

YOUTH IN THE STATUTES
OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
STUDY

YOUTH IN THE STATUTES OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
STUDY

Sarajevo, July, 2020.

Authors

Amer Osmić, Inela Subašić, Nasiha Šadinlija, Ferid Omić, Ajna Katica

Editor

Maja Gasal-Vražalica

Mentor

Dr. Amer Osmić

Translation

Đejlana Gleđo

Design

Tin Đečević



CONTENT

ABOUT RESEARCH (INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY).....	5
YOUTH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.....	7
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ..	9
GUIDELINES ON POLITICAL SYSTEM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA....	15
ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTION OF PARTIES IN B&H	17
ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE STATUTES OF POLITICAL ENTITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	18
DEMOCRATIC FRONT	18
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL UNION'.....	21
CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.....	24
CROATIAN DEMOCRATIC UNION 1990 (HDZ 1990)	26
PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC ACTION (SDA)	29
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA.....	32
SERB DEMOCRATIC PARTY	34
ALLIANCE OF INDEPENDENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATS	36
OUR PARTY.....	38
COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS	40
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	46
BIOGRAPHIES OF AUTHORS	48

ABOUT RESEARCH (INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY)

Young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are very often defined as an apathetic, disinterested or under-educated subpopulation of a society not involved in political processes, both in the field of candidacy at local or general levels and in the segment of political participation in the field of electing political representatives to legislative bodies. However, the fact that young people have opportunities in the political and party system of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and what their rights and obligations are, is often overlooked.

Certainly, the current socio-economic circumstances, determined by the slow reform processes at all levels of our society, further demotivate (though it should be the other way around) young people to become more actively involved in decision-making processes in order to create better conditions for themselves and other members of society as well as a satisfactory standard of living that would diminish the desire to leave Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The basic aim of this research is to use the quantitative-qualitative approach of primary content analysis to understand how and in what way political options in Bosnia and Herzegovina perceive the importance and role of young people in their political official records, primarily statutes and other relevant documentation.

The research "Youth in the Statutes of Political Subjects in Bosnia and Herzegovina" was created as a product of the work of the students of the Academy of Political Literacy, conducted by the Academy for Women in Sarajevo. The students of the Academy were given a task to explore the statutes of certain political subjects/parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where through their insight into the highest legal acts (statutes) they had the opportunity to analyze the position of young people within those parties/subjects.

For the purposes of the study, the statutes and other relevant documents of all parliamentary parties have been analyzed which, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have been continuously delivering results in the last few election cycles that enable them to create political and social change.

According to the above criteria, the parties whose statutes were analyzed were: Democratic Front (hereinafter: DF), Democratic National Union (DNS), Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ B&H), Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ 1990), Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP B&H), Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), Serb Democratic Party (SDS), and Our Party (NS).

The content analysis method was used for the analysis, which is defined as: "method of collecting information from information material" (Vujević: 2006: 153), we treated the Statutes of political subjects as information material on the basis of which we are able to have an insight into the treatment of youth in these documents.

For the purpose of analyzing the content of documents, we have defined categories, sample and units of analysis, and the focus of content analysis is placed on the term youth and a number of variations of this term (youth, young people, youngsters, young). Furthermore, the statutes quantitatively and qualitatively analyzed the meaning of this term and the contextualization of the terms. The position of young people in the executive and legislative branches was also explored based on the results of the last B&H General Elections held in 2018.

In order to gain a proper insight into the contents of the statute, we have previously analyzed the participation of young people in political life, or generally speaking about the political participation of young people in contemporary B&H society. Prior to analyzing the extent to which young people are represented in the most important documents of political entities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, we have provided a general picture of youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as a brief overview of the political system of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

After analyzing the statutes of nine political entities on the treatment of youth and their mention in these documents, we began a comparative analysis of the insights we gained from the statutes and the results of the 2018 General Elections with particular reference to the youth.

YOUTH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

According to the 2019 Youth Study of Bosnia and Herzegovina, “youth as a social group represents the population between the ages of 15 and 30 (Štefančić, 2010), although some cite the youth period as a period of 15 to 25 years, some to 30, and some even up to the age of 35, in accordance with the guidelines for youth extension in contemporary society (Gršić, 2017).

Adolescence is most often described as a transition period between childhood and adulthood. Statistically, the lower age limit of youth is usually taken at 15 years of age, while the upper limit varies, stopping most often at 24 years and sometimes at 29 or 34 years of age. This trend is recognized as "prolonged youth", as it is characterized by longer institutional education, difficult and inadequate employment, slow socio-economic independence, delaying having one's own family and poor involvement of young people in social decision making (Ule, 1988; see Hadzimahmutović and Martić, 2013) ”(for more details see Osmić, 2019: 59).

According to the same source and 2013 census, "in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are 773,850 young people aged 15-30, or 21.91% of the population are youth" (Osmić, 2019: 59).

When analyzing the figures presented, we find that one in five people living in Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the youth category. In the FB&H entity, 22.95% of the total population are young people, while in the RS entity this percentage is slightly smaller, i.e. 20.12% of the total population is youth (Osmić, 2019: 59).

Table 1: the number of youth in B&H according to political organization

	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Federation B&H	Republika Srpska	Brčko District
Male	396.949	261.024	127.144	9.781
Female	376.901	248.352	120.112	8.437
Total	773.850	509.376	247.256	17.218

If we are wondering what the profile of a young person in 2020 living in Bosnia and Herzegovina actually looks like, we can give an average picture according to the conducted research, which according to the 2018 Youth Study

is: a young person in B&H is most often someone who is 22 years of age and lives in a community / village with a population of less than 2,000.

If he/she does not attend high school or college, he/she is usually unemployed and does not actively look for an employment.

He / she is part of the household with 3.57 members on average, has his/her own room and internet connection. From the standpoint of equipment and quality of life, households where young people live have all the necessary elements (washing machine, dishwasher, computer, and car) that imply an average standard of living.

Young people generally spend their free time in cafes, not attending cultural events, or traveling much. This can be related to the fact that they generally have very low or no income, that is, they are not able to contribute to the household budget. The independence of young people, especially those who are unemployed, is hardly promoted at all, and the average age for marriage and starting a family is steadily increasing because they perceive the future as uncertain (Osmić, 2019: 62).

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The concept of political participation, because of its context and broadness, is extremely difficult to fully define, primarily due to the fact that there are different approaches to defining the term itself, but also to the fact that it is a fundamental human right that is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Many scholars (H. Arendt, C. Putnam, G. Almond, S. Verba, etc.) have emphasized the importance of political and overall civic participation for the "health" of democracy - for its full and quality functioning (Vujčić, 2000: 115).

According to Verba and Nie, political participation presents those activities of citizens that are more or less directly influenced by the choice of governing staff and / or government (Vujačić, 2000: 119), or how Kovačić cites the participation of individuals and groups in creating social and political life is the essence of democratic system and, as such, is the undeniable value of modern democracies (Kovačić; Vrbat, 2014: 62).

As we have stated that the very concept of political participation is difficult to define, by adding the concept of youth to this segment, we complicate the additional definition and context in which we are trying to move. According to Kovačić and Vrbat, it is possible to summarize three categories that describe youth participation as an effort of: (a) young people organizing themselves on problem solving of their choice, (b) adults including young people in social structures, and (c) youth and adults joining together in intergenerational partnerships.

Political participation is often divided into institutional (formal) and non-institutional (informal). While the institutional dimension focuses on elections as the starting point of a democratic political system, non-institutional political participation includes protests, political boycotts, petitions, leaflets, and letters to politicians, civil disobedience, and the use of violence for political purposes (Kovačić; Vrbat, 2014: 63).

According to the same authors who cite Ekman and Amna political participation can also be distinguished by the number, that is, the individual or

collective engagement of young people, which directly influences political decision-making, in which case we are talking about manifest political participation or it is secondary, i.e. it is latent Table 1 shows in more detail political participation (Kovačić; Vrbat, 2014: 63).

Table 2: Latent and manifest political participation (Source: Kovačić; Vrbat, 2014: 63; Ekman and Amna, 2012: 292)

Youth participation in society (latent political participation)			Political participation (manifest)	
Involvement (individual)	Engagement	Involvement (individual)	Engagement	
			Legalno	Illegal
Individual forms				
Personal interest in political and social issues	Activities related to personal interest in society and politics	Personal interest in political and social issues	Activities related to personal interest in society and politics	Personal interest in political and social issues
Collective forms				
A sense of belonging to a group A lifestyle associated with politics	Voluntarism	A sense of belonging to a group A lifestyle associated with politics	Voluntarism	A sense of belonging to a group A lifestyle associated with politics

The phenomenon of low political participation of young people today is unfortunately not new to contemporary political science literature, but also to empirical research in the countries of the region and in the European Union where political participation of young people is well below average. Thus, young people are much less politically involved than other social groups, creating discrepancies between them and other social groups in influencing decision-making (Kovačić; Vrbat, 2014: 63).

