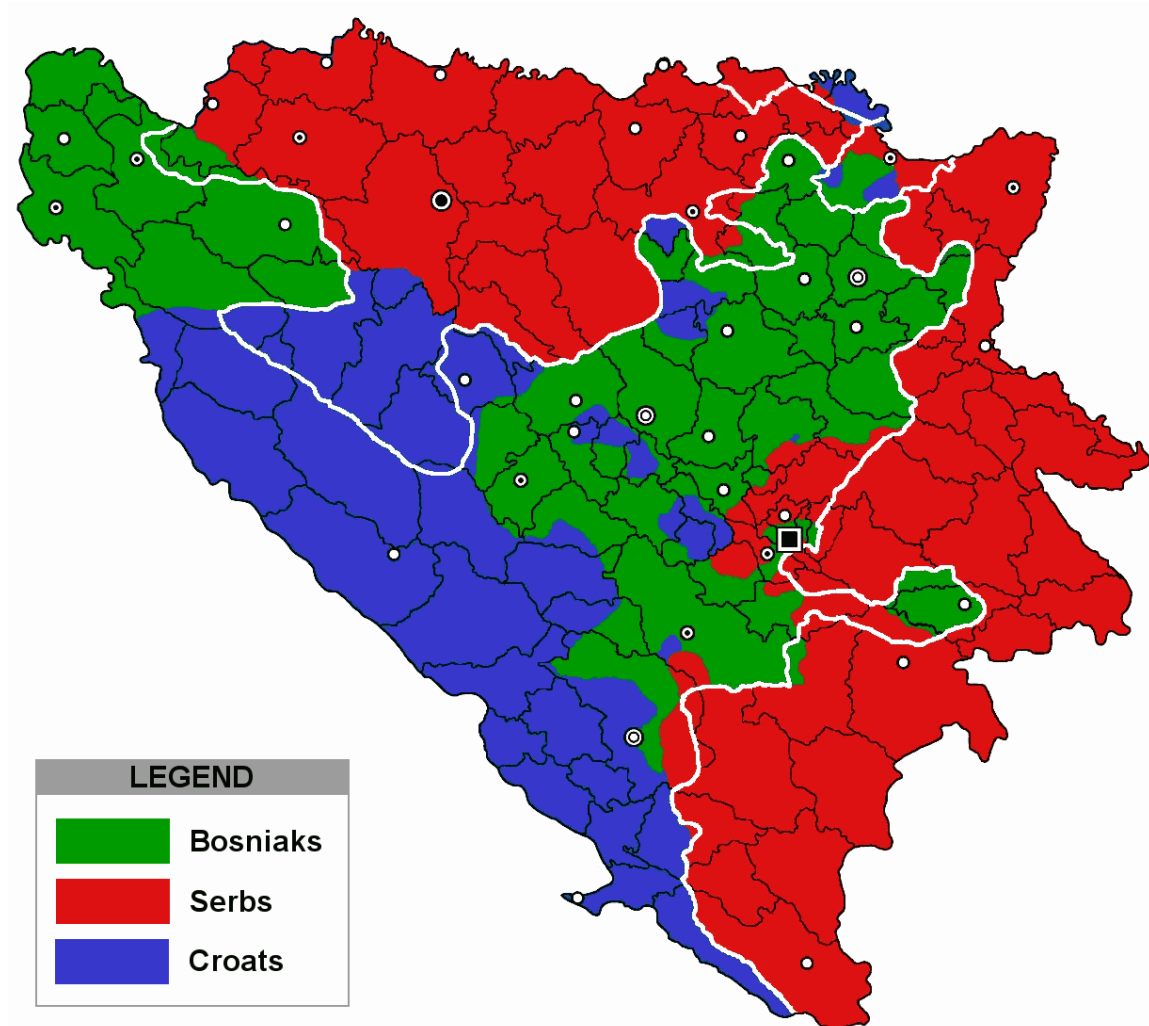


Bosnia-Herzegovina, a Political Intolerant Country

Comparing trust, civil war and political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia



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Introduction

Most liberal western democracies extend political rights to their citizens. Due to the political rights which are protected by the constitution the political authorities tolerate the activities and opinions of the subjects and inhabitants of the state. In their constitutions the liberal democracies guarantee freedom of speech, association, secrecy of correspondence, the right to vote and to be elected into a public or political office. Political tolerance or the fact that the state extends democratic rights to its civilians is considered a building block for democracy (Sullivan et al, 1979: 781; Dahl, 1991).

The state may show tolerance but it is also imperative that citizens adhere to and respect these values and constitutional proceedings otherwise democracy will be a farce. William Ebenstein points up that "the common agreement on fundamentals is a . . . condition indispensable to . . . political democracy" (Ebenstein et al., 1954: 99). Agreement on the fundamentals of democracy must also be a mindset shared by the people, this mindset includes political tolerance. There has been very much research into political tolerance, but people in the western liberal democracies did not always attribute political tolerance to certain groups. Stalinists, the KKK or Muslim-Fundamentalists were not tolerated by the majority of the citizens.

