within the same group.

Woolcock (2001) points out to a third type of social connections which he called *linking* or connecting social capital that characterizes relations between different and distant groups and communities, as well as individuals who are outside of the community but use different networks in order to accomplish a specific connection or reach specific goal. Linking social capital connects individuals with different social status and social power.

2.3 The importance of trust for the development of social capital

Trust is one of the most important elements for the building of a social capital. For Woolcock and Narayan, social trust is not a social capital in itself, but rather the willingness to invest in networks and institutions that continue

to generate social capital. Woolcock in a metaphorical way shows the focus of social capital: 'that is not what you know, but who you know'. As a result, 'communities endowed with diverse stock of social networks and civic associations will be in a stronger position to confront poverty and vulnerability, resolve disputes and/or take advantage of new opportunities' (Woolcock, Narayan, 2000: 3). Woolcock and Narayan in their analysis showed the importance of social capital for the successful economic development of a community and whole society.

When it comes to a social trust there are two different types: *particular and general*. 'A particular trust stems from our personal relationships with certain people, embodied in frequent personal relations, and due to it we can sometimes call it the dense trust. In contrast to it, there is a trust toward the members of our own community who we do not know and which we may define as generalized trust' (Šalaj, 2009: 36).

Trust may be defined according to the criteria of loyalty, commitment, experience, good intentions, habits, stereotypes, identity and environmental impacts. Sztompka points out to the three types of a trust created by a commitment of those who express positive expectations (investing their belief in a positive outcome) toward the future activities of individual actors. The first type is *anticipatory trust* (when someone believes in 'a choice of a right airline' or a computer label). 'Their actions are independent of our beliefs about them or our actions toward them' (Sztompka, 2000: 27). Second type is *a responsive trust* (if you leave a child to babysitter, rent guards in the school yard or give parents to a nursing home). The third kind of trust Sztompka calls *evocative trust*. That is when 'mother allowing her daughter to return late in the evening manifests trust in order to be trusted as an understanding and liberal parent. The foreman gives an employee a highly responsible, and well-paid, task so as to be trusted as a good boss' (Sztompka, 2000: 28).

3. About social trust and social capital in contemporary Bosnian society

The problem of unemployment steadily stands out as the biggest problem of young people in B&H. According to the World Bank in 2013, youth unemployment in B&H reaches almost unbelievable 58%, of which nearly half of those are first-time job seekers (Mujanović, 2013, according to Žiga *et al.*, 2015: 15).

As the main cause of the extremely high level of youth unemployment is mainly the poorly implemented economic transition and inadequate education.

It is necessary to point out how inadequate educational facilities are, and as such, anachronistic to modern or contemporary ones in developed economies. What is particularly worrying is the fact that the privatization process destroyed many companies, including those that before the process started were recognized and proven potent and successful on the international economic level. They employed hundreds of thousands of workers, including young and educated people (Žiga *et al.*, 2015: 16).

Our main concern is status and role of social capital in B&H. Putnam came to the conclusion that in B&H we have social connecting without bridging. According to Putnam *bridging social capital* refers to those types of networks (heterogeneous groups) that connect different parts of society, forcing a general trust and reciprocity (Putnam, 2008).

In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina we can notice ‘two different types of connecting networks relevant for B&H context: familial networks based on kinship relations and ethnical networks based on the perception of shared ethnic histories, experiences and identities’ (UNDP, 2009: 27). Social networks are not a priori source of social good. Although their primary role is to strengthen social cohesion, the fact is that they can produce divisions. ‘A society made up of isolated and homogenous family networks has a significant chance of containing e.g. high levels of nepotism and corruption. Connecting networks based on an ethnic identity, have the potential to support ethnic divisions through the application of norms that legitimize prejudices and discrimination against other groups’ (UNDP, 2009: 28).

4. The methodological approach to research

4.1 Aim and hypotheses

The aim of this research is: to determine the level of social trust among young peoples in B&H society; highlight the importance of theoretical study and understanding of a trust as the central dimension of social capital; to examine shared values of young people in B&H; determine whether political, ethnic and religious structures block the construction of social networks in B&H and to examine the level of political participation of young people in B&H.

