Ilija Trninić

POLITICAL LEADERSHIP BUILDING AT THE BEGINNING OF XXI CENTURY

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Ilija Trninić, M.A.

Author: Ilija Trninić

Reviewers: Siniša Marčić Draženko Jorgić

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Banja Luka 2017

To my daughters, Maša and Dušica!

CONTENTS

NONPROFIT SECTOR AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS 14

Defining of nonprofit sector *14* Defining of non-governmental organizations *19* **POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES** *26*

Politics 26

Political ideologies 28

Democracy 31

Forms of democracy 32

Political parties 34

Types of parties 36

Functions of parties 37

Party systems 39

Civil society and political parties 40

Parties in post-communism 42

YOUTH AND POLITICS 44

Youth activism 44

Political activism of the youth 46

Civil activism of the youth 47

Youth and politics 47

Bosnia and Herzegovina 48

Youth in BiH 49

Formal and informal education, life-long learning and

training 52

Active participation of youth in public life, political participation and their engagement in the nongovernmental sector *57*

Youth in politics 59

Leadership 65

POLITICAL EDUCATION 72

Political education 72

Academy as a historical form and assumption of youth political education *75*

Brief modern history of political education of youth in BiH 77 Contemporary models of political education of youth in BiH 81 **MODELS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN BIH 84** Models of international organizations' political education 84 Models of political parties' political education – intraparty education 89

"ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL LEADERS IN BIH 2007-2016" *102* RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION MODEL EF-FICIENCY RESEARCH *122*

Discussion 158 CONCLUSION 164 BIBLIOGRAPHY 172 ATTACHMENTS 176

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Towns and municipalities on BiH map in which the research was performed and from which participants of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH come from *129*

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Sample by gender display 130

Table 2. Sample by age display 130

Table 3. Sample by status display 130

Table 4. Participant's place of residence 131

 Table 5. Continual activity in political party 131

Table 6. Advancement in political party after attending the Academy *131*

Table 7. Membership in some organization *132*

Table 8. Duration of membership in political party132

Table 9. Attending other political education besides the Academy *133*

Table 10. Duration of additional education 134

Table 11. The most often covered topics in political education (except Academy's program) *134*

Table 12. Presence of non-formal political education 135

Table 13. View of young politicians' engagement for the

benefit of youth in local communities 135

Table 14. Influence of youth on older colleagues136

Table 15. Improvement of the youth's status in municipality 136

Table 16. The need for supporting the youth 136

Table 17. Readiness to initiate youth issues in the municipality *137*

Table 18. Not understanding the youth who are in youth organizations *137*

Table 19. Readiness to help youth from youth organizations *138* Table 20. Youth organizations spend a lot of money without concrete results *138*

Table 21. Necessity of cooperation between political parties' youth wings and youth NGOs *139*

Table 22. View that political party may help the youth 139

Table 23. Readiness to cooperate with other political parties *140*

Table 24. Youth problems are better solved by cooperation 140Table 25. Representation of youth issues in programs of

political parties 141

Table 26. Personal satisfaction with youth programs in programs of political parties *141*

Table 27. Academy's role in increasing of personal influence in decision making within political party *142*

Table 28. Assessment of gained knowledge by topics covered at theAcademy 142

Table 29. Extending the network of contacts and cooperation in BiH after the Academy *143*

Table 30. Academy's greatest benefits145

Table 31. Concrete cooperation with Academy participants and other youth in BiH apart from the Academy *146*

Table 32. Effects of the Academy on the increase of personal reputation *146*

Table 33. Effects of the Academy on the increase of self-confidence in work in political party *147*

Table 34. Academy's contribution to personal improvement in other social aspects outside political engagement *148*

Table 35. Application of gained knowledge and skills after the Academy *149*

Table 36. The most significant knowledge and skills gained at the Academy that are being applied *149*

Table 37. Review of Academy attendees' participation in local elections in 2012 and 2016 in BiH 150

Table 38. Review of advancement in the party after the Academy *151*

Table 39. Review of gained knowledge assessment by topics covered during the Academy *155*

Table 40. Application of knowledge and skills 157

 Table 41. General assessment of the Academy 157

One of the key challenges of society advancement is the challenge of political leadership. Continuous clash and rivalry of the old generation, the "early resistance", with new visions, ideas and concepts characteristic of new, younger generations had marked generations and centuries long before present. Combination of experience and energy, wisdom and power certainly represent the winning combination. Nevertheless, lack of understanding, distrust and lack of intergeneration solidarity very often create conditions for clash, having the fight for survival and stay on one side and the fight for takeover of political leadership from the older generation at any cost on the other.

Certainly, the shift of political leadership and arrival of new generation is biologically guaranteed, but in order to continue on the road of the efficient political work and actions, it is necessary for that process to be systematically prepared and led by the visionary.

Political training of different modalities and concepts of new, young generations of political leaders might help with that task.

The inspiration for such a pioneer project like this political training in BiH, the country of the new, young democracy, yearslong transition, post-conflict and consociational society, has appeared during long-standing work on research, analysis and application of political education, and from the need to work on it in the structured way and with systematic approach. Studying subjects in the field of diplomacy, politics, political analytics and political science, I got the significant stimulus from professors of Belgrade, Banja Luka and Sarajevo universities, during long conversations on significance and modalities of political education, diplomacy and international relations.

This work represents revised and expanded edition of the previously published work "New Leader — Model of Efficient Political Education", which analyzed the efficiency of Academy for Political Leaders in the beginning of its developmental phase.

It is the great work to prepare new generations for taking over the role in the society development.

Magnus opus opera perfectia est – Only great works are perfect works.

Key words:

Youth, politics, political parties, education, political education, informal education, democracy, non-profit sector, non-governmental organizations, civil society, academy, leadership, research.

NONPROFIT SECTOR AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

NONPROFIT SECTOR AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Since the term "nonprofit" causes controversy in the last decades in this region, and there is a lack of understanding of its organization and functioning, but also of the very role of nonprofit organizations in the society, this chapter tries to present the purpose and sense of nonprofit organizations and the role of non-governmental organizations in the field of management.

Defining of nonprofit sector

The notion of nonprofit organizations is slowly being adjusted and adopted in this region. It has neither historical basis nor complete understanding though. In an attempt to define those, some experts are facing dilemmas. One of such definitions is: "[...] similar to nonprofit sector, it is very difficult to define and precisely determine nonprofit organizations that make its constituting elements. The basic problem arising is contained in the fact that different terms are being used in theory and practice, as well as different aspects of observation and structuring of this sector and its subjects" (Kurtić 2009: 22).

Nonprofit sector contains groups that primarily provide services; those that primarily lead campaigns, and those that do both. Also, it contains groups that engage in research or action, or both.

Nonprofit sector has four separate historic roots: philanthropy and wish to help people, coping of local communities through mutual aid and self-aid, wish to improve living conditions through political and economic intervention and existence of common interests. Although they overlap, different histories of organizations may lead to significant differences in the way they approach the work.

One thing important for all non-governmental organizations is that they are established as nonprofit or as not focused on profit. Despite that, they may realize profit, with statutory defining. All profit, or the remaining part after the allowed distribution, must be reinvested into organization, or used for achievement and realization of organization's statutory goals.

Some believe that non-governmental organizations should define their purpose more precisely, and that they should be called social purpose organizations or general benefit organizations. Still, those terms are not accepted.

Non-governmental organizations (further on: NGOs), while paying their role in the process of development and transition of our society, act in the environment with numerous characteristics, changes and effects on their activities. Every NGO exists to accomplish something. That is why there must exist basic orientation and self-comprehension of some general social usefulness. Without these premises it would be impossible to form NGO. The realization of vision, mission and goals originating from analysis of social needs (that other sectors of society are not able to satisfy) is the very reason of founding and existence of NGO sector.

In turbulent environment, only those NGOs with clearly defined vision and mission based on realistic possibilities and assessments of social needs, and who, with their work, proved to be serious and reliable partner to public and private sector on the road to democratic society development, may survive. They do their job seriously, continuously investing in education of employees, they create and revise their strategic plans, plan and manage finances systematically, research trends in the region, follow up on political and economic situation in the country, keep good relations with public (users, local community, donors). These NGOs learn in all phases of their growth and development, and understanding the importance of a knowledgeable employee, they try to keep them.

Civil society and non-governmental sector are two notions that caused the most controversial interpretations in the last quarter of the century. Although in everyday use, each is still being interpreted in different ways and it is often not clear what was meant by each of them. Civil society was the topic of the significant number of scientific and theoretical texts and books, for it became the topic in the 1980s. But here, there are very few written texts and books on non-governmental sector, and even no systematic material on its significance ("Civilno društvo i nevladin sektor" - Civil society and non-governmental sector, 2002: 4).

Organizations of civil society in BiH were created on the platform and needs of reconciliation, so significant engagement and activism in that segment and in the majority of cases determined. Civil society is the term sometimes used to explain the role of individual and non-governmental organizations in campaigns for political or economic change, taking of action that shall bring social change, or those that take the action to improve the situation in their own local community or some other target group.

There are several definitions of civil society, but the one I like the most and maybe the most appropriate one states: "Civil society is accord and harmony between three sectors — public, private and non-governmental." Do not terms "accord" and "harmony" imply significant values? One cannot exist without the other!

In democracy, the citizens are sovereign. Governing bodies are responsible to citizens and their authorizations come from citizens. Civil society functions as intermediary between citizens and governing bodies in order to achieve and maintain the balance.

Although citizens' organizations have existed for the whole history, non-governmental organizations in today's context, especially at international level, have been developing during the last two centuries.

In order to even consider NGO sector, it is necessary to explain at the beginning what NGO sector is.

Every democratic society is characterized by existence of three sectors:

- 1. State or public sector
- 2. Business or private sector and
- 3. Non-governmental sector.

State or public sector contains all agencies, institutions and other bodies that are founded by the state.

Business or private sector contains all legal persons who are not owned and managed by the state.

Non-governmental or the third sector is nonprofit sector with different profiles of organization (associations, foundations, etc.).

The basis of NGOs existence is for them to be corrector and partner with other two sectors, with the aim of better and quality functioning of society.

All three sectors — public, private and non-governmental — are constituents of today's democratic society and they complement each other, for all three have important roles in satisfying the needs of society members.

State or public sector – the term "public sector" is usually used for institutions and mechanisms of society that are regarded as the basis for the benefit of all society members. Such institutions are founded and financed by the state. Funding for these institutions comes from taxes that are gathered from citizens, while the purpose of the funding depends primarily on political goals. In public sector, the state takes over the legal responsibility for institutions it founds and whose work it finances. The needs of citizens are being assessed, as well as their tax burden, in order to satisfy their needs. It is very important for the public sector to know how much tax burden the citizens will have if some program is adopted. Although it would be ideal if the state would satisfy the needs of each individual, it is unrealistic to expect that tax payers can cover all those costs by their contribution. That is why the state finds the balance by financing satisfying of the most common, fundamental needs.

In this very gap between all needs of citizens and needs that are being satisfied by the public and private sector, *non-governmental* (the third, civil, volunteer) sector found its place.

Non-governmental sector differs from other sectors in that it is composed of groups of individuals gathered with the aim of taking voluntary activities. In other words, non-governmental sector is made of people who gathered together to aid other people in need. The notion most commonly related to this sector is "philanthropy" — may be translated as "practical effort made for the welfare of another person" or as "benevolence".

It is clear that non-governmental sector (as its name implies) is not controlled by the state or business, and this very fact led to the name often used for non-governmental sector — "independent sector". Although many organizations from this sector are really free in the sense of direct control, this term may not be taken literally, for many organizations are often financed by different public sector bodies or by private businesses, and in that way they are somewhat controlled by other two sectors.

Non-governmental sector often deals with local issues, politically uninteresting ones. Still, such issues may often be, or often are very important social issues, and the need expressed is not of a lesser importance only because it is not interesting for the ruling structures or business sector.

Non-governmental sector satisfy social requests (needs) by gathering financial resources from public and private sector, but also through individual philanthropy and foundations.

Support of the public sector for the nonprofit sector comes through different types of contracts, grants, tax deductions or public policies that are of aid to the third sector.

Business sector gifts part of its revenue to nonprofit sector, and at the same time realizes tax deductions for itself.

Individual philanthropy is expressed through personal donations of money or voluntary work.

As we mentioned before, accord and harmony of three sectors represent the civil society. Those three sectors are the product of mutual initiatives and benefits. If the initiative and the benefit are public, it is the public sector; with private initiative and private benefit, it is the private sector; private initiative and public benefit make up non-governmental organizations. What happens with public initiative and private benefit? Corruption happens!

In post-socialistic states, in which civil society develops in parallel with other democratic, economic and social institutions, there are certain challenges, because the groups expressing centralist tendencies, cynicism, protection of political like minds and corruption appear in parallel with those who carry out the function well-mindedly.

In civil society there is no evaluation, but mutual actions and initiating the joint engagement, cooperation and interaction. We need to comprehend the importance of civil engagement and accord between actors and institutions in the society. Civil society should be and it is the bridge among institutions, actors, people, states and regions.

Defining of non-governmental organizations

The term *non-governmental organization* started to be used by the organization of United Nations in 1945. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) established the following criteria for NGO defining: it must be nonprofit, non-commercial, non-governmental, legally registered, and in agreement with uni-

versal humanitarian values and practice¹.

Due to the diversity of fields in which non-governmental sector is active, there are many definitions of NGOs.

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Some of them are<sup>2</sup>:
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- 1. NGO is the type of civil society organization that is nonprofit, nonpolitical and serving the public interest or the interest of the certain (specific) group. This term is usually used for civil society organizations that are formally registered.
- 2. NGO is organization that is established and organized by free and legal (in accordance with the legal system that respects the highest standards of human rights and freedoms) autonomous citizens' initiative, and it functions in accordance with the program platform of public welfare improvement, being out of the influence and control of state and para-state ruling apparatus.
- 3. NGO is the term of United Nations for nonprofit organization that is not financed and completely controlled by the government and that promotes people's welfare on nonprofit basis. When it exists in one country only, it is considered to be national NGO, and when it exists in several countries in the region, it is regarded as a regional NGO. The organization should have legally established statute, clear purpose and visible activities, with administrative body that is authorized to speak on behalf of its members.

Non-governmental organization (NGO) is the term that is wide-

¹ Kako funkcionišu nevladine organizacije, 2006, Brčko: Centar za unapređenje Brčkog, str. 9

² http://www.ngo.ba/component/glossary/Rje%C4%8Dnik-pojmova-40/N/ Nevladina-organizacija-(NVO)-139/ (2/22/2013, 1.45 PM)

ly accepted, and it relates to the legally constituted organization that is founded by physical or legal persons without government participation. In cases when such organizations are being financed by the government (partly or completely), government representatives are excluded from the organization's membership. The very term *non-governmental organization* is widely accepted in our everyday speech, but according to the numerous legislations legal term is actually *citizens' association* and *civil society organization*.

According to Gregory Mankiw, non-governmental organizations are "agents of humanitarian changes", they exist to improve human lives, they are important for the quality of life in any society, and they are at society's service.

United Nations and Center for Civil Society Studies at John Hopkins Institute for Health and Social Policy (former Institute for Political Studies) presently cooperate at listing of the basic statistical data on goals, structure, financing and activities of nonprofit sector in different countries. Their project categorizes nonprofit sector into 12 groups and around 30 subgroups.

International classification of nonprofit organizations:

Group 1: Culture and Recreation

1 100 Culture and Arts

1 200 Sports

1 300 Other Recreation and Social Clubs

Group 2: Education and Research 2 100 Primary and Secondary Education 2 200 Higher Education 2 300 Other Education 2 400 Research

Group 3: Health 3 100 Hospitals and Rehabilitation 3 200 Nursing Homes 3 300 Mental Health and Crisis Intervention 3 400 Other Health Services Group 4: Social Services 4 100 Social Services 4 200 Emergency and Relief 4 300 Income Support and Maintenance

Group 5: Environment 5 100 Environment 5 200 Animal Protection

Group 6: Development and Housing 6 100 Economic, social and Community Development 6 200 Housing 6 300 Employment and Training

Group 7: Law, Advocacy and Politics 7 100 Civic and Advocacy Organizations 7 200 Law and Legal Services 7 300 Political Organizations

Group 8: Philanthropic Intermediaries and Voluntarism Promotion 8 100 Grant-making Foundations

8 200 Other Philanthropic Intermediaries and Voluntarism Promotion

Group 9: International Activities
9 100 International Activities
Group 10: Religion
10 100 Religious Congregations and Associations

Group 11: Business and Professional Associations, Unions

11 100 Business Associations

11 200 Professional Associations

11 300 Unions

Group 12: Not Elsewhere Classified (Salamon et al., 2004)

The Law on Associations and Foundations of Republic of Srpska that was passed on September 27, 2001 (published in RS Official Gazette No. 52/01, with later amendments) clearly defines what "citizens' association" is and its internal organization.

According to the *Article 2* of that Law, "Association is every form of voluntary connecting of several physical or legal persons in order to improve or realize some common or general interest or goal, in accordance with the Constitution and law, with basic purpose not being profit.

Associations realize customs, tax and other deductions for their work in accordance with the law."

Since non-governmental organizations are insufficiently comprehensible by form and activities in the society in BiH, they very often cause controversial discussions among population, especially in relation to financing. We have chosen articles of the Law related to financing of associations and foundations:

Article 4.

An association or foundation may engage in activities generating profit (economic activity) only is profit generation is not its principal statutory goal.

An excess of revenue over expenses obtained from the economic activity must be invested in basic statutory goals of the association or foundation. No direct or indirect distribution of the excess of revenue over expenses from the economic activity, to founders, members of association, members of administrative bodies, authorized persons, employees, donors or third persons is not permitted.

The limitation set out in the previous paragraph does not apply to the payment of appropriate reimbursement for the work or for the coverage of expenses incurred in relation to realization of the statutory goals and activities of association or foundation.

An association or foundation may engage in economic activities directly related to fulfillment of its basic statutory goals and activities (related economic activities) without the obligation to establish a separate legal person.

An association or foundation may engage in economic activities not directly related to the fulfillment of its basic statutory goals and activities (unrelated economic activities) only through a separately established legal person.

Article 5.

Associations or foundations submit the annual report on its activities and financial report in accordance with the law and other regulations and statute.

Article 35.

The property of an association or foundation consists of voluntary gifts and contributions of some monetary value, finances from the budget donations and taxes, subventions and contracts with natural and legal persons, revenue from interests, dividends, profits on capital, rents, fees and similar sources of passive revenue, revenue acquired in the course of fulfilling the goals and activities of the association or foundation; membership fees and other revenues acquired through lawful utilization of the organization's assets and property.

An association or foundation shall handle its property in accordance with law and the statute.

Article 36.

Monitoring of the lawfulness and purposeful usage and disposal of assets of association or foundation is performed by the body of association or foundation that has been determined by the statute and this Law, as well as the relevant Republic body.

Article 37.

Association and foundation shall keep business records and compose financial reports in accordance with the law.

POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES



POLITICS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

This part of the work contains examinations of the notion of politics and political parties through theory and practice, and political ideologies. The review of the political work puts an accent to the role of the youth in politics and their degree of engagement in political parties. Since political parties are not and must not be the only platform of youth activism and space for engagement, the ways of youth "preoccupation" in other organizational forms are presented, and it is possible to determine their correlative relations. What types of political trainings exist or have existed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and what are efficient models are important questions for future processes of youth training in political parties, so we shall try to answer them in this chapter

Politics

To Aristotle, politics was "the queen of sciences". It is social activity that always represents the dialogue, never monologue; its goal is creation of the "just society". Politics is academic discipline closely related to notions of conflict and cooperation (conflict – competition of the opposite sides, cooperation – goals realization through collective action). In its broadest sense, politics represents "activity by which people create, maintain and change the rules by which they live" (Heywood, 2004: 12). Politics is "essentially controversial" notion containing the multitude of associations that this word causes.

The word politics came from the Greek word polis meaning city-state. Greece was divided into many independent city-states with separate administrations. German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck stated that "politics is not a science, but an art". There words are related to the skill (the art) of ruling, controlling the society, advocating, bringing and implementing of decisions. This view of politics as the "art of ruling" is one of its definitions that assumes the traditional comprehension of politics, and in everyday use it means the people who are engaged in politics. In ancient Greece, Plato had established his school with the goal of training Athens' ruling class, and he taught them that material world consists of imperfect reflections of abstract and eternal ideas. The second comprehension of politics sees it as public affairs. In essence, the difference between political and apolitical is the same as between public and private. According to this explanation, politics is unnatural for it prevents people to act as they are pleased. Politics as the agreement and consent is the third concept of politics and it sees it as the way of decision making, i.e. as the means of peaceful conflict resolving. According to this view, division of power is the key for politics. Politics is based on the hard belief in conversation and discussion efficiency, i.e. in solving of problems by consensus. The fourth definition of politics sees it as the power that permeates all social activities and spheres. Essentially, politics is the power to achieve the wanted goal by any means. In this definition, politics is the power to decide, the power as determination of the agenda, and the power as the control of thinking, which means that politics influences the power to decide, but also the power to prevent deciding. Ability to influence others is another determination of the power, which shows its power as ideological indoctrination or psychological control.

The first purpose of politics was to uncover the principles that human society should be based on. But in time, there was the tendency for politics to become a scientific discipline, which was accomplished in 1860s. The first theoretician who tried to describe the politics was Karl Marx, who tried to discover the driving force of historical development of politics by using the so-called materialistic concept of history.

Assertion that politics may accept the methodology of natural sciences led to sudden increase in the number of studies that some were engaged in (behavior during voting, behavior of legislator, behavior of politician, etc.). But, such practice became abandoned in time because it was regarded as limiting the field of political analysis, which led many politicologists to neglect and abandon normative political thoughts. Notions such as freedom, equality, justice and law were abandoned from time to time because they could not be empirically measured.

The development of politics greatly enriched the diversity of political analysis, and the traditional approach to the comprehen-

sion of politics notion was combined with the wide spectrum of new ideas and topics.

Political ideologies

Political ideology is an "invention that represents a special intellectual pattern, i.e. paradigm that gives its own view of the political reality — view of the world" (Heywood, 2004: 82). This means that people have the need to uncover prejudices and assumptions they bring into the research and they face on a daily basis; these assumptions are deeply rooted in wide political beliefs and traditions (political ideologies).

The term "ideology" was coined in 1796 by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), who expected this term to reach the status of a science, and he used it to explain "the science of ideas", i.e. to uncover sources of conscious thought and ideas. Marxists believed that ideology is false, that it shadows and confuses inferior classes, hiding contradictions class societies are based on. Philos-

ophers like Michael Oakeshott³ believe that ideology is a sum of ideas that cannot be comprehended and that it distorts political reality.

According to modern views, ideology is mutually connected sum of ideas that focus and inspire political activities. That means that ideology is systematized sum of political ideas and principles that were created for practical purpose of certain groups for political activities, in the form of support to establishing and strengthening of political rule or influencing it.

Political ideologies may be classified as follows:

Liberalism – sometimes described as meta-ideology⁴ that may encompass a wide range of opposing values and beliefs. Liberalism appeared as the consequence of feudalism fall and the development of capitalist society.

Main elements of liberalism are the following:

³ British political philosopher who greatly contributed to conservative traditionalism and influenced the large number of new political right.

⁴ Ideology of a higher order, it sets foundations for political discussion.

Individualism: human beings are regarded as individuals who are equally morally worthy and who possess separate and unique identities. Liberals' goal is to create the society in which every individual would have a chance to fight for himself and the values in a way he himself sees it.

Freedom: Liberals emphasize that the freedom of an individual may present the danger for the freedom of others, i.e. there is a possibility of abuse. For that reason, they accept the ideal of all people enjoying equal and maximal freedoms.

Reason: The ability of an individual to make wisely judgments for his benefit.

Equality: Means the equality of chances that give everybody equal opportunity to realize their different potential.

Tolerance: Liberals believe that there is a balance between opposing views and interests, and they disregard the idea of unresolvable conflict.

Consent: Government is based on legitimacy and consent, i.e. the agreement arising from the free will of those who are being ruled.

Constitutionalism: Liberals believe in limited rule, achieved by division of the rule and by balance between different agencies and government.

Conservatism – it defends the traditional social order.

Elements of conservatism are the following: tradition (wish to preserve practices from the past that support stability and security, giving the people the sense of social and historical belonging), pragmatism (due to limitations of human mind, there is no confidence in abstract principles, so faith in experience, history and pragmatism is put instead), human imperfectness (human beings are limited and seek safety, they are attracted to the unknown; people are morally corrupted and preservation of order means strong state and application of strict laws and punishments), organic view of society (conservatives view the society as an organic whole that is shaped by necessity that contributes to health and stability of the society; common values are regarded as vital for community survival), hierarchy (in a society, status and position are natural and inevitable, reflected through different social roles, and that is why the successful and the privileged take on a special responsibility for less lucky ones), rule (the value of the rule is in it being the source of social unity, so it must exist in parallel with responsibility), and property (conservatives believe the ownership is of the key importance and it gives people the security and independence. But, having an ownership of something means not only rights but also responsibilities, and that is why we are only the keepers of the property.).

Socialism – developed as a reaction to industrial capitalism. In its original form, the goal was abolition of capitalist economy based on market trade.

Elements of socialism are the following: community (socialists believe that the importance of the community is shaped by belonging to certain social groups and collective bodies), fraternity (cooperation gives people the opportunity to unite their ideas and energies and to overcome the hatred and hostility), social equality (represents the basic value of socialism, regarding the individual as other people and making the basis for enjoying legal and political rights), needs (material goods should be distributed according to the needs, which is the prerequisite for dignified human life and person's involvement in all society spheres), social class (socialist goal is to erase social inequalities or to greatly diminish them) and common property (represents the means of dedicating material resources to common welfare).

Marxism – interprets history through the conflict of the privileged and inferior social classes and believes that all social problems would be resolved by creation of the classless society.

Elements of Marxism are the following: historical materialism (emphasized the importance of economic life and conditions in which people produce and reproduce the means for survival), dialectic change (historical changes are consequences of internal capabilities within the way of production, which are reflected in the class hostility), alienation (workers are alienated from products of their own work and from themselves, meaning that unalienated working class is the main source of human fulfillment), class struggle (bourgeoisie is the ruling class with economic and political power, while the proletariat is the means of production and enjoys no rights), added value (race for profit drives the capitalist to extract the maximum, the added value, from proletariat, while paying them less than their work's worth; that is why capitalism is instable in its nature because proletariat cannot accept lifelong exploitation), proletarian revolution (inevitable revolution with the aim of taking over the control of means of production), communism (represents classless society, the consequence of proletarian revolution, in which the wealth is owned by everybody).

Other ideological traditions – being the following:

Fascism (the form of anti-capitalism, anti-liberalism, anti-individualism, etc. with the basic motive of unification of national community and belief in the "strength of unity"), anarchism (believing that political power is unnecessary, that free and rational human beings are capable of peaceful and spontaneous deciding and overcome conflicts), feminism (marks the reforms of public sphere, comprehension of women's rights, relation between capitalism and women subordination, and believe that gender division is the most important division in the society), ideology of environmental protection (care for the damage inflicted by the increased economic development, it shows human beings as the part of the nature and planet Earth as living organism trying to survive. Ecologists insist that only the fundamental change of political priorities and willingness to put interests of ecosystems before the interests of man may ensure the existence of the planet and humankind), religious fundamentalism (political and social life should be organized based on the key, i.e. true religious principles).