Political tolerance research is strongly related to groups. Tolerance is attributed toward groups, but the field should focus more on group-level explanations of tolerance. Most inferences fore political tolerance follow from the individual or sociotropic level research and not from research at the group level. Groups are an important contributor to people's social identity and groups influence the thoughts of their members for a great deal. According to the social identity theory people need groups to express themselves (Cigler and Joslyn, 2002 Cottam et al, 2010). In this study I will try to contribute to the thinking about groups and political tolerance.

To examine this issue I will use a strong social identity or group membership namely ethnicity (Cottam et al, 2010: 199-201). And I will study ethnic groups in a very extreme situation: a civil war. I used the correlates of war dataset to ascertain which civil wars occurred in the last decades of the 20th century, and then I looked into the availability of data which measured tolerance in the countries which suffered from civil war. Ultimately I concluded that Bosnia-Herzegovina with the ethnic groups Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims is a very useful country for my study. Between 1992 and 1995 Bosnia-Herzegovina was the scene of a civil war and ethnic cleansings. My interest in this area is also heightened because I visited the country in September 2011. The Dutch columnist and publicist Bas Heijne joined the group, with whom I travelled on this journey. He wrote about the visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina in his book about identity (Heijne, 2011). I will use his observations a few times to strengthen the research, they also express how I experienced the situation in the country and what I have seen and heard.

To make inferences about the influences of civil war I have to compare Bosnia-Herzegovina to a similar country from the region which did not suffer a civil war. Macedonia is a country which is comparable to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Macedonia was part of Yugoslavia and has a multi-ethnic population consisting out of Macedonians, Serbians, Turks, Albanians and Gypsies. Macedonia did not suffer from the war in 1995. It is however confronted with the Kosovo war and its destabilizing effects around the year 1999.

It is rather difficult to study the relation between groups and political tolerance because it is a very extensive subject. I focus on an extreme event in which groups have to deal with tolerance. I study the influence of the civil war on political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina in comparison to Macedonia. Looking at the influence of civil war on political tolerance might bring up some very interesting findings. For instance which groups became tolerant after the war, the victors or the losers? Is tolerance after war in Bosnia closely related to ethnicity; trust in other people or confidence in the government? And do political tolerance levels in Bosnia-Herzegovina differ from those in Macedonia?

It is very important to study the effects of a civil war on political tolerance. Tolerance has a key role in the reconciliation of the citizens (Hjort and Frisen, 2006: 149) and the functioning of a democratic state (Sullivan et al, 1979: 792-793). Does trust in other people disappear? Is an intervention effective or do conflicts reoccur? Findings from research can be used to create reconciliation programs or special education to forge a cohesive civil society. And research can inform the players in the international political arena about consequences and merits of a military intervention in a state torn apart by a civil war.

James Gibson defined some enigmas or scholarly unsolved puzzles about the political tolerance research (Gibson, 2006). The multidimensionality of threat perceptions is one of these enigmas. Researchers did a lot of research into the individual level and also the sociotropic level. Scholars however do not often consider a third factor the group, which is odd, because the measurement of tolerance always takes place at the group level. Why did so few researchers use group membership, ethnicity or other group variables in their analysis?

The war in Bosnia included different combatant groups; during this research a link can be drawn between civil war, tolerance and ethnic groups. Marcus et al. and Feldman and Stenner (1995 | 1997) already linked social identities to threat perceptions which is the foremost predictor of political tolerance (Gibson, 2006: 24). Scholarly I want to contribute to the research of political tolerance in developing countries; the relation between groups and political tolerance; and the relationship between civil war and political tolerance. The subjects of this research are Bosnia-Herzegovina, Srpska Republic and Macedonia. The world value survey includes Bosnia and Srpska as two separate countries. Srpska republic is the Serbian entity of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The other entity is the federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. One state, two entities, a federation, this already slightly presents the complexity of the state Bosnia-Herzegovina. The state was designed by the international community to secure the people and avoid further violence. The three countries are developing countries; two experienced a brutal civil war in the mid nineties and stood at separate sides of the isle. Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic are interesting subjects for the study of political tolerance and civil war.

On Political Tolerance

Political tolerance is a rather difficult concept. Sullivan defines it as 'to put up with' and calls it a principle (Sullivan et al, 1979: 784). The philosopher Voltaire once said about tolerance "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say" (Leach, 2008: 154). A problem arises only when people have grounds for disagreement, then the question is: will you still extend freedom of expression and assembly to the ones that you oppose as Voltaire did. Sullivan argues that tolerance is content-free, in other words political tolerance is a principle which everybody should attribute the same to every group (Sullivan et al, 1979: 784).

The study into political tolerance began with Stouffer who published the first research about political tolerance in 1955. The analysis of the survey, that Stouffer employed, showed high levels of intolerance directed towards objectionable groups in the United States of America especially communists (Sullivan et al., 1979: 781). The low levels of tolerance concerned many people in the United States; political tolerance is namely considered one of the building blocks of liberal democracy (ibid.). Stouffer created a content-controlled version of tolerance; Sullivan strongly objected this version of political tolerance because it does not look into the principle but just attitudes towards a group. In Stouffer's research political tolerance is coupled to groups, you attribute tolerance to a group; the principle of tolerance does not exist in his research, the research is solely group related tolerance (Sullivan, 1979: 784).

