

THE (IM)POSSIBILITY OF OVERCOMING ETHNO- RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS

Moral Foundations and Intractable Conflict in
Bosnia and Herzegovina

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Abstract

This thesis examines how moral foundations shape individual and collective dispositions regarding ethno-religious divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). By integrating the Moral Foundations Theory (MFT) into the analysis of intergroup dynamics, the research explores how moral foundations – Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity – influence conflict perceptions and reconciliation attitudes of the three ethnic groups in BiH: Bosniak Muslims, Orthodox Serbs, and Catholic Croats. The findings indicate that while moral foundations influence how groups perceive their goals, they do not directly cause intractability. All three communities share a fundamentally similar moral framework, suggesting that ethnic divisions persist not because of differing moral values but despite shared moral concerns. The Loyalty foundation emerges as the only polarizing factor, with Bosniaks emphasizing national loyalty, whereas Serbs and Croats exhibit stronger ethnic group allegiance. Furthermore, exclusionary and negative framing of moral concerns - by politicians, the media, and citizens - also reinforces group solidarity while deepening distrust in state institutions. The study highlights practical steps for reconciliation, including symbolic concessions, future-oriented discourse, regional cooperation, and systemic reforms to improve institutional fairness. Ultimately, the findings underscore the potential of leveraging moral foundations as a tool for conflict resolution by identifying shared values that can foster constructive collaboration. Further research is needed to refine these insights, expand the participant sample, and explore causal links between moral foundations and conflict dynamics. By doing so, it might be possible to develop more effective reconciliation strategies and build a shared vision for BiH's future.

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Background	8
<i>National Identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>	8
<i>Moral Foundations Theory</i>	11
<i>Moral Foundations Theory and Intractable Conflict</i>	14
Conceptual framework	21
Methods	26
Results	30
<i>Moral Foundations in Public Perceptions: Which Are Most Present?</i>	30
<i>Moral Foundations in Three Constituent Communities: What Are the Dynamics?</i>	32
<i>Moral Foundations in Political and Media Discourses: What Are Their Influences?</i>	39
Discussion	48
<i>Ethnic Divisions Despite Shared Moral Frameworks</i>	48
<i>Taking a Closer Look: Bosniak, Serb and Croat Dynamics Within Moral Foundations</i>	53
<i>Recommendations For More Constructive Collaboration</i>	55
Conclusion.....	61
Bibliography	64
Appendices	72
<i>Appendix 1: Operation of the eMFDscore</i>	72
<i>Appendix 2: Categories and Keywords Used During Selection Process</i>	76
<i>Appendix 3: Profile of Politicians Selected for Social Media Analysis</i>	78
<i>Appendix 4: eMFDscores of Public, News Articles, and Politicians' Statements</i>	84
<i>Appendix 5: Qualitative Analysis of Reports on Public Perceptions</i>	88

Introduction

“Man acts upon his ideas; his irrational acts no less than his rational acts are guided by what he thinks, what he believes, what he anticipates. However bizarre the behaviour of men, tribes, or nations may appear to an outsider, to the men, to the tribes, to the nations their behaviour makes sense in terms of their own world views.”

Krech, Crutchfield, Ballachey (1961)

As Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey pointed out years ago, the way people think and feel is extremely important for understanding why people act in certain ways. It is often our emotive thinking, as opposed to purely rational considerations, that informs and drives our decision making. People behave according to their repertoire of beliefs, attitudes, emotions, and acquired behavioural intentions. This socio-psychological repertoire influences every aspect of individual and collective life: it shapes how individuals perceive reality, feel, form attitudes, and act, as well as how societies function, select their course of action, and engage with others (Kelman 2007). This understanding has important implications for conflict situations. When a socio-psychological repertoire becomes widely shared, it is a potent force that moves the conflict, energizes it, maintains it, and prevents its resolution. The sentiment that conflict is not merely a dispute over tangible interests, such as resources or power, but is instead driven by deeper collective needs and fears has long been recognized by scholars (Burton 1990; Lederer 1980; Bar-Tal 1998; Kriesberg 1998). Unlike interests, which may be negotiable, these needs are often perceived as essential and non-negotiable. They are viewed as core aspects of the existence of individuals and communities, which fuels an unwillingness to compromise and creates barriers to conflict resolution. As a result, parties may be hindered from engaging in negotiations, even when it is in their best interest to do so, out of fear that concessions may compromise their very existence (Fitzduff 2017).

Official resolution agreements often fall apart because, although clever political compromises have been crafted, the underlying dynamics that fed a conflict have been neglected. The importance of integrating socio-psychological dynamics into conflict resolution is increasingly recognized among academics and practitioners (Seu 2022; Funk, Good, and Berry 2020; Fitzduff 2021). Addressing the underlying perceptions that fuel incompatible positions can create opportunities

for transformative change and sustainable peace (Kelman 2007). With it, the focus of conflict resolution is now shifting from signing an official agreement to transforming the mindsets, attitudes, and conflict narratives of the parties involved (Funk, Good, and Berry 2020; Fitzduff 2021). An exploration into the ways these mindsets, attitudes and narratives come about and are maintained can thus be considered useful to develop more effective conflict resolution practices and will therefore form the basis of this thesis.

Conflicts can be examined through various lenses - historical, political, sociological, and economic – each offering distinct insights, all of which should be addressed in conflict resolution. However, given its focus on the thoughts and actions of those involved in conflict, this thesis will adopt a socio-psychological approach. Premised on the idea that conflicts arise from the ways people perceive situations and act upon these perceptions, this approach was deemed most suitable. Specifically, this study applies Moral Foundations Theory (MFT), which suggests that individuals' perceptions of right and wrong are shaped by underlying moral frameworks that influence their positions on various issues, shaping their conflict attitudes and beliefs. MFT will serve as the theoretical framework to analyse the moral judgments people make in conflict, examining them in a multidimensional manner and identifying their key components. Finally, based on the study's findings, this paper will reflect on whether there are ways to move forward in conflict resolution in a more constructive manner.

This approach will be applied to the divided ethno-religious beliefs and attitudes in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). The site of the assassination that triggered World War I, the place where the term 'ethnic cleansing' was invented during the Yugoslav Wars of the 1990s, Bosnia and Herzegovina has become a European symbol of nationalist conflict and ethnic divisions. Despite three decades having passed since the Dayton peace agreement, conflict resolution efforts have, to date, largely failed to deliver. These deeply entrenched ethno-religious divisions form an ideal case study to explore the perceptions and dispositions of individuals in conflict and to examine whether moral foundations can contribute to the (de-)escalation of tensions. More importantly, however, BiH was chosen for its personal significance to the author. When I first set foot in the country, I was struck with awe as I walked past a mosque, catholic church, orthodox church and

synagogue, along buildings riddled with bullet holes, while the friendly Bosnians offered their kindness and hospitality. Nowhere else have I encountered a place that so vividly embodies both deep-seated tensions and an enduring desire for peace. Thus, BiH is selected for both academic and personal reasons, as a place where conflict and resilience coexist.

The objectives of this research are twofold: first, to enhance understanding of the moral foundations that inform differing attitudes and beliefs; and second, to use these insights to propose strategies for addressing irreconcilable religious differences in ways that make collaboration possible. This leads to the central research question: *"How do moral foundations shape the particular dispositions regarding ethno-religious divisions among individuals caught in intractable conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and how can these moral differences be engaged to facilitate more constructive collaboration?"* This primary question will be explored through the following sub-questions: *"To what extent do moral intuitions influence the differing attitudes and beliefs of conflict actors?"* *"What are the similarities and differences in the moral foundations valued by various ethnic communities?"* and *"How can these insights be used to advance more constructive collaboration?"* These questions are deemed particularly suitable as they directly investigate the role of moral foundations in shaping conflict attitudes, which is central to this thesis' objective. Furthermore, by exploring both commonalities and differences in moral foundations across ethnic communities and investigating how these insights can be applied to foster collaboration, the research will contribute not only to theoretical understanding but also to practical applications in reconciliation efforts, aligning with the second objective of this thesis.

Before we delve into the topic, it seems imperative to define the key concepts that apply to this research, starting with conflict. Conflict has been defined in various ways, all emphasizing the perceived incompatibility of goals or values between two or more parties. Fisher (2000) describes it as a "social situation in which there are perceived incompatibilities in goals or values," while Coleman (2003) highlights it as the "experience of incompatible activities", such as goals, claims, or beliefs. Similarly, Kriesberg (2007) views conflict as arising when parties "manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives." This study follows

Bar-Tal's (2013) definition, which describes conflict as "a situation in which two or more parties perceive their goals, intentions, and actions as being mutually incompatible and act in accordance to this perception." Here, goals represent subjective, desirable state of affairs, which may be personal or collective. Perceiving a situation as a conflict does not inherently lead to confrontation, but conflict escalates when groups act on this perception. In other words, when conflict arises, group members believe that their collective goals are being obstructed by another group and decide to act upon this in a confrontational manner.

Conflicts that are especially stubborn are often marked as intractable. They often revolve around essential needs and values seen as vital to a group's survival or identity. These fundamental needs include security, recognition, identity, autonomy, and a sense of justice (Burton 1990). Such conflicts are inherently zero-sum: compromise is impossible because each side views its goals as existential and non-negotiable (Kelman 2007). Due to the lack of compromise, conflicts over essential goals almost always lead to violence. A cycle of hostility is reinforced as each side legitimizes its own actions as necessary while dismissing the other's as immoral. As these conflicts are often perceived as unsolvable, they create a self-fulfilling prophecy, ensuring their persistence, sometimes across generations, and demanding significant material and psychological investments (Bar-Tal 2013). In sum, the core characteristics of intractable conflicts include their focus on essential needs which are perceived as existential and non-negotiable. These conflicts are deeply rooted, long-lasting, and resistant to rational negotiation, requiring transformative changes in perceptions to open a way for resolution.

As this study focuses on an intractable conflict in which ethnicity plays a significant role, I will briefly elaborate on the concept of ethnicity. Ethnic groups are collectives whose membership is defined by a perceived shared past, culture, language, and common destiny. It is based on the perception, awareness, or consciousness of shared traits and the differences that distinguish one group from another, and can foster feelings of belonging, attachment and distinctiveness (Bar-Tal 2013). Ethnic groups carry identities that are inherited and continually reinterpreted across generations, shaped by the particular context of each period.

Ethnic boundaries are established through both formal and informal rules and symbols that regulate interactions within and between groups (Connor 1993). In the case of BiH, religion plays a central role in defining these boundaries. Religion has become a major ethnic marker, with its meaning increasingly intertwined with ethnicity, to the point where “ethnic and religious identities collapsed into each other” (Piacentini 2012). Ethnicity is often central to intractable conflicts, particularly in multiethnic states where chances are high that ethnic groups perceive their goals as incompatible.

This thesis begins with a detailed description of the history and current state of affairs in Bosnia and Herzegovina ([Chapter 1](#)), followed by an exploration of the Moral Foundations Theory ([Chapter 2](#)) and its connection to intractable conflict ([Chapter 3](#)). This sets the stage for an analysis of the role of moral foundations in BiH ([Chapter 4](#)), the similarities and differences between ethnic communities ([Chapter 5](#)), and the influence of politicians and media discourses ([Chapter 6](#)). Finally, a discussion of the findings will address the research objectives by critically examining how moral foundations shape conflict beliefs and attitudes ([Chapter 7](#) and [Chapter 8](#)) and offering recommendations for more constructive collaboration ([Chapter 9](#)).

Background

“The moral imagination requires the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that includes our enemies, to sustain a paradoxical curiosity about the unknown, and to accept the risk of stepping into the mystery of the moral landscape beyond fear.”

John Paul Lederach (2005)

National Identity of Bosnia and Herzegovina

The study of a country's history is of key importance for the understanding of its contemporary issues and characteristics. BiH has been shaped by centuries of complex historical, religious, and political developments. Located at the crossroads of Southeast Europe, BiH has long been a meeting point between East and West, where different empires, cultures, and religions have collided, coexisted, and influenced one another. These dynamics have created a unique, though often contested, national identity marked by ethno-religious divisions.

By the thirteenth century, the region now known as BiH had emerged as a distinct political entity, named after the Bosna River. For nearly two centuries, Bosnia maintained its independence, fostering unique traditions that set it apart from its Serb and Croat neighbours. During this period, few inhabitants identified as Serbs or Croats. However, the Ottoman conquest in 1463 during the reign of King Tvrtko initiated substantial religious changes, with widespread conversions to Islam. The Ottomans were the first to introduce a classification system based on religious affiliation - Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Catholics (Donia and Fine 1994, 37). As the Ottoman Empire weakened, emerging national and ethnic consciousness increasingly linked religious identity to ethnicity. Over time, these distinctions solidified into rigid ethno-religious groups: Bosniaks (Muslims), Serbs (Orthodox Christians), and Croats (Catholics), forming the foundation for political nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The late 19th century brought significant political shifts. The 1875 uprising against Muslim landowners and subsequent intervention of the Great Powers culminated in the Treaty of Berlin (1878), which placed BiH under Austro-Hungarian administration. Austria-Hungary promoted the idea of 'Bosnianism', a sense of national loyalty that sought to override Croatian and Serbian nationalisms which were increasingly present. However, the now deep-rooted identification

with religious communities meant that this policy largely failed (Donia & Fine, 96-99). The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary in 1908 was a significant turning point that contributed to the rise of nationalism and the eventual outbreak of World War I, following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914 (Veremis 2017, 37).

The 20th century, defined by two world wars, profoundly reshaped Bosnia's ethnic landscape. World War I's conclusion dismantled the Habsburg Empire, leading to the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later Yugoslavia), where Serb dominance often marginalized Bosnian Muslims and Croats (Donia and Fine 1994, 121). World War II further deepened ethnic divisions, especially under the Ustasha regime in Croatia, which perpetrated atrocities against Serbs (Donia and Fine 1994, 142). In the post-war period, Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito suppressed overt nationalism by promoting "Brotherhood and Unity," fostering a degree of tolerance within Bosnia, which became a republic in non-ethnic terms within federal Yugoslavia (Veremis 2017, 85). According to the 1991 census, Bosnia's population was 43.7% Bosniak, 31.1% Serb, and 17.3% Croat, reflecting its multiethnic character (Veremis 2017, 178). However, the collapse of communism in the late 20th century saw the resurgence of nationalism across the Balkans, and BiH was no exception.

The disintegration of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s unleashed a wave of ethnic conflicts, with Bosnia at the epicentre. Lacking a clear ethnic majority, BiH's declaration of independence in 1992 precipitated a brutal civil war, marked by widespread atrocities and ethnic cleansing, such as the genocide of Srebrenica. The 1995 Dayton Accords ended the conflict, establishing a complex governance structure dividing BiH into two autonomous entities along ethnic lines: the Republika Srpska (RS) and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (FB&H).

The legacy of the war remains deeply ingrained in BiH's political and social fabric. It has disrupted the country's multicultural society, reasserting ethno-religious identity as the primary mode of identification (Dragostinova and Hashamova 2016, 291). In BiH, ethno-nationalist and religious identities significantly overlap: most Serbs are Orthodox Christians, Croats are predominantly Catholic, and the majority of Bosniaks are Muslim, with religion

serving as the most visible marker of these distinctions (Emkic 2018). These competing identities religionized politics, portraying social and political problems in religious terms (Oddie 2012). As a result, ethno-religious tensions have become one of the greatest impediments to effective governance.

The Dayton Agreement established a political system that institutionalizes ethnic divisions, granting substantial power to the entities at the expense of the central state. Key executive positions are divided among Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats, reinforcing ethnic representation in governance. Political parties, therefore, often align along ethnic and religious lines, with candidates frequently exploiting the "ethnic card" during electoral campaigns (Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo and Saferworld 2012, 4). This dynamic is also reflected in voting patterns, where people's allegiances are closely tied to their ethnic identities (Hayden 2007). BiH remains a state where its constituent identities opt for segregation within distinct federal borders, rather than multicultural unity. Transferring powers from entity to state level remains a sensitive issue, where the RS in particular is reluctant to give up the significant degree of autonomy accorded to them under the current system.

Much of BiH's identity politics continues to be framed by competing national narratives. As Basta (2016) notes, Bosniaks often emphasize a long history of multiculturalism and tolerance, while Serbs and Croats prioritize protecting their group interests and autonomy within the state. These clashing perspectives have made institutional reform nearly impossible, as proposed changes are often seen as threats to each group's collective identity, which in turn leads to citizens becoming highly frustrated with the system. These major problems in the political system have also increased ethno-nationalist rhetoric, with politicians increasingly calling for Bosnian Croat or Bosnian Serb identities (Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo and Saferworld 2012, 8). Secessionist threats, particularly from RS Prime Minister Milorad Dodik, who has repeatedly called for RS's separation, remain a persistent concern.

Economic difficulties and an impracticable administrative system add to Bosnia and Herzegovina's challenges. The Dayton framework created an overly complex, bureaucratic, and costly governance structure. Furthermore, corruption is pervasive across both public and private sectors, affecting the judiciary, tax and

customs administrations, public procurement, and privatization processes (European Commission 2011, 14). Young people are leaving the country in massive amounts due to the lack of opportunities. Meanwhile regional actors, in particular Zagreb and Belgrade, as well as geo-political players such as Russia, Turkey, Gulf States and China are increasingly exerting their leverage and driving conflicting interests. EU accession is still far away. A poll by the National Democratic Institute indicates that all Bosnians, irrespective of ethnic and religious allegiances, are worried about their country's future (Veremis 2017, 180). The primary obstacle to reform is the vested interest of dominant group leaders in preserving the status quo, even though the status quo has severely negative impact on basic services and societal co-existence.

Historically, BiH was a key icon of how the EU could handle questions of community cohesion and multicultural policy (Veremis 2017, 177). Yet, resolving its challenges has proven to be one of the most intractable issues in the Western Balkans. One theoretical framework that offers insight into why certain intractable conflicts are so resilient is the Moral Foundations Theory. This theory suggests that ideologies stem from underlying moral foundations and understanding these foundations can provide a framework for interpreting opposing viewpoints. I will explore this theory further in the next chapter.

Moral Foundations Theory

The Moral Foundations Theory, introduced by Jonathan Haidt and his colleagues, offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the origins and implications of moral intuitions. It posits that moral intuitions are driven by innate psychological systems known as moral foundations, which comprise interlocking sets of values, practices, and institutions (Smith et al. 2017, 425). An individual's specific pattern of sensitivities to different moral foundations shapes their ideological views of right and wrong (Leeuwen and Park 2009). Rather than being primarily rational, moral reasoning is largely intuitive, guided by these moral foundations. MFT articulates a pluralistic view of morality, with each foundational system having evolved to address specific adaptive challenges within social environments. While these foundations are biologically prewired, their

expression varies across cultures and individuals, as each prioritizes different sets of moral foundations. This divergence helps explain why people often struggle to comprehend opposing moral perspectives - distinct moral priorities lead to fundamentally different worldviews. In this chapter, we will explore the key principles and foundational structures of MFT.

MFT builds on two core concepts: social intuitionism and evolutionary psychology. Social intuitionism suggests that intuition comes first, and reasoning follows. According to Haidt, people make moral decisions based on gut feelings or instinctive emotive reactions, and only later rationalizing them through conscious reasoning (Musschenga 2013, 331; Smith et al. 2017, 425). This idea is supported by research using electroencephalography and hormonal testing, which shows that intuitive/emotional thinking is faster and more dominant than rational thought, especially in times of stress (Fitzduff 2017, 27). Judgments of right and wrong, therefore, are more instinctual and rationalized than informed and rational. It is often our emotive thinking, as opposed to rational considerations, that informs and drives our decision-making. This challenges the traditional view of moral deliberation as a primarily rational process (Milesi 2016, 252). While reasoning can influence behaviour, it often serves as a post hoc justification for intuitive judgments.

In addition to social intuitionism, MFT is grounded in evolutionary psychology, drawing on the idea that human morality evolved to solve recurring adaptive challenges. Morality is viewed functionally, as a set of psychological systems designed to make social life possible (Smith et al. 2017, 424). These systems, or foundations, were shaped by evolutionary pressures that favoured certain behaviours over others, such as forming cohesive groups, maintaining cooperation, and protecting vulnerable individuals (Graham et al. 2013, 63). However, while the moral foundations are biologically prewired, they are not fixed. MFT emphasizes the dynamic interplay between innate moral tendencies and cultural influences. Each culture may amplify, suppress, or modify the expression of these foundations depending on historical, environmental, and social contexts. MFT acknowledges cultural variability in moral systems and highlights the diversity of moral values. Thus, while all humans may share a "first draft" of moral cognition, this draft is revised by internal and cultural forces,

leading to the diversity of moral values observed across societies (Haidt 2012, 178; Musschenga 2013, 331).

To identify universal themes in human morality, Haidt and his colleagues have analysed patterns of moral reasoning, emotive responses, and values among thousands of participants through cross-cultural studies, surveys, and experiments. This led to the categorization of five key foundations, with some theorists suggesting a sixth. These include the following:

- * Care/harm foundation: This foundation is concerned with compassion, empathy, and the desire to protect others from suffering. It evolved to help humans care for vulnerable individuals, such as children, by fostering sensitivity to signs of harm and distress. It is seen as a moral duty to protect the weak and vulnerable from the strong.
- * Fairness/cheating foundation: This foundation focuses on justice, equality, and reciprocity. It encourages fair treatment and cooperation while condemning cheating and exploitation. Evolving from the need to sustain cooperative relationships, it makes people sensitive to inequity and motivates them to reward fairness and punish those who violate social contracts, fostering trust within communities.
- * Loyalty/betrayal foundation: This foundation emphasizes group solidarity, loyalty, and the importance of cohesion within groups. It evolved as a mechanism to ensure the survival of coalitions and to protect against external threats. People who prioritize loyalty tend to value patriotism and self-sacrifice for the sake of the group and they may react strongly against those who betray group interests.
- * Authority/subversion foundation: This foundation revolves around respect for authority, tradition, and social hierarchy. It evolved to support the development of stable social structures that maintain order and justice within human societies. Those who prioritize this foundation respect authority figures, value obedience, and tend to react negatively to behaviours that challenge established hierarchies.
- * Sanctity/degradation foundation: This foundation is concerned with purity and contamination, both physical and spiritual, guiding individuals to preserve sacredness and avoid degradation. It evolved in response to the

adaptive challenge of the omnivore dilemma – opportunity and risk in food choices - and as a strategy to avoid pathogens and parasites (Haidt 2012, 172). It enables people to invest objects with irrational and extreme values, both positive and negative.

MFT categorizes these moral foundations into two broad groups: individualizing and binding foundations. The first two foundations, Care/Harm and Fairness/Cheating, are considered individualizing because they focus on the rights and well-being of individuals. These foundations are prominent in liberal moral reasoning, which tends to emphasize the protection and fairness of individuals. The other three foundations - Loyalty/Betrayal, Authority/Subversion, and Sanctity/Degradation - are referred to as binding foundations because they focus on group cohesion and maintaining social order. These foundations are often more salient in conservative moral reasoning, which prioritizes the protection of group integrity, respect for traditions, and the maintenance of moral purity.