For the purposes of this research a set of hypotheses has been made. In accordance with the aim of research can be set as the following basic (zero) starting hypothesis:

H0. B&H society is a society with a low level of social trust, which significantly reduces the chances of its economic, social and cultural development.

This hypothesis, we have tested through following specific hypotheses:

H1. Social trust in B&H is determined by the national, religious and cultural structure of the society and the lack of a trust in social institutions is caused by the structural disorders of a society in transition;

H2. A lack of bridging capital among young people in B&H is noticeable;

H3. Young people highly appreciate the traditional values that reinforce social trust within the primary social groups and slows down the development of trust in institutions and society as whole;

H4. As a result of low levels of trust in social institutions, young people are not interested in political participation.

4.2 Sample and data collection techniques

The research of social capital among young people in B&H was conducted in 2017. The research was conducted on a stratified sample of 1,352 interviewed people from 15 to 30 years of age.² The survey was conducted in ten cities/municipalities in B&H. The structure of the sample was defined in a way that is mindful to the fact that the sample is relevant and responsive to a real picture of society. When defining the sample for this research we took into the account the representation by gender (men and women), age (respondents were divided into three groups: 15 to 19 years, from 20 to 25 years and from 26 to 30 years), education level (primary school, secondary school, university degree/master, specialization, PhD), socio-professional status (pupils, students, employees, unemployed), residential status (town, suburb, village), and ethnicity (Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, others, as well as those who do not wish to be national defined).

As a technique for data collection the questionnaire was used.³ The questionnaire consisted of closed questions, i.e. questions with multiple choices that respondents, depending on their attitudes and opinions related to

² The research was carried out at the Faculty of Political Science in Banja Luka, on the study group Sociology. The research covered three phases: first, Youth and Social Capital in B&H; second, Trust among women (30-55 years old) in B&H; third, Social Capital among Men (30-65 years old) in B&H. This paper presents the results of the first phase of the research.

³ Young people were directly interviewed in the mentioned cities, where the respondents live. The interviewed was conducted by students of the Master Studies of Sociology at the Faculty of Political Science in Banja Luka.

the research topic, could choose, as well as from rating scales, or Likert scale, where the subjects rated their individual claims and categories by putting forward their level of agreement or disagreement with a particular statement or category in percentage. The questionnaire consisted of 25 questions and five Likert scales.

Statistical analysis was done in the statistical program SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 17. The research results are presented as percentage values in tables and graphs.

5. Research results

5.1 Social trust among young people

Trust is the generator of the economic development and political stability of every human community or group. On the other hand, the deficit of trust hinders the development of particular groups or society as a whole. Bearing in mind that the bridging social capital is best measured as the relation of a certain group to another, we examined in whom young people in B&H have mostly trust and how is it conditioned. Answering the question ‘In whom do you have the greatest trust?’ (Table 1), the largest number of respondents (74%)⁴ responded that they have the greatest trust in family, 9% of them mostly trust in friends, 7% in colleagues, 4% of young people trust their neighbors, while only 3% in institutions, as well as the 3% of respondents that cannot estimate their trust.

TABLE 1. *In whom you have the most confidence.*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
Neighbors	54	4	4	4
Friends	122	9	9	13
Friends from school/college/job	95	7	7	20
Family	999	74	74	94
Institutions	41	3	3	97
I cannot estimate	41	3	3	100
Total	1,352	100,0	100,0	

It can be said that expectedly young people have the greatest trust in close people, primarily family members and relatives. Significant difference is

⁴ The percentages in the tables are rounded to the principle: if it is > 0.5 the number gets rounded down; if it is < 0.5 the number gets rounded up.

noticeable when we compare levels of trust and education (Graph 1 in Appendix). Those with a higher level of education have the amount of trust more 'evenly' distributed, so that the family does not retain a superior first place, and a significant percentage of the trust belongs to friends and neighbors.