Even in these negative statistics, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not far behind its neighbors or European Union countries; according to the Agency for Statistics, in 2013 there were 773,850 young people aged 15 to 30 years, or

624,868 young people aged 18 to 30. If we refer to Table 2 and as an individual form of latent political participation we take youth participation in the voting process, we notice that only every other young person exercises his or her civil right or duty (Table 3), with no statistical significance in the relation to the gender of the voters, to put it simply in the voting process and according to the ratio of absolute numbers, men and women participate almost equally.

Table 3: Youth turnout in the previous three election cycles - General elections (Source: CIK B&H)

ELECTION YEAR	Turnout of young people aged 18 to 30 in the General Election		
	RIGHT TO VOTE	TOTAL VOTERS	%
2006	592.232	304.152	51,35
2010	688.459	356.291	51,75
2014	618.689	319.464	51,63

The Youth Study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, conducted in 2014 and modeled on the example of Shell Study in FR Germany, also pointed to the almost absent political participation of young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina when it comes to active participation of young people in public life.

Furthermore, data from the Ministry of Civil Affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina show that only 5% of young people are members of youth organizations, 6% are members of political parties and 1% are members of youth representative bodies.

Further in this analysis, we will focus precisely on the results of the Youth Study in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was conducted on a representative sample of 1004 respondents from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina, and discuss the issue of political participation of young people a little more «deeply», especially when it comes to gender difference within this marginalized social group, that is, we explore whether there is a difference in the involvement of men and women in political life in contemporary Bosnian society.

According to data from the Youth Study, «young people do not show much interest in political events, whether it is world, Balkan, and Bosnian or EU politics. Between 47.8% and 54.4% of respondents are not interested or not at all interested in political events, depending on the level in question. Therefore, the interest is greatest for B&H politics and for EU policy, while it is lower for

politics in the Balkans and in the world « (Žiga, Turčilo, Osmić, Bašić, Kapidžić, Džananović-Miraščija, Brkić-Šmigoc, 2014: 116).

As we have previously noted young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina do not express much interest in political events, and regarding gender differentiation, we can see that women are less interested in political events than men (Table 3), but without statistical significance as shown in the following table.

Table 4: Interest in political events (Source: Youth Study, 2014)

Interest in political events (modalities: not interested and not interested at all)	Male	Female
World politics	49,9%	59,0%
Politics in the Balkans	50,9%	58,8%
Politics in B&H	41,4%	49,5%
Politics in the EU	44,5%	51,3%

When it comes to applied political participation, »the cumulative percentages of youth engagement in socio-political activities are at least devastating. As many as 92.9% of young people are not engaged in any socio-political activities.

Politically engaged, they are primarily active through classic forms of political participation: political parties (3.2%) and election campaigns (0.8%). Youth-oriented action is achieved through civic protests (1.4%), media coverage of politics (0.8%), and online discussions and civic activism (0.6% each). Such low percentages of youth engagement in political activities indicate very poor identification with the existing political system, institutions and patterns of political activity, marginalization of the needs of young people in public policies, but also the lack of perception that they can change with their own action. Moreover, young people do not think that their peers who are active in politics can represent their interests. Only a small number of young people feel very good (1.1%) or somewhat well (20.2%) represented in politics, through their peers. Most feel little (30.5%) or not at all (29.1%) represented, while a considerable number of respondents cannot estimate (19.1%) » (Žiga, Turčilo, Osmić, Bašić, Kapidžić, Džananović-Miraščija, Brkić -Smigoc, 2014: 120).

If we analyze this segment of political participation, that is, socio - political activism of young people by gender (Table 5), we find that young people are almost equally socio - politically unengaged in relation to their gender. If, however, we need to single out something and try to spot a differentiation that is not statistically significant, we can state that men are more likely participate In civil protests than women, while women are more often present and engaged in online forum discussions than men as a form of socio - political activism.

Table 5: Social - political activism of Youth in B&H (Source: Youth in B&H Study)

Social - political activism of Youth in B&H by gender	Male	Female	Total
Through a political party	3,3%	3,1%	3,2%
By supporting the candidate / party in the election campaign	1,0%	0,6%	0,8%
Work in a local community or local government	0,4%	0,2%	0,3%
Working in the NGO sector	0,8%	0,2%	0,5%
Policy Reporting (Media, Blog ...)	0,9%	0,6%	0,8%
Online policy discussions (forum)	0,4%	0,8%	0,6%
Civic activism	0,9%	0,2%	0,6%
Civil protests	2,1%	0,6%	1,4%
I am not engaged in socio-political activities	91,87	94,04%	92,9%

A society in which a social group, that makes up just over 22% of the total population, that is, almost every fourth person in Bosnia and Herzegovina is between 15 and 30 years old, is almost completely marginalized and has no desire for political activism because it perceives it negatively, is in need of further being educated on the importance of political activism, whatever it may be. Based on the analyzed indicators, we can conclude that there is no gender difference when it comes to socio-political activism. A worrying and alarming fact is that young people's level of interest in politics, that is, their skeptical approach to having any influence on political processes and decision-makers, is almost ubiquitous and resigning.

It seems imperative that a much more effective and better quality work on youth education is needed because otherwise young people will remain under-capacity for any participation in democratic processes, ie (p) they will remain

abstinent from any socio-political processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina regardless of their gender.

GUIDELINES ON POLITICAL SYSTEM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

In order to have a clearer approach to the analysis of key documents of the most important political subjects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is necessary to briefly outline how the Political System of Bosnia and Herzegovina functions.

According to Banović¹, „in pluralistic societies - societies deeply divided along religious, ideological, linguistic, cultural, ethnic or racial lines, forming separate sub-societies with their political parties, interest groups, the media, the flexibility required for a majority concept of democracy does not exist." „The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina does not contain an explicit provision on the source and holder of sovereign power. However, from the final provision of the preamble and from the overall structure of the Constitution, it can be implied.

This preamble provision reads: Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs, as constituent peoples, others, and the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, hereby establish the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to this, state power originally arises from: 1. the sovereignty of citizens; 2. the constitutionality of Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs; 3. the position of members of other nations as well as those who do not wish to declare nationally².

The structure of the Constitution consists of its introductory part (preamble), general provisions on Bosnia and Herzegovina, provisions concerning human rights, competencies and relations between the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its entities, and provisions concerning amendment procedures and Annexes I and II which constitute an integral part of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The preamble, or introductory part of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, states the greatest democratic values upon which modern society should be based: peace, justice, reconciliation, general well-being and economic development through the protection of private property and the promotion of a market economy. The Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Article III, lists the competencies of the B&H institutions. The institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina were

¹ http://www.pfsa.unsa.ba/pf/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Politicki_sistem_Bosne_i_Hercegovine.pdf

² http://www.pfsa.unsa.ba/pf/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Politicki_sistem_Bosne_i_Hercegovine.pdf

empowered with the following issues: 1. Foreign policy, 2. Foreign trade policy, 3. Customs policy, 4. Monetary policy, 5. Financing of institutions and payment of international obligations, 6. Immigration, refugees and asylum, 7. Implementation of international and inter-entity policies and regulation of criminal regulations, 8. Establishment of joint and international relations, 9. Regulation of inter-entity space, 10. Air traffic control. According to Article III, paragraph 5a also refers to the questions: 1. with which the entities agree, those provided for in Annexes 5-8, and those necessary to preserve the sovereignty and integrity of the state. All issues not covered by the jurisdiction of Bosnia and Herzegovina are the responsibility of the Entities, which means that the Entities have jurisdiction over non-State issues. According to the Constitution, Bosnia and Herzegovina has: Legislative power exercised by the B&H Parliamentary Assembly (composed of the House of Peoples and the House of Representatives), executive power exercised by the Presidency and the Council of Ministers of B&H, and the Judiciary under the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court of B&H.

Taking into consideration the current situation and political system of B&H the term "constitutive", would in a rough sense apply to one who "creates or does something". The B&H Constitution affirms the right of all citizens to human rights and fundamental freedoms. Likewise, Article II of the B&H Constitution obliges all state and entity bodies to ensure and protect human rights and freedom from any form of discrimination. The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantees the equality of Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs.