Moral Foundations Theory and Intractable Conflict

The bulk of the research on moral foundations has focused on its role in shaping political ideologies, particularly in the context of culture wars – deep-rooted societal conflicts where opposing groups clash on values-based issues such as immigration, LGBTQ+ rights, and climate change. Haidt and his colleagues suggest that these conflicts are particularly divisive because people are not merely disagreeing over facts but are operating from fundamentally different moral frameworks (Graham et al. 2013, 75-76). For example, with regards to immigration, conservatives often emphasize loyalty, authority, and sanctity, leading them to prioritize national sovereignty and security. In contrast, liberals prioritize fairness and care, focusing on inclusivity and empathy towards immigrants. Thus, MFT offers a pluralistic framework to understand ideological divides, suggesting they emerge from differing moral sensitivities. This insight has since been replicated by other scholars, even across cultures and countries (see e.g., Van Leeuwen and Park 2009; Bobbio, Nencini, and Sarri 2011; Kim, Kang, and Yung, 2012).

A lot less has been done regarding the role of MFT and intractable conflict, although some links have been established. A study by Kesebir and Pyszczynski (2011), analysing the role of existential and moral concerns in the creation and escalation of intergroup conflict, suggested moral values are capable of unleashing strong emotions, creating the psychological impetus for intergroup conflict. Combining moral and existential concerns creates a vicious feedback loop that leads to spirals of violence, which helps explain the intractability of many real-life conflicts. Furthermore, Graham et al. (2013), in their overview of MFT, suggested that moral differences often lead to poor intergroup relations, as the mere awareness of groups with different moral intuitions can be threatening and may engender violence. Similarly, Ditto and Koleva (2011) studied the American culture war and suggested that as each side struggles to comprehend the other's moral concerns, an empathy gap is created that makes intergroup violence more likely. The following paragraphs will discuss each of the five moral foundations and their link to the intractable conflict in BiH separately, finding out any insights these moral foundations might offer into the perceptions of conflict in BiH's deadlocked society.

Care/harm

Perceived violations of the Care foundation can incite strong emotional responses, driving both violent actions and their justifications. Kesebir and Pyszczynski (2011, 881) suggested that a transgression of this foundation can trigger righteous anger, the urge to rectify the wrong and a desire for revenge. Indeed, Skitka, Bauman, and Mullen (2004) have studied political tolerance following the September 11 terrorist attacks and found expressions of significant moral outrage: "we should nuke them all." At the same time, they also observed heightened virtuous behaviour, such as donating blood and attempting to be a better person. Similarly, in BiH, Sabaheta, a mother who lost her son in the Srebrenica genocide, vividly recalled the collective grief and anger of survivors: "You heard someone screaming, and then we all stood up, maybe 15,000 people, and we screamed in unison" (Leydesdorff 2011, 33). While violence from outgroups incites strong emotional reactions, violence by ingroup members is often rationalized or legitimized. Louise Richardson (2006, 44) captures this paradox in her analysis of terrorism: "We see them [terrorists] as violating all moral codes in pursuit of

power and domination. They see themselves as defending the weak against the strong and punishing the strong for their violation of all moral codes.” In addition, a study by Jost et al. (2003) found that lower adherence to the Care foundation correlates with decreased openness to experience, which, in times of conflict, exacerbates barriers to resolution. Bar-Tal (2013) notes that individuals do not trust attempts to resolve the conflict peacefully and do not trust the rival. As conflicts persist, prejudice, mistrust, hatred, and animosity intensify, creating vicious cycles of hostility. Last, narratives of suffering are leveraged to claim moral superiority and political legitimacy. It allows groups to justify their actions during the war as necessary forms of defence and to frame their ongoing political agendas as moral imperatives to prevent further harm or seek recognition (Enns 2012, 19; Mocnik 2019, 467). It enhances ingroup identification and simultaneously reduces outgroup trust and empathy (Gray and Kubin 2024, 74). In BiH, victimhood and ethno-nationalism are deeply intertwined, shaping local politics, media, and commemorative practices (Basta 2016). As Golubovic notes, competing narratives of victimhood among Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats have become central to their self-perceptions and societal roles (Golubovic 2019, 1185). A clear dichotomy between victim and perpetrator is cemented in arguably all segments of BiH’s post-conflict society, with each group wielding this to their own advantage.

Fairness/cheating

People have a psychological need to believe that the world is fair, as this renders the world more predictable, controllable, and safe (Lerner 1980). According to Haidt (2012), individuals tend to cooperate with those who reciprocate their efforts and shun those who exploit them. During and after conflict, the Fairness foundation can be skewed, with people justifying harm to out-groups as morally deserved. Indeed, the search for vengeance and repayment were previously discussed in relation to the Care foundation. Furthermore, a study by Kaiser, Vick, and Major (2004) illustrated that the more strongly participants upheld the fairness/reciprocity principle the more distressed they were about violent attacks and the stronger the support for violent retributions. A perception that the target group obtained unfair advantage in the past is common to many instances of genocide (Kesebir and Pyszczynski 2011, 882). A moral motivation for justice is

thus a major factor for starting wars. Institutionalized inequality and injustice further exacerbate tensions by creating disparities in political power and access to resources. For example, from the Bosniak perspective, the current system of ethnic divisions sustains inequality by enabling networks of kinship and patronage to infiltrate state institutions, resulting in unfair advantages and uneven access to resources (Tarabusi 2020, 82). For Bosniaks, fairness is generally understood through a civic-national model that advocates for equal treatment and equitable resource distribution for all citizens. In contrast, Serb and Croat communities prioritize autonomy and proportional representation, interpreting fairness as safeguarding their identities and preventing domination by a Bosniak majority. For these communities, fairness means safeguarding their entities and preventing any single group from cheating others out of political influence or resources (Basta 2016, 957). This divergence in fairness narratives underscores how competing interpretations of justice can fuel conflict.

Loyalty/betrayal

This foundation possibly plays the most crucial role in the creation and escalation of intergroup conflict and violence. Without it, it would be challenging to find individuals willing to go to war or self-sacrifice for their community. This foundation is closely aligned with the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner, which posits that people derive a sense of self-esteem and identity from their membership in social groups, which can lead to in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination, particularly in conflict situations. This dynamic fosters an "us versus them" mentality, making cross-group cooperation difficult, as out-groups are often viewed with suspicion and mistrust. In-group loyalty can thus come at the expense of broader societal cooperation or commonality (Haidt 2012). The extent to which this loyalty can fuel extreme violence is evident in the work of Donald Dutton, who explores the psychology behind genocidal violence and massacres. He notes that the capacity for extreme rage and genocidal violence against the outgroup is generated by a 'tribal passion' (Dutton 2007). In BiH, historical narratives emphasizing loyalty to ethnic identity are regularly invoked by political leaders, reinforcing in-group solidarity while painting opposing alliances as acts of betrayal (Miljić 2018, 138; Lavrič et al. 2019, 61). Research by Lavrič (2019) shows that trust levels are significantly higher within religious and

ethnic in-groups than toward neighbours or state authorities. People intertwine their identities with their ethnic or religious group, solidifying loyalty and reinforcing rigid boundaries. This in-group loyalty is also reflected in voting patterns, with individuals overwhelmingly supporting ethnic parties, even when non-nationalist options are available (Hayden 2007, 107). Efforts to promote a broader Bosnian identity often fail to account for the depth of these in-group loyalties. As a result, many locals view such initiatives as attempts to undermine or dilute their ethnic or national identity (Hayden 2007). Ultimately, loyalty to one's group is highly valued by all three major ethnic communities in BiH, and political and religious leaders reinforce this loyalty by framing disloyalty as not just a personal failure but as a betrayal of the group's collective past and future.

Authority/subversion

Perceived disrespect against oneself or one's group can be a significant catalyst for violence. Humiliation can prompt actions to restore dignity and psychological equanimity through whatever means available (Kesebir and Pyszczynski 2011, 884). Research on militant groups reveals that members frequently attribute their violent acts to personal and collective humiliation at the hands of their oppressors (Ginges and Atran 2013). Furthermore, authority figures can amplify intergroup violence. During times of stress people tend to support charismatic leaders who proclaim the unique value of the ingroup. Following such leaders offers psychological comfort, as they promise to rid the world of threats, real or imagined, making people more willing to support them despite their harsh rhetoric. As Kesebir and Pyszczynski (2011, 884) explain, people are drawn to "brash, strong-looking demagogues with tight jaws and loud voices" because these leaders appear capable of restoring order and retribution. In the Western Balkans there has been a noticeable increase in support for authoritarian leadership (Lavric and Bieber 2021). Overall, BiH's societal attitudes towards authority and hierarchy tend to be more traditional compared to most Western democracies. Cross-national analyses by Lavric et al. (2019) suggest that BiH maintains a hierarchical orientation rooted in survival values, such as respect for elders and adherence to traditional gender roles. In the post-conflict context, authority has fractured along ethnic lines, with power consolidating among ethno-political leaders and religious institutions (Banović, Gavrić, and Barreiro Mariño

2021, 75). Trust in state institutions remains very low, instead citizens tend to support authority figures within their ethnic group, thus small-scale social networks serving as a substitute for institutional trust. These ethnic-based networks only deepen mistrust toward those outside the ingroup. Research by Magnusson (2020) reveals a widespread distrust of ethnic leaders from opposing groups. Widespread fear and distrust of the other ethnic groups combined with the loss of state authority and legitimacy led to an increased importance of ethnic identity. Regardless of education and political outlook, Serbs and Croats harbour negative views of the Islamic Community, while Bosniaks and Croats are similarly distrustful of the Orthodox Church.

Sanctity/degradation

Sanctity is protected through rituals and practices, reinforcing group cohesion and shared values. The desire to shape the world according to one's own sanctity ideals can severely strain intergroup relations, especially when the outgroup is seen as an obstacle to achieving a sacred order. Graham and Haidt found that the tendency to sacralise ingroup concerns—imbuing them with ultimate value and protecting them from trade-offs—was a strong predictor of justifying war. Mass murders oftentimes are motivated and justified by such concerns: the term “ethnic cleansing” implies cleaning the society of its impure elements. In this context, the outgroup becomes a target for violence, as it is viewed as a contaminating force to be cleansed (Graham et al. 2013). Relatedly, the Sanctity foundation can evoke disgust and enable dehumanization, where the outgroup is seen as more animalistic, primitive, or morally inferior to oneself. This dehumanization is a key mechanism enabling particularly brutal forms of intergroup violence (Rozin, Haidt, and McCauley 2008). In times of social tension, societies often project their frustrations onto a scapegoat, typically an out-group, to unify the in-group and restore harmony. By portraying the out-group as impure or a threat to group cohesion, in-groups can justify violence or exclusion (Girard 1986). In the context of BiH, ethno-religious symbols, historical narratives, and sacred sites act as vital touchstones for group identity. For Bosniaks, the sanctity of Islamic traditions, mosques, prayer sites, and the commemoration of Srebrenica serve as symbols of their identity as a group historically under threat, framing their survival as a sacred duty (Mahmutćehajić 2000). Similarly, for Serbs, the veneration of

Orthodox icons and monasteries, particularly those in Republika Srpska, is not just an expression of religious devotion, but also a claim to territorial and cultural continuity. Croats, too, elevate Catholic symbols, such as crosses and Marian shrines, intertwining their sanctity with the preservation of their ethno-religious identity. On a political level, the sanctity of ethnic boundaries is upheld through resistance to mixed marriages, opposition to civic national frameworks, and disputes over the management and commemoration of sacred holidays and sites. This intertwining of sanctity with territory and identity fuels intergroup tensions, as any perceived compromise is framed as degradation of the group's sacred essence (Bojicic-Dzelic 2015; Magnusson 2020). Consequently, these sacralised narratives sustain divisions, inhibiting reconciliation and promoting a vision of BiH as a contested space where the sanctity of one group's identity is perceived as a threat to another's.

In sum, the five moral foundations—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—offer valuable insights into the underlying dynamics of conflict and its perceptions. These foundations inform the justification for violence and enhance in-group solidarity, while also creating psychological barriers to empathy, cooperation, and trust between groups. Any meaningful attempt to address these divisions and foster reconciliation must carefully consider these barriers and the moral frameworks that sustain them.

Conceptual framework

"Moral foundations do not simply dictate what people believe; they shape how they perceive conflicts, the legitimacy of claims, and the boundaries of acceptable compromise."

Jonathan Haidt (2012)

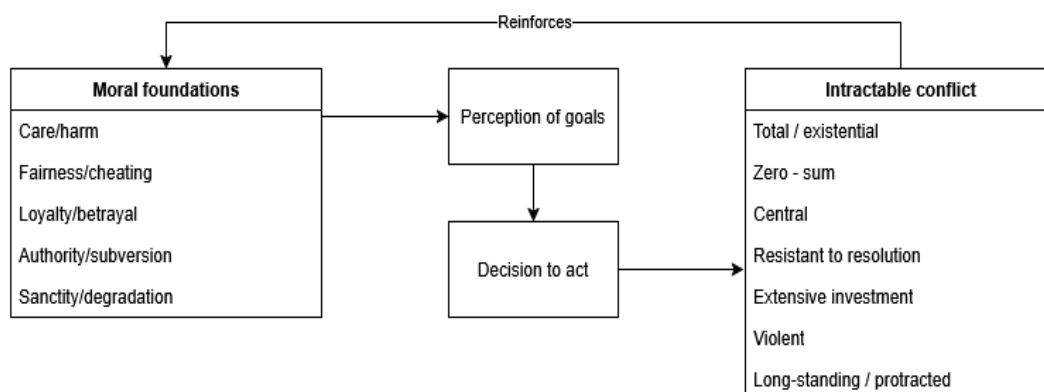


Figure 1: Conceptual framework demonstrating the cyclical link between moral foundations, perceptions of goals, decision to act and intractable conflict.

The figure above illustrates the conceptual framework adopted in this research. It integrates Haidt's Moral Foundations Theory with Bar-Tal's conceptualization of intractable conflict to provide a comprehensive model for understanding the socio-psychological processes behind intractable conflicts. The framework highlights that conflicts are first and foremost perceived, and that MFT provides an explanation of how these perceptions form in the first place. It outlines a pathway in which moral foundations shape individual and collective perceptions, influence decision-making processes, and contribute to the emergence and persistence of intractable conflicts. It emphasizes the cyclical and self-reinforcing nature of conflicts, linking moral foundations, perceptions of goals and intractable conflict interactions in ways that sustain and escalate disputes. Below, each component of the diagram is outlined and explained in detail.

Moral foundations. MFT suggests that moral reasoning is rooted in a set of innate universal moral intuitions. The moral foundations listed in the diagram – care/harm, fairness/cheating, loyalty/betrayal, authority/subversion, and sanctity/degradation – represent the various moral lenses, or cognitive filters, through which individuals and groups interpret their experiences, justify their actions, and frame their narratives. In the context of conflict, these foundations

can influence how goals are perceived and prioritized. Moral foundations are not the drivers behind these goals per se but can shape how individuals or groups perceive, express or respond to them. In this way, MFT can help uncover and exemplify the perceptions of goals that are at the heart of conflict.

Perceptions of goals. An essential condition for the outbreak of a conflict is the identification of a situation as a conflict. Goals refer to cognitive representations of aspirations that are deemed valid, believable, desirable, and attainable. They can reflect personal needs and aspirations, or collective needs. In conflict situations, individuals or groups perceive a contradiction between their goals, believing that another party obstructs their attainment. This subjective evaluation, shaped by psychological processes, can act as a powerful emotional and cognitive trigger for conflict processes.

Decision to act. Following the identification of a conflict, the next psychological phase involves deciding whether, and how, to act upon this perception. This stage marks the transition from recognition to response, where individuals or groups deliberate on how to address perceived goal incompatibilities. The range of possible responses varies widely—from ignoring the situation to adopting confrontational or even aggressive measures. The chosen course of action significantly influences the conflict's trajectory and intensity.

Intractable conflict. Parties must identify the extent of goal contradiction. When goals are central and existential, regarded as non-negotiable, it often leads to conflicts of great intensity. The diagram highlights the different characteristics of intractable conflict as identified in the introduction: existential, zero-sum, central, resistant to resolution, demand extensive investments, violent and protracted. Over time, as conflict processes escalate, they amplify the urgency of fundamental needs by deepening the perception that these needs are under siege. This cyclical interaction ensures that the conflict becomes more entrenched, with each element feeding into and exacerbating the others, making conflict resolution more challenging.

Ultimately, the interplay between moral foundations, perception of goals, and decision-making processes creates a self-reinforcing cycle in which conflicts become more intense, less negotiable, and increasingly resistant to resolution.

Recognizing these connections is crucial for designing effective interventions that address not only the surface-level issues but also the underlying socio-psychological mechanisms that sustain conflicts over time. Building on the links between moral foundations and intractable ethnic conflicts ([Chapter 3](#)), we can expand on each moral foundation a bit more. *Figure 2* presents this extended model, capturing the distinct ways in which each foundation links to conflict perceptions. These categories are by no means conclusive and may evolve as the analysis progresses.

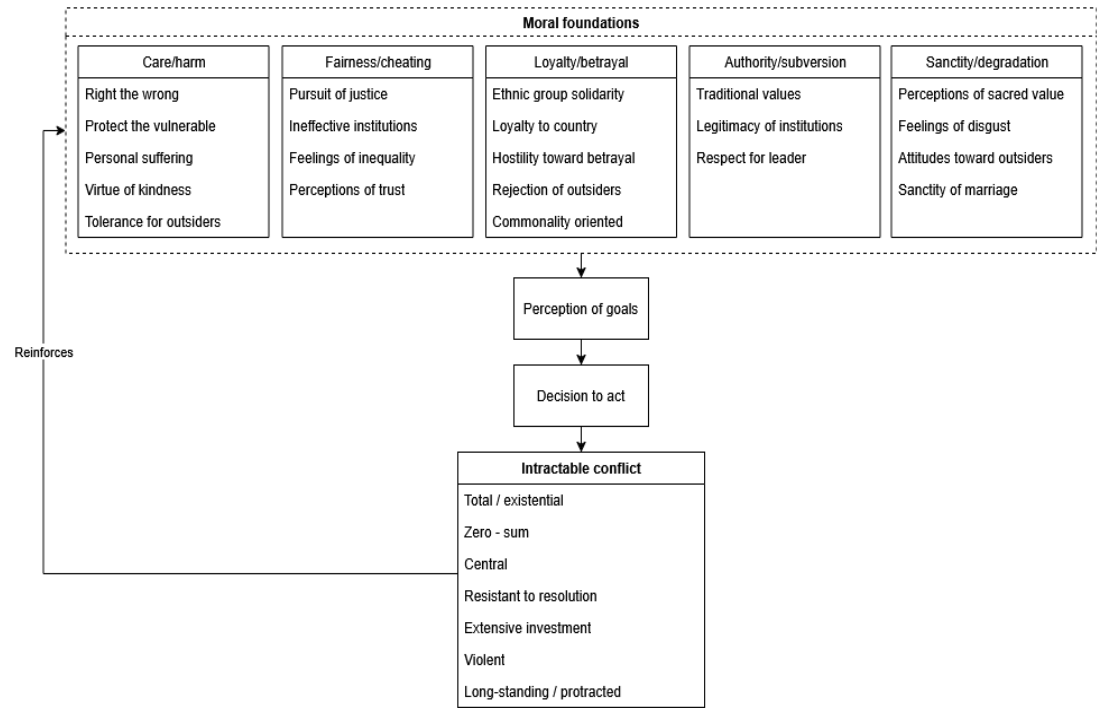


Figure 2: Extended conceptual framework that includes the different conflict dynamics of the moral foundations.

For the Care foundation, strong emotional responses to perceived violations are encapsulated in the category “moral outrage,” which involves a desire to correct perceived wrongs. A central element of this foundation—concern for vulnerable individuals—is represented by “protect the vulnerable,” encompassing efforts to provide care and support for victims. In contrast, “personal suffering” refers to seeking validation for personal pain through victimhood narratives. The virtues associated with Care are reflected in “virtue of kindness,” which pertains to general thoughts or actions that promote kindness and non-violence. Meanwhile, “tolerance for outsiders” addresses varying degrees of inclusive or exclusive perceptions and attitudes specifically directed towards the out-group.

Within the Fairness foundation, seeking justice is a key motivator in conflict contexts, as the search for vengeance or restitution often sparks hostilities. This is captured in the category “pursuit of justice,” which includes demands for accountability and reparations for perceived injustices. The foundational triggers of cheating, cooperation, and deception are operationalized through “institutional injustices” and “feelings of inequality.” The former pertains to perceptions of fairness - or the lack thereof - within public institutions, while the latter addresses personal experiences of societal inequality. “Perceptions of trust” encapsulates the virtue of trustworthiness central to this foundation, as it is essential for cooperation and reciprocity.

For the Loyalty foundation, the significance of group membership and in-group favouritism is captured through “ethnic group solidarity,” which reflects pride in national or ethnic identity, feelings of superiority, and the prioritization of one’s in-group. In contrast, “loyalty to country” emphasizes national allegiance over ethnic loyalties, suggesting competing forms of group loyalty. The characteristic emotional response of anger toward perceived betrayal is represented by “hostility towards betrayal,” encompassing negative reactions to in-group members who are seen as supporting opposing groups. “Rejection of outsiders” refers to exclusionary attitudes and behaviours rooted in strong in-group identification, affecting openness, trust and intergroup relationships. Conversely, the “commonality-oriented” category captures efforts that highlight shared values and emphasize similarities between groups, promoting inclusivity.

The Authority foundation encompasses key virtues such as obedience and respect, reflected in “traditional values,” which include beliefs regarding family roles and hierarchical social relationships. “Legitimacy of institutions” pertains to the extent individuals recognize and accept the authority of formal structures and governance systems. Separately, “respect for leader” focuses on the legitimacy granted to individual authority figures, particularly the appeal of strong, assertive leaders who embody stability and control.

Finally, the processes of sacralization that are inherent in the Sanctity foundation are represented by “perceptions of sacred value,” which can apply to national symbols, historical memories, or in-group concerns. “Feelings of disgust,”

represents the foundational emotion associated with this moral domain, pertains to notions of purity and impurity that can be leveraged to dehumanize perceived outsiders. Closely related, “attitudes towards outsiders” explore responses to outgroups through the lens of neophobia and contamination concerns. The category “sanctity of marriage” captures beliefs surrounding the preservation of ethnic boundaries through opposition to intergroup marriages.

Methods

“Worried? I’m the one worried for you, if you as Bosnians think that Bosnia is only corruption, war, and poverty!”

Emir (2020)

This research adopts a mixed-methods approach that integrates qualitative content analysis with computational text analysis. The computational component employs the extended Moral Foundations Dictionary (eMFD), which is designed to capture large-scale, intuitive judgments of morally relevant information within textual data. The eMFD assigns weighted vectors to words based on their association with one or more of the five moral foundations. To extract these moral metrics from the textual data, the study employs the Python library *eMFDscore* (a detailed description of its operation is provided in [Appendix 1](#)). This quantitative approach allows for a systematic exploration of moral framing across public reports, news outlets, and social media. Capturing these broad patterns is essential for identifying the moral trends present in public perceptions of ethno-religious tensions and facilitates meaningful comparisons between different ethnic groups. To complement the quantitative analysis, this study integrates qualitative methods, involving an interpretive analysis of the textual data. Given that the research is focused on understanding citizens’ perceptions and dispositions regarding ethno-religious tensions, it is insufficient to merely quantify the prevalence of moral foundations. A deeper understanding of the dynamics that underlie these perceptions is necessary. Qualitative research methods provide the best tools for uncovering the nuanced processes that shape individual viewpoints (Hennink, Hutter, and Bailey 2020, 55). By combining both approaches, the study aims to generate a comprehensive analysis: the quantitative analysis identifies overarching patterns, while the qualitative approach provides insight into the processes and mechanisms that underpin these patterns.