Democracy

The term was coined from the Greek words demos – people and kratein – to rule, so it is also called the "rule of people". Democracy is almost universally accepted as an excellent model, and it means adopting certain group of ideas or ruling system. It is ascribes some other meanings as well, like the following: ruling system of the poor and marginalized ones, decision-making system based on the principle of majority rule, ruling system that serves interests of people, regardless of their (non)participation in the political life, etc. Democracy connects the government and the people and it is the subject of the great discussions and unanswered questions of today, like what is people, how should people rule, where are the limits of people's rule, is the rule of people really in the best interest of all.

Forms of democracy

Democracy is often regarded as unique and indisputable notion, but there are different models of democracy that are consequence of mutual opposing and theories of democracy. The following are four different models of democracy:

- 1. Classical democracy
- 2. Protective democracy
- 3. Developmental democracy
- 4. People's democracy.

Classical democracy

It is based on the Athenian city-state. What made it so unique was the degree of political activities of its citizens, who paid much attention to regular Assembly sessions and taking of responsibility, but such type of democracy could exist only if certain number of citizens were excluded from politics. That led to exclusion of women and children, along with slaves and foreigners and males younger than twenty from any political activity. Such model of democracy is the basis for holding of referendum, especially when it is about constitutional issues, but also in the more modern democratic experiments.

Protective democracy

It is based on the belief that if the government has the power to expropriate property, then citizens are entitled to protect themselves by controlling the composition of taxation bodies. In other words, it is the system of the "government based on the consent". It is the system of constitutional democracy that has the set of rules to control the government. If the right to vote is the means of personal freedom protection, then the power must be separated (legislature, executive and judiciary), but there must be effort to protect human rights and freedoms.

Developmental democracy

The focus is shifted to the development of man and community. For such a system of democracy it is necessary to have political and economic equality. Developmental democracy is the best described in the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau "The Social Contract", stating that "no citizen shall be rich enough to buy another, and none so poor as to be forced to sell himself" (Rousseau, 1913: 96 according to Haywood, 2004: 146). The aim is to create active and participative society in which every citizen is able to participate in deciding on matters that affect his own life.

People's democracy

It is the form of democracy that has developed in communist countries of the twentieth century. According to Lenin, it represents the "avant-garde of the working class". The party is the one claiming to represent and comprehend interests of proletariat, and leading it into the realization of its revolutionary potential.

Speaking of democracy as a social order that gets more and more importance and presence, we may ask a series of questions that are not easy to answer. Like, for example, if the system of rule of great number of minorities may be the means to prevent majority from exercising political rule, if the minority in the power for the benefit of majority really exercise the power in such a way or the majority is being manipulated by ideas of minority, etc. Considering all those issues we end up with several notions, doctrines, that are important for democratic societies:

Elitism - Classical elitists strive to prove that democracy is a

myth, while modern theoreticians emphasize that certain political systems could not be farther from democratic ideals. Based on economic power, bureaucratic control and access to the highest levels of executive power, power elite is capable of influencing historical decisions. Elite is a unique body kept together by mutual interests. The term "elite" comes from Latin and French languages and it means "selected", depicting the group of people who make decisions important for the society, but who also cut into interests of all members of that society. Electorate may decide which elite will rule, but cannot change the fact that some elite will always be in power.

Corporatism – Appeared as the consequence of shifting towards the economy that led to economic interests being included in the government. Majority of analysts regards corporatism as a threat to democracy, because it only benefits groups with political influence, and it also benefits the state more than economy and market; politics is being realized more through negotiations between government officials and economic interests, and leaders with economic and political power are not responsible to the public and their influence is not being controlled.

New political right – Representatives of new political right are advocates of the free market. They comprehend democracy as the form of protection, and not the means for implementing changes in the society.

There are numerous models and forms of democracy. Each is unique in its own way. Generally accepted model is the liberal one — it is indirect, representative form of democracy, based on regular elections.

Political parties

The term "party" comes from the Latin language, *part* – part, *partire* – to share. It is believed that parties originated after American and French revolutions, through the development of parliamentarism and elections. Gradual increase and spreading of right to vote made political parties organizations with permanent membership. Both establishing and activities of political parties is

based on one of the fundamental human rights and freedoms, right to assemble. "As emphasized by Koštunica (politician from Republic of Serbia at the end of XX and beginning of XXI century, author's remark), all constitutions in Europe that were brought after the World War I, regardless of the character of political order, stipulate the freedom to assemble" (Orlović, 2002: 17).

The great contribution of political parties is in changing of government in non-violent, peaceful way. It is believed that parties win the power for their leadership, and material benefits for membership. Karl Friedrich claims: "Political party is the group of human beings organized in a stable manner, with the aim of becoming or remaining the lords of regime for the benefit of their leaders, and also of ensuring, thanks to possession of the power, advantage and material and spiritual benefits for its membership." (Orlović, 2002: 29).

Constitutive elements of political parties are the following: membership (represents significant indicator of power and influence of the party; the more members the party has, the more power it holds. In order for one to become the member of the party, he needs to fill in the application form, receive membership card, pay membership fee and respect party program and discipline. Membership in political parties is voluntary. According to tasks and activities, there are active members, general members and leaders.); *leadership* (small number of people who are leadership of the party have crucial influence on decisions within that party, meaning there is the inverse relationship between numbers and power); organization (internal mechanisms of action, ways of organizing and decision making within the party. Organizational structure is defined by the party's statute. According to the structure of organization, there are centralized and decentralized parties. Organization of the party largely depends on the way of coordination between central and local boards, and on the relation membership-leadership); *party program* (it is the sum of ideas and principles on which the party is based, the view of social problems and suggestions for their resolving. Programs are adopted by the highest bodies within the party and there is entire agreement related to it.).

The role and functions of political parties are reflected in repre-
senting and protecting of the wide social interests. They are holders of election process; they form the government, and the state as a whole. Citizens vote for the party whose goals and ideology appeal the most. There are also citizens that frequently change parties, for some other party seems to be better. Due to all that, the goal of political party is to maintain numbers and receive the most votes in elections, in order to prove itself and to implement the politics it promotes. To win the power, parties must carry pre-election campaigns to promote themselves and their goals, to show problems in the society and offer concrete solutions for those problems, all with the aim of getting more votes and entering structures of power. The principle "one person, one vote" shows how powerful a party is. In parliamentary democracy there are parties in power and parties in opposition. Parties remaining in opposition have the task of opposing the integration into the existing system, showing the existing consequences of the present politics and fighting to come to power. Political parties represent the key connection between government and civil society. "Party system is not literally the sum of parties — people, institutions and activities. It is the competition between those parties within the given political regime, and that competition system is what gives democratic parties their unique significance." (Goati, 2004: 166). This means that party system enables expression of society's interests through supporting different political parties.

Types of parties

The most important classifications of political parties are the following:

- Cadre and mass parties
- Representative and integrative
- Constitutional and revolutionary
- Left and right.

Cadre and mass parties - Cadre parties are lately regarded as parties of trained and professional members who are expected

to show greater political discipline. They are based on politically active elite that is capable to lead masses. Mass parties rejected the great part of ideological burden in order to be more appealing for greater number of voters. They are not based on some class or group, and they reduce the role of individual members in favor of wider coalitions of support.

Representative and integrative parties – Representative parties have the goal to ensure votes in elections by putting pragmatism before principles, and market research before people mobilization. They present politicians eager for power, ready to accept any politics that would bring them to power. Integrative parties, unlike representative ones, work on mobilization and affirmation of masses and on responses to their interests.

Constitutional and revolutionary – Constitutional parties respect rights of other parties and act within limits and law. Above all, they accept and respect rules of electoral competition and understand that they may be replaced by voting, the same way they came to power. Revolutionary parties are anti-systemic and anti-constitutional. Their goal is to come to power, and they use revolutions to achieve it.

Left and right parties – Left parties are partial to change in the shape of reform, and historically speaking, they were supported by the poor and the discriminated against. Unlike them, right parties support existing system and they are usually supported by employers and middle class, who are materially satisfied class.

Functions of parties

Basic functions of political parties are the following:

- Representing
- Creation of elites and recruiting
- Determination of goals
- Interest articulation and aggregation
- Socialization and mobilization
- Government organization.

Representing is regarded as a basic function of political parties.

It is ability of the party to express views and opinions of voters, but also to respond to them. Parties are the most important means of providing information and responses of government to needs and wishes of the society.

Creation of elites and recruiting – Through parties, certain number of people get skills and knowledge of political management and they expect to be rewarded for it. Those who turn out to be the most successful in a political party, receive the opportunity to apply the knowledge in practice.

Determination of goals – With the aim of ensuring the support of people, political parties determine special goals for the purpose of orientation. State apparatus monitor parties and their goals, and goals change according to wishes and needs of the society, and according to the increasing need of that party to come into power.

Interest articulation and aggregation – Political parties aid representing and unifying of different interests in the society. Different social groups defend their interests with the aid of political parties. By establishing the balance and unifying party goals, parties respond to requests from a great number of groups.

Socialization and mobilization – Political parties have great importance in socialization and mobilization of people, through pre-election campaign they organize, electoral competition and debates within the party. In order for a party to have more supporters (followers), it is necessary to actively engage all members in the work of party and to mobilize other members of society, lead them to become party members and take active part in creation of program and strategy of the party, which are significant for the whole society.

Government organization – Political parties primarily contribute to government creation, and they also provide it with certain stability and unity. Political parties also facilitate cooperation between legislative and executive branches. They are the main source of government criticism, they extend political debate to voters and contribute to better control of the government's politics.

Party systems

The essence of relationships between political parties largely influences the functioning of political system. Of equal importance is the number of parties competing in elections and the size and strength of those parties as expressed in elections.

The most important party systems in modern politics are the following:

- One-party system
- Two-party system
- Dominant-party system
- Multi-party system.

One-party system is authoritarian and totalitarian form of state order in which important positions are given to party members and all spheres of society are influenced by the party. Ideology of these parties is almost always extreme, being left or right. The notion of being avant-guard is important for this system, for it represents Leninist belief that it is necessary for a party to lead and direct proletariat towards the fulfillment of its revolutionary insurrection.

Two-party system is bipolar, dominated by two parties that have approximately equal chances to win the power. "Two-party politics is the safest way to reconcile the citizens' openness with regime, i.e. the representative government with the efficient one." (Heywood, 2004: 448). The main advantage of this system is in that two parties may offer the voters the clear choice between opposing program goals and governments. Disadvantage of such systems is that a great fight of two parties may lead into inflation, for huge funding is directed for promotion of parties.

Dominant-party system is competition-based system, but there is one dominant party that has been in the power for a long time. Disadvantage of such system is that it is not clearly defined for how long one party may stay in power, so there is the example of India, where Congress party remained in power for thirty years. This system is also unwanted because small parties do not challenge the dominant one, so the difference between government and party fades away. When governments stop being replaced from the power, a silent process begins in which state officials and institutions gradually adjust to political principles of the dominant party. Also, one party permanently in power may weaken democratic spirit, for it encourages voters to be afraid of the change and gives no opportunity for the change to be realized.

Multi-party system – this system has more than two parties, and there is the possibility of coalition forming⁵. The advantage of multi-party system lies in ensuring control and balance within government, and in being inclined to compromise. The greatest disadvantage of this system is that coalition forming may take too much time and there might be conflicts between parties in coalition, especially in cases when parties entering the coalition are asked to give up some of their goals and interests in order to come to power.

Civil society and political parties

Political parties are deeply rooted in the society in which they act. As a normative concept, civil society motivates and mobilizes citizens and other social actors to participate in different social activities. Civic consciousness is often asleep and comes to life only in elections. That is not enough. In order to have democracy, there must be active citizens who contribute to development of the society they live in, and who participate in making decisions which are important for both the society and themselves. Becoming member of the party and acting within it is only one of the possible ways of civic activism and organizing. Until they come to power, political parties are more attached to citizens and attuned to their wishes and needs, but once they come to power they start to prefer government and state.

Civil society is the area of institutions, organizations, networks and individuals that is located between the family, state and market, and people voluntarily associate in order to advocate their common interests. In its simplest form, civil society represents the sum of institutions and associations/organizations that connect people,

⁵ Coalition – an alliance of opposing political actors who are facing the same danger or realizing they cannot achieve their goals by themselves.

beside the government and private sector. Civil society contains formal and informal organizations — civic initiatives. Developed civil society is the main prerequisite of establishing and maintaining democratic state of law — every citizen aim to be active, to be part of the society that makes relevant decisions, to be free and asked for opinion. Both civil society and democracy need active citizens who will be there to elect the government, but also to control and replace it.

In democratic society there are a great number of associations that encourage citizens' activism, influence both citizens and government, but do not try to take the power. Non-governmental organizations are in that group — they are a sort of intermediary between citizens and the state. Non-governmental organizations are founded on principles of trust and solidarity. Some call them "the third sector" or "parallel parties", but they are not and cannot be political parties. The difference between political parties and non-governmental organizations is in that political parties aspire to come to power. The goal of non-governmental organization's activities is influence, not power. Their activities comprise education, initiating citizens to act, political culture, etc.

The same case is with the youth who are active in civil society organizations.

Unions represent another type of citizens' association, but the aim is representing the interests of the employed. The union is connection between employer and employees. It deals with economic issues and employees' rights.

Social movements, although often seen as related to political parties, are voluntary, mass citizens' associations created to express discontent, initiate resolving of important social issues and aim at certain social changes. Social movements, like political parties, influence socialization, satisfying of human needs and creation of one's own identity, but they also influence destruction of institutions, and are therefore regarded as the "conflict of the world, life and system" (Habermas, according to Orlović, 2002: 63).

Political parties act in public, for all their activities and promotions are focused in the public sphere. Civil society has great influence on political parties. It points out the problems and needs of citizens, influences and motivates them to actively take part in all spheres of public life, while in doing so it helps political parties by showing the needs of citizens.

Parties in post-communism

After the fall of "real socialism"⁶ (1989/1990), new parties were founded in post-communist countries, with the characteristic type represented by "proto-parties or forum parties" (Goati, 2004: 158).

Proto-parties are characterized by heterogeneity of its social basis, emphasized internal dynamics, integral character (attempt to ensure the space for all political tendencies within its own frame), etc. Similar is the characterization of forum parties, but they are exclusively focused on elimination of competition parties and on winning the power. Majority of parties in post-communism do not have many characteristics in common with today's massive parties that exist in the countries with stable democracy.

⁶ The term used from 1970s to designate social-political order, i.e. the official ideology of USSR and other countries belonging to Eastern Bloc.

YOUTH AND POLITICS



YOUTH AND POLITICS

Youth activism

Youth activism is social engagement of young people gathered around some common idea, who carry on certain projects through common networking. The aim is to improve quality of youth's life, to get competencies and solve relevant issues, thus contributing to society at all levels.

The youth represent extremely important category of citizens and future change holders in society, so it is necessary to pay adequate attention to their needs, views and wishes, and to support development of youth activism. To be active means to fight for one's views, wishes and expectations. It directly influences personal development, but also the development of the city and community. To be active means to meet new people, to travel, to gain knowledge (on sustainable development, human rights, gender equality, etc.) and skills (communication, marketing, debating, management, etc.).

Youth activism usually comprises self-organizing through formal groups — youth organizations. Also, there are organizations for young people, which are not managed by the youth, but are dedicated to working with young people. Through such forms of organization young people carry on different activities and participate in different projects. Professionals working in such organizations and engaging directly with youth on different activities are called youth workers. Besides participating in different organizations' work, youth activism represents also involvement of the young people in different school projects, clubs, volunteer service, informal groups, etc.

Active participation of young people in making decisions that are important for their future may very much improve their position in the society. Experiences from many countries show that without activism and participation in social life youth becomes "invisible", marginalized part of the society, and their needs become neglected.

Youth activism represents the voice of young people gathered around the common idea, because of some social change. It is both

social and political engagement of the youth, their active participation in resolving of issues that affect primarily them, but also in decision making in local communities and at the state level. Youth activism means several different activities, not one. It means participating in local activities and activities at entity or state level, all with the aim of more efficient improvement of their situation, but also of the society as a whole.

Basis of activism is voluntarism. We are often in position to hear that volunteers are being exploited, or other misuses of the term "voluntarism". The term voluntarism means voluntary providing of services to the other person, for that person's welfare of for the common good. It represents voluntary and free work, largely beneficial for individuals, families or groups that need assistance. Volunteering brings the best out of people, their empathy, solidarity and humanitarianism, it affect human consciousness, improves the quality of life and develops tolerance. Volunteers are those who participate and who are holders of it. The term *volunteer* comes from the Hebrew language and literally means "one who wishes to give". It is present in many forms and dates back long time ago. Onetime gathering of people in the field and mutual helping is the form of voluntarism.

Development of the society is founded on participation of individuals in deciding on the life of their community. In countries where the civil society is strong, such participation is absolute and widespread. Active participation of citizens in social life is especially important for young people who, by their activism, work primarily on self-development, but also on the development of the society as a whole. Youth activism is based on researching the needs of youth, which is realized in cooperation with organizations, institutions and agencies that may help identify their needs and issues, and in finding possible solutions for those needs. Youth activism also promotes independence and responsibility of young people, their involvement in all spheres of social and public life, so they would take over the initiative and actively participate in creation of personal and social changes.

Different profiles of young people are being recognized by their engagement and activity, and those are youth leaders. Youth lead-

ers are active young people who engage in work on changes that are important for the whole society. They are young people who search for changes, examine the state and its possibilities, search for social stability and fight for better future by working together and joining efforts.

Political activism of the youth

Activism is a planned behavior with the aim of achieving social or political goals through activities such as increasing awareness, making coalitions, leading political campaigns, production of propaganda material, creating publicity and other activities that affect social changes.

Although young people are characterized by enthusiasm, strong life energy, openness and readiness to accept the new, vision of the wanted future, knowledge, and although they use modern means of communication, their presence and the mentioned qualities are not visible in the expected percentage in representative bodies. Similar situation is present in political parties too — even parties with high percentage of young members do not have enough youth representation in their management bodies, or at least as much as their share in the general population — around one quarter. Some political parties have organized youth wings that have significant role in development and promotion of future young politicians.

Societies evolve, and changes in the society bring along changes in dominant social values. Involvement of young people in political parties, their political activism contributes to development of new ideas and advancement of the society, thus creating prerequisites for training of the future decision-makers. The goal of young people who enter political parties is winning the power or participating in it, while goals of youth active in civil society organizations might be similar or even the same, apart from the component of power struggle.

Civil activism of the youth

Activism is traditionally connected to the concept of dissidence in a society, and to protesting activities, but it may have different forms — from the simplest one, like propaganda among citizens and lobbying with government, to public gatherings, political campaigns, demonstrations and different protests.

Civil activism of the youth represents inclusion of young people into society, assistance to those in need, work on local community development, encouraging others to engage in activism, etc. Civil activism has the goal of increasing awareness of citizens and interest groups about the need for active engagement and participation in decision making and social processes, and of creating prerequisites for increasing responsibility of the government and other holders of public functions.

The notion of civil community and activism of its citizens may be regarded from two different aspects. The negative one — that community should be limited and prevented from controlling of all its social activities, penetrating into all life spheres and absorbing all social initiative and talent of citizens. The positive one — that there are many independent foci of citizens' self-organizing within community, through which they are able to jointly solve their problems and thus represent the network of public opinion and government pressuring channels, and, if needed, of protection against government's attempts to step over its given limits.

Youth and politics

The youth as a "resource", and politics as the "means", represent prerequisites of active approach and civil activism in processes of lifelong learning and activism of the youth. It is very important to put those parameters into social contexts and experience and culture of leading and managing processes of change. Here we shall try to give answers to questions on efficient approach in political education of the youth.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Bosnia and Herzegovina is situated in the medium part of Balkan Peninsula. To the north, west and south-west it is bordered by Republic of Croatia and in the east and south by Serbia and Montenegro. Bosnia and Herzegovina has a small stretch of coastline of about 21 km surrounding the city of Neum.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is, by its system of government, unique in the world. Its set up is complex: by government type it is republic, but regardless it is not officially defined as such due to complexity of units it is divided into (cantons and entities — out of which one has "republic" and the other "federation" in its name), but also because of reminding of the war Republic of BiH.

The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina was, according to the existing Constitution, established on December 14, 1995 after Dayton Peace Accord was signed. Dayton Peace Accord stopped the war and by its Annex IV (BiH Constitution) it defined the postwar BiH. The capital of the country is Sarajevo.

European Parliament appoints High Representative, who is the highest political authority in the country. Present High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina is Valentin Inzko from Austria.

Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of three members, each from one of constitutive nations, and they rotate at the position of the Chair of the Presidency every 8 months. They are directly elected: Federation elects representatives of Bosniaks and Croats, and Republic of Srpska elects the representative of Serbs. The member of Presidency with the most votes usually becomes the first Chair of the Presidency. Presidency is elected for the period of four years, and its members may be elected for two mandates in a row. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers is appointed by the Presidency, and confirmed by the Parliamentary Assembly. The Chairman then nominates ministers.

Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is legislative body of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It encompasses House of Peoples and House of Representatives. House of Peoples has 15 members, two thirds being from Federation (5 Croats and 5 Bosniaks), and one third from Republic of Srpska (5 Serbs). House of Representatives has 42 members, again two thirds being elected in Federation, and one third in Republic of Srpska.

Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the highest and final authority in legal issues, and it has nine members: four elected from Federation House of Representatives (two Croats and two Bosniaks), two from National Assembly of Republic of Srpska (two Serbs), and three members are appointed by the President of European Court of Human Rights after consultations with the Presidency. All employed persons older than 16 have the right to vote, while unemployed people can vote when older than 18.

Geographical characteristics of BiH: area: 52,280 km2; the lowest spot: town of Neum, 0 m; the highest spot: Maglić, 2386 m; coastline: 21.2 km.

Three nations live in BiH: Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, who are constitutive in the whole BiH territory. Apart from constitutive nations, Bosnia and Herzegovina is also the country of numerous other minorities like Ukrainians, Roma, Jews and other less numerous communities. According to the data of Statistics Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and based on the census from October 2013, there are 3,531,159 inhabitants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. One part of the country, Republic of Srpska, denies this number and rejects the final number of the registered because of disagreement in census methodology.

Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was one of six republics of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. After the break of Yugoslavia, there was a war in Bosnia and Herzegovina that ended on December 14, 1995 by signing of Paris Accord, which ratified previously signed Dayton Accord (November 21, 1995).

Youth in BiH

In the post-war BiH, youth is certainly one of the most vulnerable categories. This is pointed out by a large number of researches organized and done by different higher education institutions, nongovernmental organizations, research agencies, international institutions, etc. (UNDP, 2003, DPRS, 2005). Having in mind that the focus of this work is not the general situation of youth, in this part we will present only some of the basic data and problems about the situation and life of youth in BiH.

Youth in BiH make up for about one fourth of the total population.

Problems and needs of youth can be considered in terms of the conditions and circumstances, which they live in as well as the consequences and scars that living under such circumstances causes.

According to the UNDP 2003 research, 19% of the population lives below the poverty line, whereas 40% can only cover their basic living needs with the available income. Also, it is stated that youth unemployment of the 19-24 age group is 2.6 times higher than that of the 25-49 age group. This defeating fact is further supported by data that BiH is a state with the lowest national income per capita (GDP) in the region and in Europe (according to the Environment in BiH 2002, the national income or GDP for 1997 was \$ 898, while the estimates are that it hardly exceeds \$ 1000 in 2001 and it amounted

to 4200^7 in 2010). For the purpose of comparison, the income per capita of population (GDP) in 2009 in FR Germany amounted

to \$40,000⁸. Consequences lead to an increase of different kind of social pathologies: increase of toxicomania, delinquencies, suicides, violence, etc. According to research of Dušanić, there is an occurrence of the so-called "learned helplessness" (2005) of youth in BiH. Its characteristics are various in terms of cognitive shortcomings and lack of feelings, which is quite close to pessimism, passivity, and disinterest. The research of the RS Association of Psychologists (2005) points out that the youth spend half of their free time without doing any planned activities, choosing the option to just "hang around". What has been worrying about the last decade and further is a high percentage (above 70%) of those who would like to leave the state, move out, whether for a short period or forever.

According to the global competition report of the World Economic Forum for 2010, Bosnia and Herzegovina was at 131 place out of 133 countries in the category of "brain drain", which is particularly related to the young, specialized in different areas, those

⁷ http://www.bhas.ba/ (12/23/2012, 12.10 PM)

⁸ http://hgd.mvpei.hr/gospodarski_prikaz/njemacka/1/ (1/10/2013, 9.30 PM)

with master and Ph.D. degrees. With regards to that, UNESCO has given data that since 1995 as much as "79% of researchers in the area of engineering, 81% of M.A./M.Sc. and Ph.D. holders" (BiH Youth Study, 2015).

According to the World Bank data in 2013, youth unemployment in the BiH society has reached as much as 58% (Mujanović, 2013).

In order to understand better the positions and needs of the youth population in BiH, we will try to give a general overview of the situation, based on the available data relevant for the issues this paper deals with. This, above all, includes the general data as well as data related to the areas of education, both formal and informal, as well as life-long learning and active participation of the young in the society.

According to a research on youth in BiH, in the sense of comprehensiveness of the causes and its structure (N=2008) with an average of 22 years of age, connecting it to the relevance of the topic of this paper, the respondents are "generally dissatisfied with the efforts of the government to improve the situation of the young" (Djipa et al, 2012: 14), when it comes to the issues of youth quality of life. As an example, we will give resolving of housing issues for the young. Assessing the efforts of the authorities to improve the resolution of housing issues for the young, from 1 to 10 (note: "1" means "completely dissatisfied", while "10" means "very satisfied"), the respondents have evaluated that the efforts of those responsible for resolving of housing issues with an average grade of 3 (the same average grade was also given in 2008). Quite a noticeable progress was made in capacity development and abilities of the young, in the period 2008 to 2012. A significant progress was also made in developing the knowledge of the young in foreign languages: English (75.6%, compared to 64.0% in 2008), while more than one fourth speaks German (28.2%, compared to 19.6% in 2008). As much as 12.3% of respondents stated that they do not speak any foreign language.

Formal and informal education, life-long learning and training

Today, education presents one of the basic criteria of competitiveness, abundance and power. Differences in gender, social and any other origin, with the help of good education, can be relatively quickly annulled. Along with employment and economy, education and training are most certainly the most significant elements determining the social and economic position of the young, as well as the most significant elements of the youth policies. As defined by the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms⁹, education is one of the basic human rights. As a signatory to the Convention, BiH is obliged to enable and take care about these rights. Along with this, education belongs to the social and economic rights. The European Union has, with its Lisbon strategy¹⁰, as well as through the Bologna¹¹ and Copenhagen¹² processes, set "the reform of education, as one of the priorities for the governments of all the member states". Due to huge sensibility and significance of education in the sense of identity and tradition of each of its member states, the European Union, even today, after 50 years of its establishing, does not have a 'common educational policy'. However, at the level of the Union, there is full agreement about the core principles, goals and values that need to be contained in and promoted by all the education systems. The goal of the Lisbon strategy is to develop economy of the European Union until 2010 - "as the most dynamic and most competitive one, to be knowledge-based and ensure sustainable economic development, a bigger number of and better jobs, creating greater social cohesion

⁹ Council of Europe, European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms (Rome, 1950).

http://www.coe.ba/web/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=45&Itemid=34 (7/10/2012),

¹⁰ European Council, Lisbon Declaration. (Lisbon, 2000).