Political tolerance can be split in an abstract component, or attitudinal, and applied component, the behaviour people show (Gibson, 1987: 428). Research and experiments into the influence of media frames in a civil liberties conflict showed that the context and frame of the conflict defined the strength or direction reaction of the research subjects (Nelson et al., 1997). Zaller argued that political opinions are 'top-of-the-head phenomena'. These phenomena are formed by the cognition's and emotions that are accessible and present when the attitude is expressed (Nelson et al., 1997: 578). The reliability of the political tolerance attitude is questionable. And it is still possible that the political tolerance attitude is a non-attitude if people do not act as they say (Gibson, 1987: 428).

Group, Conflict and Threats

Sullivan devised a hypothetical model based on survey experiments to explain the attitudinal levels of political tolerance. Perceived threat, general norms and psychological security have a strong influence on the level of political tolerance. Especially perceived threat (-.43) relates strong with political tolerance (Sullivan et al., 1981: 103). These variables or predictors are all individual factors. Later the same scholars stress that personality variables like self-esteem, dogmatism and trust also have a strong relationship with political tolerance (Sullivan et al., 1982: 162). These personality traits produce predispositions to think, feel or act in a particular pattern toward people, events and situations (Cottam et al, 2010: 19). However to fully comprehend how people act and think it is important to look at the group membership of people. Political scientists focused on group processes in ethnic conflicts rather than individual and macro contexts as psychologists and sociologists did (Weidmann, 2011: 1179). The importance of the group is however neglected in the political tolerance research (Gibson, 2006: 24).

People derive large parts of their self-concept, positive self-identity and self-esteem from comparisons between the social groups to which they adhere and out-groups. For instance discrimination and ethnic conflict follow from group processes and the wish of people to feel positive about their selves (Cottam et al., 2010: 47-49, 260). Conflict is a socialization mechanism used to establish and maintain the identity of societies and groups (Coser, 1956: 38). Gibson thinks that especially the research into the role of the group concerning perceived threat is very important. Perceived threat is the most important predictor of political tolerance, but the group dimension is not studied (Gibson, 2006: 24). The conflict among political groups is a central issue in political psychology (Cottam et al, 2010: 47).

Political group conflict seems to be of central importance towards political tolerance. Broadly based political conflict and ideological extremes are not beneficial for democracy and political stability; they also mark the poorly developed democratic principles (Duch and Gibson, 1992: 240-241). Lipset is cited in the research of Duch and Gibson in which Lipset underscores that 'where a number of historic cleavages intermix and create the basis for ideological politics, democracy will be unstable and weak, for by definition such politics does not include to concept of tolerance' (Duch and Gibson, 1992: 241). Lipset warns for the costs of ideological politics and the danger it poses towards democracy. Other studies pointed out the dangers of territorial threats to political tolerance. When citizens in threatened states observe a territorial threat they will tend to emphasize national unity over tolerance and democracy (Kaufmann, 1996; Hutchison and Gibler, 2007: 128-129; Weidmann, 2011). The public responds to threat by discouraging dissent and promoting national unity (Hutchison and Gibler, 2007: 128). They leave no room for toleration of minority groups, trust or dissenting voices. In 1955 Simmel already noted that groups are not tolerant in any sort of war situation (Simmel, 1955: 87). Empirical evidence supports this claim. Hutchison and Gibler found that external threat on the macro level is a strong determinant of aggregate political tolerance levels in a country (Hutchison and Gibler, 2007: 140).

Social Capital

The theory of social capital posits an important contribution to the research into groups and political tolerance. Putnam calls social capital 'features of social organizations such as networks, norms and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit' (Cigler and Joslyn, 2002: 8). Social capital sticks a society together and is created by the civil society (Van Oorschot et al., 2006: 150-152). Freitag summarized the benefits of social capital as lower crime rates, more health and happiness, strengthened political participation and more effective government (Freitag, 2006).

Social capital originates from the history and political culture of a country (Hague and Harrop, 2007: 10). In Yugoslavia after the death of Marshall Tito in 1980 the power of central government faded. The different republics achieved power due to the power-vacuum Tito left behind. During this time ethnic, religious and political tensions rose because citizens were mobilized along ethnic lines. Communism did not longer define the identity of the state. Yugoslavia had once been a tolerant and largely successful multi-ethnic state during the communist era, but

the new leaders were able to put different groups on to each other by using old tensions and prejudices (McKay et al., 2008: 1037-1038).

Many researchers offer explanations for the outbreak of ethnic wars and specifically the Bosnian war. Nils. B. Weidmann argues that political entrepreneurs appealed to the population's desire for security and triggered an ethno national resentment in Bosnia (Weidmann, 2011: 1180). And Chaim Kaufman also emphasizes that people are pushed towards ethnic identities (Kaufman, 1996: 144). "Constructivist thinkers argue that individual and group identities are fluid, continually being made and re-made in social discourse and these identities are manipulable by political entrepreneurs" (Kaufman, 1996: 152).

Yugoslavia used to be a state where Serbs, Bosnian Muslims, Croats, Slovenians, Montenegrins, Kosovars and Macedonians lived together in the same villages and cities. Academics however doubt the cohesion in the society. Intermarriage between groups was low and census figures show that most citizens of Yugoslavia rather identified themselves with their ethnic group instead of the communist state. The salience of ethnic boundaries does however not indicate that interethnic relations have to be violent (Weidmann, 2011: 1179).