This study draws upon two data sources: reports and media content. Having been the focus of peacebuilding initiatives for many years, BiH has seen a wealth of data generated, offering valuable insights into public perceptions. Regarding the reports, statistical data on public perceptions were gathered from academic studies, reports from government agencies, and NGO publications, manually gathered from *SmartCat*, *Google Scholar*, or official (non-)government websites.

Relevant reports were identified using a keyword-based approach, drawing on categories derived from the study's background section: 'ethnic divisions,' 'religious divisions,' 'popular attitudes and values,' 'political stability and governance,' 'public opinion on societal issues,' and 'reconciliation and trust-building.' These categories were selected as they encompass the key dimensions of ethno-religious divisions in BiH, covering cultural, political, and societal factors of current dynamics. A full list of the selected keywords and corresponding reports is provided in [Appendix 2](#). Data from the reports were screened for relevance based on their ability to provide insights into citizens' perceptions of ethno-religious tensions, extracting only the relevant sections. In total, 22 reports on the perceptions of citizens were deemed suitable for the purpose of this research.

Regarding the media content, data was sourced from two primary channels: news outlets and social media statements by politicians. These sources were selected because politicians and media are seen as key drivers of divisive ethno-religious narratives. Given the influence of these institutions, it can be considered fruitful to analyse moral foundations patterns and strategies visible in their discourses. Media content was selected using the same keywords as those for the reports ([Appendix 2](#)) to ensure a consistent and comparable analysis of citizens' perceptions and media/political rhetoric. News articles were selected from a timeframe of 2024-2025 to get a focus on current events. A total of 109 news articles were selected, with a minimum length of 100 words (averaging 800 words), as a more substantial dataset improves the accuracy of the eMFDscore. To allow for a comparison of perspectives across ethnic groups, articles were chosen from predominantly Bosniak, Serb, and Croat news outlets (USAID 2022), as listed below:

- Bosniak: www.avaz.ba / www.radiosarajevo.ba
- Serb: www.blic.net / www.nezavisne.com
- Croat: www.24sata.hr / www.grude-online.info

Social media statements were collected from Twitter and Facebook, spanning from approximately 2018 to 2025 to account for a limited volume of relevant content. A total of 112 statements, each with a minimum of 50 words (averaging

250 words), were selected. The selection criteria ensured fair representation of political leaders from the three communities based on political party (with a variety for a broad political spectrum), political views (balanced between nationalist and moderate factions), and government position (focusing on influential roles and including regional representation). This approach aimed to capture the full breadth of political leadership to accurately reflect the political landscape. A comprehensive list of selected politicians, along with their profiles, can be found in [Appendix 3](#).

To prepare the data for analysis, the moral foundation prevalences of all texts were totalled for each of the five moral foundations, and the average prevalence was calculated. This resulted in the average prevalence of the five moral foundations for seven distinct sets of text: citizen's perception reports, Bosniak news outlets, Bosniak politicians, Serb news outlets, Serb politicians, Croat news outlets, and Croat politicians (see [Appendix 4](#)). The statistical data were then categorized based on the conceptual framework, dividing the data into Bosniak, Serb, and Croat groups (see [Appendix 5](#)). This allowed for the identification of patterns, similarities, and differences across the ethnic communities. During this process, thematic categories were added based on repeating and meaningful themes within the data, importantly allowing categories to flow from the data and new insights to emerge.

While the mixed-methods approach provides a comprehensive framework for this study, it introduces several challenges related to validity, positionality, and subjectivity. First, researcher bias is a key concern, as it may influence both the selection of themes during data collection and the interpretation of patterns in the analysis. Although this is an inherent limitation that cannot be fully controlled, the study remained critically aware of these potential influences throughout the research process. Second, a challenge arose from language barriers. Although most reports were in English, the media content and social media statements were primarily in Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian, requiring translation. This introduces the risk of losing nuances or misinterpreting meanings. To mitigate this risk, all texts were proofread by native speakers to minimize the potential for misinterpretation.

Another limitation of the study stems from the decision to focus on the Bosniak, Serb, and Croat communities, based primarily on the availability of relevant data. However, these communities are diverse, and ethnic identity does not always serve as a definitive marker of division. For example, Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats living in urban centres such as Sarajevo may share more commonalities than with their counterparts in rural areas. Additionally, this focus excludes other minority groups in BiH, such as Jews and Roma. By concentrating on these three communities, the study risks oversimplifying or overstating ethnic divisions. The author acknowledges that this narrow focus may unintentionally reinforce certain narratives about ethnic conflict. As a result, the conclusions of this thesis should be viewed as a starting point for further research and exploration.

Results

“Our moral thinking is much more like a politician searching for votes than a scientist searching for truth.”

Jonathan Haidt (2012)

The following chapters will outline the findings of this research, exploring how moral foundations are reflected across different contexts to address the following questions: Which moral foundations are most prominent? What overarching trends can be observed in the emphasis on different moral foundations? What differences or similarities exist among the three constituent groups, and how do these compare to the use of moral foundations in the media and by politicians?

Moral Foundations in Public Perceptions: Which Are Most Present?

This section presents a general overview of the prevalence of moral foundations shaping citizens’ perceptions of ethnic tensions in BiH. To achieve this, I analysed a dataset of 76 entries consisting of reports on citizens’ perceptions using eMFD. The analysis calculated the prevalence of specific moral terms associated with each foundation, with the results displayed in *Figure 3* below. The y-axis represents the average document-level probability scores for each of the corresponding moral foundations, while the x-axis categorizes these foundations.

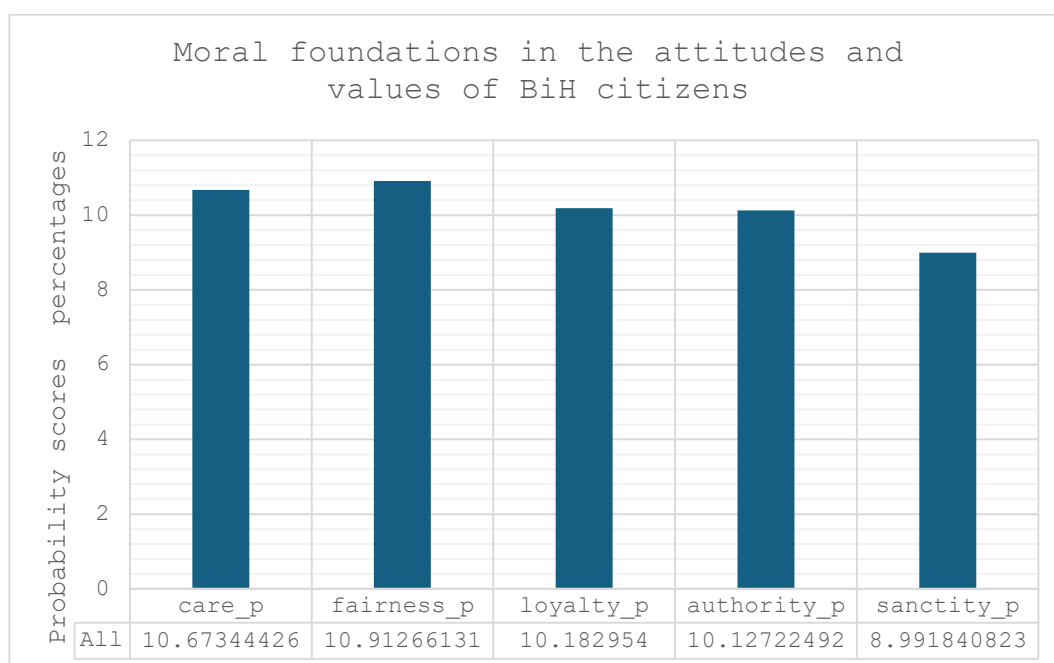


Figure 3: The average prevalence of document-level probability scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 76 textual entries.

This figure highlights a narrow range of differences ($r = 1.9208$) between the moral foundations, indicating a limited variability across the foundations. Fairness and Care score the highest, while Loyalty and Authority are nearly identical, and Sanctity scores the lowest. This pattern suggests what Haidt (2012, 184) describes as a five-foundation morality where the full range of moral intuitions are triggered. Rather than a morality dominated by one or two foundations, BiH citizens demonstrate a moral vision encompassing all five foundations.

The next step is to analyse the sentiment scores for each foundation, which provides insight into the emotional valence – positive or negative – associated with each foundation. Here, positive sentiment refers to the virtues of each foundation, such as “care”, “empathy”, “justice”, while negative sentiment refers to the vices, “harm”, “apathy”, “injustice”. Using the same textual entries as before, the sentiment scores are visualised in *Figure 4* below. Again, the y-axis represents the average document-level sentiment scores for each of the corresponding moral foundations, while the x-axis categorizes these foundations.

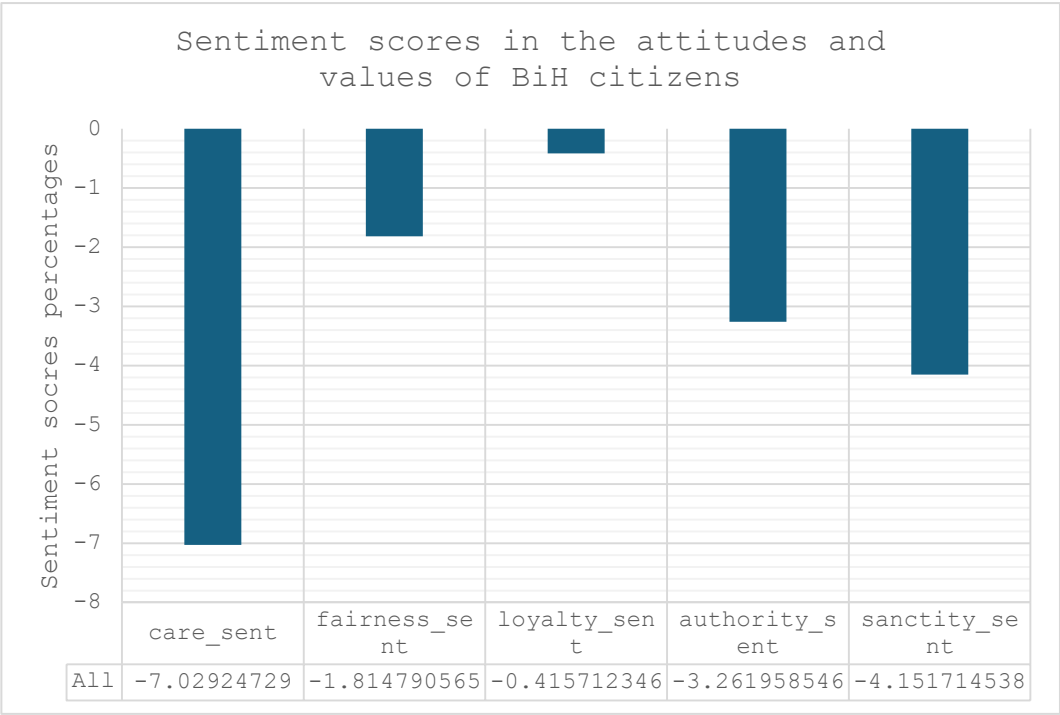


Figure 4: The average prevalence of document-level sentiment scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 76 textual entries.

The figure reveals varying levels of negative sentiment across the foundations. The Care foundation exhibits the most significant negative sentiment, reflecting a focus on moral vices such as harm and suffering. The Authority and Sanctity

foundations reflect a relative moderate negative sentiment, but again there is a clear focus on moral violations. In contrast, Fairness and Loyalty display a relatively mild to negligible negative sentiment, indicating a more balanced emphasis between moral virtues and vices.

What do these findings reveal about moral foundations in BiH? The Care and Fairness foundations align with individualizing moral concerns. In contrast, the Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity foundations represent binding moral concerns, which focus on group-oriented values like respect for hierarchy, purity, and loyalty to one's in-group. The balanced presence of all five foundations in the attitudes and values of BiH citizens reflects a broadly conservative moral perspective. Research consistently shows that while liberals prioritize Care and Fairness, conservatives place equal emphasis on Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity (Graham et al. 2013). Moreover, in traditional societies, the moral domain tends to be more expansive, encompassing the preservation of groups, institutions, and traditions - patterns that are replicated in these findings.

While these findings provide a general understanding of moral foundations in BiH, they do not fully illuminate the dynamics of each foundation or differences between ethnic groups. The following section will delve deeper into these dynamics to provide further insight.

Moral Foundations in Three Constituent Communities: What Are the Dynamics?

This section seeks to uncover dynamics in how certain elements of the moral foundations are emphasized or downplayed across the three constituent communities. The statistical data from 22 reports on the attitudes and perceptions of citizens regarding ethnic tensions in BiH has been organized using the categories that were introduced in the conceptual framework. The resulting patterns are visualized using radar charts, with each axis corresponding to a different category. By comparing the moral domains of these groups, this chapter aims to assess whether significant differences in morality exist and explore any dynamics that may contribute to polarization.

The radar chart for the Care foundation reveals substantial overlap in how different elements of this foundation are prioritized across the three communities. Overall, there is a relatively uniform distribution across all five categories, with no significant outliers and generally moderate scores. This suggests a balanced emphasis on various aspects of Care. Citizens of BiH score highest on themes related to personal suffering and kindness towards others. For instance, a majority agrees that "tolerance and respect for other people is an important quality" (World Value Survey Association 2001) and also reports experiencing "inequality and marginalization even as a majority" (Halilović and Veljan 2021). Openness towards others scores the lowest, with low levels of trust for outgroup members and high levels of interethnic anxiety (Halman et al. 2022; Global Centre for Pluralism 2023).

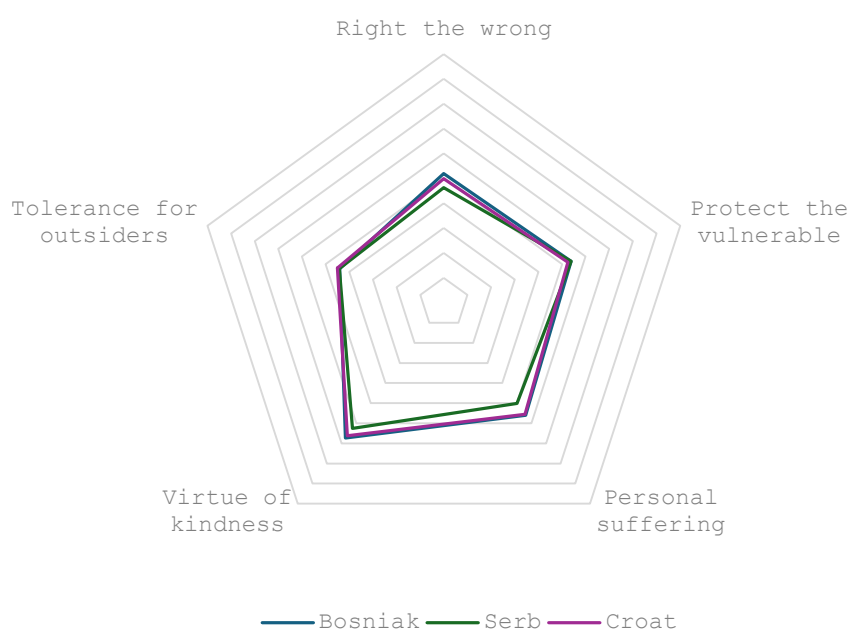


Figure 5: The prioritization of different categories of the **care/harm foundation** across the three constituent ethnic groups.

Differences between the groups are minimal, though Bosniak and Croat respondents prioritize Care-related aspects, such as right the wrong, kindness, and personal suffering, slightly more than Serb respondents. Bosniaks, in particular, emphasize acknowledging harm, likely reflecting a commitment to addressing past injustices such as the Srebrenica genocide. Across all categories, virtues of kindness emerge as the most emphasized themes, challenging the assertion by

USAID that BiH citizens are largely indifferent to the suffering of others (USAID 2023a, 38). Instead, kindness may be hindered by low levels of trust and openness, as well as the persistent focus on harm inflicted by outgroups. We will explore this dynamic further within the Fairness foundation.

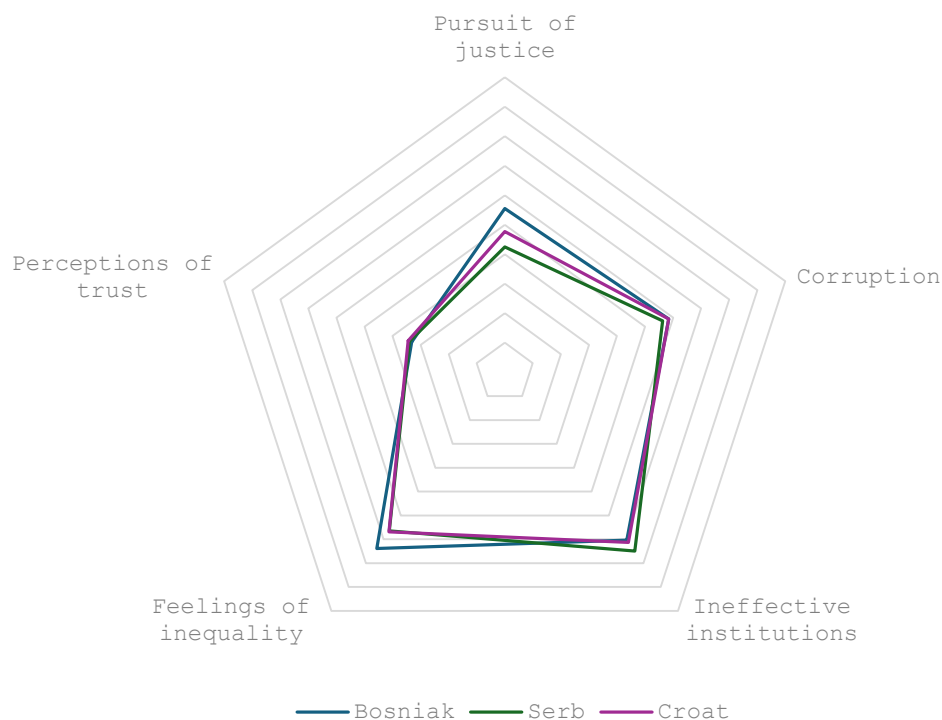


Figure 6: The prioritization of different categories of the **fairness/cheating foundation** across the three constituent ethnic groups.

In the Fairness foundation, there are some variations in the prioritization of different elements, but differences between the three groups remain minimal. The radar chart clearly highlights significant concerns about inequality, with a large majority believing that "society is not set up in a way that people usually get what they deserve" (USAID 2023). Here, Bosniak respondents emphasize experiences of inequality more than their counterparts. In addition, the lack of trust in institutions is very evident, with many agreeing that "the rule of law is not effectively applied" (Regional Cooperation Council 2023), that "political parties are not guided by the interests of the citizens" (USAID 2022), and that "BiH is moving in the wrong direction" (National Democratic Institute 2021). Serb respondents focus slightly more on this institutional ineffectiveness than the other two groups and prioritize it slightly over systemic inequality. Surprisingly, concerns about corruption, despite being frequently cited as a major issue (National Democratic Institute 2021; USAID 2022; USAID 2023; Halilović and

Veljan 2021), are not rated equally as pressing. Accounting for this difference in the data, corruption was added to this foundation as a separate category. While not being rated equally as pressing, the three groups are similarly aligned on this matter, suggesting that corruption is indeed a uniting concern, as supported by previous findings from the Atlantic Initiative (Halilović and Veljan 2021, 17). Furthermore, pursuit of justice is less emphasized overall. Bosniak respondents score the highest in this category, aligning with the Care foundation where Bosniak respondents scored highest on right the wrong. Serb respondents emphasize this aspect the least, possibly reflecting perceptions that crimes against Serbs are underrepresented (Pajic and Popovic 2012). Trustworthiness scores remain low across all three groups, with widespread agreement that "most people would try to take advantage of you" (World Value Survey Association 2001). These findings align with the low openness scores observed in the Care foundation. Collectively, the dynamics of the Fairness foundation mostly reflect shared frustrations about fairness-related issues.

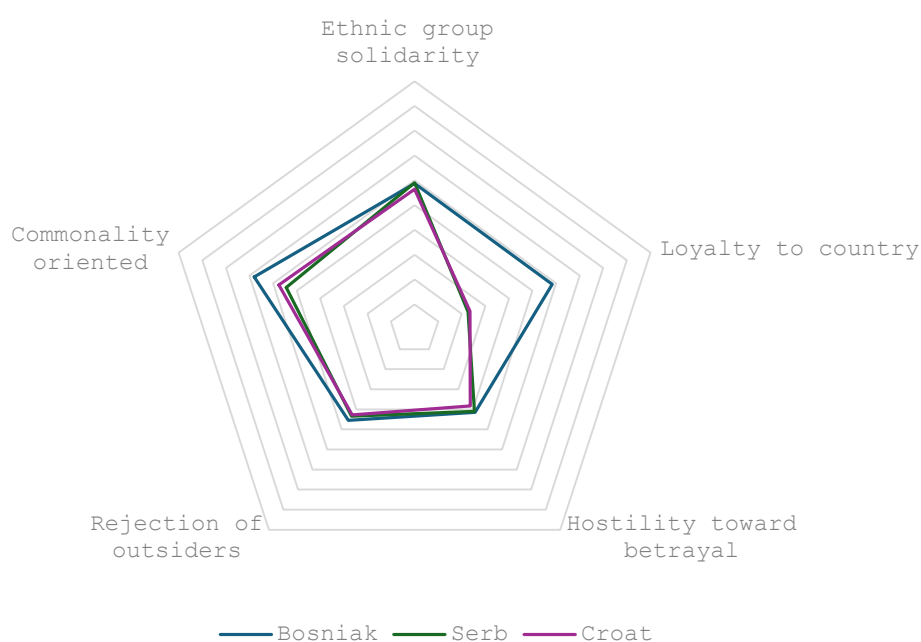


Figure 7: The prioritization of different categories of the **loyalty/betrayal foundation** across the three constituent ethnic groups.

The Loyalty foundation displays more pronounced differences in the emphasis on loyalty-related values among the three groups. Serb and Croat respondents exhibit similar patterns, with notably low scores on country loyalty; only a small

percentage identifies their nationality as Bosnian. In contrast, Bosniak respondents score significantly higher on themes related to commonality and national loyalty, reflecting a stronger emphasis on shared values and collective identity. This difference is unsurprising, given that Bosniaks lack an external nation-state, unlike Serbs and Croats, making a unified Bosnian identity more critical to their sense of survival (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2022, 5). Ethnic solidarity remains a strong factor across all three groups, aligning with studies that emphasize the dominance of ethnic identification over broader affiliations such as the state (USAID 2023a, 37). This dynamic is particularly evident among Serb and Croat communities, though less so for Bosniaks. Notably, most respondents agree that "similarities are more important than differences" (Regional Cooperation Council 2023), a sentiment that contrasts with the persistent rejection of outsiders by a small majority. These findings suggest that loyalty-related values, particularly national versus ethnic loyalties, may contribute to divisions between Bosniaks and the other two groups.