¹¹ European Commission, European Higher Education Area (Bologna Declaration). (Bologna, 1999). www.unsa.ba/pdf/Bolonjska%20deklaracija.pdf (7/10/2012, 10.55 PM)

¹² European Commission, Copenhagen Declaration. (Copenhagen, 2002). http://ec.europa.eu/education/pdf/doc125_en.pdf (7/14/2012, 11.05 AM)

and adhering to the principle of environmental sustainability". This is why the Bologna process is the most significant and comprehensive reform of the higher education in Europe. The final result of this process is establishing of the European higher education area until 2010, so as to have the qualifications of workers and students be recognized throughout the Union, which would, from this point of view, enable bigger mobility and easier employment. This has been reached in many countries.

The education system/systems in BiH are to face the European integration challenges as well. The key challenge is flexibility and harmonization of the curricula. According to the conclusions of this research (Group of authors, Analysis of the Needs and Problems of Youth in BiH, 2008), it is necessary to improve several key areas:

- Development of informal education programs with the aim to develop abilities, skills and knowledge of youth, which generally means working with youth;
- Development of secondary level education, as well as secondary vocational education, and training with the aim to obtain knowledge for the continuation of education, on one side, and creation of a highly competitive work competencies, on the other, with the aim of getting employed;
- Development and improvement of the university level education to ensure highly educational and highly productive labor force, as well as enable development of new production processes and modernizing the economy;
- Development of a life-long learning concept and enabling improvement of work competencies, as well as obtaining the knowledge and skills.

Youth policies and strategic programs of the total development policies in BiH must put this topic into the focus of attention. Within the processes of creation of these policies, the education system must undertake the obligation of developing human capacities that will be based on competitiveness. To this end, in addition to significant domestic funds, BiH will have the possibility to use the funds from the EU pre-accession and accession funds. Great attention should be paid to informal education, which fills in those gaps and shortcomings that formal education cannot respond to. Along with this, informal education offers skills and competencies to the young people, as well as social competencies, the application of which increases the level of competitiveness of the young on the labor market.

In the period of transition and development of a democratic society, one of the central questions, which is in accordance with the European standards and concepts of the modern education system, is certainly the question of active citizens which has, amongst other, developed and achieved through the programs of informal education. Having in mind that this process has lasted for years and decades, as well as that it has ranged through generations, it is significant to pay attention about that and educate, inform and make the youth become sensitive on time about the newly created circumstances, which formal education has not prepared them for.

The notion of informal education is often used to describe activities that imply daily learning. They make up for the contrast and addition to what happens within formal education, at schools and universities. This implies the following:

Formal education presents hierarchically structured and chronologically leveled educational system, which is present since the primary school all the way to university with regards to the overall academic studies, diversity of specialization programs and institutions that are present at the time of education.

Informal education makes up for a true life process, where each individual obtains attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily life, education as well as its surroundings – from families and neighbors, work and fun, all the way to going to a shop and mass media. People choose the type of informal education on their own. Informal education is different in terms of whether it depends on friends, culture or the social system. Instead of creating institutions that are separate from the process of daily activities based on continuous contacts, people, as informal educator, try to work within the familiar structures or together with them and/or with those whose owners are, at the same time, the very participants themselves.

Non-formal education is any organized activity outside the established educational system – whether operating separately or as a part of a significant process – which is intended to serve to the users and the very learning objects, all in accordance with the learning objectives.

Informal education concepts are supported and are in accordance with the following documents:

- EU standards¹³, 11 indicators of youth development policy recommended by the Directorate of Youth and Sport of the Council of Europe, where the first two indicators of "Informal education" and "Youth training policy" ("Government should promote development of good trainers in the youth sector, so that these trainers could serve as multipliers in raising the level of awareness about different topics").
- The document "Youth Report", of the Council of Europe, Sarajevo Office 3.3.5. page 54, with one of the recommendations being Youth Training¹⁴.
- Republic of Srpska Development Program 2007-2010¹⁵ (page 16), where the necessity of youth training in the area of social spheres is underlined. This document has foreseen this kind of training, however, after the expiry of its implementation, no evaluation was done nor an initiative for the preparation and adoption of a new development program.
- The RS Law on Youth Organization (The Official Gazette 98/04, Article 19, point 2.3), which puts an obligation onto the competent authorities of the Republic, cities and municipalities with regards to the professional work and development, particularly in the area of informal education and also Article 65 of the same Law that defines Professional Youth Work, amongst other, as well as training and professional development of youth in youth organizations.

¹³ http://www.coe.int/youth (6/2/2012, 2.50 PM)

¹⁴ http://www.mladi.gov.ba (7/12/2012, 1.45 PM)

¹⁵ Republic of Srpska Development Program, 2007-2010 http://www.irbrs. org/azuro3/azuro/uploads/Razvojni_program_RS_2007_2010.pdf, (2/14/2013, 3.06 PM)

• Other documents and local youth strategies in BiH, for example, Youth Policy of the City of Banja Luka, in the area of Youth work, through achievement of the strategic goal 1: Train new and develop the existing youth workers¹⁶.

Informal education has not been systematically spread and developed in BiH and, up to now, it has mainly been realized through the work of associations, nongovernmental organizations and international organizations, depending on the support and access based on projects, with time-limited and space-limited implementation.

Training presents a process of the application of behavior and/or positions through some forms of guidance by experience. Although the needs and accesses vary, the efficiency in strengthening of human resources can be mostly achieved following several guidelines. Each training program should be a common one, following the lines of maximizing the keeping and transfer of accustoming to work/ engagement (Zrnić, Šušnjar, 2008: 218-219):

- Maximize similarities between the position of work and position of training,
- Provide as much experience as possible for the taught topics,
- Provide different examples, when teaching concepts or skills,
- Work or identification of significant forms of tasks,
- Ensure that the general principles are understood prior to expecting great transfers,
- Provide that skillful behavior and ideas bring rewards, depending on the business situation,
- Design the lines of training, so that the trained ones can observe its application,
- Use additional questions in order to preserve the attention of a new comer/new trainee.

Efficient learning of skills should contain four essential components: (1) determining the goal, (2) modeling, (3) practice, and (4) feedback.

¹⁶ www.banjaluka.rs.ba/mladi (12/11/2012, 6.20 PM)

Working with the young has not been sufficiently promoted nor there is sufficient understanding of this topic in order to adequately implement it in practice. This is why an adequate and sufficient access of the young to informal education and working with the young, as well as youth activities are disabled. One of the conclusions and recommendations with regards to researching these issues is that today there is definitely low level of organized training, as well as that there is a need to establish a specialized training center that would have capacities for the organization and performance of training for all the types of organizations, engaging the youth (Trninić, 2008: 41).

Active participation of youth in public life, political participation and their engagement in the nongovernmental sector

The European Charter has clearly expressed their position on the participation of youth in life at a regional and local level:

"Active participation of the young in actions and decision-making at a local and regional level is of key importance if we want to build a democratic and advanced society. Their active citizenship implies having the rights, room and opportunities, for which they need to be given full support, strengthening their influence over decision-making, as well as their engagement in the activities that contribute to building of a better society"¹⁷.

This quotation speaks about the importance and dedication of the state to emphasize active participation of youth in society through public policies and documents, whether as a development or a principle. Participation of the young people is of immeasurable significance for the societies in transition. If this transition still means that the young are a jeopardized population, which is also without rights, marginalized and socially excluded, without their needs being seriously recognized in the society, then, their participation and activism is the only chance to change the course of policies towards them. The 2001 European Union White Book defines

¹⁷ Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life. 2004, Sarajevo: Office of the Council of Europe and OSCE in Saraevo, page 4

participation as the principle with the aim to: "provide for the young to be consulted and included more into decision-making related to youth issues as well as general life in their communities"¹⁸.

Actually, participation of the youth implies their being familiar with the rights and obligations in the society (exercising the rights and obligations), an opportunity to articulate their needs and to take all this into account when adopting public policies. The level of active participation of the young is never satisfactory. The principle of youth participation is neither clear nor accepted enough by the different levels of government. Whether due to traditional relations towards youth or insufficient transparency of acting, this still remains to be researched. The principle of active participation implies elaborated and functional mechanisms of participation, starting from the legal regulations, defining of measures and activities, up to the awareness of the need and necessity of participation.

The total of 5% of youth are members of youth organizations/ associations, 6% of them are members of some political parties, 1% of them are members of a youth representation body. In the last 12 months (since the research), more than 95% of the young has not even once contacted a politician nor participated in any public performance or a political discussion on the internet, at public debates about the municipal budget, and such" (Group of authors, 2008: 50).

The RS Law on Youth Organization¹⁹ and FBiH Law on Youth²⁰ neither clearly define the forms of active participation of youth nor the obligations of the entities in that regard. Insufficiently defined legal framework, to a great extent, aggravates participation of youth and their influence over the decision-making process. Together with this, the definition of youth in terms of age has not been uniform in the whole of BiH until the beginning of 2012. This was one of the basic objections of the Council of Europe report, with regards to the legal framework of youth issues.

¹⁸ White Book - A New Impetus for European Youth, 2001, Brussels: European Commission.

¹⁹ Law on Youth Organization. The Official Gazette of the RS, No. 98/04 and amendments to the Law, The Official Gazette in the RS, No. 5/12.

²⁰ The Law on Youth of the FBiH, The Official Gazette of the FBiH, No. 36/10.

When it comes to the political participation of youth, according to the research of youth in BiH (Study of Youth in BiH, 2015), "youth does not show huge interest for political events, regardless whether it is international, Balkan, BiH or EU politics. Between 47.8% and 54.4% of respondents are not interested or are not interested at all about political events". In terms of perception of influences to decision-making in political or nongovernmental organizations, the percentage of those who consider that they have a certain influence compared to the period of four years ago has dropped. Namely, only 8.6% of respondents (the research of 2012) consider that they can exercise certain influence, while 10% of them in 2008 considered that they were influential. These data are worrying, as they lead us towards the perception of "helplessness" of the young. Meaning, this feeling has increased by about 25% for the period 2008-2012.

Highly-educated people vote in elections to a significantly higher extent (78.1%), whereas the young, who have only completed primary school or lower levels of education, vote in a lower percentage (42.6%) as well as youth with secondary school education (59.0%).

Those who have not voted mainly state their disbelief in changes (23.7%), while 13.3% are not certain which party they would give their trust to. As many as 2.8% of respondents were prevented due to working obligations, while 2.4% of respondents were abroad during the elections.

Only every sixth or seventh young person claims that they are interested in politics. The young people need to be encouraged to be engaged in thinking and acting within the context of politics. Moreover, each tenth young person has reported about participation in volunteering activities, which the young need to be more informed of, so as to provide them with legal participation during volunteering engagement.

Youth in politics

The goal of the previously stated data is better understanding of the position of the young and the context within which they live. This is necessary to be able to consider the question of youth participation in public life, which also includes public engagement. The key question is to which extent is it realistic to expect an active relationship of youth towards themselves and their surroundings, having in mind all the inhibiting factors.

Based on the stated data, we can see that the role of youth in politics, until now, has been insignificant. The percentage of youth in politics is small; however, it is even higher than the percentage that reflects the perception of the possible influence of the young in politics. This statement opens up several questions with regards to the problems of youth wings in politics and youth in general, as it is related to the topic of this research. To which extent the young, who are in politics, can actually do something for the improvement of the status of the young, if they do not have or if they think that they do not have any influence in their political parties? What can be done to increase their influence? How ready they are to cooperate with other youth institutions in order to improve the status of youth? This paper/research is to answer some of these questions.

A significant group is represented by youth wings of political parties. In BiH, only bigger political parties have their specifically defined youth branches. A part of them has been internationally integrated into the European or international associations. In addition to help to their political parties during pre-electoral campaigns, young wings make an opportunity for the first informing of youth with political parties' policies, as well as for "political training" of young politicians. These activities serve to the most successful young activities as a springboard for entry into the electoral lists of political parties.

The first assessments and examinations of the state of youth in politics, conducted in 2006, using the methods of questionnaire with open and closed response types, using interviews, content analysis, i.e. political parties' programs, we have come to conclusions and recommendations that there is an expressed need of young politicians to organize for them continuous training in different areas, above all, in teamwork, negotiations, strategic planning, lobbying, etc. (Dušanić, Trninić, 2006: 27). It is necessary to create mechanisms to enable to the young politicians to fill in the obvious gaps, in addition to regular education and informal education. Knowledge of the young politicians about youth policy is practically poor, especially with those lacking experience. Less than one third of the examined young politicians are somewhat more familiar with the notion of youth policy, whereas the majority of the young politicians is not familiar or is poorly familiar with the youth policy elements. Also, only a third of young politician respondents is familiar with the existing normative documents that are related to the young and which exist in BiH. It is necessary to inform the young politicians with the notion and elements of youth policy, using the norms that are related to the young, which should particularly be a practice when admitting new members.

Despite the present animosity and prejudices, there are positive positions with 80% of young politician respondents to cooperate with youth organizations and other youth wings with regards to resolving the youth problems. The majority of respondents have emphasized that such cooperation between youth wings about resolving the problems of youth is rare and cumbersome; however, it is necessary and possible, particularly in the future. It is necessary to realize this readiness through a higher number of more intensive actions in practice as well as to achieve better cooperation between youth wings of different political parties, youth organizations, about the improvement of the general youth status. In addition to that, it is necessary to better inform the young politicians with the purpose of work and activities of the nongovernmental sector.

The majority of the young politicians expressed their interest for initiating the issue of resolving youth problems in their municipalities. The young are included in the political parties' programs, however, this is mainly within the context of organization of youth wings and participation of their representatives in the key political party bodies. The examined youth politicians are moderately satisfied with their youth-related political party programs. The position and the role of youth could and should be more precisely defined. An even larger program lies in the implementation of the planned strategies or participation of youth in practice. About half of the youth respondents have emphasized that their political parties have no youth development strategies. Those documents most often express commitment with regards to development of education, culture, sport, ecology, employment, health, etc. It is necessary to turn theory into practice. About 40% of youth politician respondents consider that the ruling structures of political parties should include a higher number of youth. About 44% of respondents were not happy with the share and influence of young politicians with regards to decision-making in their political parties. A lot of work still needs to be done for the young politicians to get a more significant role within their political parties. It should be insisted on implementing quotas into practice, where they exist. Representatives of political youth participate, mainly, in the work of municipal, regional and main boards of political parties. Quite often, the president of youth wing is also a member of political party presidency. The number of young in political parties in on the increase, however, it is difficult to establish an accurate percentage because of the lack of updated records or passivity of its members. Most frequently, this percentage varies between 15-30%.

There are many political parties in BiH, compared to the size of the country and the number of population. Compared to those two parameters, some consider that BiH is the world record-keeper by the number of political parties. There are 190 political parties registered in it (Nezavisne Novine Portal, 9/7/2012). This is the largest number compared to the neighboring countries. According to the same source, there are 12 political parties in the Great Britain, 35 in Russia, with about 20 political parties in addition to the main two in the USA, while in the communist China there are 9 of them. Young people act, more or less, within all these political parties in BiH. In order to establish a political organization in the Republic of Srpska, it is necessary to have 500 signatures of citizens, while it takes 300 signatures in the Brcko District and only 50 in the Federation of BiH. There is no single law on political organization in BiH, instead there are three laws at three levels of government regulating, in different ways, the area of registration of political entities, which results in different problems in the process of requirements and registration of political subjects.

It is difficult, under the conditions in which our society lives, to change the already deeply rooted opinions of young people that politics is negative, as well as that this is dirty business, intended for obtaining own gains and profits.

It is even more difficult to offer them an illusion that the good can overcome the evil. However, it is necessary to present to the young people, and not just to them but to all the people in general, that it is necessary to face all that evil, and also that the destiny, including the political one, does not have to be blindly accepted as well as that by fighting in that political arena, primarily fighting against the evil, we exclusively determine our destiny. Also, it is not simple at all to go back to the Kantian determination according to which politics is unimaginable without morals. Kant has considered that "the politics cannot make a single step, without bowing to the moral first; and, although, politics in itself is a very difficult skill, its unification with the moral is no skill. As moral cuts the knot that the politics was unable to untie, as soon as these two forces face one another".

		WHO GOVERNS?			
		One person	Few persons	Majority	
WHO	Rulers	TYRANNY	OLIGARCHY	DEMOCRACY	
BENEFITS FROM IT?	Every- one	MONARCHY	ARISTOCRACY	POLITEA	

Six forms of rule according to the Aristotle

(Heywood, 2004: 50)

The first tradition of political opinion is found in the ancient Greek understanding of politics; its source being in the Aristotelian political philosophy. Aristotle has determined the politics as a practical human activity. In his work of "Politics", Aristotle stated that "the man is a political animal". He also refers to the politics as the "royal science" (Haywood, 2004).

Sometimes, politics is also a paradox. An average citizen has a perception of abuse of politics. This is particularly reflected in the

countries of new democracies, such as BiH. If the feeling of abuse of politics prevails in communities, "the majority in such political communities falls into deep apathy and resignation, whereas the minority in power gets stronger, more stable to 'operate' and 'terrorize'" (Čupić, 1997: 23).

There is a conviction that the politics has caused more evil to people than the good. However, the optimists observe it from another angle. Politics has largely contributed to developmental social processes. Although there is resignation of the young in these areas with regards to it, politics is also defined, in the widest meaning as an "activity used by people to create, maintain and change general rules of life" (Heywood, 2004: 12). It encourages and exists in a dialogue, not at all in a monologue. There is an interesting thinking that Robinson Crusoe can be in a condition to develop different social aspects from economics to art, however, being alone on the island, he cannot be dealing with politics.

Should this not be taken as an impetus for a new generation to, by developing dialogue, also develop interaction with others, between the young with different experiences and cultural assumptions, through political acting and active participation in it to "create, maintain and change general rules by which they live".

Doing good and doing politics used to be a value of a certain historical epoch. "Plato was the first, and he seemed to be the last who required for the intellectuals to rule the world: by this, we can see that he was an idealist. Because, in his time, doing politics and doing good was the same. The true politics is possible only when based on ethics. This old notion of politics has been valid ever since the past century, when it was replaced by a new one: the essence of politics is ruthless struggle about the distribution and control of social power! Doing politics and doing evil – is the same. Separation of politics from ethics is tragic: the politics now acts, as if no ethical principles exist. In such a way, political life becomes meaningless. Maybe today political life is the only that morally distorts and spiritually impoverishes the man: a beautiful personality and an uplifted thought cannot be met here". (Šušnjić, 1997: 45).

Leadership

"Only those who believe in themselves can obtain the trust of others." **Theodore Levitt, Professor at Harvard University**

The notion of leadership has different connotations depending on the area (geographic and scientific) where it is studied and applied and also depending on cultural conditionality and circumstances. The meaning of leadership and leaders in the countries of recognized democracies and in the countries of former one-party systems characterized today as new or young democracies is not the same.

Regardless to the perception and differences of meaning and understanding of leadership, the joint aspects present a process, i.e. that leadership is the only process during which one person affects other group members for the purpose of realizing the defined goals of groups or organizations. In addition to the process, a significant aspect of leadership is influence, whether it is about leadership or a leader, with recognizing influence, giving him a feature of someone who is recognized as different within a group. There can be no processes nor influences, if there is no context within all this happens – a group. The group is a component giving sense and balance to the already stated factors. The three stated aspects are pre-conditions for achieving, that is, reaching of a certain, pre-determined goal or goals.

It may be concluded from this that leadership is a process in which an individual exercises an influence over a group (or through a group) with a purpose of achieving a certain goal.

A leader is said to be the person, who defines reality and imposes it to its followers (Đokić, A. 2011: 37).

There is a relationship of inter-dependence between the leader and followers or, more precisely put, dependence of the followers on their leader. Of course, it must be voluntary. From the point of view of followers, this is voluntary delegation of "power" and responsibility of the leader to "manage meaning, attention, trust and himself/herself" (Đokić A., 2011: 38). This is connected to the voluntary consent of the followers to comprehend, experience and see the world through the perspective of the leader's comprehension.

There is a discussion about whether leadership is a process or a characteristic. If we say that leadership is a process, this, then, means that it does not present features and characteristics of the very leader, but rather a transition event that occurs between the leader and followers. The process implies that the leader influences and that he/she is being influenced by the followers. The point of emphasis here is that leadership is not a linear, one-way event, but rather an interactive relationship. Such a defined leadership becomes available to everyone. It is not limited only to the persons that have a formal position of a leader.

Capabilities, personal characteristics and physical traits can be personal features of a leader, as we most frequently recognize them. These are accompanied by innate and inherited factors, which strengthen the perception of people, who observe leadership in terms of characteristics.

Understanding of leadership as a characteristic is quite different from understanding of leadership as a process. From the point of view of leadership as a characteristic, leadership is a feature or a group of features that different people have to a different degree. According to that understanding, leadership is within certain individuals, hence, leadership is limited only to those for whom it is believed that they have special, usually, innate talents.

From the point of view of process, leadership is a phenomenon happening within a context and it is available to everyone. As a process, leadership can be observed in the behaviors of leaders and it is something that can be learned.

In the middle of 20th century, the character-based approach was disputed by researches that put into question the universality of characteristics of a leader. In 1948, Stogdill proposed in a comprehensive overview that the leaders in different situations are not systematically different, by any group of characteristics, from the persons that are not leaders. An individual with leadership characteristics, who was a leader in one case, will maybe not be a leader in another case. Leadership was explained as a relationship between the persons in a social situation, rather than as a characteristic of an individual. Personal factors connected to leadership have remained important, however, the researchers have agreed that they should be considered depending on the situation.

Stogdill (1948)	Mann (1959)	Stogdill (1974)	Lord, DeVad- er i Alliger (1986)	Kirkpatric i Locke (1991)
intelligence readiness insight accountabil- ity initiative persistence self-confi- dence sociability	intelligence manliness adaptability dominance being extrovert being conser- vative	achievements persistence insight initiative self-confidence accountability cooperativeness tolerance influence sociability	intelligence manliness dominance	initiative motivation honesty reliability cognitive abilities knowledge about the task

Characteristics and features of leaders, established during the research, are presented here:

On the basis of these features, it can be concluded that the main notions are: intelligence, self-confidence, decisiveness, honesty and sociability.

Leadership cannot be based on selfishness. The leader must be accountable to the process and set goal as well as to the followers. Accountability is the basic value of the leader. The leader has a huge accountability for functioning of the team that will contribute to the success of the group.

Within this perspective, leadership is seen as resolving the problem, based on the team in which the leader tries to achieve the goals of the team, analyzing the internal and external situation, and, then, selecting and implementing adequate procedures for the purpose of achieving success of the team (E.A. Fleischmann et al, 1991: 25).

The leaders must use the freedom of decision-making in terms of which problems require interventions and which solutions are the most adequate ones. An adequate solution depends on circumstances and it is aimed at what needs to be done, so as for the team to be more successful. Successful leaders are capable to determine whether resolving of the team problem would needs the leader to intervene and how (J.R. Hackmann and R.E. Walton, 1986: 35).

		r - 5
	Styles	Characteristics
1.	Exploitive authoritative style	Shows no trust into the subordinates; Imposes decisions, never delegates; Motivates by using threats; Communicates little with no teamwork.
2.	Benevolent authoritative style Shows superficial and condescending trust into the subordinates; Imposes decisions, never delegates; Motivates rewarding; Sometimes includes the subordinates into problem-solving.	
3.	Participatory style	Does not believe fully to its subordinates; Listens to the subordinates, but controls deci- sion-making; Motivates with rewards and sometimes includes the subordinates; Uses the ideas and opinions of the subordinates in a constructive way.
4.	Fully believes to its subordinates; Allows them to bring own decisions;Democratic styleMotivates the subordinates by rewarding them for the achieved goals, they have set for them- selves; Exchange of ideas and opinions.	

Likert's leadership styles²¹

Effective leaders are the ones applying style 3 or style 4. Likert calls them "alternative lifestyle organization".

Leadership, as a process, and leader, as someone who should justify the delegated trust of followers, are unique components of projection and understanding of the needs of those that recognize

²¹ Rensis Likert, New patterns of management, 1961, page 731.

the innate and obtained characteristics of a person strongly believing in themselves. A selfless approach and struggle for the group goals are used to realize common interests of both leaders and groups.

POLITICAL EDUCATION


POLITICAL EDUCATION

"The great aim of education is not knowledge but action." Herbert Spenser

Political education

One of the greatest challenges of today's democratic societies is to prepare the people to participate in the area of politics. Run by the expression that "nothing can be in the polis that is not related to the politics", in the key aspects of functioning and development of the community and society on the whole, it is necessary to find modalities of efficient preparation and training of citizens in activism or, at least, of its interest parts, by participating in political processes.

Ever since the people started discussing and writing about politics, there is an aspiration to define and shape political education. Starting from Aristotle, who emphasized that upbringing is a tool for the preservation of the state order stability, through Jean-Jacques Rousseau and education of the nation for ruling, Thomas Jefferson who considers that only adequately educated citizens can preserve the Republican form of rule and many others, we see the significance of education in the sphere of politics has been found throughout history.

It is most certainly the case that today, in democratic systems, citizens exercise their influence through the general right to vote about political processes, at least in the segment that is related to the selection of policies and leaders that will lead the implementation of those policies. The question is whether it is sufficient to have the right to vote, which is gained by birth, in order to bring proper decisions, when it comes to the adequate choice. Definitely, the response lies in the modality of political education, regardless to whether it is formal or informal.

Political education presents "a segment of education system, whose primary task to enable to the individuals to obtain knowledge, skills and positions, which are a pre-condition for inclusion into the political processes in the communities they live in" (Šalaj, 2002: 128-129).

Democratic education in the United States of America has gained importance by democratic expansions. Responses should have been found in the sense of how to harmonize approaches and ways to include citizens and migrants coming from different cultures and get them to become interested in political engagement. It is an equal challenge, when it comes to finding an adequate model to train a wide range of citizens to include them into political processes as well as when it comes to the widespread disinterest of its citizens.

There are two levels of political education activity phenomena. One makes a direct involvement of politicologists and other scientists in the area of political science in the preparation and implementation of political education, while the other consists of activities from the domain of researching the contents and researching the effectiveness of the very process of political education. The twentieth century has marked involvement of political education into formal education systems. This was particularly present in the USA, whereas also this process has experienced expansion in the EU countries after the Second World War and in the new democracy countries of the post-socialist systems of the central and eastern Europe of the last decade of XX century.

*There are four models of political education*²²:

- 1. Model, as a part of the school system, but not a part of the curricula an assumption that the students will be obtaining knowledge and skills in the area of politics, as a consequence of the total education process (treatment and relations in school, organization and communication within the school, etc.). This is a model which can also be called an *un-political form of political education*.
- 2. Model, as a part of the school system and a part of the curricula – no special subject is foreseen, but this segment is rather imbedded in the existing subjects. It is a part of the education principle, as a consequence of good quality education in all the subjects.