Some groups pose a danger to political tolerance. Putman emphasized the existence of inclusive and exclusive forms of social capital development. Cigler and Joslyn inquired the relation between group involvement, social capital and political tolerance. They came across variations between groups as it relates to political tolerance (Cigler and Joslyn, 2002: 15). Some groups tend to reinforce homogeneity, self-interest and exclusive identity while others generate a broader and more open identity. The exclusive groups include unions, farm associations, church groups and Greek associations, an ethnic group. These groups downgrade the potential for political tolerance, the dark side of group membership (Cigler and Joslyn, 2002: 15, 19-20).

Social and Political Trust

Kenneth Newton points out that the essence of social capital is membership of voluntary associations. These memberships foster a dense social network that sustains civil society and generates trust and cooperation between citizens and a high level of civil engagement and political participation. Therefore social capital creates conditions for social integration and democratic stability (Newton, 2001: 201). Social trust and political trust are important aspects of democratic stability and civil society. Social trust lies at the core of the theory of social capital and civil society (Newton, 2001: 202). Social trust is mostly defined as the beliefs of people whether others will knowingly and willingly hurt them or at the other end act in his or her interest. Hardin (1998: 12-15) defines social trust as 'encapsulated interest'. Trust makes it possible to maintain a peaceful society and stable social relations. These two conditions are the basis for collective behaviour and productive cooperation (Newton, 2001: 202). Newton describes a community without trust as 'intolerable and, most likely, quite impossible'. Trusting people however does not come without risks, but it averts the Hobbesian State of War in which people are constantly threatened by other people and in which they are insecure about their lives and property (Luhmann, 1988).

An important problem concerning social trust is the measurement of the concept. In the world value survey and many other questionnaires trust is a dichotomous variable. Respondents can answer that people are to be trusted or that you have to be careful while dealing with other people (Newton, 2001: 203). This dichotomy reveals the people's basic disposition as trusters or distruster but it cannot evaluate the complexity of attitudes, dispositions, beliefs and the mind. A scale would be more useful in measuring trust.

Confidence in Government

Political trust and social trust differ from each other, social trust deals with social relations and inter-personal trust. Political trust is defined by many synonyms such as "civic-mindedness and participation, citizenship, political interest and involvement, political tolerance, the ability to compromise or confidence in political institutions" (Newton, 2001: 205). Political trust is an evaluation about the political world, while social trust is a basic feature of interpersonal trust (ibid.). Political trust deals with the trust and actions of the government, to avoid confusion I will refer to political trust as confidence in government. According to Miller and Listhaug confidence in government encompasses two dimensions the actual trust in government and political efficacy. These two dimensions define the relation between the citizens of a country and the political institutions and authorities of the same country. People place trust their government and in return the government acts in accordance with the expectations of its civilians (Miller and Listhaug, 1990: 357). Other scholars defined confidence in government as a basic evaluative orientation toward the operations of the government (Hetherington, 1998: 791-792).

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Some citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina draw strength and hope from the European Union, they hope to become a member in the future and expect that all their problems will disappear as soon as the country joins the EU (Heijne, 2011: 23-24). But to become a member of the European Union a country has to ensure a stable and strong democracy. Dahl argues that the right to hold office and demonstrate are fundamental civil liberties (Dahl, 1991: 99). Only the political tolerant will give these rights and liberties to their former oppressors, aggressors and the people they like least (Sullivan et al., 1979: 781).

Bosnia, the most multi-ethnic of the former republics of Yugoslavia, is currently a country divided in regions, ethnicities, republics and independent zones. The inhabitants still deeply mistrust each other and they need a highly complex political system to govern their country. Some people even fear that the war may soon return (Heijne, 2011: 21-25). Theorists of international relations argue that the only way to prevent war is to avoid violence and threats. People have to feel safe on their own soil and country. This is very difficult in Bosnia-Herzegovina because the country is ethnically highly intermixed (Weidmann, 2011: 1183-1185).

Hypotheses

To answer the question of the influence of civil war on political tolerance, it is important to estimate and check out the actual levels of political tolerance first. If the level of political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic is low and high in Macedonia then it is likely that the civil war decreased the level of political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic (H1). I expect that the levels of political tolerance in Bosnia will be low because people still feel threatened and are not always feeling secure in their own country. Kaufman argued that people have to be separated from each other to restore a sense of safety (Kaufman, 1996: 137). The level of political tolerance in Macedonia should be higher because the citizens did not experience a civil war. It is not likely that civil war has a direct effect on political tolerance, but works through mechanisms in society for instance social trust and confidence in government. I will treat these mechanisms as secondary hypotheses so I can study them.

It is probable that the different citizens dislike each other after the war. It would be logical that Bosnian Muslims hate Serbians due to the massacre and genocide at Srebrenica. This hatred will also exist between Croats and Serbs and Bosnian Muslims and Croats. Threat and trust are closely related to each other; in some sense trust and threat oppose each other. If you trust someone you will not feel threatened by him or her. Violence occurs when people feel threatened; they emphasize national unity over political tolerance and democracy. So if people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic place less trust in each other then it is likely that political tolerance will be low (H1a). I expect to find low levels of trust in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic.