The Authority foundation highlights striking commonalities across the three communities and underscores the low levels of legitimacy granted to key institutions. As can be seen in *Figure 8*, political leaders, the media, and education institutions receive uniformly low scores. These findings align with studies, such as those by the Balkan Barometer, that reveal high levels of mistrust in political parties, placing BiH's political institutions among the least trusted in the region. Similarly, the Nansen Dialogue Centre has reported that BiH's media is widely viewed as politically biased, divisive, and of poor quality (Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo and Saferworld 2012, 26-27). Religious institutions, however, receive moderate regard, with slightly more confidence placed in churches and religious organizations. To allow for a more detailed analysis of the results, the original category of "legitimacy of institutions" (see conceptual framework) has been split up into the three main sectors: politics, religion and media.

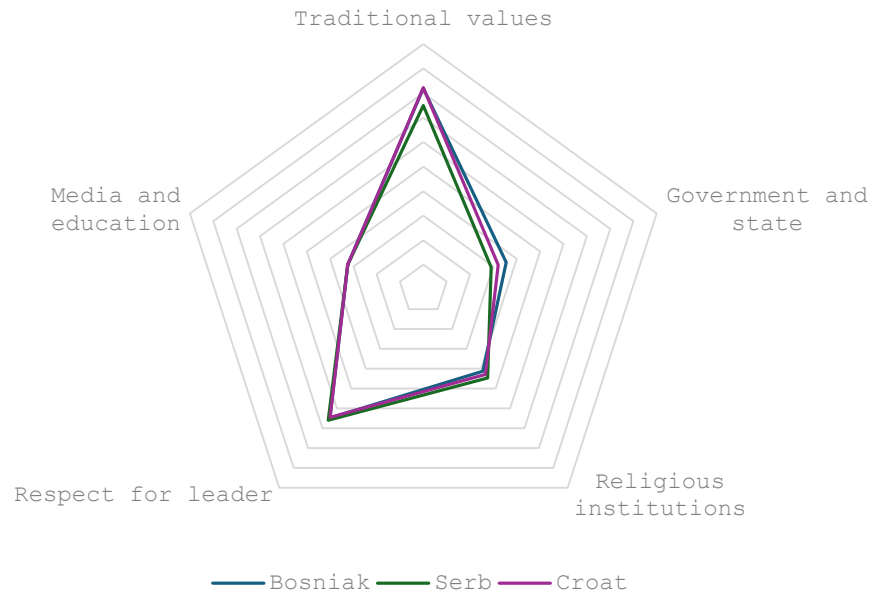


Figure 8: The prioritization of different categories of the **authority/subversion foundation** across the three constituent ethnic groups.

Among the constituent peoples, Bosniaks express slightly more confidence in government institutions, aligning with the Fairness foundation where Bosniaks reported the lowest scores for "ineffective institutions" (Figure 6). Conversely, Serbs place higher regard on religious authority, potentially reflecting a stronger reliance on ethnic solidarity, as also observed in the Loyalty foundation (Figure 7). Croat respondents fall between the two groups in both aspects. Whilst scores for state institutions are uniformly low, traditional values and respect for hierarchy remain consistent and significantly high across groups. Many respondents agree that "a strong leader is more important than democracy" (Halilović and Veljan 2021) and that greater respect for authority is desirable (World Values Survey Association 2001). These findings suggest a shared scepticism towards modern institutions and a preference for culturally rooted, hierarchical systems.

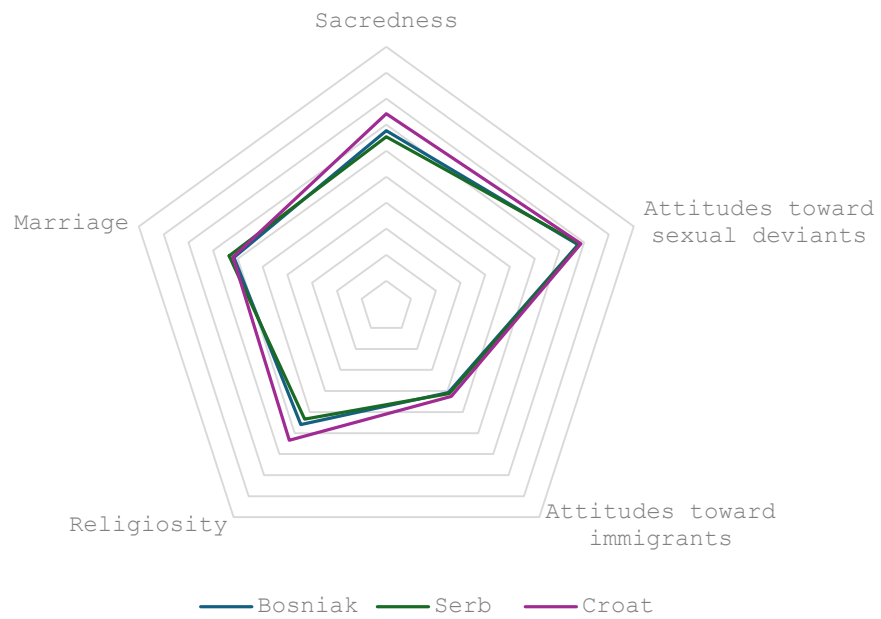


Figure 9: The prioritization of different categories of the **sanctity/degradation foundation** across the three constituent ethnic groups.

The Sanctity foundation reveals a relatively consistent distribution with considerable overlap among the three ethnic communities. The category of “Attitudes toward outsiders” (Figure 2) has been further divided into perceptions of LGBTQ+ individuals and immigrants, reflecting the significant differences in public sentiment towards these groups. Disapproval of sexual minorities, particularly same sex couples, remains remarkably high. In contrast, although many citizens express reluctance to accept immigrants as neighbours, there is generally greater tolerance towards them (Kuburic and Kuburic 2010). In-group sanctity – whether manifested through the rejection of contact with LGBTQ+ individuals, immigrants, or through opposition to intergroup marriage - appears consistent across all communities. Levels of religiosity, and especially the importance placed on sacredness, are notably high, with Croats placing greater emphasis on these values compared to the other two ethnic groups. This strong sense of sacredness is expressed through the attachment to places and symbols, with ethnic groups displaying an intense focus on religious symbols (Halilović and Veljan 2021). Unfortunately, this attachment can have negative consequences, as symbols associated with other communities are still systematically targeted for destruction (Global Centre for Plurism 2023, 43). Overall, these findings suggest

that sanctity-related values remain deeply intertwined with ethno-religious identities.

In sum, the Care and Fairness foundations emphasize harm reduction, inequality, and justice, but are tempered by low trust in institutions and between groups. The Loyalty foundation in general highlights stronger attachment to localized dynamics over national identity, while Bosniaks placing greater emphasis on a unified Bosnian identity. The Authority foundation underscores a shared scepticism towards institutions and a preference for traditional, hierarchical systems. The Sanctity foundation reveals disapproval of marginalized groups and an attachment to cultural and religious symbols. While the radar charts reveal minor variations in group priorities, the similarities across the communities are far more pronounced. That is, except for the Loyalty foundation which might have some polarization tendencies regarding national loyalty. Ultimately, however, ethnic identity does not seem to emerge as the primary driver of moral divisions in BiH, pointing instead to shared values with only subtle distinctions.

Moral Foundations in Political and Media Discourses: What Are Their Influences?

Politicians and media are widely seen as key drivers of ethnonationalist narratives. While most citizens believe that divisions among ordinary people are less pronounced than portrayed by these institutions (USAID 2023a), the same study revealed that informants often struggled to articulate the specific themes underlying ethnic divisions and frequently default to topics promoted by politicians and the media (USAID 2023a, 9). Given the significant influence of these institutions, this section explores how moral foundations are utilized by politicians and the media. It draws on an analysis of 109 news articles and 112 statements made by prominent politicians on their social media platforms. By examining the moral framing employed in these sources, this section will compare patterns across ethnic communities and assess the alignment - or divergence - between institutional narratives and the moral perceptions of citizens.

Moral Foundations in News Articles

This section presents the findings of the media analysis conducted using the eMFD, focusing on the prevalence and sentiment of moral foundations in news articles. The dataset comprises articles discussing the situation in BiH from outlets predominantly aligned with Bosniak, Croat, or Serb perspectives. The prevalence of moral foundations is visualized in *Figure 10*, where the y-axis represents the average document-level probability scores for each moral foundation and the x-axis categorizes these foundations. As shown in the figure, the moral foundation scores in media narratives align closely with those observed in the general public, ranging from 7.7820 (sanctity_p among Croats) to 10.9843 (care_p among Bosniaks). The largest range between groups is for the Care foundation ($r = 1.1857$), which is a little lower than the range found in the moral foundations in public discourse (see *Figure 3*). Overall, the data reveals a relatively balanced emphasis across all foundations.

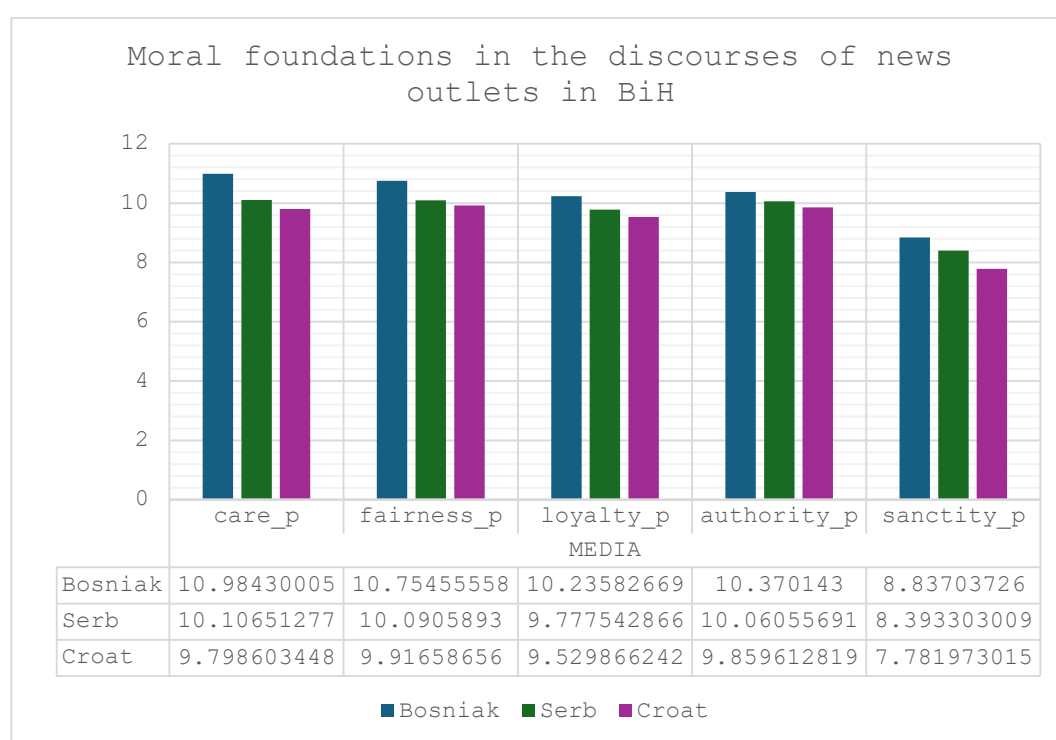


Figure 10: The average prevalence of document-level probability scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 109 news articles.

Among the three groups, Bosniak media displays the highest scores across all moral foundations, particularly in care_p and fairness_p. These high scores reflect themes of empathy, protection, victimization, equity, and justice. Examples from

Bosniak media reflects concerns about ethnic cleansing: “The ethnic cleansing of Bosniaks from the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina is ongoing”, the suffering they have endured: “Knowledge of our suffering will spread”, perceived threats: “Serbia and Srpska represent the greatest threat to the peace and stability of Bosnia and Herzegovina”, and the lack of accountability for past crimes: “No one has ever been held accountable for such terrible crimes.” Such narratives are marked by a focus on protecting their community and addressing historical grievances.

Serb media follows closely, particularly in the Fairness and Authority foundations. These narratives often emphasize themes of protection, sovereignty, and perceived external threats. Examples reflect efforts to assert the position of Republika Srpska: “The Serbian member of the BiH Presidency will defend the position of Republika Srpska and the Serbian people” as well as address alleged external threats: “They use those resources to talk and work against Republika Srpska” or “BiH has always been set on fire from the outside, but burned from the inside.” The messages convey a strong sense of defending the Serb community and its institutions.

Croat media scores consistently lower across all foundations, with the highest emphasis again on Care and Fairness. These narratives focus on justice and equity, as reflected in statements such as “Croats must have the same rights as all other peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina” and critiques of systemic injustices like “The institutional ignoring of the victims and the systematic suppression of facts about the past war.” At times, Croat media also employs a slightly more positive framing, as seen in phrases like “Peace, stability, equality, and inclusion of three constituent nations and other citizens.”

To further explore the dynamics of moral foundations in the media, sentiment values for each foundation were analysed. These values indicate the emotional tone associated with each moral foundation, showing whether they are framed positively or negatively. These findings are visualized in *Figure 11*, where the y-axis represents the average document-level sentiment scores for each moral foundation and the x-axis categorizes these foundations.

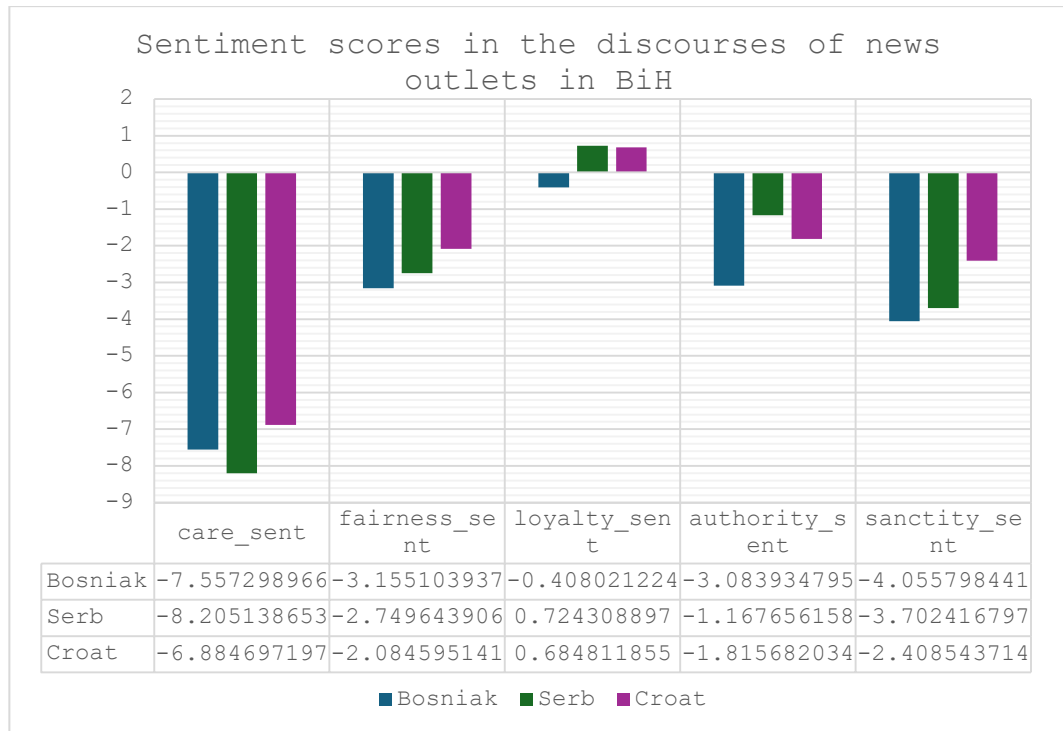


Figure 11: The average prevalence of document-level sentiment scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 109 news articles.

As displayed in *Figure 11*, sentiment values for moral foundations across all groups are predominantly negative. The Care foundation exhibits the most negative sentiment, with scores ranging from -8.2051 in Serb media to -6.8847 in Croat media. This underscores a pronounced focus on harm and suffering rather than empathy or understanding, reflected in language that emphasizes “enormous hatred,” “miserable, powerless and desperate,” “ethnic cleansing,” and “victims of genocide.” The sentiment associated with Fairness and Sanctity follows a similarly negative trend, with moderate negativity across all groups. Among these, Bosniak media expresses the most pronounced negative sentiment, while Croat media is comparatively less critical. These narratives often centre on perceived injustices and degradation, with statements such as “undermine the legal order,” “systemic oppression,” “betray us,” and “sold your soul to the devil a long time ago.” Sentiment for the Authority foundation is also negative but displays more variability among the ethnic groups, with a range of $r = 1.9163$. Bosniak media is notably more critical of authority, employing phrases like “if we listened, we might not have succeeded” and “they did not do enough,” compared to Serb and Croat media. Interestingly, this divergence does not align with the patterns observed in citizen perceptions, where Serbs expressed the most negative

sentiment towards government and state authorities (*Figure 4*). The Loyalty foundation reveals a more nuanced pattern. Serb and Croat media exhibit mildly positive sentiment, exemplified by statements such as “we will all be proud members of our own people, but at the same time proud Bosnians and Herzegovinans.” In contrast, Bosniak media remains neutral to slightly negative, signalling a subtle emphasis on loyalty-related vices rather than virtues.

Moral Foundations in Social Media Statements

The following section will provide an overview of the results from the eMFD analysis of statements made by politicians on their social media. The prevalence of moral foundations is visualized in *Figure 12*, where the y-axis represents the average document-level probability scores for each moral foundation and the x-axis categorizes these foundations.

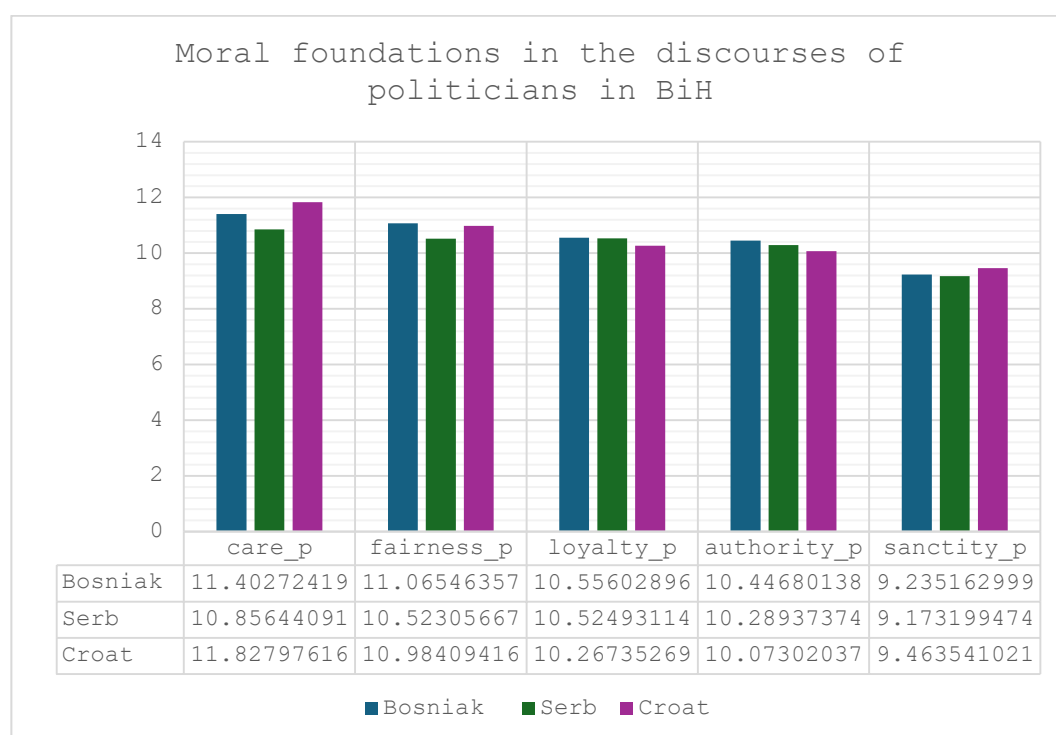


Figure 12: The average prevalence of document-level probability scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 112 social media statements.

The scores across different moral foundations are notably balanced, with a range of differences of $r = 2.6548$. The Care and Fairness foundations are slightly more prominent than the others, but all foundations, except Sanctity, average between 10-11 percent. As in previous analyses, the data reveals that there is little

divergence between the moral foundation priorities of politicians and those of the general public or news outlets. In addition, the differences in moral foundations between politicians of different ethnic backgrounds are minimal, with the largest gap observed in the Care foundation ($r = 0.9715$).

The data clearly suggests a general alignment in the moral foundation priorities across politicians from the three main ethnic groups, with only subtle variations. For the Bosniaks, the most prominent moral foundation is Care, followed closely by Fairness and Loyalty. This is reflected in frequent references to themes of suffering and justice, such as: “We paid the price for our freedom and state with the blood and lives of martyrs and fallen fighters.” (Helez), or “We have been witnessing the equalization of the victim and the criminal” (Hadzikadic). Other statements like “Be the force that will stop divisions and trigger change. In unity there is strength!” (Sarajlic) also highlight these values. Authority and Sanctity score relatively lower, with the focus mainly on the ineffectiveness of authorities: “This indifference by figures of authority undermines the dignity of the victims.” (Silajdzic), and a lack of sacred values: “A grotesque affront to the sanctity of justice.” (Silajdzic).

Serb politicians exhibit the lowest values across all foundations compared to the other groups, with Care being the most prominent, followed by Fairness, Loyalty and Authority. These moral domains are mainly reflected in statements referring to the strength of the Serb community, such as: “When Serbs are united, everything is possible! “The unity of the Serbs saves!” (Banjac) and “with the strength of unity, we managed to rise above all adversity!” Sanctity is emphasized slightly less, but the same dynamic resonates: ““What they want to take from us is exactly what is most sacred to us. Our roots, our history and our faith are the foundation on which we build the future.” (Stanivukovic). Compared to the Bosniaks and Croats, the Serb group shows the smallest difference between the foundations, with a range of $r = 1.6832$.

Across the three ethnic groups, Croat politicians exhibit the highest value for Care, Fairness and Sanctity. They score slightly lower on the Loyalty and Authority foundation, albeit with minimal difference. Their discourse often emphasizes the equality of the constituent peoples of BiH, such as: “We commit

ourselves once again to building a European homeland, a homeland in which the rights of all three constituent nations will be fully and permanently respected.” (Covic). Additionally, Croat politicians focus on advocating for the position of Croats within BiH, with statements like: “Make the Croats in BiH an equal people.” (Cvitanovic) and “Thanks to all those who are still fighting for the equality and survival of the Croatian people in Bosnia and Herzegovina.” (Cavara).

Overall, the analysis of moral foundations highlights the similar patterns in moral foundations in the political discourse across ethnic groups. To further understand the emotional undercurrents shaping these narratives, we now turn to the sentiment scores associated with each moral foundation, which offer a deeper look into the emotional tone of the political rhetoric. As visualized in *Figure 13*, the differences between ethnic groups become more pronounced, revealing distinct emotional tones. The y-axis represents the average document-level sentiment scores for each moral foundation and the x-axis categorizes these foundations.