²² Šalaj 2002: 134-135

- 3. Model of integrated interdisciplinary social education it is a part of the formal curricula and it is being studied through a separate school subject, which, interdisciplinary, integrates knowledge in the area of sociology, political science, economics and law.
- 4. Model of the formal curricula including political education into one or more of the school subjects.

The results of research of the end of 20th century in 4 countries of the Western Europe, USA and Australia show that, in those cases where political education is included into the school curricula as a separate subject, the students show a higher level of interest in politics.

Since 1996, democracy and human rights started being introduced as extra-curricular activities or as a part of education of other subjects into primary and secondary schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a new democracy country, in accordance with the agreements and access to the most significant instruments of human rights protection. The purpose of introduction of this contents and subjects was to assist the young to obtain the basic knowledge and skills, as well as to develop dispositions needed to them, as to the citizens of this young democracy. CIVITAS BiH had a special role in this process. Civitas in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a non-governmental organization founded in 1996, whose establishing was initiated by the Center for Civic Education, Council of Europe and US Office for Public Affairs, with the intention to promote democracy, human rights and efficient citizenship. A part of the curricula developed by Civitas in BiH is its only common part, which is implemented in all the primary and secondary schools. All the students use the same materials: Basis of Democracy, Democracy and Human Rights and Citizen Project, in the three official languages. With regards to citizen education, Civitas has organized round tables, involving ministers of education and science, as well as ministers of culture, institutes of pedagogy, schools, pre-school institutions, etc. Civitas has worked in a systematic way and in cooperation with the competent ministries and schools, so as to try and affirm citizens' education through different workshops and projects. The results are visible and citizens' education has become a part of the curricula in the majority of primary and secondary schools in the last ten vears²³.

Political education is a response of the society to apathy and disinterest of citizens in political processes as well as the need for building a democratic political culture. It prevents for the politics to become a sphere of exclusive domination of processional politicians and their advisors.

Political education, in its proper sense, is characteristic only for democratic political systems. In non-democratic systems, there is no political education, but rather a political indoctrination. Active citizenship presents a pre-condition of human progress.

Academy as a historical form and assumption of youth political education

The academy presents a high-level education institution for research or honorary membership. The title is rooted in the Plato's philosophical school "Academy", founded at the Athens' Acropolis about 387 B.C. Not much is known about the Academy. An assumption is that Plato wanted to come up with education that would have a philosophical dimension, but as well as the significance and meaning of natural sciences and mathematics.

Establishing of this school presented Plato's response to his bad experience with the Athenian politics.

Although Plato had not declared himself as a politician, by founding this he paved another way of easier social influence – the influence through upbringing and education of youth. A significant number of attendees of his Academy have grown into active politicians.

Plato, as a Greek, had not opened the door only to the citizens of Hellas, but also to those from foreign countries. This was not a national school, but a school with an international approach to youth education. Although it was a kind of a dormitory type school, the Academy students had not separated from the other citizens, which was not characteristic of the then-educational system and rules that

²³ Taken from (www. http://civitas.ba/wp-content/uploads/236ivanja-BiH. pdf, 2/9/2014, 2.40 PM)

were rooted in the, let us say, Pythagorean school. As the first university of philosophy, "mathematics, geometry, astronomy, oratory, music, logic, grammar, ethics and many other types of knowledge, the aim of which was to get to know the very human, i.e. getting to know the key moral values that an individual can develop"²⁴ were also studied there.

Plato's approach to the Academy students was fully human and completely interactive during lectures, even during meals, which was also used as an educational method.

Duration of the Academy education was about ten years. This continuity was kept for a longer period of time, except for short interruptions on two occasions for one year because of Plato's absence.

With the results of almost forty years of work, the Academy has continued with work after Plato's death, by founding branch schools, as initiated by his students.

It is stated in the documents that the influence of the Academy in the political and diplomatic life was significant. The rulers of certain areas and states were academics which concluded different alliances. It is considered that the Macedonian ruler Phillip, when listening to the compliments which Hermias stated about the work of the Academy, invited Aristotle, an attendee of the Academy and Plato's student, to educate his three-year son Alexander, later to be the ruler and famous military leader Alexander III of Macedon. The Academy has become a model for establishing and work of new schools of philosophy.

The Academy, during its duration of about 900 years, had produced many famous personalities and philosophers of that time, politicians and social workers, amongst which we separate the speakers, such as Demosthenes, the admiral Chabrias, ambassadors of Greece in Rome and, in an indirect manner, it also influenced the very Cicero, as an inspiration when he wrote his "Academics". In the year of 529 A.D. the Academy got closed. It got closed as a part of the Tsar Justinian's general prohibition of all schools of philosophy.

The main value of the Academy was "the rule of the mind and

²⁴ http://www.nova-akropola.rs/platon%20i%20akademija.htm (12/17/2012, 2.15 PM)

virtues both in the life of individual as well as in the life of the state" 25 .

Brief modern history of political education of youth in BiH

The history of political education of youth in this region did not start only in recent times, when the very term came into wider use, but it had actually started much earlier. As it is not possible to establish and systematically process what was happening in the period prior to the World War II and it is also neither the goal nor intention to dig with this paper into too deep a past, we shall make a brief overview and reflection onto this topic in the period after the World War II.

The Social Research Center of the Presidency of the CC CPY (Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia) was founded on the basis of decision of the Presidency on 30 May 1969.

The Marxist center in BiH was formed in 1973²⁶ (Nenadić, 1984: 127). The precise name of the Marxist center is the Marxist Study Center of the CC CP of BiH (Central Committee of the Communist Party of BiH) "Veljko Vlahović" - Sarajevo. Later, in addition to the Republic Marxist center, there were also municipal Marxist centers. In this way, already in 1984 there were 60 of such centers in BiH. For the purpose of comparison, the biggest number of those centers, compared to the other republics of the former state, was precisely in BiH, while the smallest number of them was in Croatia, with only 6 of them. It is interesting to state that the Marxist centers, as permanent forms of work, had not been foreseen by the Statute of the SKY [sic!]. Taking into account that such a phenomenon was atypical for the time, this leads us to the conclusion that founding of such organizations has truly presented the need for political development, which, from this point of view, may be seen as a start of information form of education.

The Marxist centers have developed their activities in the four

²⁵ Ibidem.

²⁶ Presentation of Miloš Nikolić at the Counseling on Work of the Marxist Centers of the Communist Party Alliance, held on 22-23 March 1984 at Mataruška Banja.

basic areas:

The first area: scientific and research activity, organized within the mid-term and long-term research projects or scientific analysis, monographs, etc.

The second area: intensifying of theoretical debates about the current issues of social development and social movements in the contemporary world, by organizing scientific gatherings, symposia, round tables, counseling, etc.

The third area: development of Marxist education and ideological and political development of the Communist Party members.

The fourth area: publishing activity in the function of these three areas of activities.

Although ever since the establishing of the Marxist centers in BiH to 1984, there was only one project in the area of scientific and research activity (though the other republics have not implemented much more), the most intensively engaged Marxist centers were in Banja Luka, while the other very active centers of the then-state were in Belgrade, Split and Zagreb.

The Marxist centers were not engaged as scientific institutes; they organized scientific researches using the existing institutes or (even more frequently) creating the groups of scientific workers for individual projects. Actually, the Marxist centers, starting from the found needs, adopt the programs of scientific and research work and provide finances for them, defining the project tasks, managing researches through project councils, organize debates about research results and verify those results through them, and, finally, publish those results. The principles of work of Marxist centers were based on the premise that democratically adopted decisions must be based not only on the authority of the majority, but also on the authority of knowledge.

According to the words of Edward Kardelj at the ceremonious opening of the Political School "Josip Broz Tito", on 21 November 1975 at Kumrovec²⁷, the emphasis of political education, which were recognized as the purpose of existence, was put on that "[...]

²⁷ Ibidem page 49.

above all, the young people, who are affirmed political activities and active social workers, will be trained for practical application of theoretical knowledge and for independent creative party and political and social work". Although this school has acted in the period between 1975 to 1990 and it was intended for the training and education of members of the then-political party, the largest number of attendees were precisely young people. In the further part of his presentation, he stated that the Political School and "other political schools" have as a significance "[...] their educational and theoretical activity, primarily and most closely related to the practice and prepare party staff for the most different areas of social activities [...] and that education should be brought down only to giving an amount of book-based knowledge and quotations"²⁸. The presentation was continued pointing out towards the need to pay more attention to practical knowledge and its application. It seems that the need of those times was, in a way, identical to the present-day needs. It seems that the present times suffer from an incomplete mission of political education of, primarily, the young. Understanding the environment of those times, we can comprehend the significance and seriousness of the situation, when this high-level official and experienced politician underlined that "[...] ideological and political education of young people, generally, in our schools has not always been adequate to its leading ideological and political role. Politically active and capable workers were left out from these schools, while the young people in those schools, as a rule, were dependent exclusively on the book-based knowledge, as they had no opportunity to undertake responsibility in the creative social

practice, where they would be able to check their knowledge."²⁹ After this, a question arise whether those young politicians, limited in practical knowledge and application of adopted knowledge, are the same ones who appear in the political scene of today, where we have almost identical problems of youth in terms of political education? Does this mean that insufficient commitment to political education of youth results in going back to the beginning of the problem which, using historical approach rule, must be treated

²⁸ Ibidem page 52.

²⁹ Ibidem p. 59.

until overcome?

It is obvious that in his presentation he emphasized the obligation of "connecting the theory and practice" as well as "political school as an instrument" on which it was based, through the connection of theory and practice.

The significance of political education of youth in its informal sense was emphasized not only by prominent and highly positioned politicians of the then social and political structures, but also by the young people, attendees of political schools, who worked in their papers on the topics and gave significance to different models of political education and investment into the young, future politicians and political activists.³⁰

Analyzing the publications and documents of the Center for Marxist Education and Political Studies "Veselin Masleša", Banja Luka, from the period 1975/76, titled "Current Topics for Political School, marked 'for internal use only", it can be seen that the discussed topics were in the area of the program of work and concept of functioning and interpretation of the work of the party and the then-socialist ideology, relationship between the party and the national question, the party and religion, etc. Significant part was dedicated to the security aspects and mechanisms of protection of the party and order, as well as historical overview of development of the party and society. The topics discussed were in the area of economics, planning, governance and political management.

Having studied the plans and programs of work of political schools, it was noticed that the programs lasted for several days, mainly three days, and the discussed topics were from the domain of internal and external politics as well as the topics in the area of economic and political life. From the seminar held in March 1982, it is found that the introductory presentation was held by a member of the SFRY Presidency, Miloš Minić, with the speakers, presenters and lecturers being experts in the area of international relations, economics, foreign policy, etc. The structure of lecturers <u>was multi-national</u> one and they were all with high academically 30 Esapović, Z. and Vajrača M., 1975, unpublished paper, Mjesto i uloga omladinske organizacije u OUR, mjesnoj zajednici i školi (Place and Role of Youth Organization in Organization of Associated Work, Local Community and School), Center for Marxist Education and Political Studies "Veselin Masleša": Banja Luka.

distinguished titles. It was a one-day seminar. After the seminar, they needed to fill in the evaluation questionnaires, the aim of which was to assess not only the education results but the process itself. Also, an opportunity was left for attendees to give proposals and suggestions with the aim of improvement of education in the future.

During the academic year of 1981/1982, a Community of the school attendees was founded (of the Political School "Josip Broz Tito"), as a form of organization and acting of all the school attendees, which also included the BiH representatives.

On the basis of the available material that has given us insight into the work and functioning of political education of youth, it can be concluded that there was social commitment for investing into the young, future political activists. Attempts were made to use a comprehensive approach and processing of different topics and contents to train the young people to apply theoretical knowledge in practice and to increase functionality and operational work in such a way, as they were saying it at the time, in the sense of the cadres. It remains for us to continue researching and looking for documents and data, which have, for the purpose of this research, remained unavailable and archived in unknown places.

Contemporary models of political education of youth in BiH

In the last fifteen years, in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a significant work under several programs of informal political education of youth. There is a noticeable work of international organizations on educating the young, such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, National Democratic Institute and the Council of Europe project, which was implemented through the activities and organizational structure of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies, then, education within the political parties in BiH and local nongovernmental organizations of the Helsinki Parliament of Citizens of Banja Luka and Perpetuum Mobile of Banja Luka.

Attempts and efforts were made to work with the young per-

sons from political parties, however, those programs were based on short-term encounters, advisory sessions and exchange of experience and they ended, after several meetings, without further contacts and activities in that field. Such programs and projects will not be processed here further, as their aim was not training and obtaining of new knowledge and skills of political parties' youth.

In order to have an insight into the models of education implemented by the aforementioned organizations, data gathering was initiated. It must be admitted that less data was collected than expected and assumed in the beginning. Namely, when contacting some of the organizations, we have realized that the organizations have not worked on assessments and evaluations of education results or the documents, if the individuals have worked on them, they were unavailable at that moment. Some of the reasons were that the reports were sent to the organization headquarters (which is the case with international organizations and projects) or were misplaced, thus unable to be located, also that such reports do not exist or simply cannot be found, etc. Some organizations did not respond to the letters asking for information on political education.

We will present information about the models that were available on the internet websites as well as the results, analysis of programs and official documents that we have used in our work. With some of the coordinators, education was done in the form of an interview and the result of the interview were the source of information.

Models of youth education in BiH is grouped into three categories:

- 1. Models of political education of international organizations
- 2. Models of political education of political parties inter-party education
- 3. Models of political education of local nongovernmental organizations

MODELS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN BIH

MODELS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN BIH

There are many models, but not many of them are efficient. In this part we try to make a historic retrospection of political education and efforts made lately in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Models of international organizations' political education

Political education by Konrad Adenauer Foundation

Education program was aimed at young political leaders from BiH who are members of right wing political parties from the family of people's parties. In this concrete case, those were young people from PDP, SDA, HDZ, HDZ 1990. Political educations were organized as seminars that lasted two or more days. Participants of political education were members of political parties, but also students who hold scholarship from this international organization and who were not members of political parties. Political education was organized by management and employees of this organization, and also as partnership with other organizations, primarily local non-governmental ones (NGO "Helsinški parlament građana" and NGO "Perpetuum mobile").

Trainings were aimed at strengthening the position of young politicians from BiH in the area of public life through development and improvement of necessary knowledge and skills. This organization tries to involve as many as possible young politicians in its trainings, but also to have same participants attending different trainings, ensuring not only the exhaustive knowledge, but also better connections between young politicians.

"Summer School of Leadership" was held in July 2009 and was found to be one of the most needed and most useful topics in education in political parties. Besides cooperation between young people from different political parties, its aim was to encourage a kind of need for perfecting of leader's skills that are necessary for any engagement in politics. Lecturers of this school were eminent experts in the field of human rights, history, media relations, civil society, business attire and other areas that complement the education of a quality leader.

Winter school "Youth and Diplomacy" represented a kind of conference with theoretical and practical lectures of diplomacy as the supreme skillfulness of public action. Conference was attended by around forty young representatives of 13 political parties in BiH from 18 BiH towns, and they had the opportunity to hear BiH ambassadors to other countries, representatives of diplomatic missions in BiH from other countries, university professors and representatives of civil society. Winter school was held in Banja Luka in December 2009.

Apart from the mentioned, political trainings were also organized with the aim of educating young politicians on the subject of communication and negotiations. It was performed through the Project of Simulation of Coalition Making in Multiethnic Countries. The Project is being implemented since 2011, when the training for trainers was organized, in order to have them later implement this model in their communities in BiH, but they did not receive any detailed plan and program for future work.

Almost every year since 2006 there were workshops and trainings organized for the representatives of political parties' youth, in the area of advocating, public performance and lobbying.

It is unknown if there were long term trainings with the same target group, except trainings in "summer school" and "winter school" that lasted one week. It is noticeable that trainings have not had the character of strategic approach which would bring the sustainable model with the component of long term approach to training of young politicians. Also, there are students among participants, who are not necessarily potential politicians nor have they the obligation of political actions after the end of the training.

Besides BiH, Konrad Adenauer Foundation organizes programs of political education in the Asia.

Political education by Friedrich Ebert Foundation

This Foundation has been organizing political education titled "Political Academy" as the system of youth training since 2003. Academy's participants are representatives from left wing political parties in BiH, representatives of students from social sciences faculties and young representatives of media and journalism students. This Academy is civil initiative aimed at development of democracy, human rights, rule of law and European values in transition countries in Southeast Europe. It is organized through three courses - modules (lasting one year), discussions with politicians and political-communication analyses. Academy is meant for young people from different areas: judicial, media, economy, civil society, political parties, and public administration.

Main mission of Political Academy is providing and expanding the knowledge of young people on politics, political communication, media, journalism, state, etc., and professional development of already employed people, with the aim of bringing good ideas and practices from Europe and the world. Political Academy is also involved in research, publishing of political and communicology analyses and scientific papers, initiation of a dialogue and providing the initiative for resolving issues in BiH.

Political Academy is organized through four schools – modules:

- Citizen, society and politics in modern democracy
- PR in politics, relation of media and politics
- Politics of Euro-Atlantic integrations, simulation of negotiations with the EU, transfer of power of political parties from state level to European Parliament
- School of diplomacy.

From the curriculum it is obvious that program means intensive whole-day work that includes wide range of topics which are covered both theoretically and practically. Modules are usually organized in March, July and October. Lecturers are experts and politicians from both BiH and the region.

Political Academy is organized in cooperation with non-gov-

ernmental organization "Centar za studentsku demokratiju" (Center for Students' Democracy). Also, partners in implementation of this project are Independent University Banja Luka and Faculty of Philosophy Banja Luka, being representatives of academic community. All attendees receive the certificate that is verified by the seal of Faculty of Philosophy.

Political education by National Democratic Institute (NDI) in BiH

For more than 15 years NDI (National Democratic Institute -"Nacionalni demokratski institut") has been organizing political trainings for young representatives of political parties and civil society organizations. Training concept has been based on organization of "Leadership schools" and it gathered a large number of participants in sessions that lasted for several days. Lecturers were representatives of politics, public institutions and academic community in BiH, Europe and USA. According to statements of those responsible for program realization, there have been around 5,000 young participants from almost every town and municipality in BiH. Regarding the attendance of registered political parties, representatives of all political parties but Radicals attended these trainings (it was not clear if it was Serbian Radical Party or some other party that has the term "radical" in its name), the reason being that the party "had never been invited" (statement from the interview). When asked how the training program was performed, if it had been by the model of one-year education or cycle with one or more semesters with the same group or several semesters with different groups, they responded that "all mentioned models were used depending on the program".

Training topics were mostly related to strengthening of political parties (structure, organization and campaign leading) and general situation of the youth. Topics were selected in accordance with the expertise and work scope of NDI, and the needs of partners.

Lecturers were international and local experts, leaders of political parties and others. The most significant results of these trainings were accepted and common processes in political parties, governmental and NGO sector through application of the knowledge gained during the training. Even more concrete results, as stated in the interviews with training leaders in this organization, are that "among participants of our trainings today we have mayors, parliament members at all levels, highly positioned officials in parties, governmental and non-governmental sector".

Political educations by Council of Europe project and Center for Interdisciplinary Studies from Sarajevo

Center for Interdisciplinary Post-graduation Studies (CIPS) in cooperation with Council of Europe organized political education of the youth called Academy for Political Excellence in 2007. This was one-year program of three three-day seminars. Attendees could learn about developing the skills and knowledge of European democratic practice in different areas of society. One of the goals of this program was increasing awareness of young people of democratic political culture and present situation in BiH related to that culture. The Program was organized for only two years.

This Center is an university body, and since the project was done in cooperation with the Council of Europe, the program was classified as international project, i.e. education by international organization.

The School of Political Studies of Council of Europe has been providing political training to young politicians since 2003. The School trains young BiH politicians in areas important for further development of the state towards EU integrations and how to take over the more active role with member states of Council of Europe. The purpose of the seminar is to aid young political leaders in improving their comprehension of politics and common work and to develop common attitudes towards important issues regardless of their party or national background.

Program activities have the aim of strengthening the communication and political consciousness among women and youth of different nationalities.

Within its School of Political Studies, the Council of Europe organized seminar "Evaluation of Activities of the School of Political Studies in BiH" in December 2012. It is concluded that the goal of creating new and responsible generations of leaders within political parties is achieved through the series of activities of the School of Political Studies BiH.³¹

The School has several modules that participants (youth from political parties and academic community, primarily university students) attend during the year.

The last module of the training is realized as the study visit to Strasbourg.

Models of political parties' political education – intraparty education

Political Academy HDZ BiH³²

"Political Academy HDZ BiH – Knowledge Wins!" was established on June 30, 2010. Basic values of Political Academy HDZ BiH:

- Social responsibility,
- Demochristian principles,
- Culture of dialogue,
- Reliability and credibility,
- Excellence, lifelong and team learning,
- Dedication to participants.

Political Academy's vision: To be reliable and credible encouraging factor for creation of positive environment that is good for achieving specific knowledge necessary for socially responsible public activities of its participants.

Political Academy Mission: By systematic training improve the knowledge and skills of its participants, enabling them to more efficiently create and participate in social processes in BiH and in the region.

³¹ http://www.spsbh.ba/Evaluacija_aktivnosti.html (2/12/2017, 5.27 PM)

³² Information taken from http://www.politicka-akademija.ba/hr.html?start=16 (2/12/2017, 5.45 PM)

Program goals of Political Academy HDZ BiH are:

- Promotion of democracy, peace, freedom, political culture, culture of dialogue, and other modern civilization achievements that are based on Demochristian principles, as basic values and program principles of the Academy and the party,
- Credible promotion of European democratic perspective of Bosnian-Herzegovinian society as the community of equal nations and citizens,
- Motivating participants for permanent education and creation of prerequisites for increase of their total successfulness in performing their daily activities,
- Systematic gathering of new insights, knowledge and skills through team learning,
- Institutionalized encouragement of excellence through intensive exchange of data, information and knowledge between lecturers and participants.

The first generation of Political Academy started with lectures in 2011. In September 2012, Political Academy HDZ BiH in cooperation with Zagreb office of "*Hanns Seidel Endowment*" started with lectures for the II generation of participants of the one-year training titled "Theory and Practice of Politics". Celebration before the start of lectures was held in Mostar. "During celebration, the attendees were addressed by the following: Lidija Bradara, Political Director PA HDZ BiH, Aleksandra Markić Boban, Manager of the Zagreb office of Hanns Seidel Endowment, Dubravka Šuica, Vice-president of HDZ Republic of Croatia and professor Dragan Čović, PhD, President of HDZ BiH" (cited from announcement of Academy opening).

Programs of Academy are aimed at members of HDZ BiH, but also at persons from other political parties, public sector, economy, media and other interested persons from the country and abroad.

Academy works continually, year by year. It organized six generations of participants as of the end of 2016.

Political Academy of Party of Democratic Action (SDA)

In 2007, Party of Democratic Action organized Political Acad-

emy SDA for 40 participants from BiH. Academy is one-year program and it contains three three-day seminars. This Academy is not aimed at young people from SDA, but also at young people from civil and public society, region and the world.³³ According to the internet research, HDZ and SDA are political parties that actively organize non-formal political interparty education every year.

Political Academy SDA is the program of political education and training for young leaders from politics, private sector, public administration, civil society and media, from both BiH and abroad.

Political Academy goals:

- Contribution to the quality of political processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina through political education and motivation of cadres for political and social actions,
- Development of democratic political culture among youth and social actors,
- Encouraging the dialogue and cooperation between them on the issues of general interest.

One of the tasks of the Academy is additional training of elected representatives, but also assisting others in executive power to completely and thoroughly comprehend all issues, ways and techniques of problem solving at their level.

According to statements by this party, this is the first (intraparty, author's remark) Academy of such type in Bosnia and Herzegovina, created according to programs of political education in big parties throughout of Europe. Political Academy SDA held a series of training programs aimed to better prepare participants for future social and political roles, so they would contribute to the better status of the party at local and international level and successfully lead Bosnia and Herzegovina through processes of important reforms.

Participants were young leaders from politics, private sector, public administration, civil society and media who established themselves in their work environments and want to extend their knowledge and exchange experiences of social-political processes. Seminars were also attended by members of parliament, board

³³ http://www.sdamostar.ba/bs/txt.php?id=323 (12/18/2012, 2.50 PM)

members, chief electoral officers etc., depending on the presented subject. There also were programs for women, young potential candidates, etc. All interested citizens of BiH may apply (advantage is given to those younger than 40, with university education, those who have program of work and activities for the following period, and speak at least one foreign language). Candidate should have strong wish to extend his knowledge, improve the skills and comprehend new ideas and techniques. Candidate's motivation is very important in the selection of the future participants.

Participants come from all over BiH, from majority of towns. There is the balance between participants from major cities and those from small towns and rural areas, and training programs are often organized in small towns, far away from big centers. Majority of participants are from SDA, but there were participants from other parties, most often parties of European people's orientation in BiH (PDP, HDZ BiH and HDZ 1990).

There are different programs as well. The main program is oneyear training for candidates admitted according to the public call and best test results (group of 40 participants, selected after testing of around 350 candidates). They go through a series of trainings, they also visit one of the countries in Europe or the world the party has cooperation with, and in the end they have a study visit to Brussels in order to familiarize with institutions of European Union. Apart from this, there are different training programs for youth and women on the subject of political communication, political marketing, campaigns, branding, advocating, new media, EU integrations etc. A significant number of young people, around 50 of them each year, attended international forums and study visits in front of Political Academy.

Selection of candidates for participation in visits program is based on the needs for capacitating of people within the party, so it is a kind of purpose to prepare young people as best as possible for those changes and challenges

Local, party experts in certain fields, independent experts, experienced party representatives, numerous European Parliament members and experts with whom the cooperation was established often came to BiH at the invitation of SDA and spoke of their experiences. According to statements of Political Academy Director, majority of newly-elected mayors, council members and parliament representatives have attended programs of political education. Successful communities that had excellent results in elections (2012) also had participated in programs. The number of elected women from SDA at local levels tripled in the last elections, after two-year work on strengthening the position of women in politics. Numerous representatives of the youth participated in forums in Europe and the world, representing BiH.

Political Academy of Serbian Democratic Party (SDS)

The main board of Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) decided in the session held on September 17, 2011 to establish the Political Academy of Serbian Democratic Party. It was ambitious strategic project by which SDS continued the process of party modernization and further development of party infrastructure, in accordance with positive experiences and models of other significant modern political parties. Academy was planned to be the place of meeting of young party cadres, with the idea of creating, directing and educating cadres and prepare the new generation of party leaders for future challenges SDS would face in its political struggle and mission. The idea was to create the future political elite through permanent communication and dynamic learning process, and to equip those elite with all skills, program-ideological knowledge and technical skills necessary for work in modern politics. Planned as such, the work of Academy represents one of the ways in which SDS, according to their views, intends to answer the need to change political discourse in BiH. Namely, SDS wishes to be the "initiator of shifting process from retrograde style of permanent irrational conflicts, which characterizes some other political forces in BiH political scene and does not solve problems, but produces permanent block at all levels of power, towards the true polemics that would be based on the strength of thoroughly thought out, established and carefully considered argumentations".