Organization and Function of Parties in B&H

Each party has its own organizational structure and one system of bodies in which there is a division of competences, rights and obligations. There is also a division into a wider circle of party members and sympathizers and a narrower circle of party leaders and permanent officials. The organizational structure could be represented in the linear model as: the party nucleus; party leadership, party apparatus, party activists, party membership and party voters and sympathizers.

Through the analysis of the party structure, we can see that the organizational structure of the parties does not mention a category that involves the active participation of young people. The basic function of a political party is to exert a conscious influence on the state and state politics, to politicize the society and to exercise their function properly in elected representative bodies.

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska have signed an Election Agreement to promote free, fair and democratic elections. With this annex, the parties agree to comply with paragraphs 7 and 8 of the Copenhagen Documents, which set out rules that must be followed if in order to have fair and democratic elections. These rules set the age of the voter, the manner of voting and determine who can run for office. Accordingly, it can be seen from the analysis that it is concentrated on creating a neutral political environment in which fair and democratic elections can be held and the citizen's right to run for political or public office is to be respected. The integration of young people into the political process is not mentioned in this agreement, which is still in force today. The Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina "regulates the election of the members and delegates of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and establishes the principles applicable to elections at all levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina"³.

In the Election Law, the word youth is not mentioned in any way, which means that there is no regulation that would stimulate the participation of young people in the electoral process, and that this participation is not legally defined.

³ https://ti-B&H.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/izborni_zakon_B&H.pdf

ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENTS OF THE STATUTES OF POLITICAL ENTITIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Democratic Front^{4,5}

Democratic Front is the B&H Parliamentary Unitarian Social Democratic Party established in 2013. The backbone of the party is mostly former SDP leaders and people close to the political left. According to the current Statute, which is available on the party's official website, it is a political subject of social democratic orientation operating in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with its main seat in Sarajevo.



The Statute (Amendments) of the Democratic Front was adopted on September 15, 2015. The Statute has a total of 69 members. Analyzing the content of the document the term youth is mentioned in total 2 times.

For the first time, youth is mentioned in Article 28, paragraph 3 of the Statute, which deals with gender, age, national and territorial representation within party organs, where it is envisaged that the competent authority of the Party will, by its decision on nomination and election of members of organs of the Party, provide mechanisms for achieving adequate age representation, according to which at least 30% of members under 35 and at least 10% over 55 would be in the organs.

For the second time, the Statute of the Democratic Front mentions youth in Article 61 of the Statute, which discusses forms of interest organization within the party, and in paragraph 3 mentions the youth organization as one of the two examples of organizing.

⁴ Statute of DF available at: <http://fronta.ba/statut/>

⁵ Logo DF taken from: https://web.facebook.com/Demokratska.fronta.B&H/?_rdc=1&_rdr

The Statute does not strictly define the concept of youth or the age limits that denote young people. A broader interpretation of the Statute, in particular Article 28, may state that the Statute of the Democratic Front recognizes young people persons as young as 35. The Statute of this political entity does not regulate the issue of the candidate lists, and it is impossible to talk about the prescribed quotas for young people.

The DF Statute does not regulate the management of the youth interest group, nor does it provide information on the existence of the youth interest group as a sub-organization of the DF, and it concludes that this issue is governed by the Rules of Procedure referred to in paragraphs 5 and 6 of Article 61. It should be noted that in certain political subjects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the president of a youth interest organization has a guaranteed place within the presidency of that political subject, but this is not the case with the Democratic Front, because as we mentioned, it is impossible to know the existence of such an interest organization in the Democratic Front. However, by interpreting the Statute of the Democratic Front, we come to the conclusion that the Presidency of this party, as well as some other bodies within it, should include persons up to 35 years of age.

An additional feature of the Democratic Front Statute in relation to other political subjects is that the Statute does not strictly stipulate the number of members of local, city, or cantonal / regional committees, but states that in each case it will be valued on the basis of the size of the area for which the committee is being established. However, Article 33 of the Statute, which deals with local organizations, states in paragraph 6 that the local committee shall, as a rule, consist of between five and fifteen members elected in accordance with the Rules of Election of the Party and all members who attend the election session of the Local Organization may choose and be elected.

By directly applying the provision in Article 28, paragraph 3, we can assume that each local committee should have between two and five members who are under 35 years of age. The number of members of Congress is not determined by statute. Applying Article 28, paragraph 3 to the relevant provisions of the Statute on the number of other organs of the Party, we come to the following table:

Table 6: the number of DF members with calculated average Youth participation

Name of the Party organ	Article of the Statute which refers to the number of organs	The total number organ members	Minimum number of members under 35 (30% based on Article 28, paragraph 3)
Local board	Article 33 paragraph 6	5-15	2-5
Main board	Article 49 paragraph 2	90	27
Presidency	Article 50 paragraph 1	30	9
Supervisory Board	Article 52 paragraph 2	7	2

Democratic National Union^{6,7}

Democratic National Union (DNS) is a political party operating in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a focus on Republika Srpska entity since its inception in May 2000. According to the June 2017 Statute in force, it is the right-wing political center based in Banja Luka.



Throughout its 69th Articles, the Statute has repeatedly referred to youth on 24 pages. Nevertheless, through the Statute the term youth has not been defined. Article 10 discusses ways of bringing DNS members and like-minded people together to implement the goals of the Statute, and the organization of youth and women. The DNS youth organization, as stated in Article 11, may be formed at lower levels on the territorial principle, all with the aim of adequate representation in the DNS bodies; the same article states that in case of lack of adequate representation in the DNS bodies, at the conclusion of the party elections, the party presidency has the right to co-opt a number of women and young people into DNS bodies in favor of more equitable representation.

With regard to DNS municipal and city committees, Article 13 leaves the possibility of organizing special youth committees open if such an organization would operate more rationally and effectively. The Municipal / City Committee also proposes candidates for the members of the Main Committee, of which a certain number must be from among the youth, stated in Article 16. According to the function, pursuant to Article 17, the Chairman of the local DNS youth organization also enters the Presidency of the local youth organization.

The DNS Presidency, as a political and executive body, under Article 37, also includes the President of the Young DNS. The December 2017 DNS Declaration does not mention youth as a separate category. The DNS official website states that the DNS Youth Organization numbers about 10,000 young people from all over the RS, with a tendency to grow, with students showing the greatest interest in DNS policies.

⁶ Statute of DNS-available at: <http://dns-prnjavor.blogspot.com/p/statut-dns-a.html>

⁷ Logo DNS-a taken from: <https://www.dnsrs.org/>

The official website also states that "in June 2017, the Youth Assembly adopted a Program Platform which emphasized ⁸:

- Better education - we want young people to acquire practical knowledge and skills during their education, especially in foreign language, informatics and entrepreneurship courses; we want the most competent teachers and professors for lecturers and special conditions for the further development of the most talented students; better education also requires that the principle of equal access to all levels of education be applied - to all young people and that the lack of money should not be an obstacle for anyone to study. We will realize these by changing curricula; adoption of a plan of practical training; changes in the scholarship policy of high school/middle school and university students, introducing a system of quality evaluation in education; adopting a strategy to support talented students, more extracurricular activities.
- More sport - we want the sport to be accessible to all young people in the neighborhoods in which they live, in schools and colleges; we want sport to become a lifestyle. Sport has to become a better quality part of the education system, as it will enable recreational athletes to have a better quality of life and give talent a shortcut to great achievements.
- More culture and art - because culture is our best ambassador. We want, through our tradition, to build a better image of Republika Srpska, to strengthen our national confidence and the system of values. We give priority to tradition, customs and learning about culture - from childhood. For this reason we need more support for amateur and cultural-artistic associations but also make this an obligation for students to attend at least one cultural event during the year.
- Faster and fair youth employment - We want at least one member employed in each family; we support entrepreneurship and self-employment among young people and will insist on the reform of institutions dealing with employment mediation;
- Village development - we want quality roads, water supply and other infrastructure in the countryside; greater incentives for the starting rural businesses for young people to work in. We know that without a

⁸ <https://www.dnsrs.org/mladi-dns>

developed village, there will be no positive changes in either demographic policy or the economy.

- Compulsory health care for all young people - we want all young people to have health care and that it does not depend on the status of their parents or guardians; full-time students must have compulsory health insurance even when their parents are not insured. We will also work to ensure equal access to health care in the place where pupils and students attend classes and at the place of residence.

Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina^{9, 10}

The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ B&H) is a parliamentary political party in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Founded on August 18, 1990 in Sarajevo, it was a participant in the Croat national-democratic movement and a constituent of the Croatian Democratic Union, which assumed power in Croatia after the first democratic elections. It quickly established itself as the party of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and together with the other two people's parties, the SDA and SDS, won the first democratic elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina in late 1990 and formed a coalition government. It is currently the party that enjoys the highest support from the Croatian ethnic community in B&H society.



The Statute (Amendments) of the Croatian Democratic Union of B&H (HDZ B&H) was adopted on April 27, 2019 at the 13th Assembly of the Party. The statute has a total of 68 members and a total of 23 pages. Analyzing the content of the document in relation to the term youth, it is mentioned 9 times in total. For the first time, it is mentioned in Article 35, which refers to the Presidency of the HDZ B&H, of which it is a member and president of the HDZ B&H Youths (paragraph f). Article 50 of the Statute defines the Youth Organization of the HDZ B&H, where paragraphs 1 to 5 set out the basic determinants that the HDZ B&H Youth Union was established within the HDZ B&H as a separate organizational unit. (2) The HDZ B&H Youth Union shall be called the HDZ B&H Youth, with its seat in Mostar. (3) HDZ B&H youth may establish lower forms of their activities. (4) The HDZ B&H youth shall be provided with at least 15% representation in all bodies of the Party. (5) The youth of the HDZ B&H shall act in accordance with the Rulebook, which shall be harmonized with this Statute. Article 52 defines the HDZ B&H Political Academy where paragraph (2) mentions youth in a way that defines “the basic goals and activities of the HDZ B&H Political Academy are continuous, professional, political training and education, fostering the active political and public action of the members and officials of the HDZ B&H, as well as the

⁹ Statute of HDZ of B&H available at: https://hdzB&H.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/HDZ%20B&H%20-%20XIII.%20Sabor%20-%20Statut_Program_Programska_deklaracija_0.pdf

¹⁰ Logo HDZ B&H taken from: <https://hdzB&H.org/hr>

Youth of the HDZ B&H and the Community of Women of the HDZ B&H and other interested individuals, in accordance with the decisions of the relevant bodies of the Political Academy. "

In the HDZ B&H program, which states that the HDZ B&H is a party "which promotes freedom and responsibility, we especially encourage young people to engage in interpersonal, tolerance and solidarity activities in which they will invest their creativity in the development and search for new avenues, while providing them with full help and support. The HDZ B&H's attitude to youth is based on the trust and optimum involvement of young people in the political, economic and any other type of building a politically stable and secure society and state, based on their interests, opportunities and education. "The age group is not determined by the Party Statute, but refers to the document governing it, which refers to the HDZ Youth Rulebook. It is considered below the Statute by value.

According to Article 5 of this Rulebook, a person from 16 to 33 years old can become a member of the HDZ B&H Youth. Article 12 defines that "any delegate to the Convention may be nominated for any office or body to be elected at the Convention. The nomination of candidates for bodies and officials elected at the HDZ B&H Youth Convention is done in accordance with the Rulebook of the HDZ B&H Youth. The President of the HDZ B&H Youth is elected by secret ballot from a single candidate list. "

Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (Hdz 1990)^{11,12}

Hrvatska Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ 1990) is a B&H parliamentary political party with a federalist and conservative orientation, established in 2006 after its separation from the HDZ B&H.



The Statute (Amendments) of the Croatian Democratic Union 1990 was adopted on 7 May 2016 at the Party Parliament in Mostar. The statute has a total of 69 members and has 21 pages and the youth are mentioned 21 times by members. Youth is not defined by the articles of the statute itself and we will use the definition given by the Law of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on Youth (Article 4)¹³: „youth” or „young people” are persons in the age group from 15 to 30.

The HDZ 1990 Statute first addresses the term youth (young people) in Article 18, stating "that the President of the municipal organization Youth is by function a member of the HDZ 1990 Municipal Board". Furthermore, Article 20 determines the members of the City Boards of the party where by function the President of the HDZ Youth 1990 is a member. Furthermore, when it comes to Brčko District, Article 24 defines that the President of the Youth is a member of the Board. Article 29 standardizes the members of the 1990 HDZ Parliament, and the articles of association are also "HDZ 1990 Youth Envoys," but as the article further states, "the decision on the method of appointing and the number of delegates to the Parliament shall be taken by the Central Committee at the proposal of the HDZ 1990 Presidency." Article 30 defines the competences of the 1990 HDZ Parliament, and treats the youth by electing 22 members of the 1990 HDZ Presidency, one of whom is elected from the 1990 HDZ Youth. The Parliament also elects 42 members of the Central Committee, where 2 members elect from HDZ Youth 1990. The Parliament elects both the President and the members of the High Honorary Court and the Supervisory Board of the HDZ 1990 on the proposal of the Youth and other organizational units within the HDZ 1990. Article 32 emphasizes that the Rules of Procedure of the 1990 HDZ Youth must be harmonized with The HDZ Statute of 1990. Article 35

¹¹ Statute available at: <https://www.hdz1990.org/statut/>

¹² Logo HDZ-a 1990 taken from: <https://www.hdz1990.org/>

¹³ Law on Youth of FB&H available at: https://www.mladicentar.org/Zakon_o_mladima,S1_novine_FB&H_36-10.pdf

emphasizes that the President of the Youth of the HDZ 1990 is a member of the HDZ 1990 Presidency. Article 44 defines the functions of the High Court of Honor, which, according to this Article, is elected by the HDZ 1990 Parliament on the proposal of the HDZ 1990 organizations, among which is the Youth Organization.

Organizational principles of the 1990 HDZ Youth are defined in general by Article 54 of the Statute, which states that “within the HDZ 1990, the HDZ 1990 Youth Community was established as a separate organizational unit. The HDZ 1990 Youth Community is called the HDZ 1990 Youth, based in Mostar. HDZ 1990 youth can identify lower forms of their activity. The HDZ 1990 youth shall be assured of at least 15% representation in the bodies of the HDZ 1990. The HDZ 1990 youth shall act in accordance with the Regulations, which shall comply with this Statute.”

Like most other political entities, the HDZ 1990 in other documents (Program Declaration, Program Declaration of the Youth of the HDZ 1990) states the aspiration to improve the position of young people in education, culture and sport. When it comes to population policy, the attitude of the 1990 HDZ Youth is that through the eight goals they promote, it is possible to improve the status of young people¹⁴:

- A strong and European B&H, which will provide all its residents with legal and economic protection;
- An active policy aimed at youth employment, by aligning the education system with the needs of the labor market, with the participation of all relevant actors and their legitimate representatives;
- Implement an active population policy while providing favorable conditions for starting a family.
- Constitutional protection of marriage as a community of men and women, gender equality, quotas of representation of women in parliaments and in all leading positions in the economy;
- Support for consumer protection initiatives, which is an important aspect in raising the quality of life of B&H residents

¹⁴ <https://www.hdz1990.org/mladez-hdz-1990-2/>

- Establishment of a social system that will protect every B&H citizen
- Protection of family as a fundamental part of society by a social policy that must effectively provide effective benefits for all single mothers, pregnant women, parents with young children and all parents who do not have sufficient means to support their families.
- Ensuring quality public preschool institutions that enable parents to become fully engaged, which is not a consumption but an investment in the economy and the future of society.

Party of Democratic Action (Sda)^{15,16}

The Party of Democratic Action is the People's Party of the Political Center, open to all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose principles, objectives and organization are established in the Program and the Statute, stated in Article 1 of the Party. It was founded on May 26, 1990. The Party operates in the territory of the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, in accordance with the relevant regulations, abroad. The party is headquartered in Sarajevo.



The Statute of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) was adopted on September 14, 2019 at the 7th Congress of the Party of Democratic Action in Sarajevo. The statute has a total of 172 members and has 53 pages. Analyzing the content of the document with regards to the term youth, it is mentioned in total 22 times, the first time in Article 4, where in the SDA Objectives it is emphasized under item 3 (t) with the aim of affirming young people and intensifying their participation in public and social life. Article 42 discusses the Delegates of the Convention, which include, among others, members of the Presidency of the Youth Association. Thereafter, Article 45 (Substitution of a Member of the Main Board) mentions youth in paragraph (2), stating that “in awarding the mandate referred to in the previous paragraph, the SDA Election Commission shall take into account the representation of youth and women in the overall structure of the Main Board. Article 52 (The Structure of the Presidency) paragraph (4) states that by function the President of the SDA Youth Association is a member of the SDA Presidency. Furthermore, Article 94, which refers to the Structure of the Cantonal / Regional Executive Uniform in paragraph (3), refers to the President of the Youth Association as a member, which in the same way treats Article 108 when it comes to the structure of the Municipal / City Executive Board and SDA Executive Committee Brcko District of B&H. The Party of Democratic Action, in Article 121, defines specific forms of action and, under subsection (1b), lists the SDA Youth Association. Articles 125, 126 and 127 are defined through a separate Section B. which discusses the Youth Association's jurisdiction and its report on the work of the SDA Youth

¹⁵ Statute available at: http://sda.ba/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/STATUT_SDA.pdf

¹⁶ Logo taken from: www.sda.ba

Association.