We also wanted to find out 'What largely prevents the development of trust between young people?' Respondents were able to assess whether it is national differences, politics, religion, or social differences (Table 2). Here, 28% of respondents said that national differences are the biggest obstacle for trust, 26% of them considered that this is religion, 19% see politics as an obstacle, while 11% of respondents believe that social differences are a cause for a distrust among the young people. 16% of them could not comment on this issue. In this case we see that there is a high percentage of those that perceive national and religious elements as a limiting factor for the development of trust between young people. The reason for this we see in the large national and religious divisions and constant conflicts that are present in B&H after the Yugoslav war. These prejudices are passed on young generations and are influencing their perception of trust in society.

TABLE 2. *What largely prevents the development of trust between young people?*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
National differences	379	28	28	28
Religion	351	26	26	54
Social differences	149	11	11	65
Politics	257	19	19	84
I cannot estimate	216	16	16	100
Total	1,352	100,0	100,0	

TABLE 3. *Factors that cause distrust.*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative percent
Ethnic and religious differences	230	17	17	17
Unemployment	257	19	19	36
Crime and corruption	433	32	32	68
Inefficient and incompetent government	176	13	13	81
Poverty	147	11	11	92
Nepotism	95	7	7	99
I cannot estimate	14	1	1	100
Total	1,352	100,0	100,0	

When it comes to the factors that are slowing down the development of trust in institutions ('What are the factors causing your lack of trust in the institutions of B&H?'), we find out that 32% of respondents believe that crime and corruption is the main reason why young people do not trust courts, police, ministries, government and other institutions. 19% of them identify unemployment as a factor that challenges distrust, 17% think that this is ethnic and religious differences, 13% believe that it is inefficient and incompetent government that prevents them to build trust, 11% believe that it is poverty, while 8% of respondents believe that this is nepotism.

Another big problem in our society (in addition to national and religious conflicts) is the high level of crime and corruption. We see that young people perceive this problem as a main obstacle to the development of the trust in institutions. If we perceive these attitudes according to nationality (Chart 1 in Appendix), we can see that all national groups perceive crime and corruption as the greatest obstacle to the development of trust among citizens in B&H. Also, Bosniaks more than other ethnic groups, perceive ethnic and religious differences as an obstacle to the development of trust in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

5.2 The lack of bridging capital

We wanted to find out whether there are conditions for the development of bridging capital and we asked, 'In what kind of relationship would you walk into with members of other religious and ethnic groups?' From seven possible options offered, the most respondents opted for a 'friendly relationship' (43%), followed by 'the economic interests' (13%). To be colleagues at school, college and work it is possible for 13% of respondents, while 9% of them want 'to live in the same state or without any contact with each other.' On the other hand, 7% of respondents 'do not want to be in any contact with others' and 1% of them would enter a marital relationship with a member of another religion or nationality. It is interesting that only 14% of our respondents said they would enter into relations with members of different religions and nations, 'without limitations.' (Chart 2 in Appendix).

If we take together two extremely positive views ('relationship without limitation' and 'marital relationship') and add moderate 'friendly relationship', we obtain that 53% of young people in B&H has a positive assumption toward bridging social capital. At the other end of the extreme social division of B&H are those who advocate the complete division of individuals and groups ('do not want to be in any contact' and 'living in the same state without mutual contact of ethnic and religious groups') and those who accept it due to 'economic interests'. We see they make 33%, which refers to the balance of

these two opposing poles. Between them are those who develop normal collegial relations (14%).

5.3 Values

We started from the premise that values are in a close connection to the creation of trust for both individuals and groups, as well as for institutions and society. Our respondents were offered 15 basic values (Chart 3 in Appendix), and we asked them to create their own scale, by putting on the first place the one that they most value and the tenth place the one that they value least. The first three places on the scale of values for the respondents take health, peace and love, followed by personal dignity and tolerance. In the sixth place, fightingness, followed by knowledge, reputation, material wealth and social prestige.

The knowledge takes the seventh place, which represents a significant disadvantage if we consider that knowledge is becoming the most meaningful resource for a career advancement and affirmation of young people all over the world. What perhaps is surprising is that material wealth and social prestige are not the values mostly prized among young people in B&H. This is in a way contrary to the spirit of the consumer society to which by inertia more young people are prone to today.