In such a context, the founding document states the following

program goals of the Academy³⁴: 1) affirmation of integral person of Academy participant in the spirit of traditional values of Serbian people, inherited by SDS; 2) motivating the members to be trained and educated, which is the main lever of development and improvement of both members and also ideas and program goals promoted by SDS; 3) providing logistics for the process of systemic gaining of knowledge and skills by participants; 4) institutional and structural development of the party; 5) servicing the needs of party members and officials that are within the scope of Academy. Academy will also give recommendations and considerations on the selection of participants, their level of competence and affinities in certain target areas, and the report on every participant's work. At the closing ceremony, the Academy shall award diplomas and certificates to successful participants, and it will present the most successful ones in certain areas. Participants who successfully finish the Academy shall be supported by the party both in their political activism and in their local communities, in order to share their knowledge and experiences. In that sense, the Academy's mission is the strong integration of the whole party structure.

Lecturers appointed by the Academy are recognized experts in certain areas and experienced members of Serbian Democratic Party. For more extensive and significant segments and areas of party's work, consultants and instructors will be found, with the idea to cover those areas by competent party cadres in reasonable time.

Duration of the Academy's educational cycle is one program of lectures and practical training systematized at the yearly level, and during the first year the Academy worked at the preparatory level.

The vision of Political Academy SDS is to create, direct and educate activists, cadres and new party leaders, preparing them for future challenges in the political scene. The mission is to improve the knowledge and skills of participants and party members through systematic learning, their active participation in politics of the par-

ty and involvement in modern political processes.³⁵

³⁴ http://www.sdsrs.com/politickaakademija/ (12/18/2012, 3.10 PM)

³⁵ Ibidem

Intraparty education of the youth wing of Socialist-Democratic Party BiH

In order to better inform members of the party SDP Youth Forum (FOM) about political system and organization of BiH, campaigns, project management and project approaches, political education of the youth has been organized since 2000 as a kind of seminar "FOM 1,2,3"³⁶

Education is carried out continuous

Education is carried out continuously in local organizations and all members of FOM SDP BiH are obliged to attend.

Training is being provided in 4 main areas:

- What is social-democracy and what are its basic values: freedom, equality, justice and solidarity;
- Structure of the state they live in, structure of the party that fights to get into power in order to realize its program choices and structure of FOM SDP through which they act;
- Project approach to the work: how target groups are defined, how an actual problem in the society is being processed, how to do promotion in media, how to coordinate the work of FOM, SDP as a party, representatives of SDP BIH in legislative and executive power, how to present the results to the public, i.e. how to get ideas from the base of FOM to the representative who is presenting it and gathering political points that FOM spreads in the field among young population;
- Training in media.

Training Center of Union of Independent Social-Democrats (SNSD)

Training Center started to work in 2008 and it implemented trainings for trainers and for members of the party. The Center is led by a coordinator, and there is a team of specialists in trainings who create program and training methodology.

It is interesting to notice that training methodology was based on German entrepreneurship CEFE methodology, whose approach-

³⁶ http://www.fomsdp.ba/home/sadrzaj/256 (1/24/2013, 9.30 PM)

es are relevant for adult education in the system of non-formal educational processes.

Trainings had regional approach and were held throughout Republic of Srpska. The very concept of the Training Center is described as the need for establishing systematic and planned training of members in accordance with needs of the party, and also the planning and training the existing and new party trainers. The short study is described in the party magazine "Argumenti" [Arguments – tr.] with clear intentions, methodological approach, plan of membership and trainers training, training methods, approach to modular system of learning, defined resources, estimation of success of each individual training, etc.

Training topics were mostly in the area of comprehension of social-democratic orientations and political processes, development of personal competencies, trainings for new and young members related to election procedures and training the membership for active involvement in (pre)election campaign.

Apart of its own membership, trainings were also organized for members of parties of similar political orientations, not only in BiH (with members of SDP), but also in the region (Serbia, Croatia, Albania, Montenegro, Macedonia, Greece). Nevertheless, most trainings were done with their own members.

What is present here, and similar to other intraparty education, is that there is neither central record of the trained persons, nor periodic assessment of the trainings' successfulness. Mainly, the quantitative parameters are reduced to blanket numbers of those who attended trainings like "more than several hundred", while qualitative indicators are being related to election results of the party at some of elections.

Political Academy of Boris Divković Foundation

Political Academy Boris Divković is educational program for young politicians, students of political sciences and other social sciences, and representatives of non-governmental organizations that are engaged in political participation of the young and in responsible politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The goal of the Academy's work is the education that will prepare young people for political work, by promoting the idea of dialog and moral and responsible politics. Academy has four modules: BiH Political System (institutions and level of the government, political ideologies, election law, EU integrations); Responsible Politics (responsible budgeting, environmental protection, human rights, political participation of women); Religion, Society and Politics (influence of religion and religious communities on BiH political life, educational system and ethnic discrimination, facing the past); Advocating and Public Appearance (advocating at different level of the government, media and politics, skills of public appearance and media promotion).

Within the Academy program, participants have the obligation to do research papers at one of the topics from the program. Those papers are being published in collected papers of participants of Political Academy Boris Divković titled *Responsible politics in BiH*.

After completion of the Academy, participants are awarded certificates.

Political Academy started its work in 2014. As of the end of 2016, three Political Academies were organized. One Academy lasts for three days, and it is usually realized shortly before the end of the calendar year.

Academy of political responsibility is aimed at young politicians from different BiH political parties, young representatives in different political structures in the country (parliaments, ministries, governments, etc.), youth from different non-governmental organizations whose focus of work is in the sphere of politics, and at young journalists whose work focuses on analysis and presentation of political processes in the country.

Two years after the start of realization of Political Academy, the Foundation Boris Divković established the Regional Liberal Political Academy. Participants of this Academy are young liberals from the region, including Youth Forum of Our Party (Naša stranka) and youth organizations of liberal parties from Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia and Montenegro.

The goal of the Academy is to connect the youth from the region and provide them with education in order to have them become influential democratic leaders in their countries.

"Through three modules of Regional Liberal Political Academy we went through all most important topics related to liberalism and politics in countries of the region. The culmination of this Academy is cooperation and strong network of young people that was created. All of us are, in a way, future leaders in the region and it is very important that we understand and respect each other and that we have good communication. Thankfully, through these three modules we received even more than cooperation — we became friends, and we already have some ideas that are the product of this Academy and a guarantee of our future common activities. Presently, there is nothing like this Academy in the region, and the first generation showed that young people easily come to understanding with each other and are capable of producing excellent ideas if only given the platform and opportunity to work. I believe that national parties in the region have had the final say for a long time, and it is time to work on strengthening of liberal parties and time for better future for all those countries. There is no better way to success than education and connecting of their 'youngest' members who are the only ticket for better tomorrow", stated Lamija Tiro, one of participants of the Academy. (quotation taken from the web site of the Academy)

During the visit to Brussels, participants have the opportunity to visit European Parliament and to talk to representatives about important and current topics in the world and in Europe, such as: EU policy of refugees and migrations, Brexit, advancement of countries from the region in the process of European integrations, etc.

Program is not based on theoretical part only, for participants are tasked with organizing mini projects on one of subjects they covered in the Academy.

The Foundation announced continuation of Regional Liberal Political Academy by training of the second generation of participants.

Regional Liberal Academy contains three modules. Political Academy of the Foundation Boris Divković works under the wing of Our Party (Naša stranka). Political Academy of Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)

Their mission is Political Academy of the Party of Democratic Progress as the program of political education and training of young leaders.

Aware of importance of non-formal learning, the modern program of education based on programs of sister parties throughout Europe was developed. Political Academy of Party of Democratic Progress works on promotion of democratic values, social changes through programs of non-formal education for young people engaged in politics.

During Academy modules participants learn about political system and constitutional order of Republic of Srpska and BiH, democracy, democratic processes and institutions, the work of RS National Assembly and processes of law adoption. Also, topics related to election law of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being covered, as well as to campaign leading, media and public appearance. Participants have the opportunity to hear about experiences of political work in other countries.

Academy is organized on the principle of education modules. As of the end of 2016, Academy had two generations of participants.

The vision is for Political Academy of PDP to be influential organization in the area of non-formal political education, to contribute to establishment of principles of responsible social participation and promotion of idea that young people are resource rather than problem.

Goals of Political Academy of Party of Democratic Progress are the following: education of top cadres, motivating the youth to actively participate in political and social processes, creation of self-aware and socially responsible young leaders, forming of the networks of initiators and holders of social change, promotion of democratic society values, development of democratic culture, development of culture of dialogue and cooperation with the youth throughout BiH, region and Europe.

Apart from modules attended by Political Academy participants, the Academy, as organization of PDP, also organizes other seminars, mostly for the youth and women. This organization has very good cooperation with foundations in Europe and the world that are close to European People's Party and ideas of center and right center.

In the last five years BiH has got two new academies (Political Academy of Boris Divković Foundation and Political Academy of the Party of Democratic Progress).

"ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL LEADERS IN BIH 2007-2016"



MODELS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION BY LOCAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Academy for Political Leaders in BiH 2007-2016

Academy for Political Leaders in BiH was founded in 2007. The project was implemented by non-governmental organization "Helsinški parlament građana Banja Luka" [Helsinki Citizens' Assembly in Banja Luka - tr.]. At the end of the same year, by "gentlemen's agreement" the project was taken over by non-governmental organization "Perpetuum Mobile" that continues the realization of the Academy according to the established model, with experienced staff who started the program and transferred to Perpetuum Mobile together with the Academy. The Academy was the result of the first research of the youth in political parties in BiH (Dušanić, Trninić, 2006, Mladi u politici (The Youth in Politics), Banja Luka: Helsinški parlament gradana). That research was performed on 92 members of political parties in numerous towns throughout BiH, all from 21 political parties registered in BiH. Based on the results obtained by the research, which showed the need to have organized education and even identified topics and educational programs, political education for youth wings of political parties was organized.

The project Academy for Political Leaders has the goal to train the youth of political parties and to support new generation of politicians who will cooperate with the aim of improvement of their communities and society as a whole.

Academy for Political Leaders is aimed at active members of political parties 18-27 years old (during the first years the range was up to 30) who have recommendation and support of their political parties' bodies and youth structures of the party for active participation in Academy. After several years there was a shift away from this model due to the need to have more impact of participants on their peers. Since law in BiH define young person to be up to 30 years old, choosing the upper limit to be at 27 we wanted to leave additional 3 years for participants to influence the youth population in the community the participant is active in. The program of Academy for Political Leaders lasts for one year (preparatory phase and training phase) and involves minimally 20, and maximally 25 participants per generation. At the end of the program the number of those who completed it may be slightly lower than the number of participants who started, for some participants may give up along the way.

The following were participants in ten generations of Academy for Political Leaders in BiH (2007-2016):

- 199 representatives of political parties (111 men, 88 women);
- from 30 political parties;
- from 46 towns and municipalities in BiH (Republic of Srpska – 21, Federation BiH 24 and Brčko District 1);
- There were 115 participants from Republic of Srpska;
- There were 84 participants from Federation BiH;
- There was one participant from Brčko District;
- Through practical work and seminar papers Academy participants involved around 4,000 additional young people from local communities in BiH.

They had the opportunity to speak to and work with more than 100 lecturers from academic community, experienced politicians, diplomats, experts in different social areas, political parties' leaders, representatives of the governmental institutions and others from BiH, Serbia, United States of America, Turkey, Russian Federation and EU countries, and they covered more than 100 topics.

The Academy was also attended by students of public and private universities in BiH who joined representatives of political parties from eighth generation onward. The total number of students who participated in the Academy in the period 2014-2016 is 145.

Out of all participants of the Academy, around 40% of them are

in important management party's structures and governmental structures, in which they actively decide and contribute to changes. All of them stated that the Academy helped them achieve it.

Political parties whose representatives attended the Academy are the following: Democratic People's Union (DNZ), Democratic People's Alliance (DNS), Democratic Party (DP), Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), New Socialist Party (NSP), Bosnian Party (BOSS), Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD), People's Party for Work and Betterment (NSRzB), Movement for Trebinje (PzT), Liberal Democratic Party (LDS), Party of Democratic Progress (PDP), Social Democratic Party BiH (SDP BiH), Party for BiH (SBiH), Party of Democratic Action (SDA), Our Party (NS), Croatian Democratic Union BiH (HDZ BiH), Serbian Radical Paarty (SRS), Croatian Party of Rights - HSP - Đapić - Jurišić, Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), Union for a Better Future (SBB), Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ 1990), Socialist Party (SP), Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), Democratic Front (DF), Communist Party (KP), National Democratic Party (NDS), First Bosnian-Herzegovinian Party (PBS), Union for Democratic Srpska (SzDS), A-Party of Democratic Action (A-SDA), Croatian Party of Rights dr Ante Starčević.

Since the beginning of 2011, the Academy cooperated with National Assembly of Republic of Srpska (NSRS), in which modules of the Academy and practical training were realized. The practice was in the form of presence during sessions of parliamentary boards and caucuses. Cooperation with National Assembly of Republic

"Today, I was a guest in one of the shows of the Mostar television on the topic of youth and politics. This was my first public performance before the cameras in the studio. All went well, but, to a great extent, thanks to the exercise for public performances from the Academy of Banja Luka. I remember every advice and they are all welcome.

This is another confirmation that the Academy is a good thing!"

Andrijana Prskalo, Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2014 (10th generation)

105

of Srpska was formally ratified by Agreement on Cooperation in March 2011.

Although not formalized by some document, partnership with Parliamentary Assembly of BiH was also established, and theoretical and practical trainings are being held on its premises

The first 7 generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH were organized exclusively for members of political parties, i.e. for members of parties' youth wings. Monitoring and assessment of each generation separately showed that it would be good to have some university students attending, for it would enrich the dialogue and increase interaction among youth, young politicians on one side, and future university graduates on the other. That model was implemented starting with 8th generation of the Academy, i.e.

"It is important, I would even say, necessary for the new generations of politicians to be prepared for what is awaiting them and in order not to make mistakes that these old generations of politicians are making",

Denis Gratz, a lecturer at the Academy and the First President of Our Party/Nasa stranka.

since 2014, and it continued until 10th generation (until the end of 2016). So, the last three generations of the Academy were realized as the mixed group of participants, out of whom the half were representatives of political parties (around twenty of them), and the other half were students of public and private universities in BiH (also around twenty).

The group of representatives of parties' youth wing was constant and obliged to attend all thematic modules that were held in several towns in BiH in which institutions and organizations are also situated. Unlike them, educational modules were also attended by students from those towns. Groups of students were changing from town to town and from module to module. Most often those were students from Banja Luka University during realization in that town, then from Sarajevo University and Istocno Sarajevo University when education was performed in Sarajevo, and students from Mostar during education in Mostar.

Apart from the fact that such modality developed the intensity of interaction and enriched the dialogue, some of the students found it to be a good opportunity to gain new knowledge and skills in the area of political and social life, and a motivating factor for further social engagement. A number of those who participated in trainings applied during the following years to attend the Academy as the representative of some political party.

Views and beliefs of this category of participants of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH may be seen in the part of this work related to results and successfulness.

Academy Rule Book

In order for the education model to be structured and efficient in management, i.e. in order to minimize the risk of unwanted events that may negatively affect work productivity, the Academy defined criteria for participants, relations with organizer and work concept by the Rule Book. The Rule Book defines the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH aimed at active young politicians 18-27 years of age. Besides this basic criterion, participants have to pass selection test containing questions from areas like general knowledge, political system of BiH and economic and political situation in the world. Every participant must also have the recommendation from official party structure (party's main board or presidency of youth structures within his/her political party).

Participants are also expected to have sufficient knowledge of *English language* to understand texts, to *use internet* (searching documents and information and communicating through internet) and to *regularly use email*.

In order to receive the final certificate, participants must: be present in at least 85% lectures, actively participate in debates during modules, perform their obligations — primarily related to their seminar paper and practical work.

All participants sign the contract with "Perpetuum Mobile" – Institute for Development of the Youth and Community Banja Luka, which defines rights and obligations.

Regarding the financial aspect, symbolic fee for participation in the Academy during the whole year is paid upon signing the contract, and it is not refundable in case participant gives up the Academy. The fee is used to cover the part of costs of the Academy.

Upon completion of the training, participants receive the assessment of their work, which is also sent to the authorized person in political party that recommended the participant for the Academy.

The work of the Academy

Academy for Political Leaders in BiH has the following characteristics:

- It enables getting the skills necessary for political engagement;
- It includes the basic theoretical knowledge of topics covered by modules;
- Every module except the theoretical one contains the practical part related to the topic covered by the module (workshops, simulations, joint work, debates, discussions, etc.);
- It offers practical interactive work with participants that enables them to apply their knowledge in future political engagement after the Academy;
- It gives participants the opportunity to hear current information from competent lecturers;
- It provides visits to governmental institutions and discussions with statesmen and representatives of the highest level institutions.

This type of education contains both individual and team work on tasks like creation of seminar paper and performing the practical work, and it motivates and encourages participants to cover the subject he/she plans to be working on in his/her political engagement.
Academy Organizing

During ten years of organizing the program Academy for Political Leaders in BiH in different political and social conditions and with different generations that brought in their specificities, we managed to sum up conclusions and recommendations relevant for quality realization of the program. The most important aspects of good planning and management of such types of political education are cooperation with political parties, participant selection process, contacts with successfulness assessors, recognizing political leaders and organizing the process.

Cooperation with political parties

Since the political scene in Bosnia and Herzegovina is diverse,

"It is good that they meet other people, who deal with or have been involved in the politics or who are in touch with the political life to simply see that these are not any monsters, but normal people, people as they are and that the politics is not a boogeyman, even if some of the young dislike it, but the politics is what it is: if we do not deal with politics, it deals with us, so it is better that we take the things into our own hands."

Jakob Finci, a lecturer at the Academy and a human rights figher.

it is important to include representatives of all political parties in order to develop democracy principles, parliamentarism and familiarity with diversity.

Contacts with political parties before, during and after the Academy are of the key importance. Regular contacts, meetings and exchange of information with presidents of the youth wings within political parties were of a great help in quality selection of young politicians for participation in the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH. Also, internal development and the structure of political parties are something attention should be paid to. In contacts with political parties we found different structures and internal communication and also different flow of information. All calls for the Academy and notification we sent went through official bodies of the party, but our experience showed that in majority of cases that information were not shared with lower organizational structures of the party. Apart from official channels of communication in the party, it is important to announce public calls, but also to send them directly to young politicians in order to have information reach more young people who are active in political parties. In such a way the influence of a small number of people on decision making is diminished, and the number of quality candidates for participation in the Academy is increased. It is necessary to periodically hold meetings with official structures of the youth in parties in order to assess both their need for working in political parties and the need to participate in our program.

Selection of participants

Unlike other short-term trainings, the Academy is one-year program that gathers a small number of politicians, so it is very important to pay much attention to the selection in order to have the compact group and best results for every participant. Several methods were used during ten years, and the following methods showed to produce the best results:

Every participant has to pass the selection test containing questions related to general knowledge, political system of BiH and economic and political situation in the world. In this way those who apply may be motivated and may prepare for the test, and that presents the form of selection, because it eliminates those people who have insufficient knowledge and not enough motivation to be subjected to testing. In order to pass the test applicants must have more than 70% of correct answers, but those whose result is 90% or better will not be participating as well, for it is regarded that they do not need the Academy. In this way we select the group with very similar knowledge, and it results in equal discussions and involvement in the whole process of the Academy. It is important to emphasize that, with advancement and availability of technology, the last four generations were taking the selection test electronically, so the questions were adjusted to enable short answers, since the questions were mainly related to the basic knowledge of the mentioned categories. Very important for the organization was the fact that the results were publically announced, both the top 20 and the list with additional names (by test result) which would have been used in case some of top 20 candidates give up the Academy before it started.

Also, it is necessary for every participant to have the recommendation of the official party's structure (main board of the party or presidency of youth structures within the party). In this way the selection within political parties is established, so parties have to consider who they will recommend and why, and which members they will invest in. In this way, the concept of positive competition is encouraged.

Contacts with participants

Regular contacts with participants are one way of intensifying the quality involvement in the program. Regular communication before, during and between modules is very important, for participants have the chance to ask questions, make comments, influence the selection of lecturers based on their needs and interests and contribute to program efficiency. Communication after the program is finished turned out to be of key importance, for it contributes to program sustainability, the follow up of young politicians, their careers and engagement in community, etc. That is the way to assess the program and the way participants use their knowledge.

Assessment of success and recognizing of new political leaders

In order to successfully complete the Academy program and receive certificates, participants must attend at least 85% of lectures, actively participate in discussions during modules, and perform their obligations, primarily related to the seminar paper and practical work. After the completion of the program, the opinion on the participant and assessment of his work is sent to those who signed the recommendation for the participant, which is one of the best ways to motivate participant for the serious work during the Academy. Also, political parties are motivated to monitor the education of their members and to seriously consider recommendations they issue.

Selection of the best participant in the generation is one of models of positive competition among participants. They must select the best one of them, so they have to get used to assessing the quality of oneself and of those around, regardless if they belong to the same party or not. Special attention should be paid to recognizing of new leaders and working with them. They are additionally engaged during the Academy, and they receive recommendations for other trainings and programs organized by other organizations and institutions.

Academy organization

While organizing the logistics, the attention should be paid to identifying things that might affect the quality of the program and interactions, but does not look important at a first glance. Firstly, the selection of Academy lecturers needs special consideration. This segment greatly affects program's efficiency, for there is a wide range of lecturers with different experiences and knowledge of different areas. They are representatives of political parties, institutions and organizations of civil society, people from media, international organizations, academic community, etc. Besides adding quality and diversity in education, such selection develops the habit of participants to communicate with different social representatives and to cooperate with them.

Interactive approach is one of basic starting points in organizing every single module. It is very important to have each module equally represented by lectures and visits to bodies of legislative and judicial power, and to have a part of it reserved for simulations (political negotiations, press conferences, etc.) in which participants actively take part in order to get the knowledge from eminent experts in the areas, and learn from each other as well.

Selection of accommodation may seem to be a less important factor in education of political leaders, but it turned out to be very

important to provide participants with accommodation that is relevant and acceptable to people of their age. Developing elitist habits by too expensive hotels was inefficient, for it creates the wrong picture, opposite of goals of such education. It is necessary to create the sense of equality and harmony with the environment, so participants can identify with majority of young people and understand they are no different from them, and hopefully they will treat their peers as equals in the future. Providing accommodation that is relevant for young people realizes easier interactions among participants, easier cooperation and development of friendship as well.

Academy Program

Academy program contains theoretical-interactive modules, practical part and seminar paper, and all participants have to go through all those in order to get the Academy certificate. Modules are divided into earlier defined topics, but each of them may be subject to change depending on students' knowledge and their needs and interests.

Module 1 (4 days) – Media, devotion and leadership (the first quarter of a year)

Since the media are key factor in creating public opinion, the most important task is to fight for space in the media and to send the strong message to the public through media; it is the backbone "Academy is a simulation of political operation and relations of the political entities in BiH. Through it, we can find out everything that it would take us years to learn in practice. It discloses to us what serious dealing with politics looks like, which cannot be learned from experienced politicians, as they do not deal with it in such a way."

Dobrica Kucalovic, an attendee of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2015 (9th generation).

of this module of the Academy. Nevertheless, sometimes it is not enough to just send one's message through media and wait for the results. It is necessary to develop models of devotion and lobbying that would enable the planned action and message getting the support of relevant structures; how to achieve that is given through lectures on public effort and lobbying.

This module emphasizes the importance of public speech and leadership. Guest lecturers are politicians who share their experience of public appearance, how to behave behind the rostrum, and how to deliver the creative and inspired speech. Professionals in the area of media communication and political leadership teach participants

"Above all, I joined the Academy with a very good knowledge that I have additional developed. What I was most fascinated about and which I did not find present at other academies I attended, even remotely, was the 'role play' and practical workshops. I think that we learn most from practical exercises. I still keep in my mind the press conference that we practiced and simulation of building a coalition in the post-electoral period. Also, it was my pleasure to write the final paper, as you have given us a bit wider freedom with regards to the selection of the topic, where I have even more developed my academic writing skills. And, what is the most valuable of all, is networking. I am still in contact with some attending colleagues and, thanks to the Academy, Banja Luka has become a city where I have made so many beautiful memories and they will always remind me on your Institute and Academy."

Jasenko Jovancic, attendee of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2014 (8th generation).

how to build a good image and what it takes to make a good public appearance.

Module 2 (4 days) – The youth, diplomacy and European integrations (the second quarter of a year)

The goal of this module is clarification of work and authority of BiH institutions, with special accent to the process of European integrations and international cooperation. Topics covered by this module contain development of European Union and EU relations with other leading powers of the world. Public sector reform in RS and FBiH, inter-institutional communication and public policies in BiH are topics that are current and necessary in dealing in politics, and are also covered by this module.

Besides, the great part of the module is focused on promoting the significance of the youth participation in diplomatic processes. Lecturers on this topic are experts from international and local organizations, but primarily from institutions that are in charge of these issues in BiH, representatives of BiH diplomatic corps and other diplomats in BiH.

Module 3 (4 days) – Human rights in BiH, experience in dispute solving (the third quarter of a year)

The way of realizing protection of human rights in all segments of life is the key question for BiH development and its integration into EU. Terms like 'democracy', 'tolerance' and 'reconciliation' cause different reactions in people in BiH. Some feel those terms are 'worn-out' due to misuse, i.e. abuse. This module shows the meaning of those terms and what can be learnt from war experience, which mechanisms of human rights protection are developed in BiH and how are they applied. The module also discusses issues of judicial component of power in BiH within the reform, and problems and challenges faced by judicial system in BiH.

Special accent is put on international norms and conventions ratified by BiH that should be applied, as well as on experiences of other countries that faced or are still facing conflict/war situations. Lecturers for this module are political analysts and experts in the area of human rights and international law.

Module 4 (4 days) – The youth in BiH, regional cooperation and election process (the fourth quarter of a year)

This module explains which BiH institutions are relevant for youth, what are their activities and do they take special measures for the youth, how those institutions communicate with youth and what laws in BiH are relevant for the youth. Also, this module teaches about European structures and standards for youth, international and European obligations that BiH took over. The important segment is also the subject of elections, election law and election process. It is important to sensitize Academy participants to youth

"Precisely a year ago, I have been awarded a diploma of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH. I have learned a lot at this Academy and this Academy is one of the key factors why I am today the youngest councilor at the municipalities of the Sarajevo Canton and one of the youngest in the entire BiH. I would like to thank Perpetuum Mobile for that."

An attendee of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2015 (8th generation).

problems and awake their interest and determination to stand for the youth in their political work. Lecturers on this module are representatives of ministries relevant for the youth, representatives of youth structures from BiH and the region, of organizations that are resource centers for implementation of European youth programs, and experts from non-governmental sector.

Practical work (the fourth quarter of a year)

Each participant shall have the task of sharing the newly gained knowledge with other young people. Methods and way of sharing are defined during the module, depending on skills and interests of each participant. One of ways is to organize lectures at faculties, high schools, gatherings, political parties, NGOs. Since 2011, the practical part was performed in RS National Assembly, as defined by the Agreement, or in the BiH Parliamentary Assembly, and participants were able to perform the practical work by attending sessions of parliamentary boards or caucuses. The purpose of the practical part realization is to prevent the possibility of exclusiveness, so Academy participants cannot keep the gained knowledge for themselves only, but must apply what they had learnt at the Academy and share it with other young people.