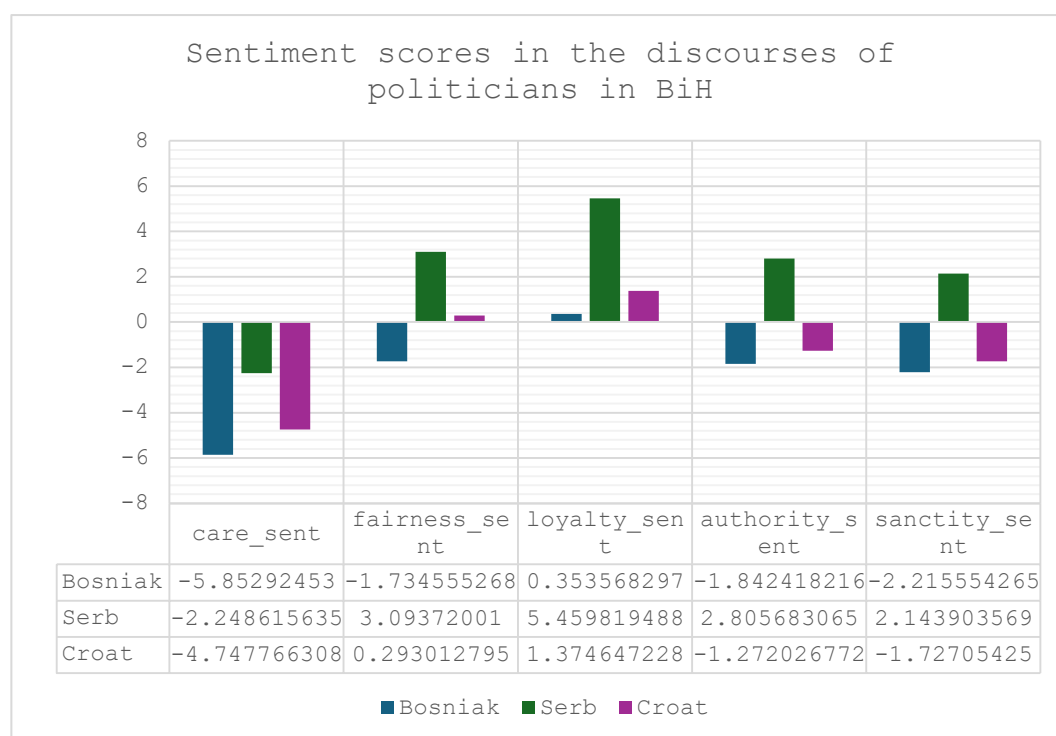


Figure 13: The average prevalence of document-level sentiment scores for each moral foundation—Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity—based on the eMFD analysis of 112 social media statements.

As shown in the figure above, Bosniak politicians tend to express negative sentiment across most moral foundations. The most negative sentiment is

associated with the Care foundation, referring to moral words like “humiliate the victims,” “glorify criminals,” “killed,” “genocide,” and “harass our mothers, daughters, and sisters.” For the other foundations the scores are less pronounced, showing a mild negativity toward Sanctity, Authority and Fairness, but a relatively neutral sentiment toward Loyalty. In contrast, Serb politicians generally convey positive sentiment across most foundations, emphasizing themes of group solidarity, justice, and social order. Examples of these expressions include phrases such as “unity of the Serbs,” “stability and prosperity,” “brotherly,” and “our freedom.” The exception is the Care foundation, where Serb politicians also express negative sentiments, including terms like “suffered a lot,” “hatred,” and “the horror that happened here.” However, these negative sentiments are notably lower compared to those of Bosniak and Croat politicians. Croat politicians, like the Bosniaks, exhibit significant negative sentiment in the Care foundation, with references to “suffering of the Croats,” “monstrosity,” and “Great Serbian aggression,” as well as mentions of “Croatian defenders and innocent victims.” However, in contrast to the Bosniaks, Croat politicians display a more neutral sentiment toward the other moral foundations, with scores ranging from Sanctity (-1.7271) to Loyalty (1.3747).

In sum, this research has sought to explore trends in the use of moral foundations, comparing the perspectives of the three constituent groups and examining the alignment between citizens’ perceptions, media narratives, and political discourse. The findings indicate that citizens’ perceptions are rooted in a five-foundation morality, with all foundations significantly emphasized, reflecting a generally conservative outlook. These moral foundations highlight concerns about inequality, injustice, and group-specific issues, such as solidarity and perceived external threats. Interestingly, differences in the moral priorities of ethnic groups are minimal, with the exception of the Loyalty foundation, where Bosniaks place a stronger emphasis on national loyalty. Both the media and political statements reflect patterns that closely mirror citizens’ perceptions, with moral foundations being framed similarly across these groups. However, the emotional tone of moral domains is predominantly negative, particularly regarding the Care foundation, which underscores suffering and harm. An exception to this trend is seen in Serb political discourse, which exhibits a more positive sentiment. Overall, these

findings suggest that moral divisions in Bosnia and Herzegovina are not primarily driven by ethnicity. Rather, the analysis has highlighted shared concerns and beliefs about justice, tolerance, loyalty, and sacredness.

Discussion

“This form of politics that we see in different parts of the world, which is a kind of post-truth populism, where the facts are less important than how people feel and what people perceive. It is not that they only believe what they want to believe, but they will always have a reason to believe that because they have leadership telling them that.”

Alaister Campbell.

The results of this study reveal both overlapping and diverging dynamics in the use of moral foundations among citizens, the media, and politicians in BiH. The following paragraphs will analyse the findings in more detail. It will examine how moral foundations shape individual dispositions influencing conflict dynamics, provide a comparative assessment, and explore how engaging with these foundations could foster more constructive collaboration.

Ethnic Divisions Despite Shared Moral Frameworks

The most striking finding is that divisions in BiH are not rooted in fundamentally different moral frameworks, as there are more commonalities than differences among ethnic groups in terms of moral foundations. Haidt suggests that political and social disagreements stem from different moral priorities. At first glance, this also seems to be the case in BiH. One USAID respondent noted, “We have three completely different parallel narratives that have almost nothing in common, no points of intersection. In the moments when they collide, chaos ensues and there is no common line that would lead to empathy” (USAID 2023a, 18). This corresponds to the empathy gap as described earlier: as the moral issues at the core of these intractable conflicts are rooted in different frameworks, people on opposing sides of these conflicts simply do not understand how anyone can hold different moral intuitions (Ditto and Koleva 2011). However, this study challenges that this is the case in BiH. The current findings have presented significant overlaps across the moral foundations for all groups. Differences across most moral foundations are minimal—generally under 10% between groups—and the alignment between citizens, the media, and politicians is even more pronounced, with discrepancies mostly under 1%. This indicates that ‘parallel narratives’ persist not because of fundamentally different moral frameworks but *despite*

shared moral frameworks. Moral differences often lead to poor intergroup relations (Graham et al. 2013 94), but such poor relations are not necessarily rooted in moral differences.

There are a few explanations. First, the findings have presented one foundation that has the potential for polarization, that is, the Loyalty foundation. Here, a key dividing line is demonstrated between ethnic solidarity and a shared Bosnian identity. Bosniaks place a significantly greater emphasis on country loyalty compared to Serbs and Croats, who maintain stronger loyalty to their respective ethnic groups. We have seen that this can come at the expense of broader societal cooperation or commonality (Haidt 2012). Indeed, Bosniak respondents are much more focused on the commonalities between ethnic groups (*Figure 7*). What is more, Bosniaks show slightly more confidence in the state, though this remains relatively low overall (*Figure 8*). Maybe, Serbs and Croats see their identity as linked to Serbia and Croatia, respectively, while Bosniaks invest in a Bosnian identity, as BiH is their only source of identity. The most likely explanation is that Serbs and Croats feel like they betray their ethnic identity when they would express loyalty to the country. This raises the question of whether a unified Bosnian identity that transcends ethnic divisions can and must be the goal. I have noted before that many peacebuilding efforts have failed to take into account the ethnic-group loyalties. Instead, a more inclusive national identity that respects ethnic identities and loyalties should be thought of.

Furthermore, there is a persistently negative sentiment in moral discourses, with moral foundations being framed in exclusionary ways. Except for Serbian politicians, which we will get to later, moral foundations consistently score negative in the sentiment analysis. This means that discussions tend to focus on moral vices—shortcomings and grievances—rather than moral virtues. For example, Bosniak discourse highlights perceived threats from Serbia and Republika Srpska, Serb rhetoric emphasizes external conspiracies against Republika Srpska, and Croat media and politicians stress systemic injustices regarding their representation in BiH. This suggests that, even though the groups share a moral framework, the different elements of this framework are expressed in ways that allow for divisions. It reflects a shared pattern of reasoning based on insecurity, where each group sees itself and its fundamental goals as under threat.

As often happens with ethnonational tensions, and is also the case in BiH, one group's identity and goals threaten another group's identity and goals (Bar-Tal 2013). Therefore, negatively framed messages can reinforce group isolation. Instead of leading to a unifying narrative, moral foundations lead to a self-contained moral discourse which reinforces ethnic silos.

Third, a reliance on traditional authority structures such as ethnic groups can be strengthened by the lack of confidence in modern state institutions. Despite the perceived importance of hierarchy, state institutions fail to command trust (*Figure 8*). The pervasive sense - across ethnic groups - that BiH's institutions are ineffective or unjust raises important questions about the legitimacy of the state and its ability to deliver. Instead, people tend to uphold authority in smaller, local circles, such as families and, to some extent, religious leaders. For example, the Serb respondents scored lowest in their support of the authority of the government and state (*Figure 8*), however, scored highest in their support of their native local communities (USAID 2023, 60). With state institutions facing challenges to their legitimacy, a reliance on informal and traditional sources of authority might be reinforced, fuelling a cycle where people rely more on their ethnic group than the state.

In addition, a persistent narrative of victimization can be observed as themes of harm and suffering are emphasized by all three ethnic groups. I have noted before that victimhood is a strategy that can be adopted to claim moral superiority and maintain a positive self-image (See: Miljic 2021; Golubovic 2019). Across the groups, citizens, the media, and politicians emphasize Care and Fairness as the most important moral foundations (*Figure 3; Figure 10; Figure 12*). Furthermore, the sentiment analysis across all three groups reveals that Care sentiment is framed negatively in both public, the media and political discourse. Actually, it has the most negative sentiment in all discourses compared to the other foundations. A majority of the population experiences a sense of threat to their ethnic community, where they paint themselves as the victim: "Croats are marginalized by Bosniaks" or "NATO doesn't want Serbs in BiH" or "No one cares about genocide committed against Bosniaks" (Halilović and Veljan 2021, 17). Here, Bosniaks emphasize suffering slightly more than the other two communities, scoring highest on 'suffering and distress' (*Figure 5*) and

‘inequality’ (*Figure 6*). Indeed, the Bosniak community often received criticism for their self-victimization (Močnik 2019). The strong negative framing of this moral foundation makes it particularly effective for rallying support, as moral outrage is a powerful political motivator as well as reinforcer of group boundaries.

Last, there is an ideological gap between how people perceive their personal values and how they behave socially: expressions of virtues are hindered, despite support for these virtues. The majority of citizens have high regard for values such as caring and kindness, a focus on similarities, and compassion for victims of all groups (*Figure 5; Figure 7*). There is a shared belief that inequality is a major societal issue, and shared frustrations seem to be directed at state institutions, rather than ethnic differences. Most citizens support policies benefiting other ethnic groups (Regional Cooperation Council 2023). A study by Wilkes et al. (2012) even demonstrated that 88% of the respondents affirmed that building trust and honest relationships is important. However, at the same time, actual levels of trust remain low (*Figure 6*), openness towards others is limited, and suspicion of certain minorities is high (*Figure 9*). This suggests a discrepancy between the way individuals view their virtues and how they behave, moral values do not necessarily translate into moral actions. An explanation for this might be the low intergroup trust, which might prevent people from extending these values beyond their own community. Another reason for this might be the influence of politicians and the media.

A widely held belief in BiH is that ethnonational divisions are not necessarily inherent among citizens but are exacerbated by the elites, consisting of the media and politicians. Findings by the Atlantic Initiative suggest that “ethnic boundaries are much more blurred in day-to-day life, and that personal relations and ‘Bosnians’ often mean more than the ethnic differences emphasised by political elites and the media devoted to them” (Halilović and Veljan 2021, 12). Media outlets and politicians have the ability to contribute to polarization by prioritizing ethnic identities over common national solidarity. Media has the ability to amplify certain moral concerns, reinforcing negative sentiments across all ethnic groups. This creates an echo chamber effect, where citizens see their existing views reflected in the media, which in turn strengthens group-specific moral narratives. Indeed, the findings of this research has shown that media messages are framed in

significantly negative moral ways and exclusionary manners. This would seem to support the view that was mentioned by the Atlantic Initiative, that ethnic boundaries and tensions are intensified in the media and by politicians due to their focus on divisive issues.

However, the question remains of whether media and politicians focus on ethnic tensions to strategically drive their own agenda or genuinely reflect the shared values and concerns of the people. Or vice versa, whether public's moral foundations are driven by actual concerns or predominantly manipulated by political and media elites. The alignment of moral foundations in the discourse of the public, the media, and politicians (*Figure 3; Figure 10; Figure 12*) can suggest that political and media rhetoric is not driven by individual agendas but carefully tailored to resonate with public moral intuitions. For example, Bosniak media focuses on past trauma and perceived threats, but these might be necessary reflections of ongoing grievances and struggles for recognition and justice, as we have seen are present among the public (*Figure 5; Figure 6*). However, it can also be evidence for findings of the earlier mentioned USAID (2023a) study, where informants defaulted to topics promoted by politicians and the media. Importantly, even though the moral discourses of politicians and media are so closely aligned to that of the public, they are still very much distrusted (*Figure 8*). This seems to indicate a discrepancy between personal beliefs and institutional realities. All in all, it probably implies a reinforcement loop where public sentiment influences the media and politicians, and vice versa, strengthening moral and ideological silo perspectives over time.

In sum, the findings reveal significant commonalities across ethnic groups, suggesting that divisions persist despite shared moral foundations rather than because of them. However, divisions can be amplified by framing moral concerns in exclusionary ways, reinforcing group solidarity and distrust in state institutions and a national identity. The interaction between public sentiment, the media, and political elites creates a feedback loop that further perpetuates divisions.

Taking a Closer Look: Bosniak, Serb and Croat Dynamics Within Moral Foundations

The following sections examine how the Bosniak, Serb, and Croat communities engage with the moral foundations of Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity. This comparative analysis explores the subtle yet insightful distinctions in how these communities prioritize and express these foundations.

First, while differences are minimal, Serb respondents consistently score slightly lower on all aspects of the Care foundation compared to the other two groups. This pattern suggests that the Serb community may be less concerned with ethnic tensions, particularly compared to the Bosniak community. Indeed, when it comes to resolving interethnic tensions, the majority of the Serb respondents preferred to focus on their own affairs instead of taking action (USAID 2023, 54). However, rather than emphasizing Care-based concerns, Serb respondents highlight institutional failures, scoring highest in perceptions of institutional ineffectiveness and lowest in trust in government (*Figure 8*). This aligns with Basta's (2016, 951) assertion that Serb citizens pay more attention to the institutional protection of group interests and are more accepting of ethnic divisions. However, even though the results support these statements it is important to keep in mind that differences are very minimal, and thus the results are not too conclusive.

Second, Bosniak respondents demonstrate a stronger focus on the past. Looking at the Care and Fairness foundations, Bosniak respondents surpass respondents from the other groups when it comes to issues such as 'acknowledgement of harm' (*Figure 5*) or 'accountability and justice' (*Figure 6*). This is understandable given their community's heavy losses during the civil war. Conversely, this might be exactly why Serb and Croat respondents show less inclination to revisit historical grievances. They might feel their group will fall short in reconciliation measures. Indeed, many Serb respondents have noted that their victims are not sufficiently recognized (USAID 2023a, 19). Here, there is an important divergence in the goals and needs of the different groups. While Bosniaks see acknowledgment as essential for healing, other groups may prioritize present and future stability or prefer to refrain from such discussions completely.

Third, we can observe small variations when looking at the different elements of the Sanctity foundation. A sense of religiosity is often marked as a uniting topic (Halilović and Veljan 2021, 17). Indeed, we see relatively high scores on ‘religiosity’ and ‘sacredness’, with Croats scoring higher in both areas than the other groups. This may reflect Catholic traditions where public expressions of faith are commonplace. Indeed, a significantly larger percentage of Croats indicated that they wear religious symbols or carry them with them (Pew Research Centre 2017). The importance of religious symbols for all groups also marks an area of contestation, as the demolition of symbols can be used as a strategy of degradation. The Global Pluralism Monitor (2023, 43) noted that heritage has been systematically destroyed as it is seen as a symbol of other communities. In addition, interestingly, while Serb respondents score lowest in personal religiosity and sacredness, they place greater emphasis on religious authority within the Authority foundation (*Figure 8*). For Serbs, the institutional role of religion in shaping political and social norms appears more significant than its symbolic elements. Thus, while Sanctity resonates across communities, its expression varies.

Furthermore, the media and political narratives further illustrate divergent uses of moral foundations. The media is generally perceived as heavily influenced by political and governmental entities (USAID 2023, 45). However, Croat politicians emphasize Care and Sanctity more than their media outlets, which, conversely, show the least engagement with these foundations (*Figure 10*; *Figure 12*). Similarly, Sanctity-related themes are more prevalent in political rhetoric than in media discourse across all groups. Serb news outlets display the most negative sentiment toward the Care foundation, while Serb politicians exhibit comparatively positive sentiments (*Figure 13*). Bosniak news outlets score highest on all foundations, whilst this is not at all the case among their politicians. This highlights some discrepancy between media portrayals and political messaging.

Related to this, Serb politicians stand out by consistently projecting a positive sentiment across most foundations, especially Loyalty. This positive framing may be partly explained by their governance of Republika Srpska, and might reflect a strategic effort to project resilience, unity, and optimism, in contrast to the more grievance-driven narratives of other groups. While positive sentiment may help

maintain internal cohesion, it does not necessarily translate into greater interethnic cooperation, as narratives of strength may also serve to reinforce exclusivity. By framing their discourse more positively, Serb politicians present themselves as defenders of stability, unity, and sovereignty, but limited to the borders of Republika Srpska.

Recommendations For More Constructive Collaboration

An important element of this study was to examine whether insights into the dynamics of moral foundations can offer strategic recommendations for improved conflict resolution approaches. As noted at the outset, innovation in reconciliation methods is essential, as traditional approaches have often fallen short. BiH serves as a prime example - thirty years has passed since the Dayton Agreement, and the country remains afflicted with a political status quo and entrenched ethnic divisions. Since the mid-1990s, political power-sharing models have dominated conflict management, primarily involving formal interactions among high-level representatives. This study has illustrated why this model is insufficient: conflicts are not merely products of rational calculations but are driven by collective needs and competing goals. Emotive reasoning significantly influences perceptions and decision-making, highlighting the need for a more comprehensive conflict resolution framework - one that goes beyond elite-level diplomacy and cultivates transformative relationships between conflicting parties. This requires addressing fundamental needs and fears, building pragmatic trust and reciprocity, but also fostering an economic and political climate conducive to genuine transformation. The analysis of the moral foundations underlying the entrenched divisions in BiH has pointed to areas that need improvement as well as opportunities for reconciliation. Based on this, the following few paragraphs will provide some recommendations for new ways of conflict resolution.

Before presenting the recommendations, a critical question to explore is whether understanding of the moral framework of others alone is sufficient to facilitate social cohesion. Haidt argues that when individuals gain a better understanding of moral pluralism and the dynamics of moralities that 'bind and blind', they become more willing to engage with opposing perspectives. He posits that ideological

opponents will come to recognize that “each team is composed of good people who have something important to say” (Haidt 2012, 313). Thus, Haidt suggests that the attitude towards one’s opponents and corresponding willingness to come to some form of agreement on conflicting issues will change. However, Musschenga (2013, 330) critiques this view, asserting that understanding of moral pluralism alone is inadequate for ensuring stable coexistence among groups with diverse moral outlooks. Instead, he emphasizes that more is needed, such as the necessity of a just and democratic political system. The current study supports a middle-ground approach: while moral foundations may not be the source of entrenched divisions and can therefore not completely resolve conflicts, they can offer valuable insights into conflict dynamics and therefore provide fruitful recommendations for reconciliation strategies.

Below, I outline several recommendations to enhance conflict resolution strategies:

1) Establishing a shared Bosnian identity without undermining ethnic identities:

A major challenge in fostering a unified Bosnian identity is the perceived tension between ethnic solidarity and national loyalty, as illustrated by the dynamics of the Loyalty Foundation (*Figure 7*). This issue is particularly pronounced among Bosnian Serbs and Croats, who often perceive national identity as synonymous with Bosniak identity rather than a genuinely multiethnic concept. As previously noted, identity, recognition, and autonomy are fundamental human needs (Burton 1990), making compromise in these areas especially difficult. Therefore, peacebuilding efforts must craft a narrative that frames national loyalty not as a threat to ethnic identities but as a framework that protects and strengthens them. The state should serve as a guarantor of ethnic representation, ensuring that all communities have a voice in political discourse, national symbols, historical narratives, and state institutions. Achieving this is no simple task - it requires sustained, long-term efforts.

2) Removing socio-psychological barriers to peace:

For conflict resolution to take root, it is essential to address the socio-psychological barriers that hinder reconciliation. Socio-psychological barriers

reinforce recurring behavioural patterns that prevent individuals from aligning their actions with their stated beliefs or aspirations (Bar-Tal and Halperin 2013). Overcoming these seemingly ‘irrational’ resistances requires a thorough understanding of the underlying dynamics that sustain them, including ethnic outbidding, mutual disappointment, and dilemmas of asymmetry. Reconciliation efforts often emphasize perspective-taking and empathy (see: USAID 2023a, 55), yet such approaches may overlook the root causes of resistance. This study’s findings indicate that citizens place significant value on mutual trust and understanding (*Figure 5*). Rather than attempting to instil empathy and understanding directly, reconciliation initiatives should focus on dismantling the socio-psychological barriers that obstruct them—most notably, low interethnic trust (*Figure 7*). Identifying these underlying mechanisms is an essential first step toward unlocking conflict transformation. By mapping these patterns and understanding their function within the broader socio-political landscape, peacebuilding efforts can more effectively disrupt the ‘frozen’ conflict repertoire.

3) Utilizing shared moral frameworks to develop a reconciliatory narrative of common ground:

While Haidt’s argument that understanding moral pluralism can shift conflict attitudes may not fully capture the complexity of intergroup conflicts, it can still be leveraged to reinforce a sense of collective belonging among BiH’s ethnic communities. This study has identified significant overlap in the moral concerns of Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. Common frustrations - such as ineffective institutions, the importance of traditional values, perceived threats to identity, and opposition to external influences - are present in nationalist narratives across all three communities. Highlighting these shared values and concerns can promote more inclusionary narratives. The idea of building dialogue around points of agreement is not novel (Halilović and Veljan 2021; USAID 2023a). However, this study suggests that moral foundations can serve as an analytical tool for understanding the underlying logic of conflict dynamics. Beyond merely highlighting similarities, moral foundations can be strategically integrated into political and media discourse to rally support for reconciliatory topics. In this sense, moral foundations are not just another example of how the different groups

in BiH are similar, but a practical tool for advancing reconciliation by framing it within existing moral concerns that resonate across communities.