Secondly I will look at the confidence in government and political trust. If people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic have low confidence in government then it is likely that political tolerance will be low (H1b). I expect that the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina place less confidence in government than the Serbs in Srpska Republic. Otherwise the Bosnians have less confidence in the Srpska government, while they trust the government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina more. I focus here on the residents of the entities; people living in Srpska did not get questions about the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The ethnic groups are still widely dispersed throughout the country (Weidmann, 2011: 1184-1186). Bosnian Muslims are living in the Serbian entity, Srpska Republic, and Serbs are living under the rule of Croats and Bosnian-Muslims. Some people are now governed by their former adversaries and the murderers of their family members. Therefore I expect that the levels of confidence in governments will be low.

When it is not possible to confirm my hypotheses, the null-hypothesis has to be confirmed by a comparison between Macedonia and the two entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. If a civil war occurs then it does not affect the level of political tolerance (H0).

Methodology

As I explained in my introduction, I am using Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic as my cases for this research. The latter two countries suffered from the civil war in 1995 and thus make excellent cases to study civil war, trust, groups and political tolerance. An analysis

of the situation in 1995 in Bosnia-Herzegovina makes it possible to study the effects of civil war upon political tolerance. The comparison with Macedonia enables us to ascertain if the effects are solely present in Bosnia and Sprska.

The makeup of the civilian population differs in the regions and different groups form the majority in the entities of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This differing ethnic makeup allows me to detect variation in variables and draw some conclusions about the role of groups and the civil war. By adding Macedonia I also get variation in the most important variable civil war. I compare Macedonia, Srpska Republic and Bosnia-Herzegovina because they are very similar, the same geographical position, shared history, a multi-ethnic make-up and a comparable political structure.

For the research and analysis into the relation of political tolerance and civil war, the world value survey came in useful. The world value survey wave of 1995 includes Bosnia-Herzegovina, Srpska Republic, Macedonia and other Balkan countries. Researchers collected a large amount of data and measured a lot of variables in the countries, which can be used to compare them to each other, to other countries or to do extensive research upon the countries.

It is difficult to do research into political tolerance because tolerance is a principle and needs to be content-free (Sullivan et al, 1979: 784-785). Sullivan and his fellow researchers use large surveys to do research. But other researchers like James Gibson somewhat mistrust the hypothetical survey items. Gibson suggests that survey responses are mostly non-attitudes (Gibson, 1987: 427). Gibson also argues that an investigation into political tolerance concerning an actual dispute serves an important, micro level, theoretical purpose. He thinks the study of behaviour is more important than a questionnaire into the attitudes and the opinions of people because it does not reflect actual actions. Gibson reasons that during a real controversy actual behaviour can be analyzed (Gibson, 1987: 427-428). Herewith I note that I study the attitudes of the Bosnian people not their actual behaviour. Although I agree with Gibson that it is more important to study actual behaviour, in relation to the research question it is more interesting to look at attitudes. The civil war ended almost at the same time as the data collection for the world value survey started. The civil war will be reflected in the attitudes that were measured by the world value survey.

The world value survey however poses a difficulty it includes criminals as an option to choose as least liked group. The world value survey employs the method of Sullivan in which people have to select their own least liked group. Then questions about the freedom of speech for this least liked group are asked, right to demonstrate or teach children are asked to the respondents (Sullivan, 1979). Criminals do however not always pose a political threat to a state or democracy, because they are not electable for public office in every country or do not have voting rights. Prisoners or criminals are not entitled to the same rights as the other citizens. Including them in the questionnaire makes no sense from the viewpoint of democratic theory (Peffley and Rohrschneider, 2003: 247). We do however not know who people consider as criminals, Bosnian Muslims might see Serbs as criminals because they committed war crimes and genocide.

I excluded all countries from the world value survey except Bosnia, Macedoia and Srpska republic. In table one I present the ethnic composition of the countries. The survey included

several hundred variables I cleared most of them from the dataset and left the ones I want use for my research. I will shortly discuss these variables in the next section. I looked over the remaining cases and variables to delete all “don’t know and no-answer cases”, because probit and logit ordinal regression analysis in SPSS, which I used for the analysis, cannot deal with these data.

Table 1: Ethnic composition in Bosnia-Herzegovina

	Serb	Croat	Bosnian Muslim	Other
Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	0.7%	24.6%	72.1%	2.5%
Srpska Republic	2.9%	2.9%	90.1%	4.1%

Table 2: Ethnic composition in Macedonia

	Gypsy	Albanian	Turkish	Macedonian	Serb	Other
Macedonia	2.9%	11.8%	2.2%	80.4%	1.6%	1.1%

Variables

I have two important independent variables that are mechanisms, through which political tolerance is influenced; several control variables, dummy variables and interaction terms. The first variable is about social trust placed in other people. Unfortunately this variable is coded binary.