Seminar paper (the second part of a year)

Current themes for young politicians that participants will cover in their seminar papers are being decided during modules. Every paper contains basic elements and knowledge gained through the Academy. Such way of work will ensure a detailed cover of topics related to the youth and initiation of resolving the problems of the youth in BiH.

Papers are being presented to the public (BiH universities, institutions, youth organizations, political parties) and are available at the web page.

Module 5 (1 day) – Defense of seminar paper and certificate award ceremony

The fifth module is at the same time the final one in the Academy, and it contains the work part, when all participants present their seminar papers and practical works, and ceremonial part, when participants are given certificates and program results are being presented. Besides students, organizers and lecturers, also invited for this module are representatives of educational institutions, organizations of civil society, political parties, government and international organizations.

"Academy is a proper example as to how good work can be used to make decisive steps forward and with such an engagement and training of the young, we do have chances to succeed."

Dragomir Liscic, a student - attendee of the Academy.

"ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL LEADERS IN BIH "

ACADEMY ORGANIZATION



Place of the Academy depends on the subject of the module. Following the principles of efficient management and organization, and having in mind planned and available funds, the result was the fact that the module subjects determine the place where the training will be held. In a concrete case, if topics are related to governmental institutions and international institutions that are located in Sarajevo, trainings will be done in that town. It is for the reasons of more efficient usage of human resources — lecturers. If the topic means that lecturers will have to come from different parts of BiH and the region, then the town that is geographically most favorable is selected, approximately equally distant for all the guests coming.

Alumni Academy for Political Leaders in BiH

In 2013, after 7 generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, participants from previous generations gathered to found Alumni Association. Alumni Association is informal organization with open membership for all participants of the Academy who successfully completed the training. The purpose of Alumni Association is to connect all participants of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH and keep them in contact with one another, as with organizers and lecturers.

After several meetings and common activities, strategic planning of Alumni Association was organized. The mission of Association was defined during planning, and it states the following: creation of permanent and strong relationships between participants, organizers and lecturers, as well with the wider social community. The vision of Association is the free engagement of the youth who are ready to cooperate in building trust and respecting diversity. After strategic planning, the Alumni Association officialy started to work on October 15, 2015.

Alumni Association goals:

- Promotion of significance of Alumni Association;
- Involvement of participants of all generations in Alumni Associ-

ation of the Academy;

- Creation of Alumni data base and base of contacts that will help participants in professional engagements;
- Strengthening of connections between participants, organizers and lecturers;
- Improvement and development of Alumni work;
- Strengthening and promotion of reputation and achievements of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH;
- Realization of cooperation with institutions and individuals who contributed to the work of the Academy;
- Providing assistance in realization of Academy programs;
- Informing the public about important social and political views, with emphasis on youth issues;
- Participation in creating, amending and changing of public policies.

Alumni activities:

- Organization of educational activities for members of Alumni and other youth;
- Regular mutual communication between Alumni members and having regular meetings of organizational structure bodies;
- Organizing meetings of Alumni members with political parties' youth wings, young people, students, holders of executive and legislative power;
- Organizing roundtables, seminars and conferences about current social and political topics with accent on the issues of the youth;
- Cooperation with other organizations that have similar activities;
- Participation in international and local events of importance for Alumni;
- Fundraising for the work of Alumni;
- Promoting Alumni through internet, social networks and means of mass communication;
- Organizing study visits important for Alumni;
- Preparation and realization of projects for the youth;

• Lobbing for realization of the mentioned goals.

Membership

Membership in Alumni Association is voluntary and realized by submitting application form. Only participants of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH who completed the training may become Alumni members. The membership is also free and there are no financial obligations. Membership is canceled upon personal request, or due to breach of some of the Alumni goals, which is decided upon by Alumni bodies. All Academy participants are invited into Alumni, and there are 199 of them.

Organizational structure

Alumni Association is the body that originated from the program "Academy for Political Leaders in BiH" and it will operate as advisory body to the mentioned program. Bodies within Alumni are the following:

- Alumni Assembly (consists of all full members of Alumni) adopts reports, work plans of Alumni, elects executive board. Assembly decides by a simple majority.
- Executive team (has 5 members, with mandate of one year and possibility of reelection) – it is elected by the Assembly and every member of the Assembly may vote for 5 members, based on suggestion from Secretariat. Five candidates with the most votes will enter Executive team. The Executive team implements defined goals, proposes work plans, reports to the Assembly, represents Alumni, etc.
- Alumni Secretariat is operational team that does administrative tasks. Presently, Alumni's Secretariat is "Perpetuum Mobile Institute".

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION MODEL EFFICIENCY RESEARCH

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL EDUCATION MODEL EFFICIENCY RESEARCH

The subject and the aim of the research, research hypothesis and scientific methods applied in the research process are given in the introductory part. Also, this part presents the structure and number of research samples, also given in graphically processed data, and special emphasis is put into expected contribution to the science.

Research subject and aim

Regardless if a political organization has formally organized structure for training of its members or not, the way of political education organization is crucial for development of that political organization and political culture of the country as well, in the long term. Although there are common views on what is good human resources management for all organizations, political organizations, being non-profit organizations, somewhat differ from organizations which are focused on profit in several dimensions: motivation and commitment of members, management structure, financial resources management, etc.

Research subject is based on the examination of the efficient model of political training as the integral segment of human resources management in non-profit and political organizations in BiH.

Aim of the research is to define specificities and effects of different political education models in BiH, and based on it, to define recommendations that might improve human resources management in non-profit and political organizations.

In order to achieve the mentioned aim, it is necessary to determine and achieve specific research goals. It can be done through several goals and tasks:

- 1. Estimate social attitudes and education of the young, potential politicians towards issues important for further political engagement
- 2. Determine the readiness of the young members of political parties to solve problems of the youth in the community
- 3. Estimate the readiness of political parties' youth wings for cooperation with other institutions (other political parties, youth non-governmental organizations) dealing with youth
- 4. Determine the aspects of usefulness of efficient models of youth political educations.

Research hypothesis

The basic research hypothesis is based on the view that structured, long-term and cohesive political education of youth in BiH (as the post-conflict country of the new democracy regime) may be efficient in the development of youth in the field of political training and engagement, with the aim of increased level of political culture, behavior, cooperation and of enabling more efficient political decision making.

Applied scientific methods

Management of human resources and non-profit and political organizations is scientific discipline which integrates knowledge of different sciences and scientific disciplines like: management, psychology, economy, sociology, law, anthropology, andragogy, occupational medicine. Scientific notions of human resources management and management in nonprofit and political organizations are being connected with the aim of improving relationship of the man and work. That is why in this research we applied scientific methods of survey, using questionnaires with open-ended and closed-ended questions, interviews, content analysis, analysis and synthesis of the obtained results.

Methods of surveying and interviewing were also used for gathering data on ways of organizing political education of the youth in BiH. Applying analytical method we analyzed theoretical premise and the way of its application in practice. The scientific method of synthesis was applied in defining recommendations and procedures that may improve the practice of political education of the youth.

One model was singled out and specially analyzed and processed by the method of probe research, and according to the obtained results it served as an efficient model, or at least approximately exemplary model of the political education of the youth. Namely, it is the project Academy for political leaders in that was implemented in the period 2007-2016. The project developed into model in time, and as such it presents the model based on ten years' experience in creating and managing of political education. Although it is the model developed by a non-governmental organization, which became high profile one due to majority of its program being in the field of political education, the significance and contribution of such modeling type must not be diminished. Speaking in laconic manner, significance may be given to such type of programming and modeling because in a post-modern world "non-governmental organization is the actor in the market scene" (Dašić et al., 2009: 177). Related to that, this work is the pioneer work in shaping the model of youth political education, primarily based on informal training and education, political management and analytics.

Assessment and examination of the efficient model of political education was performed through several methods.

One of the methods is probe research, i.e. application of questionnaires.

Sample

Questionnaire is applied to the sample of 180 young politicians from 30 political parties and 46 municipalities in BiH (21 from Republic of Srpska, 24 from Federation of BiH and 1 from Brčko District BiH). It was applied with 21 students who occasionally attended the program of the Academy.

Methods and instrumentarium

The first research method is the use of questionnaire containing 33 questions that are focused on the attitude of young politicians and their parties towards problems of the youth and on identifying the effects and results of efficient model of youth education in political parties.

The questions were both open-ended and closed-ended ones. There were 24 closed-ended questions with offered answers and 8 open-ended questions for which the respondent was to write down the answer he/she believed is the most adequate. Also, there was one combined question, i.e. the question with offered answers and "opened possibility" to give any answer. Such construction and organization of questions, being open and closed-ended, enables obtaining of concrete percentual answers, but also the precious data that might aid in deeper interpretation of the answer.

Apart from such questions, the questionnaire used 5-point Likert scale to examine the readiness to initiate the issues of the youth in the community, readiness to cooperate with youth organizations and other political parties. The scale consisted of 1-5 statements that measure the mentioned readiness. Respondents express their degree of consent with the given statements by circling the adequate level of consent in the 5-point scope from: "I completely disagree" to "I completely agree". Respondents were able to fill in the questionnaire in hand or electronically.

The questionnaire was used in many cities in BiH, with members of different political parties registered in BiH. Young politicians were members of the following parties: Democratic People's Union (Demokratska narodna zajednica - DNZ), Democratic People's Alliance (Demokratski narodni savez - DNS), Democratic Party (Demokratska partija - DP), Serbian Democratic Party (Srpska demokratska stranka - SDS), New Socialist Party (Nova socijalistička partija - NSP), Bosnian Party (Bosanska stranka - BOSS), Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata - SNSD), People's Party for Betterment (Narodna stranka radom za boljitak - NSRzB), Movement for Trebinje (Pokret za Trebinje), Liberal Democratic Party (Liberalna demokratska stranka), Party of Democratic Progress (Partija demokratskog progresa - PDP), Social Democratic Party of BiH (Socijaldemokratska partija BiH -SDP BiH), Party for Bih (Stranka za BiH - SBiH), Party of Democratic Action (Stranka demokratske akcije - SDA), Our Party (Naša stranka - NS), Croatian Democratic Union of BiH (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica BiH - HDZ BiH), Serbian Radical Party (Srpska radikalna stranka - SRS), Croatian Party of Rights - Đapić-Jurišić (Hrvatska stranka prava-HSP-Đapić-Jurišić), Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska stranka prava - HSP), Union for a Better Future (Savez za bolju budućnost - SBB), Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (Hrvatska demokratska zajednica 1990 - HDZ 1990), Socialist Party (Socijalistička Partija - SP), Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska napredna stranka - SNS), Democratic Front (Demokratska fronta - DF), Communist Party (Komunistička partija - KP), People's Democratic Party (Narodna demokratska stranka - NDS), The First Bosnian-Herzegovian Party (Prva bosanskohercegovačka stranka - PBS), Alliance for Democratic Srpska (Savez za demokratsku Srpsku - SzDS), A-Party of Democratic Action (A-Stranka demokratske akcije - A-SDA), Croation Party of Rights dr Ante Starčević (Hrvatska stranka prava dr Ante Starčević).

We have tried to have the percent of surveyed young politicians from different parties as close as possible to the number that participated in political trainings. We partly succeeded, for some members of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH had not filled in the questionnaires we had delivered. Out of the total number of attendees (199), 180 was surveyed, which represents 90.5% of all attendees. That number represents non-random sample that was later adequately selected and interviewed.

The last three generations of Academy for Political Leaders in BiH (2014, 2015 and 2016) had an opportunity to attend lectures and trainings and to cooperate with students from different BiH universities. Some of the students/Academy attendees were also interviewed. The survey was performed with 21 students, with the same questionnaire but with a reduced number of questions relevant to comparison with Academy attendees coming from political parties.

The second method, beside the probe research, is data collecting by direct interviews of young politicians from political parties and organizers of political trainings. The aim of these interviews was concrete analysis of success and accomplishment of the youth in politics. Since the segment related to participation of politicians in local elections was omitted in creating the questionnaire, the interview realized the personal contact with respondents and generated relevant data.

The interview is the oldest known technique of data gathering (Fajgelj, 2004). Nevertheless, there is uncertainty in defining the interview, especially the scientific one. The basic characteristic of deep interviews, very similar to focus groups, is the great flexibility of other numerous parameters: interview duration, type of recording, selection of respondents, relation of respondent and interviewer, the structure of interview. Variability exists in all the mentioned aspects, so it is difficult to define them clearly (Miles, 1994).

The third method that was used is the content analysis. Curriculum, topics, education realization dynamics, structure of attendees and lecturers were analyzed.

According to Fajgelj (2004), content analysis is every technique of reasoning based on the systematic and objective identification of characteristics of the given messages. It is quantitative and qualitative analysis of the text, iconic material, sounds. It may be applied to written texts, media programs, drawings, etc.

Content analysis has several phases. In the beginning, the problem is defined, research questions identified and content or sample of content to be analyzed is determined.

After that, analysis unit, sometimes called classification unit or sampling unit, is defined. It is the basic unit of the message that shall be classified. If the text is being analyzed, it might be a word, group of words, the whole sentence, statement, topic, item character, etc. (Havelka et al., 1998)

After analysis determination, the sampling is performed, i.e. the scope and the level that the analysis will contain, and classification in certain categories is also performed (Creswell, 2003). Certain units of the analysis are being categorized. It is necessary to determine if the unit shall be classified into one or more categories. It is also important to assume if the categories are being formed in advance – deductively, or if they are determined during and after the review of the contents – inductively. When that is accomplished, the rules of categorizing are being set and the text is being classified.

Content analysis is regarded as both quantitative and qualitative method. It implies more details and information. Data may be analyzed quantitatively, using the more complex statistical methods.

The fourth method is the method of comparison. Since the research of attendees of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH during the period 2007-2011 (five generations of attendees) was conducted in 2012 using the same research instruments and methods, the data gathered in the research for the period 2012-2016 (five generations of attendees) were compared with the previous ones. By using this method, not only aspects defined by the research subject were examined, but also the correlative relations between Academy generations, especially the first ones and the last ones, and also the correlation of approaches and effects at the beginning of the program of political parties' youth training with approaches and effects in the later period.

The research was performed in the first months of 2017. The work in the field was performed without problems. Creating of questionnaires, content analysis and the whole research was done by the author of this work.

Statistical data processing using SPSS 15.0 software was performed by the author of this work, with professional guidance and support of Professor Srđan Dušanić, PhD, and assistance from the team of Pereptuum Mobile Institute.

Expected scientific contribution

The research resulted in recommendations that might improve political management and analytics, and human resources management in nonprofit organizations and political organizations. Having in mind the number and relatively short history of political education in BiH on one side, and lack of research of such programs' efficiency on the other, this work contributes to development of theories on political management and analytics, and also on human resources management in nonprofit organizations and political organizations, aiding in improvement of their activities and strength. Figure 1. Towns and municipalities on BiH map in which the research was performed and from which participants of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH come from



The research was performed in 46 towns and municipalities in BiH: Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Istočno Sarajevo, Mostar, Bijeljina, Lukavac, Zenica, Gradiška, Trebinje, Prijedor, Tuzla, Bihać, Zvornik, Livno, Kozarska, Široki Brijeg, Dubica, Bratunac, Cazin, Derventa, Tešanj, Teslić, Bosanski Petrovac, Bugojno, Laktaši, Prozor, Bosansko Grahovo, Brčko, Čelinac, Doboj, Drvar, Foča, Kneževo, Maglaj, Mrkonjić Grad, Nevesinje, Olovo, Pale, Sokolac, Srebrenik, Velika Kladuša, Vitez, Srbac, Donji Vakuf, Travnik, Gračanica, Živinice.

The research was performed in two parts:

- 1. In the first part, views and assessments of five generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH who attended trainings in the period 2007-2011 were reviewed. This group contained 95 participants (N=95).
- 2. In the second part, five years later, research was done on five generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH who attended trainings in the period 2012-2016 were re-

viewed. This group contained 85 participants (N=85).

The total number of participants is 180 (N=180).

Results below are displayed separately by group of participant generation in order to compare effects of Academy's program in the first five years and the last five years. Some results are displayed all together for they were not considered to be significant enough to be displayed separately.

	F	М
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	45.3	54.7
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	41.2	58.8

Table 1. Sample by gender display

Out of the total number of participants, males were in the range 54.7 – 58.8%, while females were in the range 41.2% - 45.3%, depending on the generation.

Table 2. Sample by age display

	The oldest	The youngest
Participant's year of birth	1975	1996

The range of participants' years of birth (N=180) was from 1975 to 1996.

Table 3. Sample by status display

	pupils	students	employed	unemployed
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	2	44	41	13
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	0	27	53	20

Among Academy participants 2012-2016 there were more

employed and unemployed participants than students compared to Academy participants 2007-2011.

	rural	town	suburb
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	7	84	8
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	7	81	12

Table 4. Participant's place of residence

Regarding the place participants come from, 81-84% live in towns, 7% in rural areas and 8-12% in suburbs.

Research results showed that there was equal distribution of Academy participants of all generations. The Academy lasted in the period 2007-2016. Participants of all generations were almost equally represented in the research, without significant statistical differences.

Table 5. Continual activity in political party

	Active in the party	Not active in the party
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	78	22
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	83.5	16.5

A bit larger number of giving up the membership in political party was noticed with Academy participants 2007-2011.

Table 6. Advancement in political party afterattending the Academy

	Promoted	Not promoted	I do not know
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	49	44	7
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	59	21	20

Respondents stated that after attending the Academy for Political Leaders they significantly advanced in their political work. It was especially obvious among participants of the Academy 2012-2016 who stated that 59% of respondents advanced in their political party during and after the Academy.

Membership in some organization	%
Pupils' board	0
Student organization	19
NGO	35
Union youth activist group	1
Not member of any organization	45

Table 7. Membership in some organization

Since the questionnaire defined five categories of respondents' membership apart from political party one, respondents were classified into four offered categories: student organization 19%, non-governmental organization 35%, union youth activist group 1%, and those who are not members of any organization 45%.

	<1 year	1-3 years	4-7 years	>8 years
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	8.5	28.5	46	17
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	2	14	70	14

Table 8. Duration of membership in political party

The majority of respondents have been members of political party for 4-7 years. Respondents who attended the Academy's program in the period 2012-2016 had significantly more experience in political work, for a major part of them have been members of political party for more than 4 years (84%).

Table 9. Attending other political educationbesides the Academy

	Yes	No
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	59	41
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	59	41

Completely identical data. Other political education besides the Academy was attended by 59 % of respondents, while 41% of respondents did not attend any other political education.

If the respondent participated in some other education, upon asking what type of education it was, we received the following answers, classified by similar categories:

- Political education organized by foreign organizations and foundations: Summer school of political leadership organized by "Konrad Adenauer Foundation", by "Friedrich Ebert Foundation", "FLI", seminars NDI UK FCO Fellowship, regional political school, IRI, "Political activation of women".
- Intra-party education: Political Academy SDA, political education and Academy SDS, Nenad Baštinac Foundation, education through Training Center SNSD, Political Academy HDZ BiH. Academy of Boris Divković Foundation, PDP Political Academy, Regional political school.
- Political education organized by local NGOs: Summer School of Leadership – Perpetuum Mobile, seminars organized by "Helsinški parlament građana", Young leaders RS, CIPS/European Council – school for political studies.
- Political education organized in partnership of international organizations and local NGOs: Political Academy of "Friedrich Ebert Foundation" in cooperation with Faculty of Philosophy in Banja Luka and Center for Students' Democracy, Women's Political Academy, School of Political Philosophy dr Zoran Đinđić.
- So-called 'one shot' education (short education): seminars by Perpetuum Mobile, "Berlin Wall and European Integrations" of Humboldt University in Berlin, European Council – DLP, Media center and YUA – BKB Academy, one-day seminars organized by FES, Gender in politics-equality and differences-RSI Budapest,

Leadership institute – IRI, Train the Trainers – UK Conservative parties, Campaign leading (IRI), Train the Trainers for elections observers with European Council, Political Studies School of European Council, Bulgaria School of Politics, Youth and Diplomacy – Perpetuum Mobile, Strengthening women in political life organized by CURE Foundation and Infohaus Sarajevo, in summer school in Austria.

	<10 days	10-20 days	>20 days	No answer
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	36	13	17	35
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	42.5	12	15	30

Table 10. Duration of additional education

The majority of respondents attended political trainings that lasted up to 10 days: 36-42%, which is connected to their being busy with studying, work or other obligations to attend trainings that last longer.

Table 11. The most often covered topics in political education(except Academy's program)

Rank	Subjects
1	Youth and politics
2	Communication
3	Youth politics
4	Leadership
5	Public relations
6	Human rights
7	Team work
8	Conflict resolving
9	Tolerance

10	Project writing
11	Advocating
12	Volunteerism
13	Strategic planning
14	Monitoring
15	Management
16	Ecology

Table 12. Presence of non-formal political education

	Too little	Little	Sufficient	Very much	No answer
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	23	61	13	2	1
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	25	51	23,5	0,5	0

As many differences as may be among respondents, the majority of them stated that there is too little or little non-formal political education.

Table 13. View of young politicians' engagement for the benefit ofyouth in local communities

Assertion: The youth from political parties should do more for youth in their local communities

Period of the attitude	Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)
Before attending Academy	77.9	74.6
After attending Academy	87.3	81.0

The table shows the increase of already high percentage of respondents who, after attending the Academy, believe that young politicians should do more for the youth in their local communities. The Academy confirms its influence on young politicians to be more active in improving the situation of the youth.

Period of the attitude	Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)
Before attending Academy	65	54
After attending Academy	81	66

Table 14. Influence of youth on older colleagues

The influence on older colleagues from political parties increased after attending the program of the Academy.

Table 15. Improvement of the youth's status in municipality

Period of the attitude	Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)
Before attending Academy	77	75
After attending Academy	97	77

In both cases there is improvement of attitudes regarding the need to improve the status of the youth in municipalities in which Academy participants live and work. It is a bit more obvious with Academy participants 2007-2011.

Table 16. The need for supporting the youth

Assertion: I do not think much about the future of the youth in the municipality, because "every man is the architect of his own fortune" and should fight for himself

Period of the attitude	%
Before attending the Academy	68.4
After Attending the Academy	70.5

Percentual results represent the degree of agreement with the assertion, completely or mostly. It shows that percentage of agreement with the assertion is greater after attending the Academy (70.5%) compared to the agreement degree before attending the Academy (68.4%). This data stands for all Academy participants regardless of the period of attending.

Table 17. Readiness to initiate youth issues in the municipality

Period of the attitude	%
Before attending the Academy	63.4
After Attending the Academy	80.5

80.5% of respondents believe after attending the Academy that they are ready to initiate the youth issues in their municipality. Before attending the Academy, the same was believed by 63.4%. This data stands for all Academy participants regardless of the period of attending. There are no significant differences among participants.

During research, respondent's personal level of readiness to **initiate the issue of gender equality in the community he works in was assessed**. On the scale from 1 to 5 (1 is the lowest level of readiness, and 5 is the highest), respondents gave their assessments, and average grade at the level of respondent is 4.

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	69	19	8	2	1
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	64	24	10	0	2

Table 18. Not understanding the youth who are in youth organizations

There is a high degree of understanding expressed by young

politicians for activists in youth organizations and the purpose of their engagement.

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	4	4	4	32	56
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	4	4	4	28	60

Table 19. Readiness to help youth from youth organizations

Table 20. Youth organizations spend a lot of money without concrete results

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	11	25	42	18	4
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	20	25	36.5	14	3.5

With the statement that youth organizations spend a lot of money without concrete results, majority of respondents claimed not to be sure, which transfers to not knowing about funding sources and the way of spending.

I am I completely I mostly I mostly I completely not disagree disagree agree agree sure Academy participants 5 9 7 23 55 2007-2011 (%) Academy 2 60 participants 3 8 27 2012-2016 (%)

Table 21. Necessity of cooperation between political parties' youthwings and youth NGOs

Although the percentage of readiness is high in all respondents, a somewhat greater readiness for cooperation between political parties' youth wing and youth NGOs is shown in Academy participants 2012-2016.

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	20	20	36	14	11
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	25	27	21	20	7

Table 22. View that political party may help the youth

Only around one fourth of respondents agree that only the party they belong to may help the youth. Significant percentage of respondents is not sure about the given assertion.

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	7	1	4	23	64
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	2	3	4	26	65

Table 23. Readiness to cooperate with other political parties

Around 87-91% of respondents is completely ready or mostly ready to personally cooperate with other political parties.

	I completely disagree	I mostly disagree	I am not sure	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	5	4	9	23	59
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	2	4	12	22	60

Table 24. Youth problems are better solved by cooperation

Almost 60% of respondents completely agree that cooperation with other political parties may solve youth issues, while 22 % and 23% of respondents mostly agree with it.

	Not at all	A little	I do not know	Sufficient	Very much
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	0	28	6	53	13
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	3	34	5	46	12

Table 25. Representation of youth issues in programs of political parties

Around one third of respondents believes that youth issues are represented a little or not at all in programs of political parties. Other respondents believe that representation to be enough or very much, and a portion of respondents do not know the answer.

	Not at all	A little	I do not know	Sufficient	Very much
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	3	27	13	48	8
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	15	29.5	4	43.5	8

Table 26. Personal satisfaction with youth programs in programs of political parties

Regarding the satisfaction with youth programs in programs of political parties, views of Academy participants of any group are similar, with group of participants 2012-2016 showing more dissatisfaction in the category "not at all'.

	Not at all	A little	I do not know	Sufficient	Very much
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	9	13	19	45	14
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	12	20	16	36.5	15.5

Table 27. Academy's role in increasing of personal influence in decision making within political party

Both groups of respondents show the role of the Academy in increasing of personal influence in decision making within political party. Almost the same results were expressed, 28% respondents in both groups believing there is no role or they do not know about it, and the rest of 72% believing there is a role, expressing it as "a little", "sufficient" and "very much".

Table 28. Assessment of gained knowledge by topics covered at the Academy

Module 1	Academy participants 2007-2011	Academy participants 2012-2016	
Public and media appearance skills	4,30	3,90	
Basic leadership skills	4,13	3,91	
Importance of politicians and media cooperation	4,49	4,30	
Module 2			
General knowledge of European Union work	4,13	3,80	
Political and diplomatic relations of BiH with other countries	3,86	3,70	
Political system in BiH	4,13	4,25	

1 – Insufficient, 2 – Sufficient, 3 – Good, 4 – Very good, 5 – Excellent

Module 3		
General knowledge of human rights and obligations of BiH	4,07	4,06
Equality issues in BiH and possibility of improving the situation (women, children, youth, national minorities and other groups)	4,20	4,03
Negotiating skills	4,22	3,92
Module 4		
The knowledge of processes and creat- ing of youth policies and strategies	3,95	3,71
The knowledge of the situation of youth in BiH and youth bodies	4,07	3,90
Possibility of international cooperation on youth issues	3,95	3,80

Assessment of gained knowledge by topics covered at the Academy is from 3.70 (the lowest average by topic) to 4.49 (the highest average by topic). The table shows comparison of assessments depending on the group of respondents. There are some minor differences.

	after	r the Acaa	ету		
	Not at all	A little	I do not know	Sufficient	Very much
Academy					

6

20

4

7

59

41

31

32

0

0

participants

2007-2011 (%) Academy participants

2012-2016 (%)

Table 29. Extending the network of contacts and cooperation in BiHafter the Academy

There were no participants who have not extended the network
of contacts and cooperation after political education. All respon-
dents —more than 92% and 93%, felt they extended their network
of contacts and cooperation in BiH after the Academy. Other stated they do not know.