In terms of the responsibilities of the Youth Association, they are reflected in "participation in discussions on key political issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially issues that are of particular importance to young people in B&H society". Furthermore, paragraph (2) of the same article emphasizes that "the SDA Youth Association also participates in discussions on important issues in the SDA, formulates proposals and initiatives that can be addressed to all SDA bodies, including Congress, records and nominates candidates for all positions in the SDA as well as for functions in representative and executive bodies. " Article 148 of the Statute of the Party of Democratic Action which addresses the Competencies of the United States Election Commission in paragraph (m) states that "in the verification of candidate lists and the assignment of mandates, care shall be taken to ensure adequate representation of both genders, youth and all peoples in accordance with the Party Statute and these rules.

Article 159 regulates the Rules of Election Procedure and states that "The SDA Main Board of Election Rules shall regulate more closely the conditions and procedures of nomination, the procedure and voting process, the procedure of appeal, the rights and obligations of voting Boards, the determination of polling stations, the announcement of election results, mandates, ensuring national representation, youth and women's representation, as well as other issues relevant to the elections to the SDA, and are required to bring them 30 (thirty) days from the day this Statute enters into force. According to the Rules of Election Procedure of the SDA, membership of at least 10% of youth is required in party bodies, while in the case of candidate lists, this percentage may not be less than 20% according to the same rulebook.

Article 164 of the Statute defines territorial representation and equality where youth representation in SDA bodies at all levels of organization is guaranteed. Regarding the Program Declaration of the Seventh SDA Congress, youth is mentioned in five places, above all in the segment of program goals within which a goal is defined for "affirmation of youth and intensification of their participation in public and social life; upbringing and education in accordance with the tradition and contemporary needs of the market and the Bosnian society. Furthermore, Section X of the Program Declaration emphasizes

that stable, sustainable and modern agriculture can provide perspective to younger population structures and revitalize the demographic picture of rural areas. The SDA program declaration also points to this party's position in education and science (Section XXI), where the primary goal is to determine an effective and responsive education system, free from ideologies, linked to market needs through a "dual education" system and aligned with European standards. Section XXIII, which deals with the Family and Demographics, emphasizes that through "the Government of the Federation of B&H and the Cantonal Governments it will intensify the development of programs that support the first employment and housing of young married couples".

Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina^{17,18}

According to Article 3 of the Statute, “SDP B&H is a single political multiethnic, civil society organization of social democratic left program orientation, free, equal and responsible members, which operates on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the basis of the SDP B&H Program and in accordance with this Statute.



SDP B&H is a member of the Socialist Internationale, and can be included in other social democratic and left-wing associations, as well as alliances at the regional and wider level. The consolidated text of the SDP B&H Statute was adopted on August 1, 2019. The SDP B&H Statute has 69 pages and 226 members. The term youth is mentioned in the Statute a total of 11 times.

For the first time in the Statute, youth is mentioned in Article 57, where it is talked about the SDP B&H Congress as the highest decision-making body in the SDP B&H, it further states who all the delegates are and, among others, the delegate who is representative from the SDP B&H Youth Forum. Furthermore, Article 174 states that there are four forms of interst-political activity in the SDP B&H, the first of which is the SDP B&H Youth Forum.

Article 175 clarifies the position of the SDP B&H Youth Forum where it states that the Forum “acts as a special organization of young members and sympathizers of the SDP B&H, up to 35 years of age, called the SDP B&H Youth Forum, as an interest-political form of organization. The Main Board of the SDP B&H decides on organizing the SDP B&H Youth Forum. Furthermore, Article 176 states that “The SDP B&H Youth Forum, by a decision on internal organization, regulates in more detail the manner of its organization, operation and establishment of forms of interest. Article 177 states that “the SDP B&H Youth Forum participates in all discussions on key political issues of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as on all key issues of the SDP B&H, formulates issues, proposals and initiatives that can be addressed to all SDP B&H bodies, including the Congress, records and nominates candidates for all positions in the SDP B&H as well as for positions in representative and executive bodies.

¹⁷ Statute available at: <http://www.sdp.ba/dokumenti/>

¹⁸ Logo taken from: www.sdp.ba

Article 178 stipulates that “The SDP B&H Youth Forum is obliged to submit a Report on its work to the SDP B&H Main Board at least once a year. Organizations of the SDP B&H Youth Forum at lower levels are required to submit annual reports to the appropriate committee. Article 179 stipulates that "the SDP B&H Youth Forum is obliged to respect the Program and Statute of the SDP B&H and the decisions of the SDP B&H bodies."

Based on other available documents, it is important to point out that on the SDP B&H web site in the Youth Forum section there is a publication "Let's stay here - Public policies of the Youth Forum of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina" within which young people give detailed recommendations on 123 pages regarding the way to create policies in Bosnia and Herzegovina which would be beneficial to the youth population. The publication analyzes the situation of young people in eight areas: employment, education, culture and sports, social activism, leisure, housing, anti-nationalism and a secure and organized community.

Serb Democratic Party^{19,20}

The SDS is a democratic political organization of free and responsible citizens who accept and achieve the goals and policies of the SDS in accordance with the program and statute of the SDS. The SDS political subject advocates the establishment and preservation of a democratic political order in RS and B&H and is open to all citizens who organize themselves freely and voluntarily in order to express their political goals and achieve political activities.



The statute of the SDS was adopted on May 10, 2015. The statute has 39 pages and 116 articles. The term youth is mentioned in the Statute a total of 10 times. Young people are recognized and defined as persons up to 32 years of age, which can be identified in the following: At all levels of organization, in all bodies and on all SDS electoral lists, at least one fifth of seats must be filled by SDS members under 32, that is, members of the underrepresented gender. Exception to the rules are the SDS Presidency and the Coordination Boards for constituencies. Furthermore, if there is not one fifth of the elected candidates under the age of 32 and members of the underrepresented gender, SDS members who are not in either of the two mentioned categories are removed from the list of elected candidates, in the order from the last to the top and they are replaced by candidates under the age of 32 and candidates of the underrepresented gender who have achieved the best result in order from the list in relation to other candidates in their categories, until one-fifth of the members under the age of 32 are on the list of selected candidates, and candidates of the underrepresented gender. It is important to note that the 20% youth quota applies to all party bodies, as well as to candidate lists.

The SDS Assembly elects a maximum of 72 members of the SDS Main Board by secret ballot in accordance with a special decision on the criteria for electing members of the SDS Main Board made by the SDS Main Board, taking into account territorial, gender, age and other representation of membership in the Main Board. The SDS Main Board, as a rule, elects one member from among the 32-year-olds from among its members by secret ballot by a majority

¹⁹ Statute available at: <http://www.sdsrs.com/sr/68.statut.html>

²⁰ Logo taken from: www.sds.com

vote of the total number of votes of the Main Board, and at the proposal of the Main Board members and with the consent of the SDS President.

Regarding the special forms of organization, the Statute of this political entity, among other things, speaks of: SDS women's assets whose organization and manner of work are determined by the decision of the Main Board, the organization and activities of SDS youth (Youth Active) whose mode of operation is also determined by a decision of the Main Board.

Membership in a youth organization is on a voluntary basis, ie if the young person wants it. The leadership of the youth organization of the SDS political party is formed in such a way that first the municipal youth boards are elected, and then they further elect the members of the regional boards. The regional committees elect their presidents, who make up the presidency of the SDS Youth Active, and those within the organization, the presidents and vice-presidents. They are in charge of all issues concerning young people, representing the interests of young people in a specific area, organizing various activities and the like. The president of the SDS Youth Active enters the presidency on the basis of his / her function, and at lower levels the presidents of the Municipal / City and Regional Youth Active become members of the municipal / city / regional committees on the basis of their function.

Alliance of Independent Social Democrats^{21,22}

The Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) is an independent and democratic political organization, open to all citizens who accept its Program and Statute (Article 1).



The Statute (amendments) of the SNSD was adopted on June 15, 2019, on VI. Party Congress. The statute has 22 pages and 62 articles. The term youth is mentioned in the Statute a total of 13 times.