4) Recognizing the value of symbolic concessions alongside material incentives:

The findings of this study have indicated that the Bosniak community desires acknowledgement of past harm (*Figure 5; Figure 6*). The absence of such recognition may represent a significant barrier to healing and reconciliation. Indeed, symbolic concessions – such as public apologies, official commemorations, and acknowledgement of historical grievances – play a crucial role in fostering goodwill and reducing intergroup tensions. These gestures often hold greater significance than material incentives, as they address deeply rooted psychological and emotional needs that shape group perceptions (Kesebir and Pyszczynski 2011, 886). While material incentives are often used to encourage cooperation and reconciliation, they alone may be insufficient. Symbolic gestures often take precedence over material considerations, making them equally impactful. However, such gestures can be difficult to achieve, as they may not align with the interests or narratives of other communities. Resistance to acknowledging past wrongs is often linked to concerns about collective blame, political consequences, or fears of undermining one's own group's historical perspective. Thus, effective reconciliation efforts must consider how to frame symbolic concessions in ways that encourage broader acceptance rather than provoke further resistance.

5) Shifting the focus of reconciliation from the past to the present and future:

While the Bosniak community places significant importance on historical justice, Serb and Croat communities emphasize such themes to a lesser extent (*Figure 5; Figure 6*). For these groups, reconciliation strategies that prioritize a forward-looking approach may be more effective. Many citizens express fatigue over discussions centered on ethnic divisions and historical grievances (Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo and Saferworld 2012, 44). Some simply wish to focus on their own personal and economic concerns rather than continuously revisiting the past (USAID 2023, 54). Although addressing past injustices remains essential for long-term reconciliation, an excessive focus on historical narratives can

sometimes reinforce divisions rather than foster unity. A more balanced approach that integrates future-oriented reconciliation efforts alongside historical justice mechanisms may yield better results.

6) Adopting a regional approach that includes Serbia and Croatia:

This study has determined that any reconciliation strategy that seeks to forge a common Bosnian identity under a unified government must account for the underlying ethnic loyalties. The findings of this study reveal that the allegiance of Bosnian Serbs and Croats to the country of BiH is notably weak, compounded by significant distrust in state institutions (*Figure 8*). An important factor in this dynamic is the considerable influence of Serbia and Croatia over BiH's internal affairs. Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić maintains strong political ties with the leadership of Republika Srpska, while Croat political parties in BiH receive substantial backing from the government in Zagreb (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2022, 42-43). Rather than prioritizing BiH's state interests, many Serb and Croat political elites align themselves with Belgrade and Zagreb, advancing ethno-nationalist agendas that further entrench divisions. This external political influence not only undermines trust in BiH institutions but also complicates efforts to build a shared national narrative. Given Serbia and Croatia's substantial role in shaping the political attitudes of Bosnian Serbs and Croats, reconciliation efforts must incorporate regional dynamics into conflict analyses and policy recommendations. Ignoring these external influences risks rendering reconciliation efforts ineffective and detached from the lived realities of Bosnian citizens. Much can be gained from developing a regional cooperation framework.

7) Prioritizing political and economic system reforms over the strengthening of social bonds between ethnic groups:

While creating a more inclusive narrative is a commendable goal, it proves difficult in a country where exclusionary narratives often serve to maintain political power. Numerous studies have highlighted that the lived realities of many Bosnians reflect a more fluid and interconnected society than the rigid ethnic divisions presented in political discourse. Nevertheless, reconciliation efforts frequently focus on citizens—whether it's building resilience to divisive narratives (USAID 2023a, 46), encouraging their participation in decision-making

and politics (Pajić and Popović 2011, 55), or promoting discussions on historical revisionism and peaceful coexistence (Halilović and Veljan 2021, 33). While such initiatives are important, they place the burden of change primarily on the citizens and neglect the systemic issues at play. This is problematic, as the Bosnian population has grown fatigued by ongoing peacebuilding efforts. Rather than focusing solely on transforming social bonds, it may be more productive to address the shared frustrations of most Bosnians: systemic inequality and ineffective institutions (*Figure 8*). Transforming the political and economic systems is a major challenge, particularly because it requires dismantling a status quo that benefits the current elites. Nonetheless, systemic reform is arguably essential for long-term stability and reconciliation.

In sum, effective conflict resolution in Bosnia and Herzegovina necessitates a multidimensional approach that integrates political, economic, and socio-psychological strategies. Recognizing and leveraging shared moral frameworks, addressing systemic frustrations, incorporating regional dynamics, and balancing historical justice with future-oriented initiatives are all essential components of a comprehensive reconciliation strategy. Only by embracing this holistic approach can sustainable peace and long-term societal transformation be achieved.

Conclusion

Morality binds and blinds. It binds us into ideological teams that fight each other as though the fate of the world depended on our side winning each battle. It blinds us to the fact that each team is composed of good people who have something important to say.

Jonathan Haidt (2012)

The primary objective of this research was to explore how moral foundations inform individual and collective dispositions regarding ethno-religious divisions in the context of intractable conflict in BiH. By integrating MFT into the analysis of intergroup dynamics, nuanced insights were observed into the deep-seated ethnic divisions. The findings demonstrate that intractable conflicts extend beyond rational calculations, being deeply rooted in socio-psychological dynamics driven by fundamental needs and goals. Moral foundations - Care, Fairness, Loyalty, Authority, and Sanctity - serve as valuable lenses through which individuals and groups evaluate their world and each other, ultimately shaping attitudes toward conflict and reconciliation. A complete overview of the results and findings of this research is presented in *Figure 14* below.

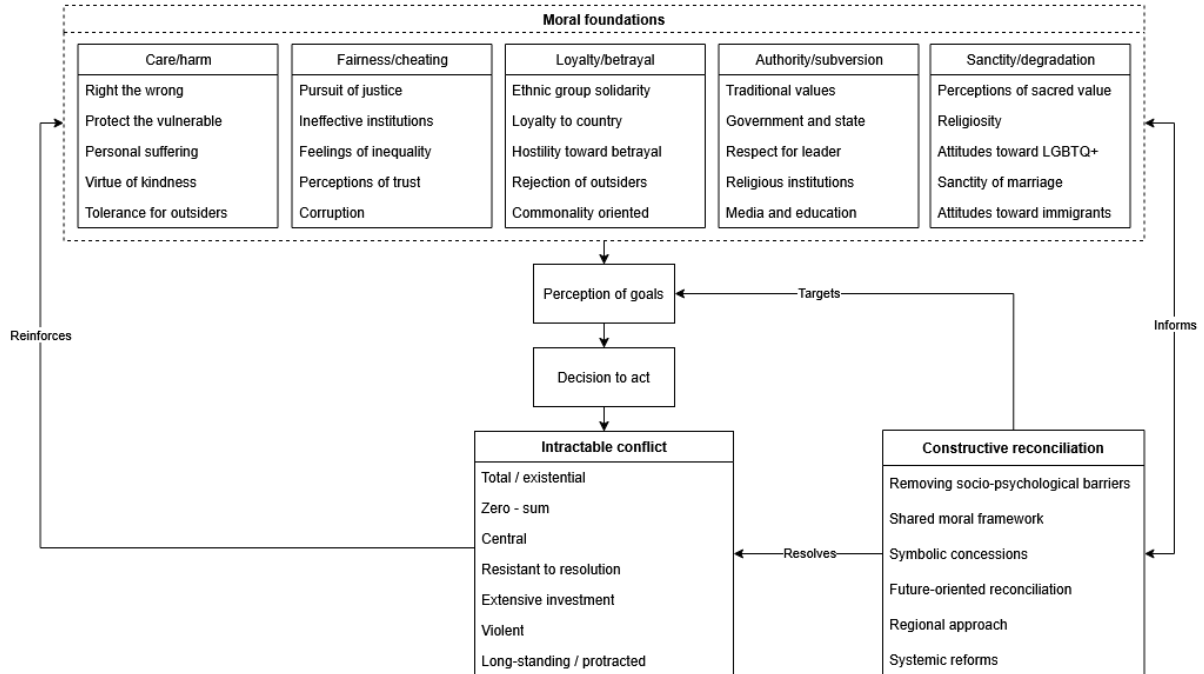


Figure 14: Final conceptual framework presenting the links between moral foundations, intractable conflict and reconciliation processes.

Addressing the overarching research question - *"How do moral foundations shape the particular dispositions regarding ethno-religious divisions among individuals*

caught in intractable conflict?" - the findings indicate that moral foundations shape the perception of goals rather than directly cause intractability. As illustrated in *Figure 14*, moral foundations can inform total, existential, zero-sum perceptions when situations touch upon the fundamental needs these foundations represent, such as security, identity and autonomy. Conflicts become highly probable when these needs appear incompatible with the out-group's goals. The question of the extent to which moral foundations inform beliefs and attitudes of conflict actors remains more complex. In the context of BiH, this research indicates that moral foundations are not the primary source of intractability, as different ethnic groups share a fundamentally similar moral framework. Nonetheless, the Loyalty foundation - particularly the tension between ethnic and national loyalty - can polarize groups when it supersedes concerns related to Care, Fairness, Authority, and Sanctity. Furthermore, divisions are exacerbated when moral concerns are framed in exclusionary ways - a practice observed among politicians, the media, and citizens alike - which reinforces group solidarity while deepening distrust in state institutions and national identity. Overall, further research is necessary to determine the causal links between moral foundations and intractable conflict more conclusively.

A comparative analysis of the moral foundations across the three ethnic groups addressed the question: *"What are the similarities and differences in the moral foundations valued by various ethnic communities?"* It revealed subtle yet insightful distinctions in how these communities prioritize and express these foundations. For instance, Bosniaks display strong loyalty to the nation-state, while Serbs and Croats exhibit stronger allegiance to their respective ethnic groups. Additionally, the Bosniak community, having suffered substantial losses during the war, prioritizes Care and Fairness, particularly regarding the acknowledgment of past harms and personal suffering narratives. This focus reflects a fundamental need for recognition and justice as integral to healing and reconciliation. In contrast, the Serb community emphasizes institutional stability and the protection of group interests through governance structures, placing less emphasis on addressing historical grievances. Recognizing these differences is vital for developing conflict resolution strategies tailored to each group's distinct needs and goals.

In response to the final research question – *“How can insights into moral foundations advance more constructive collaboration?”* – this study highlights that understanding moral foundations can both identify areas requiring improvement and uncover opportunities for reconciliation. As illustrated in the updated diagram (*Figure 14*), effective reconciliation strategies should focus on transforming individual perceptions, which lie at the core of conflict dynamics. One approach involves positively informing moral foundations to reframe conflict narratives and foster more empathetic perspectives. Strategies must aim to dismantle socio-psychological barriers that hinder cooperation while seeking shared values as a basis for common ground. To this end, the study proposes several practical steps forward, including symbolic concessions to acknowledge past harms, future-oriented discourse to redirect focus toward shared aspirations, regional cooperation to address geopolitical influences, and systemic reforms to enhance institutional fairness and inclusivity.

While this research offers valuable insights, further research is needed to enhance our understanding and refine the applicability of its findings. Expanding the participant sample size would strengthen the study’s validity, while incorporating diverse research perspectives could help mitigate potential biases stemming from the researcher’s background. Engaging a variety of viewpoints ensures richer, more comprehensive interpretations of the data. The findings of this study have revealed some interesting patterns that warrant further exploration. Moral Foundations Theory has potential: by leveraging insights into moral foundations, stakeholders can develop more effective conflict resolution strategies, fostering a shared vision for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Operation of the eMFDscore

This appendix provides an overview of how moral information metrics are extracted from textual input using the eMFDscore tool. A full description on the development and applications of the eMFDscore can be found in the article by Hopp et al, (2020).

Foundation Probability Scores Interpretation

The eMFD calculates foundation probability scores at the word level, which are then aggregated to the document level (e.g., a news article). The tool returns document-level probability scores for each of the five moral foundations, which are marked as: care_p, fairness_p, loyalty_p, authority_p, & sanctity_p.

This document-level foundation probability score for foundation i in document r is calculated as:

$$d_{p_{ir}} = \frac{\sum w_{p_i}}{n_m}$$

Where:

- $d_{p_{ir}}$ = document-level foundation probability score for a unique foundation and unique document
- w_{p_i} = word-level foundation probability score for a unique foundation
- n_m = total number of moral words detected across the document

For example, consider a document with 10 moral words. Each word has a uniquely associated foundation probability score across all 5 foundations. If the sum of all care-p scores at the word level is 2.4, then:

$$d_{p_{care}} = \frac{2.4}{10} = 0.24$$

While one might expect foundation probabilities to sum to 1, they can theoretically range between 0 and 5, since each moral word can be associated with probabilities for all five foundations.

- Lower bound (0): if all moral words have a probability of 0 across all foundations.
- Upper bound (5): if all moral words have a probability of 1 for each foundation.

In practice, the actual possible range for the sum of document level foundation probability scores can be conceptualized as:

$$0 \leq \sum d_{p_i} \leq 5.$$

Foundation Sentiment Scores Interpretation

Words in virtue categories generally reflect morally positive actions, whereas words in vice categories correspond to moral violations. Each word in eMFD is manually annotated (see Hopp et al., 2020) and assigned five sentiment scores representing the average sentiment within its foundation context. For example, the word "kill" has an average care sentiment of -0.69, which indicates a negative sentiment in contexts associated with the care-harm foundation. Sentiment scores are marked as: `care_sent`, `fairness_sent`, `loyalty_sent`, `authority_sent`, & `sanctity_sent`.

The document-level foundation sentiment score for foundation i in document r is calculated as:

$$d_{s_i r} = \frac{\sum w_{s_i}}{n_m}$$

Where:

- $d_{s_i r}$ = document-level foundation sentiment score for a unique foundation (i) and unique document (r).
- w_{s_i} = word-level foundation sentiment score for a unique foundation (i)
- n_m = total number of moral words detected across the document

eMFDscore Commands

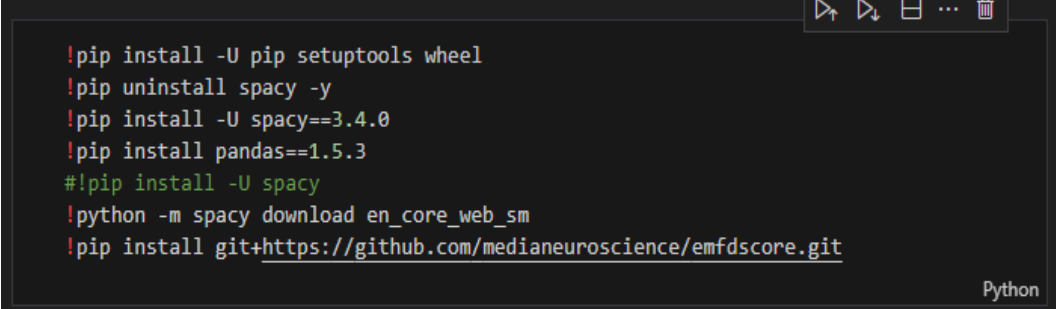
The eMFDscore provides several options for scoring documents:

- **[all]**: Uses all foundation probabilities per word. This holistic approach treats each word as an indicator for multiple foundations, weighted by their respective probabilities.
- **[single]**: Assigns each word to the foundation with the highest probability, ensuring a single foundation assignment per word.
- **[sentiment]**: Returns the average sentiment for each foundation.
- **[vice-virtue]**: Separates foundations into vice and virtue categories for comparative analysis.

For the purposes of this research, the **[all]** and **[sentiment]** options were employed to capture both the overall moral signal and the emotional tone of the documents.

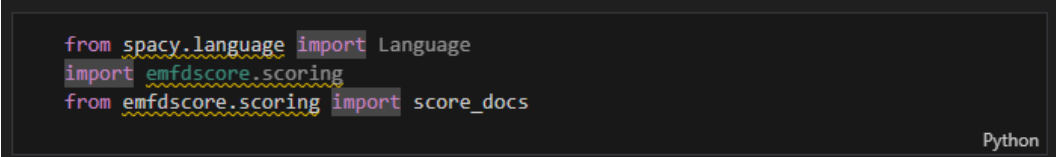
In [1]:

```
!pip install -U pip setuptools wheel
!pip uninstall spacy -y
!pip install -U spacy==3.4.0
!pip install pandas==1.5.3
#!pip install -U spacy
!python -m spacy download en_core_web_sm
!pip install git+https://github.com/medianeuroscience/emfdscore.git
```

A screenshot of a Jupyter Notebook cell with a dark background. It contains a series of terminal commands for installing Python dependencies and the eMFDscore package. The commands are: !pip install -U pip setuptools wheel, !pip uninstall spacy -y, !pip install -U spacy==3.4.0, !pip install pandas==1.5.3, !pip install -U spacy (commented out), !python -m spacy download en_core_web_sm, and !pip install git+https://github.com/medianeuroscience/emfdscore.git. The cell is labeled 'In [1]:' and has a 'Python' icon in the bottom right corner.

In [2]:

```
from spacy.language import Language
import emfdscore.scoring
from emfdscore.scoring import score_docs
```

A screenshot of a Jupyter Notebook cell with a dark background. It contains three lines of Python code: from spacy.language import Language, import emfdscore.scoring, and from emfdscore.scoring import score_docs. The cell is labeled 'In [2]:' and has a 'Python' icon in the bottom right corner.

In [3]:

Python

In [4]:

Python

In [5]:

Python

In [6]:

Python

Out [6]:

```
... Processed: 31 100% | ██████████| Elapsed Time: 0:00:03 Time:
```

Appendix 2: Categories and Keywords Used During Selection Process

Category	Key Words	Reports
Ethnic divisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnic identity • Ethnonationalism • National identity • Ethnic divides • Ethnic tensions • Interethnic coexistence • Multiculturalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Religious Belief and National Belonging in Central and Eastern Europe</i> - <i>Atlantic Initiative</i>
Religious divisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious identity • Religious divides • Interfaith relations • Religious freedom • Religious belonging • Faith-based communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Bosnia and Herzegovina 2023 International Religious Freedom Report</i> - <i>Country Report Bosnia and Herzegovina</i>
Popular attitudes and values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Core values • Fundamental needs • Social norms • Value orientations • Public attitudes • Perceived goals • Cultural values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Atlas of European Values</i> - <i>Attitudes and Values in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> - <i>What Matters to Bosnia and Herzegovina's Citizens?</i> - <i>Women and Men in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> - <i>World Value Survey</i>
Political stability and governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnopolitical divisions • Identity politics • Political fragmentation • Nationalism • Trust in institutions • Governance challenges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Bosnia and Herzegovina Country Report</i>
Public opinion on	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interethnic relations • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Eastern and Western</i>

societal issues	<p>Intergroup relations • Societal challenges • Social cohesion • Public trust • Attitudes toward diversity</p>	<p><i>Europeans Differ on Importance of Religion, Views of Minorities, and Key Social Issues</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Balkan Monitor</i> - <i>Balkan Barometer</i> - <i>Global Pluralism Monitor</i> - <i>National Survey of Citizens Perceptions 2021</i> - <i>National Survey of Citizens Perceptions 2022</i> - <i>Degree of Trust in the Western Balkans and Bulgaria</i>
Reconciliation and trust-building	<p>• Reconciliation processes • Transitional justice • Intergroup reconciliation • Social healing • Collective memory • Dealing with the past</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Reconciliation Assessment in Bosnia and Herzegovina</i> - <i>Factors in Reconciliation, Local Conditions, People and Trust</i> - <i>Reconciliation and Trust Building in Bosnia-Herzegovina</i> - <i>Facing the Past and Access to Justice from a Public Perspective</i> - <i>Leaving the Past Behind</i>

Appendix 3: Profile of Politicians Selected for Social Media Analysis

Bosniak:

Name	Political Party	Profile	General Perception
Bakir Izetbegović	Party of Democratic Action	Party Leader; Former Bosniak Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Viewed as a nationalist leader with strong ties to Turkey; criticized for alleged support of conservative Islamic groups.
Haris Silajdžić	Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina	Founder and Former Party Leader; Former Bosniak Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Known for his strong stance on national unity and opposition to the Dayton Agreement; perceived as a hardliner by some.
Elmedin Konaković	People and Justice	Party Leader; Minister of Foreign Affairs	Seen as a reformist and pragmatic politician; shifted from SDA to establish a centrist party.
Zukan Helez	Social Democratic Party	Minister of Defence	Regarded as a dedicated public servant; recently raised concerns about security threats, leading to political debates.
Sabina Ćudić	Our Party	Member of the Federal House of Representatives	Viewed as a progressive voice advocating for human

			rights and transparency.
Asim Sarajlić	Party of Democratic Action	Member of the House of Peoples	Associated with party loyalty; faced criticism over alleged involvement in political scandals.
Edin Forto	Our Party	Party Leader; Minister of Communication and Traffic	Recognized for promoting liberal policies and modernization efforts.
Nermin Nikšić	Social Democratic Party	Party Leader; Prime Minister of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Seen as a seasoned politician with a focus on social democracy; faced challenges in coalition-building.
Aljoša Čampara	People and Justice	Member of the Federal House of Representatives	Known for his shift from SDA to a more centrist position; advocates for judicial reforms.
Denis Zvizdić	People and Justice	Speaker of the House of Representatives	Viewed as a moderate politician; emphasizes economic development and EU integration.
Mirsad Hadžikadić	Platform for Progress	Party Leader; Presidential Candidate	Seen as an academic and political newcomer advocating for technological advancement and systemic reforms.

Serb:

Name	Political Party	Profile	General Perception
Milorad Dodik	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	President of Republika Srpska; Former Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Viewed as a nationalist leader advocating for the secession of Republika Srpska; has faced sanctions from the U.S. and U.K. for undermining the Dayton Accords.
Igor Radojičić	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	Former Mayor of Banja Luka; Former Speaker of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska	Considered a technocrat with a focus on urban development; maintains a lower profile compared to other SNSD leaders.
Nenad Stevandić	United Srpska	Party Leader; Member of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska	Known for his nationalist rhetoric; his party holds a minor yet influential role in the assembly.
Darko Banjac	People's Party of Srpska (NPS)	Party Leader; Member of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska	Leads a newer political entity; emphasizes regional issues and Serb unity.
Igor Dodik	N/A	Businessman; Son of Milorad Dodik	Involved in business ventures; perceived to benefit from his father's political influence.

Dražko Stanivuković	Party of Democratic Progress (PDP)	Mayor of Banja Luka	Seen as a young and charismatic politician; often criticizes the ruling SNSD party and advocates for transparency and anti-corruption measures.
Ljubiša Ćosić	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	Mayor of East Sarajevo	Focuses on local governance and infrastructure projects; aligns closely with SNSD policies.
Slobodan Župljanin	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)	Politician; Specific current role not widely reported	Limited public information available; associated with SNSD activities.
Goran Selak	Socialist Party (SP)	Party Leader; Member of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska	Heads the Socialist Party; collaborates with SNSD in the assembly.