Participants of the world value survey could answer if they trusted other people (1) or if they were careful with other people (0). As I noted in the literature review the dichotomy reveals people’s basic disposition as trusters or distruster but it cannot evaluate the complexity of attitudes, dispositions, beliefs and the mind (Newton, 2001: 201). Trust is a very important indicator of cohesion in society according to Robert Putnam’s social capital theory. I argue that a cohesive society is less likely to fall into civil war.

The second variable is an index of confidence in government which I constructed. I added several questions about confidence to each other, to measure the overall confidence in the government. The confidence scale gauges the confidence in armed forces, police, political parties, legal system, parliament, civil service and the executive branch of government. The index got a cronbach alpha of 0.881, which is extremely reliable. People are less likely to rise against a stable and trusted government that ensures the security of its citizens. As control variables I used age, sex, education, religious denomination, income and ethnicity.

In the world value survey the political tolerance is measured by asking three different questions. (1) ‘Do you allow your least liked group to hold public office?’ (2) ‘Do you allow your least liked group to teach your children?’ And (3) ‘do you allow your least like group to demonstrate?’ I recoded the variables to zero, ‘no, I do not allow my least liked group to etcetera’. And I coded ‘yes, I allow my least like group to....’ as one. I created an index by adding the three variables, the index ranges from zero till three. Zero represents an intolerant attitude and three is a tolerant attitude. The cronbach alpha of the tolerance index is 0.419 which means the index is not very reliable. The tolerance index will serve as my dependent variable in some of the regression analyses.

To analyse the effect of civil war and the influence of the country in the regression I created four dummy variables. The first indicates if a country suffered a civil war. Dummy variables two, three and four indicate that a country is Macedonia, Bosnia or Sprska. Secondly I

created two interaction terms the first is 'dummy civil war times trust' and the second is 'dummy civil war times confidence index'.

I will start by examining the figures about the ethnic makeup of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the figures of political tolerance. It is important to see what this tells us, which groups are disliked and by who; and which people are tolerant. Then I will perform a t-test to test my hypothesis. I will continue by a regression analysis with the political tolerance index as dependent variable, trust in other people and confidence in government as the primary independent variables. The regression analysis helps me to ascertain whether I can prove relations between the variables and show the direction of the relations. I will also make a correlation index between my variables to detect other correlations. For the regression analysis with the tolerance index I use the ordinal probit function of the regression analysis. I will do further research into the individual tolerance variables by using the logit function. I will break up the dataset and exclude some groups to further analyze the variations between groups. I will use the entities of the country and ethnic groups as the condition for selection.

Results

I start by analysing the least like groups crossed with ethnicity. The astonishing fact I found here is that 85 Serbs consider their fellow Serbs as their least liked group. The findings occurred in Srpska republic. Other groups do not seem to dislike each other. In Macedonia the least liked groups are not the ethnic groups but ideological groups and criminals.

I used an independent samples t-test to test the first hypothesis. If the level of political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic is low and high in Macedonia then it is likely that the civil war decreased the level of political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Srpska Republic (H1). I used the dummy civil war as grouping variable, 731 cases did not experience civil war and 799 cases did. The results from the t-test are however not significant (0.152). I cannot confirm my hypothesis since it is not possible use the results from the t-test.

The levels of tolerance in Bosnia are very low, only two persons out of a sample of 799 can be qualified as tolerant while 94 per cent of the population is intolerant towards its least liked group. In Macedonia tolerance is also very low 95.1% of the people are intolerant and only 11 persons can be qualified as tolerant. I created table three to show the tolerance figures.

Table 3: Tolerance

	Intolerant	Somewhat Intolerant	Somewhat Tolerant	Tolerant
Macedonia	95.10%	2.90%	0.50%	1.50%
Bosnia	93.30%	5.60%	0.70%	0.40%
SrpSka Republic	95.50%	3.70%	0.80%	0.00%

I employed a probit regression analysis to look into the two trust mechanisms and political tolerance. The descriptives of social trust and confidence in government are showed in table 4 and 5. I used the political tolerance index as the dependent variable in the regression analysis. Two predicting variables show up significant the dummy variable civil war (.037) and the control

variable age (.003). The effect of dummy variable is positive at 1.164 and of age negative -0.012. Civil war seems to create an increase in the levels of political tolerance, which seems strange. On the other hand, as age increases people become more intolerant. The regression analysis included trust, confidence in government, the control variables, the dummy variables and the interaction terms described in the variable section.

Table 4: Social Trust

	be careful	can be trusted
Macedonia	92.30%	7.70%
Bosnia	72.80%	27.20%
SrpSka Republic	66.70%	33.30%

Table 5: Confidence in Government Scores

Scores	0 till 6	7 till 13	14 till 20	21 till 28
Macedonia	0%	44.50%	44.60%	10.90%
Bosnia	0%	6.00%	44.40%	49.60%
SrpSka Republic	0%	5.70%	39.90%	54.40%

I excluded the political tolerance index from the regression analysis for the research of the secondary hypothesis. The second probit regression analysis with trust as the dependent variable is redundant, I guess because the variable is coded as a dichotomy. The third regression analysis has the confidence index as dependent variable. A few variables show up significant the dummy variable civil war (0), the control variable religious denomination (0.031) and the first interaction term civil war*trust (0). The dummy civil war has a negative effect of (-6.296). The other two variables have a positive effect .001 for religious denomination and .387 for the interaction term. I cannot confirm both secondary hypotheses.