In the statute, youth is mentioned for the first time in Article 9, as an organization within the party, ie the Youth Organization is treated as a special organizational form called the Young Social Democrats (MSD). Article 15 lists the competencies of the Main Committee (CSO) of the party, which states that the CSO makes the decision to organize the Young Social Democrats. Article 16 defines the competencies of the president of the SNSD, within this article under paragraph (5) indent 5 it is stated that the president of the SNSD at a convention or conference invites the president, vice president or secretary of municipal / city committees of the Young Social Democrats.

Article 20 defines who makes the SNSD presidency and one of the 45 members is the president of the Young Social Democrats. Article 22 defines the members of the Executive Committee headed by the President of the SNSD, and the member of the Executive Committee is also the President of the Young Social Democrats. In the continuation of the same article, it is stated that it is within the competence of the Executive Committee, which is the political-executive and operational body of the SNSD, to adopt the Work Plan and the Report on the work of the Young Social Democrats. Article 31 defines that the Municipal / City Board of the SNSD is responsible for the formation of the Young Social Democrats. Article 32 states that the local board consists of the president and vice-president of the local board as well as youth activists, women's activists, pensioners' activists, voter list activists and several prominent

²¹ Statute available at: <http://www.snsd.org/index.php/o-snsd-u/dokumenti/prog-dokumenti>

²² Logo taken from: <http://www.snsd.org>

members. Article 36 defines special organizational forms within the SNSD, as do the Young Social Democrats.

Article 37 clearly states that “adequate representation of women and youth in the SNSD bodies shall be ensured, so that at least 30% of the members of the bodies shall be women and that at least 20% of the members of the bodies shall be youth. In the event that this relationship is not achieved in the elections, the SNSD bodies may co-opt up to 10% of the structure of women and youth, in accordance with the Statute.

The program platform of the Young Social Democrats, which is available on the SNSD website, covers the period 2010-2014. On 42 pages, the Young Social Democrats analyze "Active participation of young people in society", Education, Student Standard, Employment, Housing, Social Policy, Culture, Sports and Youth Health. The SNSD web site also provide information on the party's political program, which is listed on 6 pages and in which the term youth is mentioned three times when it comes to the right to employment where it is stated that the young generation has the right to provide existential conditions to recognize its future in this area.

In the segment of agrarian policies, the SNSD program will propagate "agrarian policy in order to make the village attractive for young people as well." The SNSD's political program also identifies that "the indisputable and completely untapped advantage is the educational and work capacity of the population, primarily young people, through the encouragement of creative, productive and intellectual contemporary activities."

Our Party^{23,24}

Our party (NS) is a party of civil orientation, which operates on the basis of the provisions of the Statute which was passed on May 18, 2019 and party policies expressed in programs, declarations, resolutions and decisions and other general and individual acts, in accordance with the legal order of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The NS is a political organization with a social-liberal political orientation that respects the highest degree of equality of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was founded in 2008. The basis of the NS the Statute (amendments) of Our Party (NS) was adopted on May 18, 2019 at the 4th Party Congress. The statute has a total of 79 members and 27 pages. An analysis of the content of the document when it comes to the term youth is mentioned a total of 13 times. The first mention in the Statute is within Article 4 (Principles of Action), paragraph 5, which states “The National Assembly shall take concrete steps in its activities with the aim of encouraging vulnerable and discriminated persons and groups to participate politically. The NS will provide the mechanisms necessary to increase the representation and participation of women and youth in party bodies and political life. The second time the term youth is mentioned in Article 24 (Party bodies) where party bodies are defined, which are: a) Congress; b) Main Board; c) the president; d) Presidency; e) Supervisory Board; f) Ethics Commission and d) Youth Forum. Article 32, which deals with the organization of the Main Board of the NS, defines the President of the regional / cantonal committees of the Youth Forum of the NS as members of the Main Board of Our Party. Paragraph 8 of the same Article states that “the greatest efforts must be made to ensure equal representation of both genders and at least 30% of members under the age of 30 within the Main Board. Article 40 states that the president of the NS Youth Forum is also a member of the NS Presidency. Article 72 defines the competencies of the NS Youth Forum, where paragraph 1 states that “the NS Youth Forum is an NS body that gathers NS members up to 30 years of age, and paragraph 2 that "the NS Youth Forum adopts a Rulebook defining the manner of operation, organizing, supervising and coordinating the activities of the NS Youth Forum, as well as paragraph (3) which states that "the



²³ Statute available at: <https://www.nasastranka.ba/dokumenti/>

²⁴ Logo taken from: <https://www.nasastranka.ba>

Presidency of the NS approves the Rules of Procedure of the Youth Forum of the NS".

In the document General Program Objectives, the term youth explicitly appears once on 5-pages in the segment of trade union rights, where one of the basic goals of Our Party is to “provide young people who are employed with working conditions appropriate to their age, including protection from economic exploitation and such types of work that could harm their safety, health, education, or physical, mental and social development” while the term youth is not mentioned in the General Program Principles of Our Party. In the Manifesto of Our Party when it comes to education, young people are mentioned through the position of the NS that "the current system of youth education is inadequate to the time and environment in which we live and that the government's priority is to reform it and introduce school programs based on modern, scientific teaching methods and content which are pedagogically and professionally proven in the world”.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Based on the obtained data, we notice that most political subjects in their statutes defined the role and importance of youth and emphasized the importance and orientation of political programs towards young people, primarily in the segments of education, culture and sports and population policy and housing. What you also notice is the fact that the parties define young people differently when it comes to the age that characterizes a young person, although the Law on Youth of both the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska defines young people as persons aged 15 to 30. (Youth) yet political subjects use different definitions:

- The Democratic Front recognizes young people up to the age of 35.
- The Democratic People's Alliance does not mention the age limit of young people in the Statute.
- The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina defines youth from 16 to 33 years of age.
- The Croatian Democratic Union in 1990 does not define the term youth (youth) regarding the age limit.
- The Party of Democratic Action also does not define the term youth (youth) regarding the age limit.
- The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina defines young people as persons up to 35 years of age.
- The Serbian Democratic Party defines young people as persons up to 32 years of age.
- The Alliance of Independent Social Democrats also does not have an age limit mentioned in its Statute.
- Our party defines youth as persons under 30 years of age.

Based on the above, it can be recommended to political subjects that have not defined or have otherwise defined the age limit to apply the Law on Youth in both entities, because unfortunately there is no state law on youth.

Furthermore, we can state that youth organizations in political parties, especially parties that have a structure (HDZB&H, SDA, SDP B&H, SNSD, and SDS) are well organized and the youth president is involved in all important party committees. Youth organizations do not have a high degree of autonomy because for certain activities or work plans in a certain period, they usually need the permission or approval of one of the Committee or the president or presidency of the party. When it comes to youth participation in party-level decision-making or participation in the electoral process through running on electoral lists, most political subjects favor the view that at least 20% of candidates on electoral lists must be young people (noting that they have different youth definitions) in some cases 30%. Accordingly, it would be logical that the participation of young people in the executive and legislative branches at all three levels is approximately or equal to 20%, but in the next few pages of the analysis it is evident that this is not even close to the percentage. All of the above significantly affects the perception but also the motivation of young people to become more actively involved and participate more significantly in the political life of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Central Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina (CiKB&H) provided very significant data on the participation of young people in elections and their success in their analysis. For example, in the previous General Elections held in 2018, the total voter turnout was 54.02%.