Asked to position their view, on the scale of 1 to 5 (one being the lowest and 5 the highest assessment), of the **change of election legislation in BiH**, respondents gave their answers and the average assessment at the level of respondent is 4. It shows that Academy participants feel it is necessary to change election legislation in BiH.

Regarding the opinions and attitudes about the change of election legislature, respondents expressed the need to raise the *elec*toral threshold, and to remove discriminatory obstacles, enabling minorities to be elected at all levels. Also expressed is the need to have more *participation of women* in the total structure of the party and in political life as well. The primary need is to implement the Sejdić-Finci ruling, so it is necessary to find another way of voting that could not be so easily *abused*, then to implement the second round of voting for presidency and election of mayors (50% + 1)vote) and to merge general and local elections into one electoral cycle, introduce electronic voting and compulsory voting. It is also necessary to enable the party to be the owner of representative mandate, so any individual will not be able to take the mandate away from the party because of his own personal interest and to decrease party's capacity for action. The way of electing of individuals should also be changed through compensation mandates. The *rule of 10%* for the change of position on the list should be canceled. Final and clear distinction between early and extraordinary elections should be introduced, the work of *electoral boards* should be improved and the way their members are being selected should be clearly determined, the size and the scope of polling station should be decreased, cell phones should be banned during voting, and the way, status and time frames of votes from diaspora should be clearly determined. The possibility to be elected should be limited to maximally two mandates. Changes should be made in the domain of voting reform, in order to eliminate the limitation of selecting one party and candidates from that party, so people may vote for candidates from different parties as they find appropriate. All citizens should be granted same rights and obligations in BiH. Electoral legislative should be *quality oriented* (different skills and capabilities, needed education, engagement in social life etc., not discriminating by any basis), unlike the existing one (gender, youth, territory, etc.). The problem is the percentage that candidate must exceed in order to enter certain level of authority. It is a kind of closed list, and in this case it is the breach of democracy principle, for often those who had the most votes within the list do not pass. It is the right of Croats to elect their representatives, i.e. Croatian electoral unit. It is important to have vote counting process at one place defined by the law, and not to have it done at polling stations.

There are more ideas and views on compulsory voting, equal voters turnout and representation of voters from urban and rural areas, equality of men and women as list leaders, equal number of youth and older candidates on lists. There were suggestions to enable replacing the representative from his current position if there are no effects of his work, or to have stimulation methods applied for working or not working. Also, there are views that major changes are not needed, only the application of the existing valid regulations, and also implementation of closed lists, so votes are given to the party and not to individuals who may abuse the will of voters later and change political option, i.e. trade with mandate.

1.	Gaining and applying new knowledge and skills
2.	Comprehension of self and of one's skills
3.	Interaction with influential people
4.	Visits to governmental institutions
5.	Meeting new young leaders
6.	Getting answers for different questions, discussions and exchange of opinions
7.	Communication skills and overcoming the fear of public appearance
8.	New friendships, acceptance of diversity and socializ- ing
9.	Exchange of experiences
10.	Performing practical work

¹⁴⁶

Table 31. Concrete cooperation with Academy participants and
other youth in BiH apart from the Academy

Organizing common activities, trainings, humanitarian actions, and in
the sphere of student organizations

Cooperation in the field of youth policy

Attending meetings of the youth wing of other political parties

Information exchange related to initiatives in the community

Friendly contacts

Respondents had an opportunity to express their opinion of concrete cooperation with Academy participants and other youth in BiH apart from the Academy. The most frequent answers to the question of the types of concrete cooperation are classified into five categories:

	Yes	No	I do not know
Academy participants 2007- 2011 (%)	67	6	26
Academy participants 2012- 2016 (%)	65	12	23

Table 32. Effects of the Academy on the increase of personal reputation

Academy's influence on the increase of personal reputation was confirmed by 65% and 67% of respondents, and only 6% and 12%, depending on the group, stated it had no effect. It is important to notice that both groups of respondents had almost the same assessment of the Academy's influence on personal reputation.

	Yes	No	I do not know
Academy participants 2007- 2011 (%)	79	7	14
Academy participants 2012- 2016 (%)	83.5	12	4.5

Table 33. Effects of the Academy on the increase of self-confidence inwork in political party

79% or 83.5% of respondents reported increased self-confidence in work in political party as the result of the Academy, and 14% or 4.5% stated that they do not know, while 7% or 12% reported no influence.

Around half of respondents stated that political parties have benefited from the Academy. Respondents had the opportunity to answer open-ended question on the type of benefits political party has from having its members attending the Academy. The answers were the following:

- We organized the Academy for young politicians with 40-50 participants
- Application of experiences gained at the Academy the party gets well educated persons
- Gained knowledge is transferred to other party members
- Initiated implementation of youth policy at the local level
- Significant number of party members gathered and integrated animating of the youth
- Improved reputation of the party for investing in young cadres
- Improved dialogue within the party and innovative approaches in the work of the party
- My dedication to certain target group in the party
- Conferences organized, forums led and high degree of cooperation with the media achieved (which I did not want to do before)

- Organization of roundtables and forums with the youth on different topics
- It help a lot with the organization of campaign, and also with many other things related to political activism that the party knew nothing about or such knowledge could not be gained in formal education
- Preparations of young candidates for public appearance in media
- Organization of workshops, lectures and seminars in the party for the youth, and in women's activist group.

Table 34. Academy's contribution to personal improvement in other social aspects outside political engagement

	Yes	No	I do not know
Academy participants 2007- 2011 (%)	67	2	31
Academy participants 2012- 2016 (%)	79	8	13

Academy's contribution in personal improvement in other social aspects outside political engagement was reported by 67% or 79% respondents, and only 2%, or 8% reported no contribution whatsoever.

The following are selected groups of answers on the most significant contribution:

- Communication skills (interpersonal communication, greater freedom in stating own views, easier communicating, public appearance, preparation and presentation of the speech)
- Understanding of many phenomena in the society
- Wish to solve accumulated problems
- Cooperation in work, improvements in the sense of team work, achieving more pleasant and better working environment in contacts with colleagues

• Help in application of knowledge in the studies (knowledge of EU and political system of BiH).

	I do not apply	I mostly do not apply	Some- times	I mostly apply	I do apply
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	0	6	29	37	27
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	5	6.5	33	37.5	19

Table 35. Application of gained knowledge and skills after theAcademy

After the Academy, respondents do apply the knowledge and skills they gathered during the Academy. The following table provides more information on it.

Table 36. The most significant knowledge and skills gained at theAcademy that are being applied

EU and political system of BiH (structure, functioning system)

Creation of youth policies and strategies

Negotiating skills

Cooperation of politicians and media

Equality issues

Also, the knowledge of BiH political system, paying attention to human rights and the knowledge of the youth situation represent the knowledge that is being used.

	2012 elections		2016 elections	
	Academy participants	%	Academy participants	%
Total analyzed	113	100	199	100
Participation in elections	25	22.1	41	20,8
Position in the first 10 candidates on election list	14 12.39		More than 40 among the firs 5 participants leader	st 10, and were list
Average position on the election list	10.5		9,8	
Candidate for mayor position	0		1	

Table 37. Review of Academy attendees' participation in localelections in 2012 and 2016 in BiH

From all participants of TEN generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH (2007-2016), we gathered the following results:

- 20.8% were on lists for local elections 2016.
- Average position on the list occupied by Academy participant is 9.8 (in the first third, for election list contains around 30 candidates)
- Five of them are list leaders (number one on the list)

• One participant was candidate for the position of the mayor.

	%
Academy participants 2007-2011 (%)	43,70
Academy participants 2012-2016 (%)	45,88

Table 38. Review of advancement in the partyafter the Academy

We realized and we are convinced that the program of Academy for Political Leaders in BiH contributes to supporting dedicated youth in their political work and decision making in the best interest of citizens.

According to the research of ten generations of the Academy, the advancement within political parties is obvious.

Status (position) of Academy participants from political parties during the research (the stated functions and duties which are, in hierarchy, higher than the status of a "member")

During the research, respondents who attended the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH stated their statuses (positions) they occupied at that moment. Majority of those statuses (positions) are **after advancement** from the status of the "member" or some other position that is lower in hierarchy. Some respondents were in the mentioned positions for a longer period, some only shortly. These are positions that respondents occupied at the moment of the research: vice-president of the party, member of the Municipal Board of the party, vice-president of the Local Board of the party, member of the Presidency of Municipal Board of the party in Srebrenik, President of the Election Headquarters of the party, President of the Youth Activist Group in local board, member of the Presidency of the Party, secretary of Cantonal Board of the party, President of the Municipal Board of the party, President of the Youth Wing HDZ BiH in Rama, member of the Executive Board of the town committee of the party in Mostar, member of the Main Board of the party at the level of BiH, member of Cantonal board SBK/KSB, vice-president of Youth Forum SDP BiH, vice-president of the Youth Wing in Municipal Board of SDS-a in Brčko, member of the high management of Municipal Board and President of the Local Board SDS Brčko, President of the Supervisory Board SBB BiH, member of the Executive Board of Youth Association SDA Bihać, Secretary General SDP BiH, member of the Supervisory Board of the party, member of the Executive Board of Youth social democrats of the City Committee Banja Luka, vice-president of the Youth Wing SDS of Republic of Srpska, member of the Youth Forum SBB, Secretary of the town committee MSD Zvornik, Secretary General NDP, vice-president of the Youth Wing of the party at the local level, vice-president of the Youth Wing of the Municipal Board Srbac, Cantonal Secretary NS "Radom za boljitak" ZDK and vice-president of the Youth Wing of the party ZDK, vice-president of the Municipal Board SDA Bijeljina, President of the Regional Board FOM SDP BiH, member of the Main Municipal Board DNS, member of the committee of the Youth Presidency DNS, vice-president of the Local Board DNS, member of the Youth Board DNS, vice-president Of Youth Forum of the Municipal board SBB BiH Stari Grad, President of the Youth of "Ujedinjena Srpska" and vice-president of the party from the youth wing, member of the Regional Board and Municipal Board, President of the Municipal Board of the party, member of Executive Board of Women's Activist Group of the party, member of the Cantonal Board Sarajevo, President of the youth forum, member of the Executive Board (Presidency) SBB Srebrenik, vice-president of the youth wing of the Municipal Board Sokolac, member of the Municipal Board of the party, President of the Youth Wing at the level of BiH, coordinator for international cooperation for the electoral unit 5, vice-president of the Municipal Board of the party, vice-president of the Youth Forum NS, member of the Presidency of the Municipal Board of the party, vice-president of the youth wing of the party for Tuzla canton, vice-president of the youth in the district, Secretary General of the Youth Wing of the party, member of the Executive Board of the party, Secretary of the Youth Activism Group of the party, member of the Cantonal Board of the party, member of the Main Board of Youth Association, vice-president of the Youth Forum SBB Tuzla, member of the National Assembly Presidency "Radom za boljitak", Cantonal President of FOM SDP for Zenica-Doboj canton, member of the Cantonal Council SBiH, Secretary of the cantonal organization SDP BiH HNK, party's PR, Secretary of the Regional Board of the party, member of the Center for Cadre Training of the Youth Council of the party, member of Executive Board SDA Zenica, President of the Youth Wing of the Regional Board, President of the Youth Forum HNK, member of the Supervisory Board of the Municipal Board of the party, member of Executive Board SDA Zenica, vice-president of the Youth Association of the party, Secretary of the Local Board, member of Development Council /Secretariat FOM SDP BiH, Secretary of FOM - municipal organization SDP Gračanica, President of Cantonal Board of the party, vice-president of the Youth Board DNS Banja Luka, member of the Commission for International Cooperation of the party.

Besides the mentioned positions within political parties, respondents also occupy decision-making positions in bodies of public administration and government institutions, and almost all of them stated that the Academy helped them in it. Some of positions that were or are occupied by Academy participants are the following: representatives in the National Assembly of Republic of Srpska, advisors in institutions of legislative and executive power, Chief of Staff at the Office of the President of Republic of Srpska, mayor, Head of Representatives' Club in municipal assembly, Assistant Representative at European Parliament for BiH, representative in the Assembly of HNK, representative – Head of Municipal Council Donji Vakuf, representative in the Assembly of Una-Sana Canton, representative in House of Peoples of FBiH, Vice-president of Municipal Assembly Laktaši, representative in Municipal Council Ilidža, municipal representative in Bugojno, representative in Municipal Council of Mostar, representative in Municipal Assembly Istočno Novo Sarajevo, Minister in Cantonal Government, representative in Federal Parliament, member of the Commission on Youth Issues of FBiH Parliament, municipal representative in Bosanski Petrovac, municipal representative in Stari grad - Sarajevo, municipal representative in Srebrenik, representative in Municipal Assembly Gradiška, representative in Municipal Assembly Istočno Sarajevo.

The role and success assessment of involvement of students – future representatives of academic community

As described in the introductory part and part related to modalities of Academy realization, the last three generations of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH (2014, 2015 and 2016) had the opportunity to attend lectures and cooperate with students from different universities in BiH. Some of students/Academy participants were also surveyed. The survey was performed with 21 students and the same questionnaire, only with the reduced number of questions relevant for comparison with Academy participants that come from political parties.

Out of the total number of respondents, 72% are females and 28% males. Years of birth are in the range 1990 – 1997, meaning they were 19-26 years old when interviewed. They are mainly from urban areas (86%), with small number coming from suburbs (9.5%), and several of them from rural areas. Majority of them attended the Academy in 2016 (71.4%), and equal numbers (14.3%) attended in 2015 and 2014. They all belong to some organization, with majority (43%) belonging to non-governmental organization. 81% have never attended other political education, so the Academy was their first education of the sort. 70% of respondents believe there is insufficient number of non-formal education in BiH, which is similar opinion to the one of Academy participants.

Regarding the claims that "youth from political parties should do more for the youth in their local communities", "for improvement of status of the youth in their community", and "readiness to initiate youth issues in their municipality", there is no statistically significant difference compared to opinions stated by Academy participants who come from political parties.

Also, regarding aspects of understanding the young activists

from youth organizations, personal readiness to help the youth in local communities and necessity of cooperation between youth organizations and political parties, there are no statistically significant differences compared to opinions stated by Academy participants who come from political parties. That leads to conclusion that the Academy treated all of its participants equally, whether them being young politicians or students of public and private universities, and it had the same influence on all of its participants.

Incredible 100% of respondents stated that they gained more knowledge of different social and political processes in BiH and EU while attending the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH!

Table 39. Review of gained knowledge assessment by topics coveredduring the Academy

1 – Insufficient, 2 – Sufficient, 3 -	- Good, 4 – Very good, 5 – Excellent
---------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

Public and media appearances skills	3.90
Basic leadership skills	3.65
Significance of politicians and media cooperation	4.20
Basic knowledge of European Union functioning	4.00
Political and diplomatic relations of BiH with other countries	4.17
Political system in BiH	4.13
General knowledge of human rights and obligations of BiH	4.33
Equality issue in BiH and possibility of improvement (women, children, youth, ethnic minorities and other groups)	4.33
Negotiation skills	3.60
The knowledge of processes and creating youth poli- cies and strategies	3.66

Majority of participants claimed that their network of contacts and cooperation was extended in BiH — 56% stated that extension was sufficient and very extensive, 38% stated it was slight exten-

sion, and no one stated there was no extension. Only 6% stated they did not know if the network was extended. These results also completely correspond (with minor discrepancies) to statements of Academy participants from political parties.

Regarding the greatest benefits from the Academy, students stated that it was readiness for political achievements; familiarizing with lectures' topics; connecting young people of different opinions from the whole BiH; meeting members of leading parties in BiH and having the opportunity to have discussions with other participants; extending the knowledge and skills with study topics; establishing quality basis for future political engagement; to get impressions of who actually really has self-esteem and cares about his own values and attitudes which are to general benefit - the benefit of the youth and of better future in BiH, and who are those who represent only their own interests or interests of their political parties; different way of work; new friendships; gaining the knowledge that is applicable in practice and a wish to further develop as a person, activist, journalist; beautiful experience that was short, but praiseworthy project; meeting the future young political leaders; training of young leaders for future political career by democracy principles and fight for human rights.

Apart from the Academy program, only 28.6% of respondents have had any other form of concrete cooperation with other youth. It is connected to the duration of training for this category of youth. That cooperation was mostly related to interviewing young politicians by students of journalism and media, and to participation at conferences and seminars.

81% of respondents agree that the Academy contributed to increased level of self-confidence and acting in social engagements, while 19% do not know. It is close to the result of respondents from political parties.

The Academy also helped advancement in other social aspects (faculty, interpersonal cooperation...), as confirmed by almost 86% respondents.

Regarding the application of knowledge and skills gained during the Academy, respondents stated the following:

l do not	I mostly do	Some-	I mostly	I do apply
apply	not apply	times	apply	
0	14,3	38,1	28,6	19

Table 40. Application of knowledge and skills

It is noticeable that respondents from political parties apply the knowledge and skills a bit more. The most important knowledge and skills respondents apply are the following: negotiation skills, leadership, general knowledge of EU work, general knowledge of human rights, importance of cooperation, communication, media, equality, political system in BIH, situation of the youth in BiH, political and diplomatic relations of BiH with other countries. Also, the knowledge and skills of media appearance, dress code, virtues of good leadership, codes of institutions, etc. are also being applied.

Asked to assess their opinion on scale 1-5 (1 being lowest and 5 the highest assessment) of the **change of electoral legislation in BiH**, and on initiation of the issue of gender equality, respondents gave their answers and the average assessment at the level of respondent was 4. It shows that Academy participants believe it is necessary to change electoral legislation in BiH.

Table 41. General assessment of the Academy

On scale 1-5 (1 being the lowest, and 5 the highest grade):

General assessment of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH Academy participants – young politicians	4,81
General assessment of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH Academy participants – students of BiH universities	4,76

Discussion

It is noticeable that each of the three represented modern models of political education has its specificities.

Education by international organizations are, in most cases and with the exception of National Democratic Institute that stated they included all political parties but one, aimed at training the youth from political parties that belong to one political and ideological orientation, whether it be left or right orientation. Advantage of such trainings is in making the values promoted by that type of parties feel closer and more familiar to new members. Also, it contributes to interparty cooperation of the parties of the same orientation, which might result in common appearance and action. Challenges of such education models may be animosities arisen from nonexistent contacts and common work with other parties that do not belong to the same "wing". Animosity often creates polarized relations and stereotypes, even before any cooperation or fight for power, which might have unfavorable results, especially in post conflict societies and societies in transition.

Educations by political parties or intraparty education represent internal trainings on party values, procedures, directions of work, so they do not include "external factors", or they include it very rarely. Such education is good for motivating and animating of new members, familiarizing with procedures and getting to know human resource potential. Practice has shown that the most important moments are when the party leader gives a lecture and talks to participants. Most often those are the most attended meetings. The challenge is in that such type of education brings political party to be "occupied by itself", decreasing the interaction with "different and diverse". Also, education within political party contributes to relationship between lecturers and participants becoming of the character "claw me and I will claw thee" [the context of folk proverbs, author's remark], in the sense of focusing topics and glorifying persons and actions without any critical approach. This model of political education is recommended as one of phases in processes of youth political education.

Model implemented by non-governmental organizations gath-

ers the youth from political parties regardless of their political orientation. That contributes to better understanding of diversity. increase of tolerance, but also carries the risk of intolerant behavior. Since this model lasts for one calendar year (as applied in the Academy for Political Leaders inBiH), it is welcome for building relations among participants which later, as the research demonstrated, result in cooperation and common activities. It is bad if the relations are negative ones that might deepen as such during the training. Gathering of diversity at one place and opening of dialogue between "other and different" contributes to building of relations based on critical approach, considered beliefs and reasoned discussions. Such type of relations creates connections between future decision makers who realize the importance of a dialogue, increase in political culture, tolerance and common acting. The challenge such model faces is in predicting and foreseeing situations that create the risk of disturbing relations, promoting intolerance and favoring prejudices.

If we compare results of this research to results of research and ranking of the wanted topics in further education of the youth from political parties from 2005 (Dušanić, Trninić, 2006: 30), it is clear that majority of political trainings have not completely met the needs of attendees. The subject of *team work* was the most wanted topic, and now it is at 7th place of covered and wanted topics. *Negotiating skills* were not covered at all in majority of trainings although it was highly ranked subject (at 2nd place). During the last several years this topic has got a bit more attention and it has been covered in several modules. The same applies to the topic of strategic planning, which is at 13th place now, and it was 3rd topic participants in 2005 wanted to cover. The only situation where wanted and presently ranked topics, covered through political education, met is at the bottom of the list of wanted topics: project *writing* was at 10th place and it remained there. *work monitoring* and evaluation were at 12th position and now occupy 14th and 15th place. The discrepancy of wishes and the offer is significant, and it has been mitigated by the offer of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH (model of political education by non-governmental organizations), which covered topics wanted by participants

in its program: negotiating skills, campaign leading, cooperation of government and citizens, relations with media, presentation skills. When we take a look at evaluations of subjects covered in modules of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, we see that, considering the average evaluation or the rank of evaluation, they are at the level of "very good". This is a high mark, not only nominally, but also no topic got lower evaluation. This might be explained by the fact that covering of each of these topics had both theoretical and practical part. Participants had the opportunity and obligation to actively participate in interactive education, involve in discussions, give and accept other opinions. It seems that participants find that very interesting and very useful, and it especially became obvious when lectures and practical exercises were joined by student from BiH universities, enriching all interactions. It should be noticed that these results were confirmed by comparing the research from 2012 with results obtained in 2016 research.

Almost identical percentage was given by participants to *un*derstanding the youth from non-governmental organizations and readiness to help those young people in relation to realization of programs of non-governmental organizations. It might be related to the fact that the value of understanding is the same or very similar to the value of help and support, at least when dealing with relation of the youth from political parties with the youth from non-governmental organizations. Even 78% of them stated that it is necessary to realize cooperation between the youth from political parties and youth from non-governmental organizations, and 87-91% expressed the wish to personally engage in that cooperation.

Very diverse, almost indeterminate attitude without expressed majority is the opinion that youth organizations (non-governmental) spend a lot of money with no concrete results. Out of the total number of respondents, 22% agree with that completely or mostly. The highest percent of respondents (42%) stated they were not sure. But, if the result is expressed through descriptive statistics, we see that evaluation of that attitude is 2.8. Compared to the research from 2005, when that number was 2.58, a slight improvement in decreasing of suspicions and stereotypes regarding the work of youth organizations is evident. It may be concluded that animosity

still exists, despite of readiness of both sides to cooperate and help each other. This might be of interest for research in the future, since almost identical percentage of the youth is active in political parties and youth non-governmental organizations.

If data from this research are compared to data from the research of the youth in politics from 2005 (Dušanić, Trninić, 2006: 33), related to participation of the youth in programs of political parties and youth's satisfaction with those programs, it is noticeable there is no significant difference in attitudes. Almost identical percentage exists in both researches for the same question. Since these are unofficial data, and there was neither time nor space to research the presence of the youth in more detail, we must hypothesize that such percentage expresses the level of being informed about programs and the presence of the youth in those programs. In relation to satisfaction with those programs, there is also almost identical result in the part of the answer related to positive attitudes. There are some differences in the part dealing with negative attitudes, having the percentage of those who are a bit satisfied with youth programs in political parties decreased. All that leads to conclusion that, although the difference in views of the youth from political parties slightly differs among researches from 2005, 2011 and 2017, there is still the decrease of dissatisfaction with youth programs in political parties.

Having in mind that a large number of political parties in BiH went to local elections in 2012 and 2016 with candidate lists containing anything from several to over 30 names per list, the average position of young candidates, being around 10th place on the list, represents their significant success in managing to get good position on the list within the party. According to laws that are in effect in BiH (Republic of Srpska and Federation BiH) and that are related to the number of representatives in assemblies/councils of local self-management units, the number of representatives is limited to 11 - 31. Average position at 10th place is optimistic for young candidate because it creates, hypothetically, the great probability of good election result and winning of representative mandate in the local assembly or council, realizing the possibility to make decisions that would improve the situation of citizens in the local community.

Regarding the respondents who had advanced, the advancement meant that the status was changed for the "better", i.e. that they took over responsibilities and obligations within certain "functions" and "bodies" of the political party. According to statements of respondents, these are the following: president of the youth of regional board, active member of the forum, vice-president of the party, president of the municipal board of the party, secretary general of the youth wing of the party, head of caucus in municipal assembly, member of the youth board of the party, member of executive board and municipal board of the party, vice-president of the youth wing of the party, member of the party's main board, member of the party's commission on international cooperation, technical secretary of the party, president of the local board within municipal organization of the party, member of the team for information within party's main board, member of center for cadre education within youth council, vice-president of the party's local board, coordinator for international cooperation for electoral unit 5, etc.

Among the first group of participants of the Academy 2007-2011, 43.70% advanced within their political parties, while the percentage in the second group of participants is 45.88%. Although numbers suggest the slight advantage of the second group, we consider the difference to be insignificant. The conclusion remains that Academy participants had sustainable advancement regardless of circumstances between two parts of the research.

Besides advancement within political party, participants of the Academy also advanced their positions in institutions in which important decisions in the sphere of public life are made. Now it may be said that positions occupied by respondents carry much responsibility and they are also very representative. Majority of them stated that the Academy helped them in doing so.

Special dynamics and increased interactions were given to trainings by involvement of students from different private and public universities in BiH. Their role, apart from gaining new knowledge and skills, was to develop the network and mutual relations between future decision makers and representatives of academic community.

CONCLUSION



CONCLUSION

Summing up of the results of research and analyzing the data obtained using different methodology, we must emphasize that political education brings results, particularly in terms of training of attendees in different skills, knowledge and competencies that are applicable for political engagement as well as for civic engagement of individuals.

Political education cannot be organized without cooperation of different sectors in a society. Independently conducted education does not bring appropriate results. Building of political leadership requires a multidisciplinary and multisectoral approach and it also requires cooperation above all. Here, we would above all emphasize on the cooperation between the governmental institutions and civil society organizations. It is necessary to use and apply modalities and experiences of other countries.

Rarely has any model of political education in BiH achieved an effect of progress and positioning of young political leaders to accountable positions as was the case, which was achieved by the Academy of Political Leaders in BiH (2007-2016).

Young people decide to enroll in political education for several reasons: investment in and development of personal capacities, desire to learn new things and current events, and desire to progress in political structures. A special aspect is development of leadership in the area of political work and other social engagement. If the young are differently observed and classified according to two groups, being the young in political parties and the young in civil society organizations, it may be concluded that, in political parties, the primary goals of education of youth are: motivation and education of members, building and strengthening of party structures, harmonization of organizational capacities with the number of members, realization and long-term maintenance of good electoral results. Personal goals of youth coming from political parties are building and enrichment of their personalities with new knowledge and skills that would enable them to develop the role of a leader. Civil society organization youth were, above all, invited to political education, so as to get trained in knowledge about political

processes and learn about political tolerance, common activities, cooperative relations, learn about the principles of pluralist democracy and become socially and politically functional. The common thing underlying the process of political education is training an individual to develop and take over responsibility and bring decisions, respecting every form of diversity and common interest.