When it comes to attitudes towards social prestige, there is a majority of those who have no opinion on this issue, but it is also notable that pupils and the unemployed are less interested in social prestige in relation to students and employees, which can be explained by their current position. Thus, the employed can appreciate social prestige as significant because they hope that they themselves can progress on that scale, and also students who are in the education process have the expectation that they will find a job in accordance with their profession and progress (Chart 4 in Appendix). In societies where crises and conflicts prevail, material wealth and social prestige are the values that do not relate to primary needs, and it can be assumed that in such societies the tendency towards these values can be considered 'low'.

5.4 Political participation and trust

For individual to create and exploit social capital he must be connected with other people through membership in various organizations or belonging to certain groups. According to the response on the question 'Are you a member of any association, political party or other organization?', we realized that 52% of respondents are not a member of any association or organization, 48% said they are a member of some associations or NGOs and 10% of respondents did not want to make a statement on this issue (Chart 5 in

Appendix). This confirms Putnam's attitude, the number of people who are willing to 'bowl alone' is increasing. When it comes to the type of associations and organizations who have young members, a majority of them are in the field of sport, recreation and entertainment. A small percentage of those who are engaged in organizations that have a significant role in society, such as political organizations, or organizations and associations for the protection of human rights and the environment is the best indicator of a lack of civic participation and weak chances of young people in B&H to access resources of social capital.

In addition, our respondents said that they are not interested in political participation, i.e. they are not actively involved in the political parties, nor do they follow political events. Thus, the question 'Are you actively involved in politics and political processes?' the vast majority of 82%, answered 'no', while a positive answer came from 18% of respondents. To our question, 'Do you follow political events in your environment?' 32% of our respondents answered 'no, never', 48% answered 'yes, sometimes', while 20% answered 'yes, regularly'. We see that a third of young people expressing the absence of any desire for political engagement, even passive ones.

We asked, 'Do you believe that your active political actions could influence an improvement of your position and further the development of a society?'. On this question 53% of respondents answered 'I'm not sure that my involvement would have any effect', 24% chose the option 'not at all, I do not believe in political activism,' while 23% 'believe that their political engagement would have a positive effect'. We see that less than 1/4 of young people in B&H believe that their political involvement could enrich the society and influence their position in it. Young people refuse to participate in political activities because they are convinced that there is no effect, no meaning and no purpose to improve the social and political situation in B&H.

6. Discussion

Analysis of the survey results shows that the social trust of youth in B&H is constantly refracted through the prism of national, religious, linguistic and cultural patterns. Previously, we saw that 54% of respondents said that ethnic and religious differences are the main obstacles for the development of trust between young people. Also, it has been shown that young people have the lowest level of trust in institutions (3%). The majority of respondents (32%) pointed out that crime and corruption are the main reason they do not believe institutions, courts, police, ministries and so on. Among other factors that challenge the distrust in institutions are: unemployment (19%), ethnic and

religious differences (17%), incompetent government (13%), poverty (11%) and nepotism (8%). Based on the results, it can be concluded that the first hypothesis (H1) is confirmed, i.e. that the development of social trust is blocked by national, religious and cultural (we can also add political) structure of B&H society.

The research confirms that in B&H there is a strong inter-group loyalty, but there is also a high degree of distrust towards members of other ethnic, religious, social, linguistic and cultural groups. Bosnia and Herzegovina is a society in which these distinctions are especially stressed, a division is particularly strong when it comes to religious and ethnic differences. Belonging to a certain group based on the degree of trust in that group and the degree of mistrust in the other group determines the position of the individual in the society. This confirms that Bosnia and Herzegovina lacks the bridging social capital that connects people from different groups and cultural environments. Based on this knowledge, we can say that the other hypothesis (H2) is confirmed.

Scales of personal hierarchy of values, showed that young people prefer health, peace and love. In the lower part of the value scale they placed fightingness, knowledge and reputation, and as the lowest material wealth and social prestige. Starting from the fact that values are closely associated with the creation of trust in individuals, groups, institutions and society, it can be concluded that the current system of values by young people of B&H reflects their commitment to traditional way of life. Reinforcement of primary social networks makes it difficult for young people to develop trust within secondary social networks, especially institutions and society. This confirms our third hypothesis (H3).