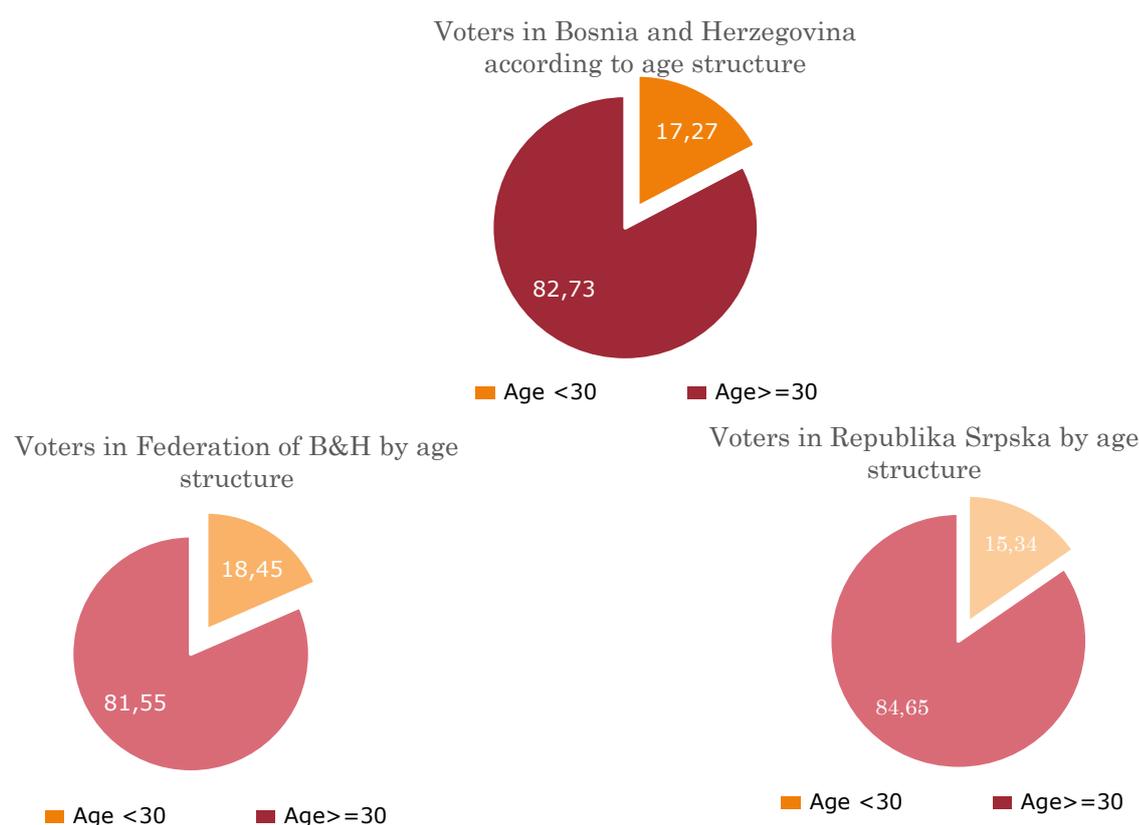
A total of 289,459 young voters out of 3,355,659 registered voters of all ages used their right to vote in 2018, ie only 15.97% of voters are under 30 years of age. To be more precise, the total youth voters according to the data of CiKB&H in 2018 was 579,614 voters under the age of 30, ie the turnout of young people in the General Elections was 49.99%. The following table best illustrates how "old" the voting body in Bosnia and Herzegovina actually is.

Table 7: Voters in B&H - age structure (Source: CiKB&H)

	Age <30 N	Age <30 %	Age >=30 N	Age >=30 %	Total N	Total %
B&H	579.614	17,27	2.776.045	82,73	3.355.659	100
FB&H	379.264	18,45	1.675.859	81,55	2.055.123	61,24
RS	189.502	15,34	1.045.226	84,65	1.234.728	36,80
DB	10.848	16,48	54.960	83,52	65.808	1,96

Based on the presented table and data from 2018, we conclude that more than 82% of the voters are over 29 years old, ie simplified out of 10 voters, 8 of them are older than 29 years. Furthermore, when it comes to the entities, we notice that the percentage of those who have not reached the age of 30 in the FB&H is slightly higher than their peers in the RS entity. So the electorate in B&H and in the entities based on age structure looks like this:

Chart 1-3: Voters in B&H - age structure (B&H, FB&H, RS)



Based on the obtained data of the CEC of Bosnia and Herzegovina for 518 seats at all levels of government (Presidency of B&H, PA B&H, Parliament of FB&H, President of RS, NS RS, Cantonal Assembly) there were a total of

7,497 candidates, of which 1,420 were under 30 or 18.94%. Most candidates were for the Cantonal Assemblies, ie out of 1,420 certified candidates under the age of 30, 913 or 64.29% took part in the electoral lists for the Cantonal Assemblies. This data also gives indications that young people are most often placed on candidate lists at lower levels, and that higher levels, entity and state are reserved for the "more experienced". It is also interesting to mention that out of 15 candidates for the Presidency of B&H, none was younger than 30, while only 1 candidate out of a total of 36 was younger than 30 and entered the race for the position of President of RS. When it comes to the Parliament of B&H, the Parliament of FB&H and the NSRS, the participation of young people on the electoral lists (candidates) is listed in the following table

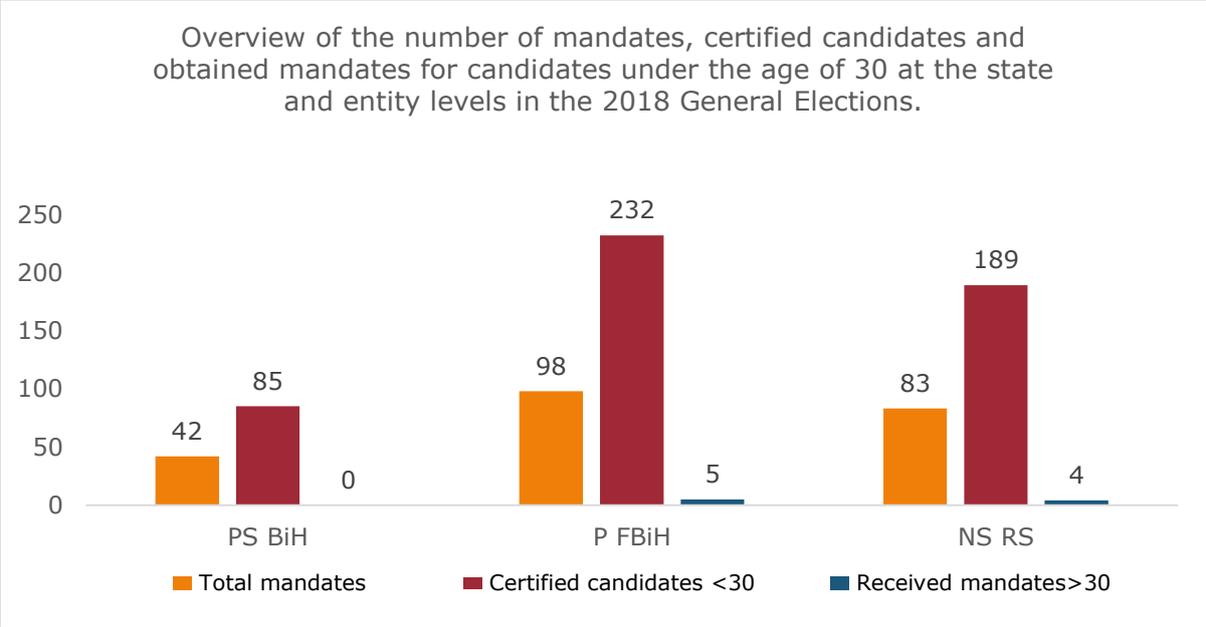
Table 8: Certified candidates by age structure (Source: CiK B&H)

	Total candidates	<30 (N)	<30 (%)	>=30 (N)	>=30 (%)
Parliament B&H	733	85	11,59	648	88,41
Parliament FB&H	1292	232	17,96	1060	82,04
NS RS	1438	189	13,14	1249	86,86

Based on the presented data, it is evident that the participation of young people on the candidate lists in relation to the problems that this social group has in Bosnia and Herzegovina is unfortunately at a fairly low level. The percentage of youth participation in the election process as candidates is insufficient, especially when it comes to the two highest levels of government in Bosnia and Herzegovina. By further analyzing the results of the General Elections in 2018 and the elected candidates, we notice that out of 42 seats in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, no candidate was trusted with regular seats or compensatory seats, ie all 42 candidates who won seats in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina are 30 years old, and according to Table 8, 85 candidates were younger than 30 years old.

It is also interesting to note that the current structure of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina is significantly more "experienced" in age and the youngest minister is 42 years old, while the age range of appointed ministers in the CoM of B&H ranges from 42 to 66, and the average age of ministers is 57.

When it comes to the entity level, we notice that there were 232 candidates for the FB&H Parliament under the age of 30 for 98 seats. Only 5 candidates received the trust or mandate in the PFB&H. Analyzing these figures, we can conclude that a person is three times more likely to be elected to the Parliament of the Federation of B&H if he/she is older than 29. Regarding the Government of the Federation of B&H, which has a total of 16 members of the government (15 ministers + Prime Minister of the FB&H), the youngest minister is 43 years old, while the age range of appointed ministers in the FB&H Government ranges from 43 to 67, and the average age of ministers is 54. There were 1,438 certified candidates for the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska in the 2018 General Elections for 83 seats, of which 189 under the age of 30, and only 4 candidates under the age of 30 received the vote of confidence. The situation in the Federation of B&H (PFB&H) is similar, you are three times more likely to be elected to the NARS if you are older than 29. In terms of the Government of Republika Srpska, which has a total of 17 members of the government (16 ministers + the Prime Minister of the RS), the youngest minister is 37, while the age range of appointed ministers in the RS Government ranges from 37 to 66, and the average age of ministers is 49.