Finally I employed four logit regression models so I can study the individual questions about political tolerance and to do research into social trust. The logit regression of 'allowing your least liked group to teach' shows no significant results and the regression of trust is redundant again. A significant result shows up in the regression analysis of 'allowing your least liked group to demonstrate', this variable is age (0.014) and has a small negative effect (-0.026). The results of the regression of 'allowing your least liked group to hold office' are showed in table 6. Again the civil war dummy has a strange effect, people will allow their least liked group to hold office more when civil war 'increases'. On the other hand social trust and confidence in government are positively affecting people's opinions about their least liked group holding office.

The last measurement I executed is a correlation matrix with Pearons R. Table 7 shows the correlations which exist between the different variables. The tolerance index does not correlate with any other variable. All the other variables however do correlate with each other.

Table 6: Logit Regression "Do you allow your least liked group to hold office" significant results

	Effect	Significance
Dummy Civil War	5.992	0.003
Interaction Trust and Civil War	-0.199	0.014
Interaction Confidence and Civil War	-2.542	0.035
Social Trust	3.654	0.021
Confidence Scale	0.249	0.028

Table 7: Correlation Matrix Pearsons R

	Trust in people	Srpska	Bosnia	Macedonia	Civil War	Confidence Index	Tolerance Index
Trust in people	1	.161**	.161**	-.273**	.273**	.214**	-0.039
Srpska	.161**	1	-.328**	-.416**	.416**	.240**	-0.029
Bosnia	.161**	-.328**	1	-.723**	.723**	.399**	0.005
Macedonia	-.273**	-.416**	-.723**	1	-1.000**	-.560**	0.017
Civil War	.273**	.416**	.723**	-1.000**	1	.560**	-0.017
Confidence Index	.214**	.240**	.399**	-.560**	.560**	1	-0.018
Tolerance Index	-0.039	-0.029	0.005	0.017	-0.017	-0.018	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Discussion

The most striking finding is the fact that some Serbs in Srpska Republic do not like Serbs as a group. This finding is somewhat confusing, I traced back the data to the initial dataset and the same finding occurred. I cannot compare this finding to other countries, because no country is comparable to Srpska. Thus it is impossible to draw any scientific conclusions from this finding. I however do not trust the data. It seems highly unlikely that Serbs do not like their own group. Literature about ethnic war and genocide always suggests that ethnic groups who commit genocide or ethnic cleansings have superior feelings towards the other group (Cottam et al, 2010: 47-49, 199-208). After the massacre of Srebrenica it would be strange that the whole Serbian population shifted from feeling superior towards Bosnian-Muslims towards considering itself an inferior group. It is possible that groups have a low esteem about their self, but this would mean a rather quick shift from superiority to inferiority (Cottam et al., 2010: 199-208). In future research it would be very interesting to look into the self-esteem of Serbian people in Srpska.

Bosnian Muslims in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina did also like the Serbs least after criminals. This is logical considering the massacre of Srebrenica. So soon after this terrible crime, it is highly expectable that the Serbs are the least liked group. Perhaps some Bosnian Muslims or Croats even consider Serbs as criminals. Adding criminals to the analysis and survey was not a very bright idea. As I noted earlier criminals do not have the same rights as ordinary groups, it is judicial possible to exclude them from voting and holding office. But adding criminals as a variable also mixes up the proper codification of groups; it might very well be possible that the ethnic groups consider each other as criminals.

The levels of intolerance are very high in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1995. I expected this was the result of the civil war, but since the levels of intolerance are also high in Macedonia I cannot confirm my hypothesis. The H0 hypothesis has to be confirmed if a civil war occurs then it does not affect the level of political tolerance. This finding can only be applied to Bosnia and Macedonia. I would like to have made a time-series analysis but this is impossible, because I

have no data comparing tolerance levels through time. With a time-series analysis I could have studied the increase or decrease of tolerance in Macedonia and Bosnia. Now it is only possible to compare the tolerance levels in Bosnia to those of Macedonia. It is noteworthy that Macedonia faced a civil war and destabilization following from the Kosovo War in 1999, tensions between the Albanians and Macedonians were present at that time and perhaps even before 1999. Since the data for the world value survey were collected between 1995 and 1997, tensions in Kosovo might have affected Macedonia.

It might be possible to compare the tolerance levels of Bosnia with other countries in the region but they do not resemble Bosnia as much as Macedonia. The split up of Yugoslavia did not affect Hungary or Romania for instance and the large multi-ethnic communities do not exist in Slovenia or Montenegro. I still suppose there is a relation between civil war and political tolerance but I cannot prove this relation in the Balkans. The Caucasus, with Georgia, Armenia or Azerbaijan, and Nigeria are also excellent locations to test the hypotheses about civil war. My findings, which showed that civil war increased political tolerance, seem very strange. Further research should look into this in other countries and regions. Or the research has to be redone with new data about the Balkan. The findings of civil war increasing political tolerance are very counter intuitive to me. A possible explanation might be that people accept the situation after the civil war because they won or lost the war, but the war in Bosnia ended by an international intervention so it did not end. The war did not create a winner or a loser, but created a status-quo.