The results showed that a small percentage of young people (38%), are members of any associations. Most of respondents have shown no interest in political participation, since 82% of them are not members of political parties and only 20% of them regularly monitor political events. Similarly, 1/3 of young people are expressing the absence of any desire for political engagement, while 23% of young people believe that their political involvement would have any positive effect. The main reason for the poor political and social engagement of young people is the lack of trust in social institutions. In doing so, distrust is evenly distributed to the political parties, the institutions of the state, entity and local governments, court, police, military, medical and academic institutions, NGOs and media. This is confirmed by the fourth special hypothesis (H4) which states that young people are not interested in political participation, as a result of the low level of trust in social institutions.

Therefore, the analysis of each particular hypotheses pointed to the lack of trust in social institutions and the lack of bridging social capital. Based on this we can conclude that by the consistent demonstration of hypotheses we confirmed our initial assumption (null hypothesis-H0): Bosnian society is a society with a low level of social trust, which significantly reduces the chances of its economic, social and cultural development. The lack of general trust hampers economic and cultural development and makes democratic system ineffective.

7. Conclusion

This research showed that large number of young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina has the greatest trust in family, friends and close relatives. With members of other religions and nations they only socialize occasionally and would want to live in the same country only without much interference, if any than in the form of economic cooperation. Only very small percentage people interviewed would get married to person from a different background or enter a relationship without any restrictions.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a society in which all diversities are expressed. Divisions based on religious and ethnic differences heavily influence political, social and economic progress and hinder the development of B&H society. Economic underdevelopment has a clearly negative impact on social capital and the on development of trust. Bosnia and Herzegovina should strive for the establishment and expansion of bridging, inclusive social capital, which is characterized by establishing relations of trust with people from different socio-cultural backgrounds.

Beside the lack of trust between individuals, the lack of social capital is also defined through a disrespect toward the institutions that carry out democratic procedures. Corrupted institutions that do not meet their obligations cannot increase a credibility among the people and can't promote the development of social capital and social trust. Extremely low trust of young people in political parties, parliaments and country's government is a result of continuing economic, social, political and moral destruction of society, started in the period of Bosnian war (1992-1995).

The survey also showed that the number of young people willing to participate in social life in general is extremely low. The lack of trust can be associated with the lack of civic engagement. However, without the participation of citizens in political processes it is difficult to expect a stable and effective democracy.

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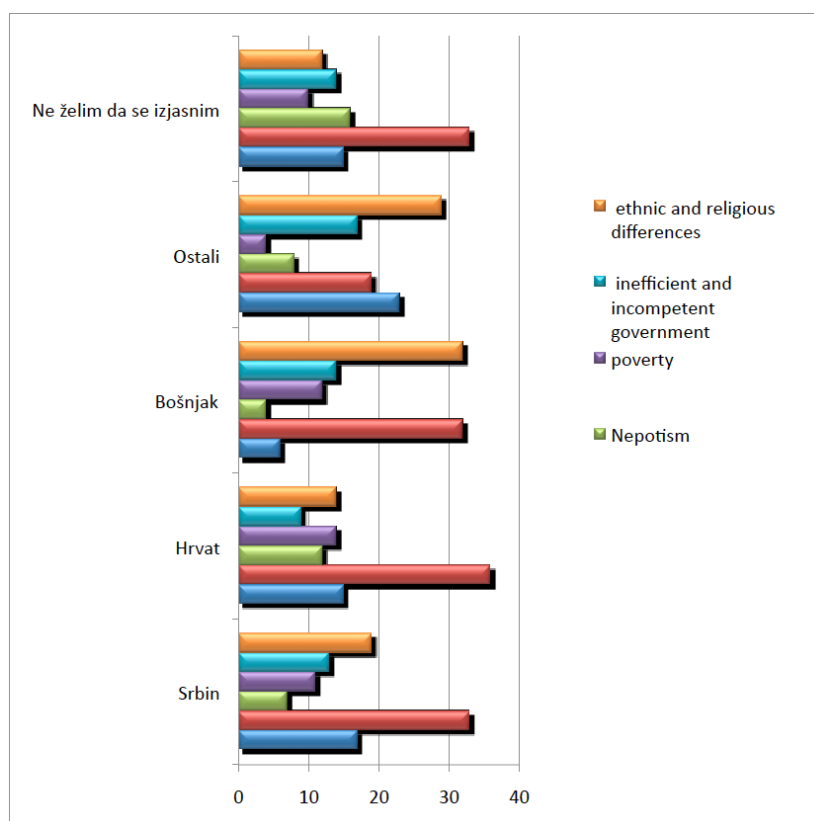
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Appendix

GRAPH 1. The degree of trust in relation to the level of education.