According to all the above, out of a total of 1,420 certified candidates for all levels of government in the 2018 General Elections who are younger than

30, for 518 mandates that were filled, only 27 candidates younger than 30 were elected to parliamentary seats, ie percentage participation at all levels under the age of 30 is 5.21%. Thus, young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina occupy 5.21% of the Legislative power at the state, entity and cantonal levels. With regards to the Executive Power, ie the average age of the analyzed two levels of government, we notice that the average age of ministers in the Council of Ministers of B&H and the Entity Governments is from 49 to 57. If we take into account that the average age of the population in B&H according to the 2013 Census is about 39 years of age, we conclude that the average minister is 10 years older than the average age of the entire population. Among other things, these data are conducive to the trend of young people leaving Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it can be seen that young people do not have a great desire to cope with the problems of Bosnian society, primarily those that affect them.

The position of young people in the statutes of political subjects and on electoral lists and participation in the electoral process is determined by decisions of higher party bodies, most often the Presidency or certain Committees, which must nominate young people for electoral lists due to certain rules and norms of the electoral system. However, most often, and as the exact indicators we have presented unequivocally determine, young people in almost 95% of cases are exclusively candidates and very rarely decision makers in the political sense in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ilišin, V. (2003). *Politička participacija mladih i politika prema mladima: Hrvatska u europskom kontekstu*. *Politička misao : časopis za politologiju*, 40(3), 37-57.
- Kovačić, M., Vrbat, I. (2014). „Znam da ništa ne znam“: *politička kompetencija i politička participacija među mladima u Zagrebu*. *Suvremene teme: međunarodni časopis za društvene i humanističke znanosti*, 7(1), 56-76. Preuzeto s <https://hrcak.srce.hr/132144>
- Turčilo, L., Osmić, A., Šadić, S., Kapidžić, D., Dudić, A., Žiga, J. (2019). *Studija o mladima u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Vujčić, V. (2000). *Politička participacija*. *Politička misao: časopis za politologiju*, 37(1), 115-140.
- Vujević, M. (2006). *Uvođenje u znanstveni rad u području društvenih znanosti*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.
- Žiga, J.; Turčilo, L.; Osmić, A.; Bašić, S.; Džananović Miraščija, N.; Kapidžić, D.; Brkić Šmigoc, J. (2015). *Studija o mladima u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Banović D. *Prezentacija o političkom sistemu BiH* dostupno na: http://www.pfsa.unsa.ba/pf/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Politicki_sistem_Bosne_i_Hercegovine.pdf
- *Izborni Zakon BiH* dostupan na: https://ti-bih.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/04/izborni_zakon_bih.pdf
- CIK BiH (2018) *Izborni pokazatelji za 2018. godinu*, dostupno na: https://www.izbori.ba/Documents/2019/11/Izborni_pokazatelji_2018.pdf
- Statut DF-a: <http://fronta.ba/statut/>
- Statut DNS-a: <http://dns-prnjavor.blogspot.com/p/statut-dns-a.html>

- Statut HDZ BiH: https://hdzbih.org/sites/default/files/dokumenti/HDZ%20BiH%20%20XIII.%20Sabor%20%20Statut_Program_Program_ska_deklaracija__0.pdf
- Statut HDZ 1990: <https://www.hdz1990.org/statut/>
- Statut SDA: http://sda.ba/wpcontent/uploads/2020/01/STATUT_SDA.pdf
- Statut SDP BiH: <http://www.sdp.ba/dokumenti/>
- Statut SNSD-a: <http://www.snsd.org/index.php/o-snsd-u/dokumenti/prog-dokumenti>
- Statut SDS-a: <http://www.sdsrs.com/sr/68.statut.html>
- Statut NS: <https://www.nasastranka.ba/dokumenti/>

BIOGRAPHIES OF AUTHORS

Ajna Katica

My name is Ajna Katica and I am 18 years old. I go to "International University Sarajevo", where I study psychology. In the future, I hope I will be able to study international relations as well. I graduated from "First Bosniak Gymnasium, Cambridge International Center" high school. I play guitar in KUD "Bašćaršija", and with the help of KUD I managed to travel to many European countries such as Switzerland, France and many others. I have been involved in human rights since I was a child without being aware of it, I have always possessed a kind of empathy that made me fight for others. In the second grade of high school, I finally started doing it actively. I attended the regional session of the European Youth Parliament (EYP), and later the international session "Yugosphere". Later, my high school sent me to Model United Nations (MUN) in Sarajevo and not long after in Doha. I was also honored to attend the protests for two schools under one roof with the organization ASuB&H (Association of High School Students in B&H), where we managed to ensure that students are not divided on the basis of their nationality.



I also attended the political academy "Academy for Women", where I even had the opportunity to present on the topic of legalization of prostitution in B&H. I am also honored to be part of the beginner's project, launched by Maja Gasal-Vražalica, for women in politics, which gave me the opportunity to present the project, together with my colleague Zerina, to many ambassadors in B&H. It is important to mention that I am part of a start-up project within the BOLD program, which concerns media literacy. Everything I do, I try to do give and do my best and with the best intentions, and I hope it will eventually pay off.

Nasiha Šadinlija

Nasiha Šadinlija was born on February 27, 2000 in Sarajevo. She finished primary and secondary electrical engineering school in her hometown. She continued her education at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Sarajevo. Although she has focused her affinities on technology, she enjoys reading and researching the social sciences. She wants to focus her knowledge on connecting social problems and digital solutions. Consequently, with the rest of the team, she works on developing a mobile application that has a social impact, and raising awareness about the inclusion of women in the IT sector. She considers the acquisition of non-formal education to be very important, because she believes that in this way we expand our horizons and become better acquainted with the reality in which we live. She improves her skills by participating in various projects and start-up competitions.



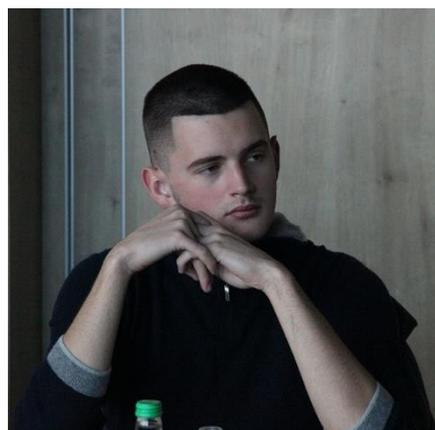
Inela Subašić

Inela Subašić was born and lives in Sarajevo, where she studies International Relations and Diplomacy at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo. In addition to her active and long-term involvement in activism and volunteerism, many of the projects in which she participated, a large part of her social engagement involves participating in debate at the Center for the Culture of Dialogue. Through the debate, she continues to deal with current social and political topics, so she decided to start a Debate Club at her faculty. In addition, she conducts most of her activities through the YIHR - Youth Initiative for Human Rights. She believes that developing political literacy and a culture of dialogue is crucial for improving the quality of life.



Ferid Omić

Ferid Omić was born on March 10, 2001. He finished his primary education in his hometown of Zavidovići, and continued his high school in Zenica, where at the time of writing this study he was a final year student at Richmond Park Zenica High School. Throughout his education, he expressed his passion for both natural and social sciences. As an active member of the Association of High School Students of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the School Students' Council, he has assisted and led many projects of a sports, cultural, educational and humanitarian nature. Together with colleagues and professors from the school, he contributed to the organization of several math and science camps for elementary school students, where he also participated as a lecturer. He hopes to significantly expand and apply his modest experience and knowledge in the future for the benefit of his local community.



Dr. Amer Osmić

Amer Osmić was born in Jajce in 1984. He received his bachelor's, masters and doctoral degrees from the Faculty of Political Science, University of Sarajevo (Department of Sociology), where he currently works as an assistant professor in the following subjects: methodology, youth sociology, academic writing, and sociology of sports. He is the author of many studies and articles



that deal with youth issues with a special focus on the political literacy of young people and the departure of young people from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

He has participated in several projects, including the BeCAN project (FP7), RRPP Western Balkans, FES, UNICEF, MAESTRAL, the XY Association and others as well as in several scientific and professional conferences and congresses in Bosnia and Herzegovina and abroad.