In the majority of cases, having analyzed modalities of political educations, there is no a system of keeping, monitoring and analyzing the results and effects of educational endeavors done by different political and social stakeholders in BiH. This is particularly emphasized in the part "Contemporary Models of Political Education of Youth in BiH". The most complete documentation and data have been preserved, monitored, kept and were available in the nongovernmental organization, which implements one of the models of political education.

Modeling of political education should be created on the basis of creative management postulates, as well as principles of political education, combining modalities and effects taken from the recognized democracy countries and new democracy countries that have dealt with these questions for a longer period of time.

Based on the overview of different models of political education, starting from Plato to "Deyton" (thinking here, above all, about the phase of development of democratic relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which started after establishing of peace and upon signing the Dayton Peace Accords on 21 November 1995), an efficient model of political education of youth in BiH must be a theory-based, research-supported and systematically-organized model of management and informal education that will respond to the needs of the final user. It must have an equal share of theory and practice. Topics must be based on scientific facts and practical examples. Practical examples should be presented by those who are experienced in this topic and who have been involved into political and social processes (political leaders, diplomats, ambassadors of other countries, governmental institutions officials, and such). It is necessary for the attendees to go through different processes and simulations of actual political activities, so as to obtain feedback on success. Information that are given to training attendees must

be updated, official and relevant with regards to the topic. This education must have a practical part that will provide to attendees to exercise the theories and scientific assumptions. Such practical segments of education are best implemented in the cooperation with other young people, of similar age limits, as are the education attendees. It turned out that it is the most efficient to develop interaction with the students of public and private universities that study political and other relevant social and humanist sciences, which are relevant for this type of training. It must be implemented in cooperation with the institutions that have political and social significance, as well as to be presented and constantly monitored and valued by the management. Political education management, during the entire process of education, must consistently insist on the rules and rule books for work, as well as to be in a constant relationship with attendees of education, advocate for their interests and present their achievements to political parties and the society. This contributes to the development of political leadership on the basis of positive values of the results-based models.

Based on the analysis, we have realized that an efficient model must be in accordance with the parameters of efficient learning of skills that contain the four essential components: (1) setting the goal, (2) modeling, (3) practice and (4) feedback.

The models present in contemporary political educations, which are primarily conducted by nongovernmental organizations, is relevant for the "new democracy" countries (Heywood, 2004: 70), as one of the characteristics of the post-communist regime is the need to deal with the political and cultural consequences of the communist rule. Ruthless censorship and suppression of the opposition, which were in the bases of the monopoly of the communist party rule, have disabled successful development of citizenship culture that emphasizes on participation, negotiations and consensus. Trained young political leaders, according to such a model and in combination with elements of other models, present, in such circumstances and societies, an initiation and significant human resource of a "democratic bridge" (Bzezinjski, 2001: 57). Political leadership, established and developed in this way, should advocate for the concept of development of the civilian sector and society,

instead of just representing the interests of certain social groups.

Lecturers and presenters at political educations must be form the order of experienced politicians and statesmen and coming from high state positions/functions. In addition to them, there also need to be experts in certain areas. It is necessary to get familiar with the significance and appeal to the lecturers for the significance of sharing personal experience in political and social work. Presence of those who have achieved some effect should be enabled through monitoring and evaluating of the process and results of lecturing, presentation and training, thereby, avoiding those whose efforts have not resulted in a certain performance.

A structured, well-prepared and consistently implemented model of political education undoubtedly leads to building of political leadership of a democratic type. In addition to obtaining new knowledge and skills and exchanging experience, advancement within a political party, reputation and self-confidence, influence over the older colleagues, influences within a political party, advancement in other social aspects outside the political engagement, are the largest benefits of the political education model of nongovernmental organizations.

Although a large number of respondents have stated that there is very little or little of informal political education, while there are specific desires for certain themes, political education (of international organizations and inter-party education) have not sufficiently responded to the need of political party youth in BiH. It may be stated that organization of political education has not had a character of a strategic approach. An efficient model of political education should be based on the implemented research of political party youth wings and education topics should be selected according to research results. An efficient model for strategic response to the expressed desires for further education of youth wings presents a recommendation for the application, not just in BiH, but also in other countries of post-socialist background, post-conflict experience and multi-ethnic population structure. Those countries are the Balkan countries in the region, Moldova and the countries of the "Euro-Asian" Balkan (Bzezinjski, 2001: 117).

A model of political education of nongovernmental organiza-

tions contributes to sensitization and social accountability of the vouth wings, as a potential and human resource in a local community to improve the community. This is connected to the four special historical roots of the non-profit sector and principles of the civil society: philanthropy and desire to help people, helping within the local communities through mutual helping and self-help, desire to improve the living conditions through political and economic interventions and existence of joint interests. Political education initiatives initiated and implemented by nonprofit organizations are based in the valid domestic laws and international practice expressed and verified at the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations, Group 7, consisting of nonprofit organizations dealing with the areas of "Law, advocating and politics" as well as according to the concepts of informal education in accordance with the domestic and international documents, as describe in a part of this paper.

Although some models have, to a larger or smaller extent, responded to the needs for political education of youth wings, it is necessary to permanently research the needs, create the programs in accordance with desires and needs of the education users, as well as open up space for creative approaches and new challenges in political education of youth.

When it comes to the respondents, there is an expressed personal readiness to establish cooperation of the young from youth nongovernmental organizations and with other political parties' youth, as there is a prevailing attitude to jointly resolve the issues of the young. Such a finding points out towards founding of the basic premise and values of the civil society, as a framework for successful cooperation, amongst other, of the nongovernmental/nonprofit sector and political parties as well as mutually between political parties.

Political education, representing cohesion of diversities, achieve the requirements for maintenance of new acquaintances and cooperation, even after the education has been completed. This presents a significant human resource and social capital relevant for post-conflict societies of new democracies.

After political education, a slight growth of satisfaction of youth

has been noted with the representation of youth in political parties' programs.

In addition to the education program, which is created for everyone to have a possibility to attend it, under equal terms, it is necessary to include in it writing of seminar papers, through which the attendees will express their individual creativity and give their personal contribution to the exchange of knowledge and information. It is necessary to present this experience to the other attendees. This model used to be also represented during political education created by the former state, the SFR of Yugoslavia during the political school of the Communist Party.

By applying the research methods, analyzing the results and different models of recent and distant history, as well as contemporary models of political education, the hypothesis of structured, long-term and cohesive political education of the young in BiH got confirmed; they can be efficient in the development of youth in the area of political training and engagement in order to raise a level of political culture, communication, cooperation and enable an efficient political decision-making.

Elaborating on this topic could lead to a rather deep analysis of different factors and aspects of political education of youth. Although the research conducted in 2012 with one group of respondents (the first five generations of attendees of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH. 2007-2011), as well as in 2017 with another group of respondents (the remaining five generations of the attendees of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2012-2016), what this paper is denied of is the impossibility of assessment and evaluation of long-term effects of youth education on social and political processes. The paper has partially dealt with this phenomenon in a way that it has created an overview of advancement of attendees within the political parties and coming in office to perform different levels of government. It turned out that significant effects have been drawn, however, there is no significant difference in the advancement immediately after attending the Academy or if it happens several years after that. Certainly, time is not a factor guaranteeing progress, but the modality and quality of political education.

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ATTACHMENTS

- 1. Materials of the political school in Kumrovec (1975-1990)
- Work plan
- Work evaluation
- Seminar paper title
- 2. Work pan of the Political Academy of the Fridrich Ebert Foundation
- 3. List of attendees of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2007-2016
- 4. Sample work plan of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2007-2016
- 5. Photographs from education sessions

Attachment 1: Materials of the political school in Kumrovec (1975-1990)

Work plan

ZAJEDNICA POLAZNIKA POLITIČKE ŠKOLE SKJ "JOSIP BROZ TITO"

KUMROVEC

Prijedlog

PLAN RADA PREDSEDNIŠTVA ZAJEDNICE POLAZNIKA POLITIČKE ŠKOLE SKJ "JOSIP BROZ TITO" VII GENERACIJE ZA PERIOD OKTOBAR 1981. -JUNI 1982. GODINE

Kumrovec, 2. 11. 1981.

Politička škola SKJ "Josip Broz Tito",Kumrovec Institut za medjunarodnu politiku i privredu, Beograd Institut za zemlje u razvoju, Zagreb

> Seminar "JUGOSLAVIJA I NOVI MEDJUNARODNI EKONOMSKI POREDAK"

Kumrovec, 29 - 31. mart 1982.

PROGRAM RADA

ponedjeljak, 29. mart

	OTVARANJE SEMINARA , - Duron Migmovic' dra. skok
16,15 - 17,15 ^h	UVODNO IZLAGANJE
	Miloš Minić, član Predsjednišva SFRJ
17,15 - 17,30 h.	Pauza
17,30 - 18,15 ^h	TITOVA POLITIKA NESVRSTANOSTI I NOVI MEDJUNARODNI EKONOMSKI POREDAK - dr Ranko Petković
18,15 - 20,00 ^h	Pitanja i diskusija

8,00 - 8,45 ^h	REZULTATI DOSADAŠNJIH NAUČNIH ISTRAŽIVANJA O NOVOM MEDJUNARODNOM EKONOMSKOM POREDKU U SFRJ - dr Rikard Štajner
8,45 - 9,00 ^h	Pauza
9,00 - 9,45 ^h	REZULTATI DOSADAŠNJIH NAUČNIH ISTRAŽIVANJA O NOVOM MEDJUNARODNOM EKONOMSKOM POREDKU U SFRJ - dr Tomislav Popović
9,45 - 10,00 ^h	Pauza
10,00 - 13,00 ^h	Pitanja i diskusija

	- 2 -
16,00 - 16,45 ^h	MEDJUNARODNA AKCIJA ZA IZGRADNJU NOVOG MEDJUNAKODNOG EKONOMSKOG POREDKA - Ljubomir Sekulić, specijalni savjetnik u SSIP-u
16,45 - 17,00 ^h	Pauza
17,00 - 17,30 ^h	Pitanja i diskusija
17,30 - 18,15 ^h	SURADNJA SA ZEMLJAMA U RAZVOJU - dr Slavko Kulić
18,15 - 19,00 ^h	Pitanja i diskusija

9,00 - 9,45 ^h	SARADNJA SA ZEMLJAMA U RAZVOJU - dr Boris Cizelj
9,45 - 10,00 ^h	Pauza
10,00 - 12,00 ^h	Pitanja i diskusija

Mole se učesnici da za vrijeme trajanja seminara pogledaju izložbu knjiga na temu "JUGOSLAVIJA I NOVI MEDJUNARODNI EKONOMSKI PO-REDAK" u diskusionom kabinetu br. 6.
Evaluation of work

"JOSIP BROZ TITO" Nastavna 1981/62. codin Sodma generacija

Predati nakon uvodnog izlaganja

INTERVJU

za učesnike predavanja 29. marta 1982. godine

Nakon uvodnog izlaganja na temu: Uloga SKJ u sistemu socijalističkog samoupravljanje ..., iznosim neposredne utiske:

- I. Uvodno izlaganje je:
 - a) pokrenulo bitna pitanja, pa me zadovoljilo;
 - b) umjesto isnesenon, trebalo je obraditi ova pitanja:
- II. Imam utisak da bi u diskusiji trebalo raspraviti sljedaća ritanja:
- JII. Iznosim probleme sa kojima sam se susretao u dosađašnjem radu u vezi sa pitanjima koja su izložena u uvodnom izlaganju:
 - IV. Iznosim i ostala pitanja, sugestije, pokrećem inicijative, a na što me podstaklo uvodno izlazanje: _______

Za odgovore i komentare se može koristiti sav prazan prostor, priključiti drugi papir i sl. Zahvaljujemo na saradnji.

(Za potpis, koji žele)

Headline of seminar paper

CENTAR ZA MARKSISTIČKO OBRAZOVANJE I POLITIČKE STUDIJE "VESELIN MASLEŠA " B A NJ A L U K A SEMINARSKI RAD TEMA: MJESTO I ULOGA OMLADINSKE ORGANIZACIJE U OUR, MJESNOJ ZAJEDNICI I ŠKOLI Temu obradili : Banjaluka ,decembra 1975. godine 1) Esapović Zlatko 2) Vajrača Mehmed

Attachment 2: Work pan of the Political Academy of the Fridrich Ebert Foundation



PROGRAM PR u politici - Političko komuniciranje

10.00 Pozdravna riječ

Aleksandar Batez, Centar za studentsku demokratiju Banja Luka. 10.15-11.00 Upravljanje komuniciranjem - Višnja Knežević, novinarka Zadar nauka Banja Luka 12.30-12.45 Pauza

14.00-15.00 Pauza

15.00-16.00 Razvoj fenomena izborne kampanje u BiH - Gavrilo Antonić,

b Petak, 08. jul 2011.

10.00-11.30 Osnovne komunikacijske instance zvaničnih internet prezentacija političkih partija u Republici Srpskoj u vrijeme predizborne kampanje 2010. godine - Ognjen Radović, Komunikološki fakultet Banja Luka 11.30-12.30 Verbalna i neverbalna komunikacija u javnom nastupu Aleksandar Aničić, Centar za studentsku demokratiju, Banja Luka 12.30-13.30 Pauza

13.30-14.30 Političko komuniciranje u BiH - Milovan Milutinović, Nezavisni

14.30-15.30 Politički marketing - Zoran Kalinić, Nezavisni univerzitet BL 15.30-16.30 Razgovor sa gošćom Političke akademije Svetlanom Cenić o aktuelnoj političkoj i ekonomskoj situaciji u BiH

Subota, 09. jul 2011.

10.00-11.00 Fenomen "plave krave" u političkom komuniciranju -Aleksandar Aničić, Centar za studentsku demokratiju Banja Luka

11.00-12.00 Prikazivanje priloga o komuniciranju političkih partija sa gradanima / biračima - Nenad Trbić i Vlatko Vukotić, urednici Vijesti ATV 12.00-13.00 Mediji i političke partije - Vlado Šušak, novinar - urednik BHTV1, Moderacija: Aleksandar Batez, Centar za studentsku demokratiju Banja Luka

Attachment 3: List of attendees of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2007-2016

Attendee	Political party	City/Municipality
Dragana Gadža	PzT	Trebinje
Mila Ćebedžija	PzT	Trebinje
Aleksandra Blagojević	PDP	Pale
Dejan Petijević	PzT	Trebinje
Erna Skulić	LDS	Sarajevo
Enida Hrbat	LDS	Sarajevo
Slađana Sokić	SNSD	Zvornik
Ivan Popović	SNSD	Zvornik
Marko Vidaković	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Slađana Koljančić	PDP	Banja Luka
Danijel Dragičević	SNSD	Zvornik
Miloš Lučić	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Nataša Trifković	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Dejan Šešelj	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Sanja Gaco	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Bojan Bošnjak	NSRzB	Zenica
Vahida Bebanić	NSRzB	Mostar
Milovan Polovina	DNS	Prijedor
Dalibor Kljajić	PDP	Derventa
Adis Nadarević	LDS	Bosanski Petrovac
Rajko Romić	SNSD	Gradiška
Tomislav Kovačević	SNSD	Gradiška
Kenan Keserović	DNZ	Velika Kladuša

Adnan Geljo	PzT	Trebinje
Aleksandra Danilović	PzT	Trebinje
Edin Behrić	NSRzB	Cazin
Krešimir Šakić	NSRzB	Široki Brijeg
Katarina Klarić	NSRzB	Zenica
Mirela Isaković	NSRzB	Zenica
Ana Rikanović	NSRzB	Bijeljina
Ognjen Gajić	DNS	Banja Luka
Igor Kljajić	DNS	Banja Luka
Mihajlo Paraš	DNS	Prijedor
Mirjana Vučković	DNS	Prijedor
Damir Kljajić	PDP	Derventa
Mirko Ratković	PDP	Banja Luka
Goran Jakovljević	PDP	Banja Luka
Seudin Novalić	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Tea Trivić	SNSD	Banja Luka
Dijana Čolić	SNSD	I. Sarajevo
Mileva Ninković	SNSD	Banja Luka
Nataša Savić	SNSD	Gradiška
Miloš Blagojević	SNSD	Banja Luka
Nemanja Panić	SNSD	Gradiška
Aida Buljubašić	SzBiH	Sarajevo
Alija Nurkić	SzBH	Živinice
Haris Sejdić	SDA	Tešanj
Grigor Samardžić	DP	Banja Luka
Nikolina Bošnjak	PDP	Banja Luka
Bojana Vezmar	PDP	Banja Luka
Saša Panić	DNS	Laktaši
Senad Hašić	SDA	Lukavica

Dragana Šmitran	SNSD	Gradiška
Milkica Petrović	DNS	Bijeljina
Dejan Pavić	DNS	Bijeljina
Dušan Jovanović	DNS	Bijeljina
Helena Planinić	NSRzB	Mostar
Nikolina Malčić	DNS	Banja Luka
Jasmina Krzić	NS	Tuzla
Ljiljana Vasić	PDP	Sarajevo
Mario Mikulić	HDZ	Mostar
Edna Mahmić-Gurda	NSRzB	Olovo
Dragana Gruban	SRS	Prijedor
Josip Bazina	HSP (Đ-J)	Mostar
Stjepan Petrović	HDZ	Vitez
Milena Kontić	DNS	Banja Luka
Bojan Stanković	SDS	Banja Luka
Aleksandar Jovanović	DNS	Banja Luka
Anja Petrović	PDP	I. Sarajevo
Rade Hadži-Stević	SDS	Bijeljina
Vedran Francuz	SDS	Gradiška
Svjetlana Marković	SNSD	Banja Luka
Ibrahim Kovačević	SDA	Cazin
Eldin Šarić	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Jasmin Spahić	SDP BiH	K. Dubica
Novica Koroman	SDS	Pale
Boris Jovanović	DNS	Bijeljina
Aleksandra Zubić	DNS	Banja Luka
Boris Šuman	HSP	Mostar
Duško Jerković	Nova SP	Gradiška
Maja Bakula	PDP	I. Sarajevo

Marina Pavić	DP	Banja Luka
Haris Šečić	SzBiH	Sarajevo
Marinko Božović	SDS	I. Sarajevo
Nermina Gušo	BOSS	Sarajevo
Vanja Šušnjar	SNSD	Banja Luka
Toni Čuljak	HSP	Mostar
Sanja Trninić	SNSD	Banja Luka
Bojana Paspalj	SNSD	Gradiška
Bojana Regojević	SNSD	Kneževo
Anel Kljako	SBB	Mostar
Božana Škorić	SNSD	Banja Luka
Elvis Gološ	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Belma Šehić	SBB	Zenica
Vladimir Zec	DP	Banja Luka
Safer Grbić	SDA	Tešanj
Bojana Miodragović	DNS	Prijedor
Irfan Čengić	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Pero Barišić	SDS	Banja Luka
Marija Pašajlić	DNS	Banja Luka
Ljiljana Čeko	SNSD	K. Dubica
Nataša Miletić	SDS	Foča
Aleksandra Tolj	SDS	I. Sarajevo
Milica Berak	SNSD	Trebinje
Jozo Ćosić	HDZ 1990	Livno
Damir Glas	HDZ 1990	Mostar
Boris Vujović	SNS	Bratunac
Dragana Tomić	SzDS	Bratunac
Ilda Alibegović	SBB	Bihać
Ivan Jelić	HDZ 1990	Bihać

Alisa Dedić	A-SDA	Bihać
Muamer Mehić	SDA	Zenica
Adel Sinanović	SBB	Zenica
Almina Husejnović	SDA	Zenica
Melika Kasumović	SBB	Tuzla
Merima Softić	SDP BiH	Tuzla
Sabina Vodeničarević	SDA	Tuzla
Armin Droce	SDA	Mostar
Alma Pelo	SDP BiH	Mostar
Budimir Ignjatov	DNS	Bijeljina
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Zeljana Berovic	SNSD	Bijeljina
Hana Milak	SDP BiH	Livno
Ivica Bodulušić	NSRzB	Livno
Slavko Višekruna	SNS	Bosansko Grahovo
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Zerina Pacariz	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Nedim Delić	SDA	Sarajevo
Maldino Stojkić	HDZ 1990	Mostar
Radmila Samardžić	SDS	Banja Luka
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Dragan Majkić	DNS	Banja Luka
Frano Krišto	HDZ 1990	Livno
Bogdan Bogdanović	NDS	Doboj
Nedim Delić	SDA	Sarajevo
Suzana Đukić	SP	Banja Luka
Luka Duvnjak	SDS	Banja Luka

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Saša Dobričanin	SP	Banja Luka
Dušan Kondić	SDS	Kozarska Dubica
Berina Proho	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Petar Jokanović	SP	Banja Luka
Aleksandar Pikula	SBB	Nevesinje
Irma Čolaković	SBB	Maglaj
Deana Denjiz	SDS	Teslić
Aleksandra Banović	DNS	Banja Luka
Hana Isaković	NSRzB	Zenica
Nihad Uk	NS	Sarajevo
Berin Šahbegović	SBB	Sarajevo
Emir Ustavdić	SBB	Sarajevo
Stefan Dragičević	SDS	Brčko
Duška Boškan	SNSD	Mrkonjić Grad
Jovanka Lukić	SDS	Banja Luka
Haris Topalović	SDA	Sarajevo
Mile Aljetić	SDS	Banja Luka
Irhana Čajdin	SDP BiH	Bugojno
Jasenko Jovančić	NS	Sarajevo
Darko Kuzmanović	SDS	Teslić
Bogdan Majkić	DNS	Banja Luka
Sanja Karalić	DNS	Banja Luka
Edis Kavgić	SBB	Srebrenik
Adelisa Kasumović	SBB	Lukavac
Jelena Kunić	SNSD	Drvar
Alma Durmiš	DF	Zenica
Snježana Grbić	KP	Banja Luka
Dobrica Kucalović	SDS	Zvornik
Dimitrije Vrtić	DNS	Banja Luka

Jovana Lalić	SDS	Sokolac
Adnan Čirak	SBB	Tuzla
Azra Hadžić	SBB	Bihać
Arnesa Dževahirić	SBB	Bugojno
Armin Mehanović	SDP BIH	Gračanica
Miloš Kovačević	SNSD	Laktaši
Adnan Družić	SDP BiH	Bosanski Petrovac
Zelimir Uric	SDS	Srbac
Hana Imširović	SBB	Sarajevo
Edin Suljović	SBB	Sarajevo
Redzo Lemezan	Nasa Stranka	Sarajevo
Natalija Miletić	DNS	Prijedor
Unzila Sijah	SBB	Travnik
Marija Ćeškić	HSP (AS)	Široki Brijeg
Nikola Bogdanović	SDS	Banja Luka
Naser Rujanac	SBB	Donji Vakuf
Josipović Slaviša	DNS	Banja Luka
Adrijana Prskalo	HDZ BIH	Prozor-Rama
Amra Fejzić	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Jasmin Hasanović	SDP BiH	Sarajevo
Dragan Pajić	PDP	Banjaluka
Bojan Babić	SDS	Banja Luka
Stefan Vasilić	SDS	Banja Luka
Nikola Zlojutro	SDS	Kozarska Dubica
Neira Memić	SBB	Lukavac
Sandra Erkić	SNSD	Zvornik
Elvin Okugić	PS	Bihać
Vladimir Pejičić	SDS	Istočna Ilidza
Majda Ćajić	SBB	Lukavac
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Dino Felić	SDA	Bihać
Adi Selman	SBB	Tuzla

List of Political Parties

DNZ - DNS - DP - SDS - Nova SP - BOSS -	Democratic People's Union Democratic People's Alliance Democratic Party Serbian Democratic Party New Socialist Party Bosnian Party
SNSD - NSRzB -	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats People's Party for Betterment
PzT -	Movement for Trebinje
LDS -	Liberal Democratic Party
PDP -	Party of Democratic Progress
SDP BiH -	Social Democratic Party of BiH
SBiH -	Party for BiH
SDA -	Party of Democratic Action
NS -	Our Party (Nasa stranka)
HDZ BiH -	Croatian Democratic Union of BiH
SRS -	Serbian Radical Party
HSP (Ð-J) -	Croatian Party of Rights - Đapić-Jurišić
HSP -	Croatian Party of Rights
SBB -	Union for a Better Future
HDZ 1990 -	Croatian Democratic Union 1990
SP -	Socialist Party
SNS -	Serbian Progressive Party
DF -	Democratic Front
KP -	Communist Party
NDS -	People's Democratic Party
PS -	The First Bosnian-Herzegovian Party
SzDS -	Alliance for Democratic Srpska
A-SDA -	A-Party of Democratic Action
HSP (AS) -	Croation Party of Rights dr Ante Starčević

Attachment 4: Sample work plan of the Academy for Political Leaders in BiH, 2007-2016

Youth in Diplomacy and European Integration Work plan

1 DAN	
do 15:00	Arrival of participants
15:00 - 15:45	Opening of Module 3 Perpetuum mobile – Institute for Youth and Communi- ty Development
15:45 - 16:15	Break
16:15 - 18:15	BiH and USA (Visit to US Embassy) H.E. Maureen Cormack, US Ambassador in BiH
18:15 - 18:30	Pauza
18:30 - 19:30	BiH and Russia H.E. Petr Ivancov, Ambassador Of Russian Federation
2 DAN	
10:00 - 11:00	Political System in BiH (RS & FBiH) Mladen Ivanić, Chairman of BiH Presidency Haris Bašić, Chief of Cabinet of the Bosniac Member of the Presidency
11:30 - 13:30	Visit to Parliamentary assembly of BiH
14:00 - 15:30	Lunch
15:30 - 16:30	European Union and BIH Renzo Daviddi, Deputy Head of EU Delegation in BiH
3 DAN	
9:30 - 11:00	Communication and Profile of Young Politicians Besim Spahić, PhD, University of Sarajevo
11:00 - 11:30	Break

11:30 - 12:30	Role of Diplomacy in EU Integration Mladen Bosić, President of Serbian Democratic Party
12:30 - 14:00	Lunch
14:00 - 15:30	Role of Political Leaders in EU Integration Irfan Čengić, General Secretary of SDP
15:30 - 16:00	Break
16:00 - 17:30	Presentation of Seminar papers
4 DAN	
	IPA Funds - EU Instrument for
9:00 - 10:30	Pre-accession Assistance Emina Pašić, expert
10:30 - 11:00	Break
11:00 - 12:30	Institutions of European Union Milovan Peulić, Head of Department for European In- tegration in Ministry of Industry, Energy and Mining of the Republic of Srpska Government
12:30 - 13:00	Evaluation, Lunch and Departure of participants













Diploma ceremony Academy for political leaders in BiH 2007 -2016

2007





















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Review excerpt:

"The generation of young people who are now entering the adulthood has debts of their parents' generation and also an imperative to build functional and mature society. The knowledge they will gain before entering serious politics is therefore of the key importance. That knowledge represents the key for the lock of freedom and insurance against political imprudence and shortsightedness.

The task of this generation of young people is to show their human and political greatness, skillfulness to keep the society in the zone of peace, mutual respect and development. Young people gain numerous skills through programs of political education. The most important skill that will determine the future of the society in a long term is their determination to tear themselves off the image of their older colleagues and build authentic political visions..."