	Percentage				
	Primary school	High school	Faculty	Master	PhD
Neighbors	2	3	6	10	13
Friends	3	5	8	10	12
Friends from school/college/job	3	6	10	11	14
Family	89	85	73	65	58
Institutions	1	1	1	3	2
I cannot estimate	2	0	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100

CHART 1. Factors that challenge trust in relation to the national structure.



EXPLANATION: **Ne želim da se izjasnim** - respondents who did not want to state their nationality; **Ostali** - members of smaller ethnic groups (Jews, Roma, Montenegrins, Ukrainians, Hungarians); **Bošnjak** - Bosniak; **Hrvat** - Croat; **Srbin** - Serbian.

CHART 2. *What kind of relationship would you have with a member of another faith or nation?*

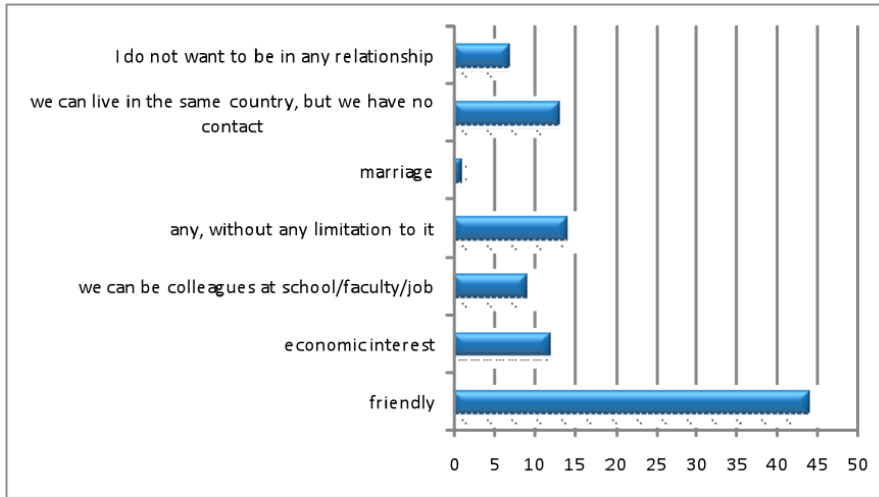


CHART 3. *Values among young people in Be&H.*

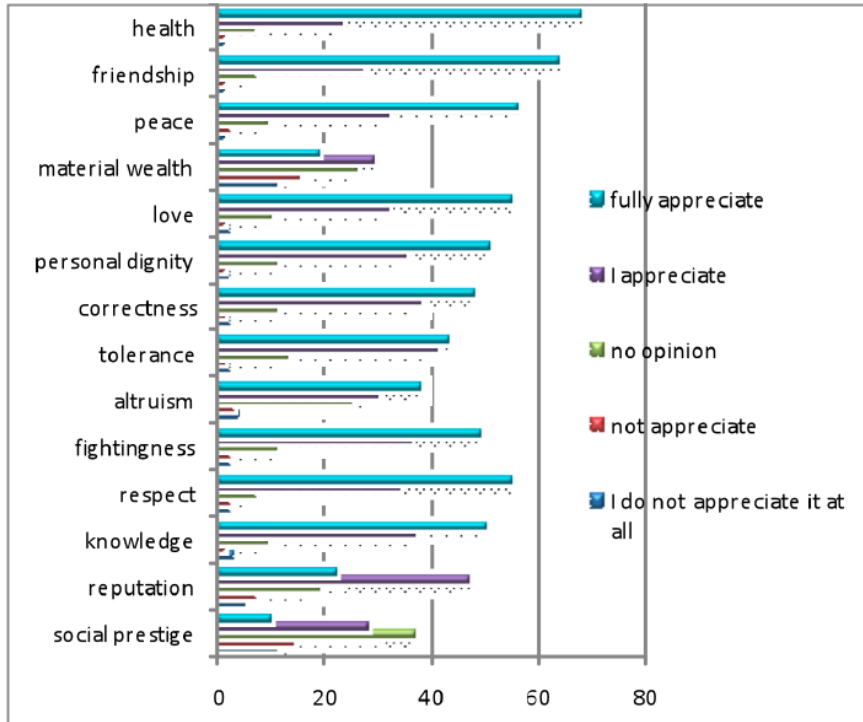


CHART 4. Social prestige in relation to socio-professional status.

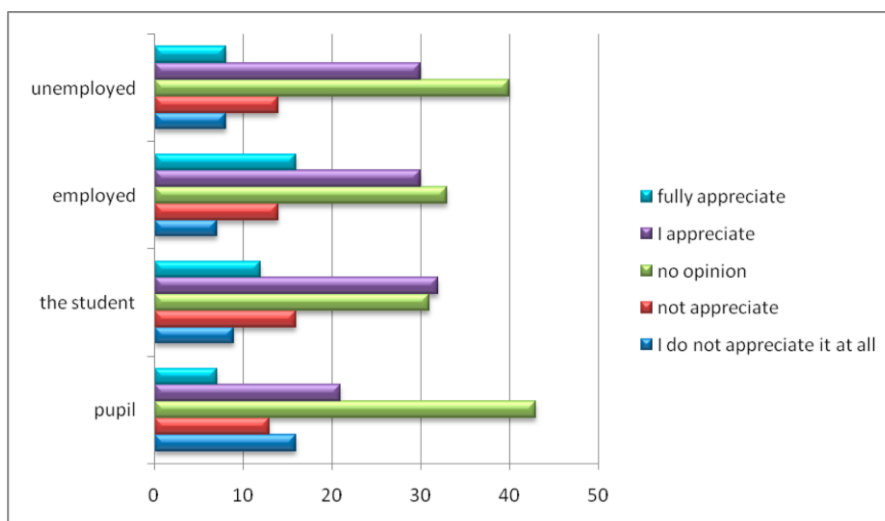
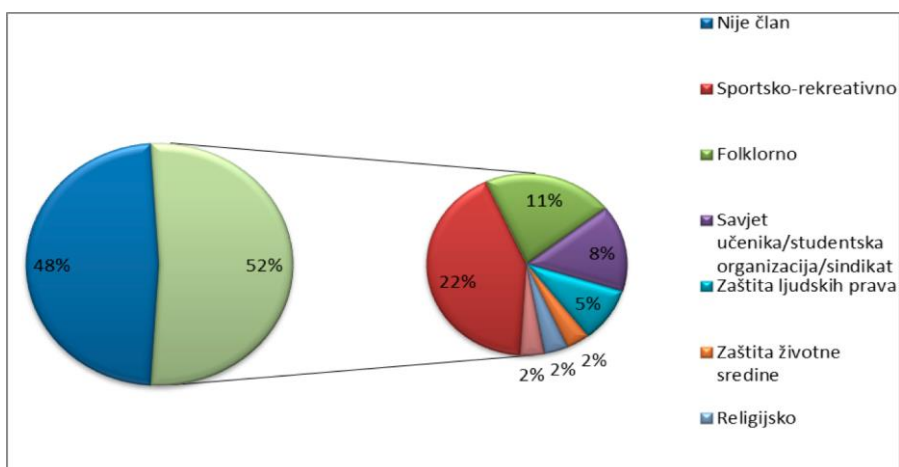


CHART 5. Youth and membership in associations.



EXPLANATION: **Nije član** - not a member; **Sportsko rekreativno** - sports and recreational association; **Folklorno** - folklore; **Savjet učenika/studentska organizacija/sindikata** - student council/student organization/union; **Zaštita ljudskih prava** - protection of human rights; **zaštita životne sredine** - environmental protection; **religijsko udruženje** - religious association.