Croat:

Name	Political Party	Profile	General Perception
Željko Komšić	Democratic Front (DF)	Croat Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Former Member of the House of	Viewed as a pro-Bosnian politician advocating for a unified country; controversial among Bosnian Croats

		Representatives; Party Leader	who consider him illegitimate due to significant support from Bosniak voters.
Dragan Čović	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH)	Party Leader; Former Croat Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Seen as a prominent Croat nationalist leader; advocates for the rights and autonomy of Bosnian Croats.
Marinko Čavara	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH)	President of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Known for his commitment to Croat interests within the Federation; supports policies favoring decentralization.
Borjana Krišto	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH)	Party Leader; Former Member of the House of Representatives	Recognized for her leadership within HDZ BiH; emphasizes the need for electoral reforms to protect Croat representation.
Ilija Cvitanović	Croatian Democratic Union 1990 (HDZ 1990)	Party Leader; Member of the House of Representatives	Advocates for Croat unity and political representation; often collaborates with other Croat parties to advance shared goals.
Sanja Vlaisavljević	Croatian Democratic Union of	Politician and academic; Specific current role not	Limited public information available; associated with HDZ

	Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH)	widely reported	BiH activities and known for her academic contributions.
Lidija Bradara	Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ BiH)	Speaker of the House of Peoples of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina	Viewed as an influential figure within the legislative process; advocates for policies benefiting the Croat community.
Ivo Komsic	Croatian Peasant Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HSS BiH)	Former Member of the Presidency; Academic; Co-founder of HSS BiH	Seen as a reformist voice promoting coexistence and a unified Bosnia and Herzegovina; involved in peace negotiations.

Appendix 4: eMFDscores of Public, News Articles, and Politicians’ Statements

Public perceptions:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.109401	0.102281	0.105599	0.09724	0.086517	-0.08644	-0.0045	0.005636	-0.03636	-0.04337	1.218391	7.85E-05	0.00132
0.109145	0.101005	0.101634	0.093673	0.082414	-0.08684	-0.00311	-0.00237	-0.04183	-0.04057	1.225893	0.000102	0.001211
0.109547	0.102435	0.105323	0.10727	0.089141	-0.07684	0.011447	0.012289	-0.00352	-0.0046	1.147034	5.50E-05	0.001368
0.101766	0.103843	0.100277	0.095262	0.079087	-0.0765	-0.01051	0.006123	-0.03238	-0.03144	1.171226	9.99E-05	0.000962
0.098	0.098437	0.095788	0.089471	0.077014	-0.07391	-0.0035	-0.01726	-0.06694	-0.07169	1.557625	8.06E-05	0.001127
0.094574	0.102395	0.096087	0.095256	0.08428	-0.05404	0.018401	-0.00559	-0.06086	-0.05966	1.762342	4.25E-05	0.00133
0.096192	0.093495	0.094584	0.085068	0.076696	-0.02785	0.026324	-0.00954	-0.06064	-0.04799	1.761688	6.74E-05	0.001169
0.107114	0.112994	0.101711	0.093314	0.092775	-0.0517	0.007916	-0.00901	-0.04407	-0.03764	2.163028	7.67E-05	0.000639
0.106282	0.121849	0.098049	0.11112	0.092948	-0.09731	-0.03571	-0.03119	-0.02516	-0.05273	2.317568	0.000128	0.000852
0.112661	0.112712	0.092787	0.10043	0.095664	-0.09059	-0.03217	-0.00185	-0.04077	-0.08159	1.330827	8.81E-05	0.001341
0.083693	0.098792	0.079797	0.085236	0.073366	-0.04993	-0.02954	-0.02044	0.000305	-0.07227	1.796875	8.78E-05	0.000775
0.104476	0.11088	0.103658	0.098867	0.090496	-0.05292	-0.01128	0.00125	0.000448	-0.03403	2.143541	5.73E-05	0.000556
0.100049	0.103151	0.099892	0.09392	0.083004	-0.06065	0.001515	-0.01826	-0.05899	-0.05472	1.740831	6.40E-05	0.000796
0.091479	0.099862	0.093152	0.092046	0.079126	-0.03157	0.021509	0.009835	-0.05381	-0.04159	1.508869	5.64E-05	0.001088
0.095596	0.098017	0.100981	0.092809	0.082087	-0.04874	0.00954	-0.01691	-0.06292	-0.05275	1.786651	5.27E-05	0.000898
0.103648	0.106562	0.104311	0.092839	0.0886	-0.03158	0.016761	-0.00029	-0.05243	-0.04714	1.904636	6.32E-05	0.000905
0.104591	0.106136	0.097258	0.09367	0.0895	-0.03906	0.01492	-0.00238	-0.03035	-0.03041	2.607981	5.02E-05	0.000519
0.107206	0.121999	0.100268	0.11165	0.093977	-0.10143	-0.03752	-0.01741	-0.03266	-0.05934	2.104225	0.000115	0.001063
0.0853	0.102561	0.082106	0.089083	0.077711	-0.03534	-0.02055	-0.013	-0.0011	-0.06432	1.326715	8.97E-05	0.000593
0.106803	0.118599	0.100289	0.113013	0.097549	-0.0839	-0.0442	-0.00357	-0.01865	-0.0205	1.852571	7.62E-05	0.000984
0.11452	0.117674	0.103247	0.115141	0.095793	-0.13069	-0.0773	-0.05198	-0.05861	-0.05828	1.563831	8.76E-05	0.001046
0.096335	0.107665	0.104131	0.100534	0.084311	-0.0396	0.020867	0.010304	0.003807	-0.00686	1.430952	8.15E-05	0.000536
0.091075	0.09923	0.107421	0.100801	0.090609	-0.05071	0.022388	0.001139	0.005374	0.010367	1.233546	5.01E-05	0.000796
0.097016	0.115486	0.118303	0.105431	0.086612	-0.00672	0.031089	0.027604	0.026562	0.000811	1.328358	0.000172	0.000305
0.098115	0.107256	0.105865	0.101802	0.089434	-0.01728	0.023568	0.045872	0.004733	0.012983	1.480611	5.11E-05	0.000543
0.104633	0.099954	0.096753	0.087702	0.083252	-0.06149	0.020312	0.037664	-0.03566	-0.04126	1.672872	7.76E-05	0.001823
0.104573	0.103841	0.101497	0.087983	0.083092	-0.04986	0.029771	0.03595	-0.01563	-0.04914	1.896159	9.90E-05	0.001711
0.115192	0.116717	0.102478	0.093609	0.084947	-0.03949	0.043485	0.031569	-0.02274	-0.01893	2.0256	0.000188	0.001329
0.115709	0.102531	0.099037	0.092166	0.084062	-0.06765	0.017873	0.017198	-0.03615	-0.06644	1.967456	0.00014	0.001815
0.107438	0.119698	0.100101	0.106676	0.086869	-0.07425	-0.01638	0.00138	-0.0262	-0.04369	2.991957	0.000143	0.000828
0.106276	0.113658	0.098809	0.098152	0.084561	-0.11738	-0.03892	-0.0261	-0.07235	-0.06896	2.987461	0.000117	0.001252
0.100024	0.108391	0.09825	0.099235	0.089116	-0.07446	-0.01546	-0.00611	-0.03404	-0.05126	2.010256	4.69E-05	0.000758
0.113737	0.122433	0.099358	0.104938	0.08668	-0.09721	-0.04467	-0.01514	-0.05995	-0.08285	2.58377	0.000187	0.001039
0.116453	0.113202	0.117672	0.119653	0.089347	-0.07462	-0.04143	-0.01629	-0.01742	-0.05473	1.560768	0.000156	0.000621
0.111913	0.106893	0.112869	0.110839	0.100593	-0.03234	0.036019	0.074219	0.051448	0.039525	1.259603	2.53E-05	0.001589
0.106823	0.1092	0.119419	0.106281	0.100885	-0.08083	-0.04231	-0.00908	-0.04107	-0.0682	1.428571	4.64E-05	0.00077
0.113788	0.113624	0.115527	0.112707	0.102684	-0.1073	-0.05831	-0.02264	-0.05477	-0.06968	1.779602	2.63E-05	0.000931
0.101629	0.105212	0.100729	0.105337	0.088909	-0.07174	0.005295	0.02007	-0.01773	-0.02222	1.99594	4.53E-05	0.001224
0.10527	0.108204	0.104911	0.105868	0.091868	-0.01385	0.030367	0.051379	0.033946	0.020917	2.285935	4.19E-05	0.000582
0.108527	0.110464	0.104829	0.105246	0.094822	-0.06338	0.002421	0.035009	-0.00932	-0.01743	1.636264	3.64E-05	0.001271
0.10897	0.11111	0.107023	0.106592	0.091338	-0.0355	0.013344	0.058124	-0.00392	-0.00083	1.988792	6.16E-05	0.001159
0.114064	0.116483	0.093215	0.088134	0.092319	-0.05966	-0.01451	0.021282	-0.04518	-0.03928	1.749469	0.000178	0.001009
0.117056	0.121714	0.108321	0.10545	0.098177	-0.07353	-0.0302	-0.0265	-0.03407	-0.01958	1.427046	8.76E-05	0.000451
0.114973	0.126985	0.101396	0.106081	0.096751	-0.07428	-0.02963	-0.00975	-0.04031	-0.03815	1.542683	0.000144	0.000547
0.10576	0.114504	0.103353	0.107182	0.089432	-0.0869	-0.04007	-0.02574	-0.03748	-0.04153	1.540603	8.40E-05	0.000553
0.108854	0.11301	0.102403	0.10072	0.096102	-0.081	-0.04002	-0.02659	-0.06445	-0.0631	1.813514	4.50E-05	0.000466
0.105588	0.118018	0.097388	0.102162	0.091454	-0.04393	-0.00378	-0.00116	-0.04418	-0.04065	1.242204	9.94E-05	0.000494
0.110396	0.106058	0.10477	0.105002	0.094117	-0.08147	-0.03418	-0.01226	-0.02679	-0.03056	1.138705	3.61E-05	0.000686
0.112707	0.111365	0.111692	0.103248	0.095461	-0.0912	-0.04077	-0.01102	-0.04084	-0.05886	0.940529	5.52E-05	0.000863
0.115841	0.108974	0.111815	0.099176	0.095229	-0.10979	-0.04131	-0.01025	-0.06831	-0.07248	0.927294	7.55E-05	0.001382
0.116824	0.105844	0.109839	0.09988	0.09237	-0.11894	-0.04977	-0.04334	-0.06024	-0.08045	1.019185	8.74E-05	0.00093
0.117964	0.106884	0.101668	0.099698	0.087161	-0.14544	-0.09157	-0.06252	-0.08005	-0.11148	0.699525	6.91E-05	0.001013
0.115805	0.107908	0.102193	0.100444	0.093528	-0.07399	-0.02897	-0.00638	-0.02634	-0.04065	2.183077	7.01E-05	0.00062
0.103738	0.105534	0.093959	0.098174	0.088077	-0.08655	-0.03719	-0.01537	-0.05469	-0.05293	1.466576	5.11E-05	0.000682
0.110718	0.109589	0.091221	0.101806	0.093511	-0.11383	-0.07711	-0.05652	-0.07561	-0.08619	1.439845	8.00E-05	0.000436
0.105745	0.103417	0.092974	0.100396	0.087208	-0.01352	0.010988	0.023364	0.001178	0.00912	1.756874	5.92E-05	0.000185
0.111249	0.111581	0.103742	0.106477	0.095035	-0.05827	-0.02229	0.003048	-0.01294	-0.02987	2.276867	4.59E-05	0.000516
0.118972	0.109526	0.108156	0.10059	0.098571	-0.1024	-0.05152	-0.022	-0.04603	-0.05206	1.879213	6.58E-05	0.000859
0.118489	0.108064	0.101523	0.102232	0.097804	-0.12269	-0.07294	-0.06375	-0.08029	-0.07831	2.254072	6.52E-05	0.000519
0.119348	0.111485	0.103214	0.107298	0.095956	-0.0867	-0.04352	-0.01968	-0.05553	-0.05974	2.650485	7.70E-05	0.000597
0.114095	0.111769	0.095798	0.105422	0.091007	-0.04564	-0.00859	0.014051	-0.01334	-0.0068	2.0608	9.99E-05	0.000463
0.105268	0.105751	0.096771	0.094516	0.086765	-0.04304	-0.03062	-0.00025	-0.00896	-0.01505	1.067738	6.31E-05	0.000466
0.104406	0.107715	0.107639	0.102894	0.089386	-0.05727	-0.01023	0.003044	-0.02169	-0.01792	1.79646	5.73E-05	0.000465
0.108908	0.111284	0.10117	0.103412	0.089109	-0.10444	-0.06239	-0.04255	-0.06796	-0.07383	1.76648	7.43E-05	0.000504
0.107677	0.115073	0.105617	0.109053	0.094371	-0.02679	0.014335	0.025332	0.006904	0.014169	1.773364	5.79E-05	0.000396
0.108354	0.110794	0.102022	0.100761	0.088436	-0.06113	-0.0276	-0.00691	-0.02498	-0.03889	1.738444	7.58E-05	0.000399
0.102747	0.107636	0.100327	0.105998	0.108411	-0.08539	-0.0193	0.003528	-0.02986	-0.03458	0.83308	1.16E-05	0.00107
0.103864	0.108513	0.107323	0.103799	0.089208	-0.06071	-0.01342	-0.0016	-0.0231	-0.02304	1.754881	5.99E-05	0.000491
0.105452	0.111687	0.10011	0.105137	0.089944	-0.09219	-0.05546	-0.03593	-0.06142	-0.0635	1.825287	6.59E-05	0.000409
0.10884	0.112504	0.105605	0.104946	0.089222	-0.03195	0.007692	0.016112	-0.00064	-0.00583	1.70181	7.93E-05	0.000333
0.11195	0.114304	0.102185	0.103345	0.092643	-0.06768	-0.02746	-0.0102	-0.02962	-0.03225	2.015019	7.45E-05	0.000441
0.102493	0.107263	0.099091	0.101443	0.085369	-0.05017	-0.00065	0.010865	-0.01091	-0.01133	1.240343	6.80E-05	0.000527
0.101												

Bosniak news articles:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.107913	0.10745	0.108599	0.113545	0.087239	-0.02434	-0.00369	0.031788	0.012832	0.026077	1.33557	0.000104	0.000524
0.089516	0.101833	0.084302	0.098451	0.085534	-0.04395	-0.01712	0.026304	0.001854	0.025848	1.212121	6.14E-05	0.000895
0.106914	0.104864	0.107939	0.10812	0.083686	-0.08836	-0.02915	0.005649	-0.02061	-0.03836	1.754839	0.00011	0.001189
0.09801	0.108835	0.100593	0.11152	0.081726	-0.07801	-0.01232	0.018742	0.005202	-0.0294	1.828221	0.000137	0.001411
0.1179	0.103556	0.100272	0.091768	0.093291	-0.07774	-0.05524	-0.03091	-0.0514	-0.07758	1.710843	0.000109	0.000389
0.096633	0.10872	0.105471	0.109889	0.090237	-0.05464	-0.00333	0.010241	-0.01236	-0.06186	1.626866	7.16E-05	0.001027
0.096689	0.101915	0.109926	0.101627	0.077973	0.010793	0.038882	0.080804	0.06159	0.042645	2.038835	0.000143	0.000688
0.16	0.098361	0.075758	0.055556	0.080645	0.020025	-0.07038	0.1346	-0.07897	-0.1617	0.004831	0.001591	0.01274
0.147878	0.1139	0.097413	0.091635	0.094351	-0.18285	-0.1349	-0.1001	-0.12955	-0.14518	2.123894	0.000546	0.000895
0.098771	0.095692	0.109053	0.098072	0.098206	0.011559	0.033793	0.068184	0.043266	0.041068	1.240741	2.72E-05	0.000413
0.117054	0.101514	0.106406	0.086152	0.085837	-0.0266	-0.02241	-0.04155	-0.01488	-0.02226	1.66	0.000181	9.79E-05
0.201487	0.105454	0.117642	0.078897	0.123341	-0.29346	-0.21708	-0.16532	-0.15554	-0.23668	1.103448	0.002104	0.003156
0.097747	0.110663	0.097962	0.106036	0.083554	-0.05112	-0.00793	0.030731	0.001691	-0.02358	1.177177	0.000107	0.000919
0.09958	0.103248	0.095861	0.103689	0.090875	-0.06871	-0.0222	0.021098	-0.02161	-0.02022	1.378378	2.89E-05	0.001011
0.100844	0.10043	0.095091	0.099681	0.081263	-0.09778	-0.03124	-0.02135	-0.02603	-0.03577	1.010076	6.83E-05	0.000987
0.099602	0.101804	0.111262	0.126106	0.103814	-0.11089	-0.04763	-0.07047	-0.10127	-0.06723	1.272727	0.000116	0.000677
0.103436	0.1018	0.094171	0.100993	0.081789	-0.09775	-0.03955	-0.01805	-0.03268	-0.05645	1.108466	7.96E-05	0.000936
0.101804	0.105044	0.099353	0.116285	0.079152	-0.10275	-0.05624	-0.02428	-0.05158	-0.05467	1.061111	0.000182	0.000799
0.131528	0.144854	0.124081	0.122287	0.107431	-0.04928	-0.02636	-0.01057	-0.04029	-0.00821	1.5	0.000187	0.000324
0.098334	0.103913	0.105393	0.11059	0.083858	-0.05214	-0.01509	0.016601	-0.00131	-0.00022	0.943182	0.000105	0.00067
0.099797	0.101739	0.106924	0.113589	0.084631	-0.05852	-0.05239	0.016066	-0.02836	-0.04388	1.066116	0.000116	0.000893
0.117201	0.120927	0.113593	0.115387	0.100633	-0.10448	-0.04316	-0.03402	-0.05314	-0.05814	1.274788	5.95E-05	0.000744
0.107183	0.114247	0.095707	0.102575	0.090542	-0.09369	-0.02882	-0.02866	-0.05318	-0.03342	1.604348	8.70E-05	0.000767
0.106095	0.111413	0.102835	0.106001	0.091967	-0.04416	0.011698	0.019397	-0.00395	0.000488	1.903743	5.22E-05	0.000606
0.104152	0.109102	0.100538	0.107064	0.084557	-0.0581	0.00565	0.015616	-0.01101	-0.01482	2.222222	9.57E-05	0.000802
0.109787	0.098369	0.09678	0.100171	0.07684	-0.08325	-0.04882	-0.01273	-0.02674	-0.00067	1.619835	0.000145	0.001065
0.109739	0.109929	0.10966	0.113386	0.092264	-0.06264	-0.00065	0.028356	-0.00635	-0.01464	1.160804	7.03E-05	0.001089
0.105575	0.117716	0.095808	0.099384	0.07882	-0.11367	-0.05177	-0.02682	-0.06595	-0.09773	1.656566	0.000203	0.001221
0.133513	0.09768	0.107941	0.091199	0.097457	-0.10591	-0.0438	-0.05814	-0.03024	-0.05356	1.883721	0.00028	0.000822
0.104365	0.13248	0.085446	0.107211	0.086985	-0.06569	-0.01165	-0.00897	-0.0459	-0.04725	1.293103	0.000363	0.000607
0.104462	0.111048	0.116149	0.127565	0.100016	-0.10524	-0.07202	0.012764	-0.05748	-0.09189	1.176471	0.000115	0.002118
0.101234	0.11307	0.100516	0.102739	0.082241	-0.0794	-0.01893	0.010543	-0.02483	0.001292	1.938462	0.000124	0.001228
0.099114	0.109142	0.096611	0.104186	0.076104	-0.07306	-0.00834	0.006369	-0.0212	-0.03478	1.041026	0.00016	0.000919
0.090035	0.102476	0.094346	0.096347	0.075569	-0.0518	0.013355	0.019585	0.00042	-0.01869	1.102273	0.000102	0.00083
0.123599	0.108855	0.1103	0.111052	0.096008	-0.07731	-0.02646	-0.02469	-0.03812	-0.02893	1.526316	9.58E-05	0.000483
0.096392	0.102645	0.093778	0.099657	0.077637	-0.09171	-0.01883	-0.00457	-0.02816	-0.02906	1.071121	9.51E-05	0.001121
0.109754	0.102833	0.110848	0.105911	0.087546	-0.13992	-0.10969	-0.07951	-0.08338	-0.07309	1.130081	8.85E-05	0.000766
0.10751	0.106368	0.09899	0.103432	0.084232	-0.07647	-0.02038	-0.01481	-0.01188	-0.04165	1.56051	8.96E-05	0.000725
0.104519	0.104117	0.109563	0.09575	0.094732	-0.02496	-0.0029	0.022592	-0.02538	-0.02887	0.705036	3.99E-05	0.000478
0.096394	0.10173	0.099744	0.10972	0.080777	-0.08366	-0.01973	-0.00487	-0.01771	-0.0329	1.044164	0.000113	0.00094
0.101504	0.10963	0.104062	0.108535	0.089826	-0.04687	-0.00679	0.01707	-0.02021	-0.01597	1.259162	6.28E-05	0.000535

Serb news articles:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.085087	0.097291	0.089051	0.098384	0.072641	-0.07927	-0.01481	-0.01742	0.009897	-0.00351	1.465649	0.00011	0.001177
0.088895	0.09329	0.09139	0.095636	0.076624	-0.083	-0.01481	0.016717	-0.04974	-0.04359	1.197279	5.53E-05	0.001419
0.096573	0.10304	0.094536	0.10112	0.0819	-0.0676	-0.02022	0.014	-0.00331	-0.03176	1.118774	6.89E-05	0.000956
0.114232	0.109307	0.095141	0.095017	0.076098	-0.04192	0.001722	0.037619	0.00384	-0.02849	1.846154	0.000222	0.000975
0.12	0.098905	0.103835	0.106243	0.085187	-0.24306	-0.18369	-0.15053	-0.19038	-0.18256	1.329412	0.00024	0.001117
0.101735	0.098806	0.096143	0.097196	0.076612	-0.09508	-0.06055	-0.03628	-0.04608	-0.05353	1.477273	0.0001	0.000504
0.085336	0.108076	0.096559	0.109455	0.077024	-0.07176	-0.04764	0.030638	0.026881	-0.00085	1.478495	0.0002	0.002074
0.08774	0.102298	0.097633	0.10158	0.079588	-0.10221	-0.05392	-0.00645	-0.02439	-0.04359	1.011111	9.65E-05	0.001315
0.08985	0.102234	0.089318	0.093565	0.075022	-0.048	-0.00392	0.017413	0.023953	-0.01596	2.085938	9.68E-05	0.000828
0.099549	0.104636	0.093782	0.094814	0.07953	-0.05091	-0.01024	0.017519	0.00578	-0.01546	2.329825	8.82E-05	0.000677
0.109444	0.096376	0.098716	0.093357	0.098843	-0.04433	0.015436	0.029791	0.017753	-0.02427	1.217391	3.68E-05	0.000997
0.096804	0.095854	0.087565	0.098793	0.091707	-0.07555	0.012974	-0.00273	0.021289	-0.00439	1.04	2.02E-05	0.001472
0.115367	0.115299	0.098701	0.103018	0.096432	-0.14165	-0.09512	-0.06506	-0.06438	-0.10653	1.5	8.19E-05	0.001036
0.096773	0.111538	0.100421	0.110309	0.082012	-0.11121	-0.04182	-0.02325	-0.01191	-0.00172	1.733333	0.000143	0.001897
0.079765	0.099803	0.092765	0.111456	0.073078	-0.12769	-0.04168	0.022983	-0.00184	-0.03659	1.105882	0.000236	0.00327
0.083489	0.100267	0.093578	0.099705	0.078646	-0.09203	-0.04921	-0.02717	-0.01111	-0.05386	1.913043	9.43E-05	0.00094
0.098894	0.096111	0.090254	0.093803	0.085077	-0.07386	-0.00093	0.02043	-0.01268	-0.0521	1.102941	2.88E-05	0.001478
0.090128	0.091131	0.090694	0.093183	0.075914	-0.07989	-0.01984	0.01409	-0.05128	-0.04889	1.221429	4.86E-05	0.001272
0.098312	0.092611	0.097959	0.104655	0.081309	-0.1793	-0.05236	-0.06696	-0.09205	-0.11185	1.418301	7.65E-05	0.002463
0.103086	0.107192	0.093263	0.097603	0.082918	-0.03617	-0.01869	0.039967	0.019659	-0.05088	1.222222	8.83E-05	0.001451
0.1037	0.102451	0.095741	0.096565	0.081796	-0.16189	-0.11228	-0.08826	-0.11044	-0.11758	1.333333	7.58E-05	0.000725
0.098786	0.099669	0.097376	0.097492	0.081057	-0.03638	0.04717	0.048011	0.031292	0.032831	1.148718	6.06E-05	0.001222
0.095927	0.093173	0.087288	0.097319	0.075772	-0.04176	-0.01532	0.04202	0.005244	0.026207	1.110169	7.71E-05	0.001101
0.101935	0.109411	0.094464	0.10047	0.089497	-0.11341	-0.06567	-0.01875	-0.04	-0.06174	1.480784	5.75E-05	0.001247
0.151747	0.109487	0.125155	0.100448	0.107314	-0.23025	-0.16824	-0.12489	-0.14031	-0.15655	0.964286	0.00042	0.001638
0.101333	0.109451	0.099658	0.11278	0.078065	-0.09717	-0.04281	0.005612	-0.02869	-0.02973	1.409091	0.000184	0.001395
0.116937	0.099544	0.099746	0.090604	0.080652	-0.09519	-0.03008	0.006075	-0.0183	-0.045	1.852459	0.00018	0.001426
0.109641	0.095517	0.09777	0.096133	0.091135	-0.01403	0.037274	0.078897	0.033171	0.035939	0.940476	4.81E-05	0.001084
0.130209	0.100983	0.122726	0.083948	0.127389	0.069559	0.072212	0.167782	0.11718	0.038989	1.025641	0.000397	0.002519
0.103788	0.105983	0.10608	0.105315	0.087215	0.003325	0.033929	0.057229	0.052151	0.048235	1.478873	6.62E-05	0.000472
0.107199	0.108173	0.104397	0.109194	0.090703	-0.03517	0.092787	0.113735	0.112391	0.0229	0.901961	5.79E-05	0.004283
0.104555	0.091309	0.106935	0.092662	0.084845	-0.06011	0.021301	0.072572	0.089385	-0.04007	0.947368	8.76E-05	0.004387
0.080008	0.102349	0.091469	0.10668	0.076614	-0.05016	-0.01905	0.008043	0.004066	-0.02026	1.064516	0.000143	0.000543
0.091288	0.092777	0.086927	0.0952	0.078981	-0.03656	0.00117	0.052557	0.002243	-0.0014	1.164251	4.07E-05	0.001011
0.099966	0.104098	0.126604	0.153764	0.090395	-0.17322	-0.12974	-0.07976	-0.14067	-0.12143	1.137931	0.000647	0.001143
0.084269	0.084173	0.086274	0.084336	0.073895	-0.0369	-0.01321	0.054557	0.041027	-0.03282	1.073394	2.44E-05	0.00181