In the next sections I will discuss some significant findings that seem more reliable. First it is very interesting to note the influence of age in the analysis; older people are likely to be less tolerant. Hanna Hjort and Ann Frísen noted already that younger people are trained by projects of reconciliation to live with each other and deal with different ethnicities (Hjort and Frísen, 2006: 149-150). Younger people have to share a country in the future with their former adversaries; it is realistic for them to be tolerant. Older people also suffered longer and more in the war and experienced the period of heightened ethnic tensions before the war. This might declare the difference between age. I do however not think there is a relation between age and tolerance, but that I measured a difference in tolerance levels that exists in the age cohorts instead. This difference in age might not return if the research was conducted in 2004 or 2006.

Secondly a certain religious denomination seems to affect confidence in government, exact measurement is difficult because denomination is a nominal variable and I used it as a scale. But the regression analysis indicates that people adhering to a certain denomination might place more confidence in government than other denominations.

The most interesting findings come from the logit regression of "do you allow your least liked group to hold office". I already discussed the strange and counter intuitive outcome of the dummy variable of civil war, but social trust and confidence in government show positive relations. Table 8 below is the duplication of table 6 which showed the outcomes from the regression analysis. When social trust and confidence in government increase people are more likely to allow their least liked groups to hold office. When people place more trust in others and the government they have less reason to doubt their intentions. But why does the principle of office holding show

up as the only principle with significant results? The principle of demonstrating and principle of teaching children are not significant, the data cannot support any claims in these subjects. Most people in the dataset will allow people to demonstrate (3.9%). Allowing the least liked group to teach your children and holding office is permitted by respectively 1.8% and 2.2% of all the respondents. My conclusion is that social trust and political trust are strong indicators for political evaluations.

Table 8: Logit Regression “Do you allow your least liked group to hold office” significant results

	Effect	Significance
Dummy Civil War	5.992	0.003
Interaction Trust and Civil War	-0.199	0.014
Interaction Confidence and Civil War	-2.542	0.035
Social Trust	3.654	0.021
Confidence Scale	0.249	0.028

I used an indirect way to couple civil war to political tolerance with two mechanisms; the indicators of civil war however presented no significant or reliable relations with political tolerance. Social trust and confidence in government do not correlate with political tolerance so their influence is questionable. In future studies about political tolerance I would recommend a time series studies with waves of data before and after the war. It is obvious a civil war is a strong exogenous variable, so the interference of other variables would be minor. The study of a civil war would also adhere to the studies preferred by James Gibson, an actual study into political tolerance rather than a hypothetical study like Sullivan and Stouffer employed. I would not advise other researcher to use the world value survey; it is a highly complex dataset that might be very difficult to interpret for inhabitants of certain countries. The data might be very useful for a comparative study but a case study requires an unambiguous dataset. As researcher it is also very useful to have influence on the questions and the people who put the questionnaire in the field. The reliability of the survey remains difficult to ascertain for me, especially considering the findings in Srpska republic considering the least liked groups. Further research should also include more variables because tolerance is such a highly complex concept.

I would have liked to talk more about ethnic groups and their relation with political tolerance but unfortunately my data do not leave any room to make reliable statements about group influence nor speculate about their influence. So I will not go into that matter. I do however want to stress that groups are undervalued in political tolerance research. In the research into civil war groups are the principal actor for instance. If I were to confirm my hypothesis it would have been possible to more strongly suggest more research into group processes and political tolerance.

Concluding Remarks

The influence of civil war on political tolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot be confirmed. Since the levels of political tolerance are also low in Macedonia, civil war does not seem to influence political tolerance. I however do not trust this finding completely. The research showed low levels of political tolerance in both countries. Unreliable data and non-significant relations make it impossible to make strong inferences or draw conclusions from the study. I cannot explain why the levels of political tolerance are so low in both countries. A time series study of national data in Bosnia and Macedonia might answer questions about the levels of political tolerance, perhaps the levels in Macedonia are always low and in Bosnia they used to be higher.

In essence I made a derivative research question to talk about the influence of groups on political tolerance. This research question had to be answered with mechanism and derivative indicators. The study became a weak and not very valid study. The most important conclusion is that tolerance is very low in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Other researchers will have to look into why these levels are so low. I guess the civil war has something to do with it but is difficult to prove this. The secondary hypothesis could also not be confirmed. The most convincing finding is that social and political trust positively influence the allowance of the least liked group to hold office.

The study of Bosnia-Herzegovina remains important. The country is one of the most unstable countries in Europe and a potential powder keg for the whole region. With the expansion of the European Union to central Europe, the Union becomes involved with the troubles of the region even more. The EU cannot permit a war in the region, because it will be dragged into this war. The war will be highly costly and might divide member states over ethnic lines, certainly if Croatia becomes a member of the European Union in the near future. Bosnia-Herzegovina is in a certain way also an experiment for multi-ethnic countries. The international community created an ingenious and complex state to channel tensions and create secure areas, until now it worked. Perhaps other countries that are torn apart by civil war need a similar state to create a stable country. Political tolerance is one of the building blocks of liberal democracy in order to achieve a stable democracy tolerance levels have to be higher than they are now.

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