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.129617	0.116479	0.097536	0.094908	0.091052	-0.17642	-0.14337	-0.10587	-0.10633	-0.13412	2.604167	0.000271	0.00086
0.088996	0.094917	0.093668	0.102475	0.077905	-0.03064	0.013463	0.014345	-0.02908	0.047851	1.09901	8.20E-05	0.001103
0.105837	0.100166	0.096126	0.095429	0.078292	-0.04877	-0.02183	0.009865	-0.02447	-0.03689	1.132979	0.000106	0.000483
0.127063	0.098271	0.101017	0.094015	0.09961	-0.09554	-0.06877	-0.02694	-0.03347	-0.06618	1.321053	0.000173	0.000789
0.116068	0.103234	0.101661	0.100425	0.090342	-0.05606	-0.00388	0.036158	-0.00777	-0.0129	1.316062	8.43E-05	0.001074
0.106687	0.100542	0.0864	0.086817	0.082863	-0.08361	-0.02571	-0.00823	-0.02968	-0.07146	1.723214	0.000107	0.001035
0.086472	0.088277	0.089794	0.088267	0.069036	-0.05583	-0.00964	0.023448	0.013884	-0.01264	0.873418	7.49E-05	0.000945
0.112225	0.118557	0.100534	0.111811	0.086466	-0.09123	-0.04345	-0.01736	-0.04391	-0.04807	1.003333	0.00016	0.00071
0.103829	0.101855	0.102677	0.097261	0.08439	-0.03565	-0.00682	0.012214	0.031378	0.05323	2.238095	6.41E-05	0.001173
0.108754	0.108274	0.102307	0.107561	0.081393	-0.1025	-0.03978	-0.02617	-0.05452	-0.06151	1.306452	0.000135	0.000836
0.090709	0.099456	0.09553	0.103625	0.071399	-0.01454	0.017327	0.063814	0.018578	0.015748	1.356164	0.000157	0.000785
0.074893	0.0888	0.08151	0.091617	0.074571	-0.08665	-0.03078	-0.0046	-0.05079	-0.05621	0.865031	6.11E-05	0.000931
0.088737	0.098967	0.097543	0.107845	0.077384	-0.105	-0.0507	-0.03702	-0.01816	-0.07614	1.144068	0.000133	0.001154
0.083104	0.08841	0.086384	0.092459	0.063842	-0.01914	0.015575	0.059884	0.023901	0.046016	2.185185	0.000124	0.000924
0.0735	0.087025	0.084878	0.088644	0.059076	-0.05733	0.001651	0.026901	0.027857	0.01949	2.035714	0.000155	0.001275
0.106901	0.092833	0.109855	0.113215	0.075467	-0.09699	0.009456	0.019625	-0.02988	-0.12502	1.190476	0.000243	0.004119
0.080617	0.094954	0.08848	0.093642	0.067179	-0.05041	-0.00884	0.015235	-0.00728	0.002024	1.493827	0.000131	0.000606
0.084843	0.107835	0.091728	0.100551	0.076825	-0.04392	-0.00433	0.020767	0.023811	-0.02346	2.273885	0.000151	0.000837
0.09011	0.090113	0.086326	0.09358	0.067258	-0.03448	-0.00246	0.037845	0.001611	0.001421	1.84375	0.00011	0.000657
0.08079	0.084699	0.090717	0.091133	0.067342	-0.04555	0.006441	0.026359	0.001453	0.017025	1.394231	9.47E-05	0.000774
0.090429	0.093238	0.089415	0.089646	0.071094	-0.04029	0.002793	0.025605	0.015246	-0.00332	1.577689	7.91E-05	0.000632
0.092348	0.10568	0.099247	0.106523	0.075538	-0.09936	-0.02449	-0.00587	-0.00956	-0.03933	2.785714	0.000162	0.001441
0.103922	0.092676	0.101998	0.108511	0.080743	-0.1034	-0.04751	-0.02135	-0.06536	-0.02467	1.353982	0.000122	0.001131
0.102081	0.097399	0.090586	0.08733	0.080555	-0.09524	-0.02433	0.029337	-0.04472	-0.03785	1.329268	7.12E-05	0.001966
0.095194	0.104561	0.098101	0.101692	0.076727	-0.04089	0.014552	0.041604	0.024596	0.038463	1.569697	0.00012	0.001118
0.104794	0.098643	0.096085	0.102362	0.086181	-0.15737	-0.10123	-0.05877	-0.0994	-0.08153	1.386139	5.21E-05	0.001334
0.105766	0.100479	0.096991	0.095002	0.079116	-0.03804	-0.01851	0.017119	-0.0134	-0.02082	1.198864	0.0001	0.000403
0.104934	0.112635	0.107589	0.099967	0.086755	-0.02658	0.016551	0.031969	-0.00616	0.008337	1.3875	9.72E-05	0.000498
0.102379	0.106836	0.09898	0.112976	0.078371	-0.06511	-0.02592	-0.00133	-0.03492	-0.01595	1.356589	0.000172	0.000571

Bosniak politicians:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.090856	0.102119	0.091778	0.097657	0.086055	-0.10499	-0.06724	0.016452	-0.02001	-0.10362	1.206897	3.92E-05	0.002834
0.103051	0.102431	0.110369	0.097203	0.091684	-0.04551	0.054849	0.038254	0.022739	0.061408	1.564103	4.88E-05	0.00184
0.127437	0.107187	0.109795	0.103066	0.099093	-0.18329	-0.13861	-0.10466	-0.11257	-0.14242	1.125749	0.000119	0.000954
0.106809	0.114696	0.102793	0.113533	0.090764	-0.10039	-0.06514	-0.05251	-0.08887	-0.08392	1.337209	9.38E-05	0.000367
0.108236	0.106958	0.112532	0.115896	0.097985	-0.08807	-0.01688	-0.00383	-0.02649	-0.04588	1.059603	4.60E-05	0.001075
0.105488	0.10852	0.100936	0.10294	0.076623	-0.10145	-0.04794	-0.03629	-0.05558	-0.08821	1.37037	0.000163	0.000767
0.128898	0.107757	0.112356	0.101581	0.093255	-0.06471	-0.02524	-0.04744	-0.02798	-0.0475	1.318182	0.000178	0.000263
0.091284	0.09694	0.104677	0.113307	0.074945	-3.21E-05	0.018153	0.06684	0.037516	0.07582	1.354839	0.00021	0.001022
0.119215	0.113446	0.10251	0.094155	0.103559	-0.20133	-0.17514	-0.115	-0.13632	-0.14983	1	9.67E-05	0.001132
0.14563	0.125093	0.109131	0.103497	0.108481	-0.18159	-0.17779	-0.11986	-0.15957	-0.18733	1.932203	0.000298	0.000751
0.13602	0.125356	0.119388	0.116377	0.103657	0.14236	0.189367	0.221735	0.169619	0.196673	1.933333	0.000141	0.000889
0.094987	0.113252	0.096281	0.118639	0.082275	-0.02099	-0.01999	-0.01294	0.000266	0.018774	1.490566	0.000218	0.000279
0.13869	0.105835	0.10343	0.094464	0.098878	0.08362	0.079956	0.13248	0.078159	0.12368	1.407407	0.000308	0.00069
0.126009	0.112695	0.120503	0.117303	0.100057	0.017642	0.065044	0.080764	0.066934	0.077394	1.95	9.62E-05	0.000647
0.132088	0.111746	0.117391	0.116239	0.091337	-0.14467	-0.06503	-0.07652	-0.0823	-0.06647	0.922078	0.000216	0.00109
0.114583	0.124623	0.101768	0.115775	0.094309	-0.09484	-0.04281	-0.01471	-0.02211	-0.05226	1.526786	0.000145	0.000996
0.108229	0.106021	0.103334	0.107047	0.0851	-0.14612	-0.09944	-0.08431	-0.0811	-0.12116	1.451327	9.20E-05	0.000743
0.109704	0.10713	0.090542	0.089507	0.083759	-0.11954	-0.0745	-0.04234	-0.05899	-0.06141	1.17094	0.000133	0.000856
0.109704	0.108088	0.101454	0.100875	0.086896	-0.00155	0.034855	0.043113	0.011077	0.049698	2.19697	8.11E-05	0.000476
0.117006	0.097408	0.102246	0.07716	0.092191	-0.01965	0.051939	0.067674	-0.03049	-0.001	1	0.000211	0.001914
0.113891	0.095548	0.096986	0.099679	0.086436	0.104752	0.096368	0.137158	0.080564	0.095218	2.25	9.87E-05	0.000444
0.130796	0.123401	0.108757	0.108587	0.081869	0.097878	0.098737	0.103381	0.115695	0.040399	2.764706	0.000351	0.000858
0.101495	0.101443	0.100348	0.100349	0.086259	-0.05339	0.032713	0.053434	0.01923	0.037156	1.8	4.32E-05	0.001734
0.101887	0.124269	0.101501	0.114324	0.091985	-0.1048	-0.04775	-0.02781	-0.03467	-0.05756	1.915493	0.000158	0.000923
0.097169	0.113188	0.110062	0.117479	0.079612	-0.07245	-0.02293	-0.00184	-0.01128	-0.01409	1.560976	0.000236	0.000773
0.10487	0.119659	0.109761	0.112509	0.093757	-0.05668	0.00829	0.000384	0.019966	-0.01828	1.978261	9.30E-05	0.000896
0.115148	0.099515	0.101665	0.100758	0.085387	0.126673	0.119703	0.117572	0.078591	0.105696	2.380952	0.000111	0.000358
0.110291	0.107901	0.099376	0.101434	0.090944	-0.08181	-0.03602	-0.00235	-0.03163	-0.04734	1.233577	5.82E-05	0.000826
0.0908	0.088343	0.108388	0.0972	0.088647	-0.03085	0.031117	0.035423	-0.02919	0.018785	0.65625	7.15E-05	0.001063
0.115701	0.108323	0.100964	0.095557	0.088294	-0.13275	-0.07829	-0.05006	-0.08439	-0.10956	0.917197	0.000114	0.000992
0.106083	0.101278	0.096034	0.09352	0.100767	-0.04827	-0.00127	-0.00895	-0.00599	-0.00988	0.858586	2.40E-05	0.00036
0.120104	0.11559	0.127115	0.106282	0.117827	-0.04943	-0.07258	-0.01964	-0.05134	-0.03166	1.677419	5.72E-05	0.00041
0.112346	0.118597	0.106667	0.107433	0.094867	-0.0897	-0.03548	-0.02806	-0.04787	-0.05776	1.593985	7.64E-05	0.000579
0.116899	0.115279	0.109565	0.101101	0.094741	-0.13502	-0.09682	-0.09102	-0.10197	-0.07779	1.5	8.97E-05	0.000453
0.115222	0.108539	0.098016	0.104116	0.089031	-0.04852	-0.01611	0.000135	-0.00668	-0.04016	1.461538	0.0001	0.000448
0.138255	0.145392	0.111751	0.104301	0.113333	-0.15761	-0.08252	-0.04729	-0.05622	-0.08321	4.62069	0.000326	0.001883

Serb politicians:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.095772	0.100012	0.126168	0.097361	0.097902	0.161416	0.194782	0.22521	0.147283	0.12561	1.5	0.000164	0.001555
0.126958	0.110144	0.093657	0.115473	0.09811	-0.02962	-0.01089	0.013702	-0.01021	-0.00254	2.5	0.00018	0.000245
0.125717	0.103668	0.115425	0.096029	0.114745	0.106499	0.147533	0.16766	0.147203	0.126367	0.823529	0.000132	0.000544
0.106618	0.122317	0.114927	0.109978	0.087281	-0.09504	0.001172	0.008318	0.043409	-0.03043	1.875	0.000172	0.002715
0.137351	0.10162	0.104743	0.099632	0.089784	0.086271	0.107722	0.125119	0.080883	0.081225	1.545455	0.000326	0.000382
0.141393	0.136884	0.142006	0.116863	0.094793	-0.01923	0.048543	0.125727	0.057578	0.049121	1.857143	0.000417	0.00264
0.10388	0.108699	0.096393	0.108875	0.088065	-0.1291	-0.04964	-0.02199	-0.02012	-0.02999	1.333333	7.95E-05	0.002084
0.136223	0.108029	0.100924	0.096156	0.099772	-0.13992	-0.09971	-0.09381	-0.12097	-0.11293	1.368421	0.000264	0.000333
0.099333	0.094638	0.151127	0.07776	0.069726	-0.13527	0.124853	-0.08757	0.071627	-0.03235	0.25	0.001011	0.011761
0.093112	0.110153	0.091602	0.108365	0.080151	-0.03913	-0.00067	0.027766	-0.01597	-0.0313	2.363636	0.000157	0.000709
0.118558	0.118715	0.104536	0.090105	0.102898	-0.09286	-0.04283	0.018739	-0.03887	-0.0421	1.2	0.000145	0.001564
0.110166	0.105673	0.095715	0.095997	0.086643	-0.10773	0.013476	-0.00619	-0.03924	-0.04762	1.068966	8.54E-05	0.002154
0.111815	0.144498	0.102487	0.131071	0.105378	-0.17461	-0.11659	-0.11744	-0.13499	-0.10581	2.25	0.000326	0.000734
0.11991	0.10432	0.10316	0.110777	0.110946	-0.08354	-0.04218	0.008393	-0.07565	-0.07206	2.833333	4.47E-05	0.001424
0.091803	0.088625	0.092235	0.079007	0.085342	0.062967	0.041769	0.093683	0.076208	0.036293	0.809524	2.97E-05	0.000569
0.073633	0.094865	0.070624	0.069879	0.099747	0.079442	0.111218	0.182712	0.174155	0.085372	0.928571	0.000207	0.002393
0.15076	0.13577	0.092239	0.104409	0.089927	-0.14723	-0.22847	-0.13432	-0.26938	-0.18489	0.818182	0.000742	0.003174
0.119153	0.089834	0.13997	0.105463	0.099806	0.010041	0.062405	0.064331	-0.03699	0.03577	1.777778	0.000377	0.001777
0.127116	0.106922	0.097302	0.103083	0.093576	-0.14323	-0.03076	0.02	-0.08109	-0.03348	1.555556	0.000171	0.003783
0.111625	0.122949	0.107991	0.106953	0.089635	-0.0625	-0.00147	0.014275	-0.00743	-0.02514	2.171429	0.000144	0.000861
0.094582	0.100428	0.104222	0.101032	0.098363	0.001059	0.013904	0.06553	0.01997	0.060899	1.5	1.27E-05	0.000847
0.119449	0.101925	0.116326	0.099546	0.086677	0.021891	0.058122	0.120853	0.065298	0.076853	1.22807	0.000178	0.001275
0.10163	0.087731	0.105915	0.092341	0.099674	-0.06803	0.005022	0.008357	-0.00523	0.035027	0.925	5.37E-05	0.001464
0.139329	0.10263	0.108064	0.086763	0.110476	0.03344	0.083824	0.164956	0.111745	0.075796	1.090909	0.000364	0.002363
0.086325	0.088321	0.091167	0.117428	0.072967	-0.02958	0.063497	0.072889	0.08937	0.086491	4.571429	0.000263	0.002427
0.099861	0.094153	0.094143	0.096387	0.088451	-0.03061	-0.00056	0.05704	0.0174	0.008254	1.516854	1.73E-05	0.001008
0.105526	0.109322	0.106923	0.104812	0.09332	-0.03591	0.014537	0.02345	-0.01171	-0.0162	2.265823	3.82E-05	0.000579
0.101789	0.104822	0.100935	0.107183	0.082172	-0.05804	-0.01098	0.021131	0.01942	-0.02247	1.254237	9.87E-05	0.001075
0.112642	0.101722	0.104114	0.096794	0.091756	-0.05388	-0.00726	0.017261	-0.01046	0.002761	1.818182	6.20E-05	0.00071
0.098469	0.104488	0.096177	0.111382	0.080406	-0.04208	-0.00863	0.037188	0.01624	-0.00242	1.522388	0.000134	0.000874
0.095862	0.106497	0.097874	0.110013	0.081533	-0.02237	-0.0009	0.017752	-0.0254	-0.01946	1.9	0.000123	0.000333
0.101925	0.096952	0.114377	0.105419	0.081268	-0.07397	-0.02224	0.014758	0.01258	-0.00392	1.72973	0.00015	0.001324
0.088199	0.112633	0.111592	0.106995	0.083662	0.081489	0.148405	0.152884	0.186633	0.14224	1.35	0.000187	0.001453
0.100775	0.092277	0.091544	0.108233	0.081235	0.110938	0.111521	0.157917	0.132931	0.123757	1.066667	0.000104	0.000375
0.112631	0.089016	0.096226	0.100367	0.09608	0.002658	0.042762	0.02465	0.021758	0.050479	6	7.59E-05	0.000354
0.083418	0.089964	0.081461	0.112837	0.090937	0.027292	0.21839	0.151057	0.233631	0.193178	0.444444	0.000167	0.006878
0.095602	0.091081	0.107493	0.111564	0.086783	0.082663	0.106819	0.159525	0.113776	0.045562	1.733333	0.000113	0.001757
0.10612	0.120145	0.120338	0.115645	0.103586	-0.02849	0.058285	0.065738	0.011351	0.057871	2.5625	6.19E-05	0.001645
0.100765	0.102935	0.106117	0.106326	0.082624	0.059036	0.08074	0.115165	0.101653	0.086396	0.95122	9.71E-05	0.000454
0.096781	0.093937	0.111732	0.101447	0.093085	0.015403	0.051987	0.101498	0.073883	0.087352	1.681818	5.82E-05	0.001134

Croat politicians:

care_p	fairness_p	loyalty_p	authority_p	sanctity_p	care_sent	fairness_sent	loyalty_sent	authority_sent	sanctity_sent	moral_nonmoral_ratio	f_var	sent_var
0.114512	0.116951	0.108507	0.111235	0.084528	-0.10481	-0.02272	-0.01759	-0.03189	-0.00882	1.5625	0.00017	0.0015
0.111167	0.104072	0.102527	0.105653	0.084866	-0.0866	-0.00205	0.010068	-0.0217	-0.01058	1.371069	9.87E-05	0.001432
0.112729	0.09132	0.111815	0.109225	0.09539	0.044012	0.127987	0.06435	0.021814	0.050208	1.066667	9.99E-05	0.001609
0.128416	0.123494	0.103955	0.099959	0.089074	-0.01487	0.078643	0.083727	0.027107	0.059977	1.125	0.000273	0.001686
0.098442	0.089195	0.123375	0.083756	0.10728	0.159734	0.110397	0.229918	0.098641	0.086467	2.142857	0.000245	0.003471
0.156818	0.133365	0.108166	0.098568	0.114234	-0.12724	-0.12125	-0.14943	-0.21104	-0.21822	1.5	0.000535	0.002133
0.100729	0.084165	0.089813	0.083617	0.070177	-0.09047	-0.03891	-0.05618	-0.06601	-0.0931	4	0.000123	0.00053
0.110818	0.11979	0.099178	0.09339	0.090413	0.001808	0.023682	0.02688	0.048593	0.018417	1.033333	0.000152	0.000284
0.13032	0.118065	0.115959	0.10504	0.163597	0.013586	0.144619	0.13572	0.022006	0.053053	2.166667	0.000508	0.003897
0.111558	0.100498	0.101589	0.088325	0.085964	0.016352	0.004009	0.077229	-0.00827	0.032927	2.333333	0.00011	0.001103
0.094937	0.081076	0.106639	0.074681	0.075253	-0.03781	-0.02683	0.062513	-0.08149	-0.05101	1.2	0.000193	0.002919
0.09621	0.121362	0.101284	0.125109	0.082275	0.032149	0.012296	0.03676	0.09011	-0.00389	1.090909	0.00032	0.001266
0.109374	0.095006	0.115586	0.095808	0.075117	-0.00029	0.049866	0.079942	0.110528	0.12138	1	0.000244	0.002425
0.101827	0.104439	0.104109	0.118576	0.077553	-0.03192	0.033831	0.074483	0.085683	0.095977	1.555556	0.00022	0.002737
0.186763	0.131603	0.110901	0.11924	0.150935	-0.34502	-0.28397	-0.24551	-0.24471	-0.28534	0.565217	0.000914	0.001676
0.116103	0.111443	0.084826	0.107889	0.100034	-0.14149	-0.13325	-0.09343	-0.07576	-0.11879	2.142857	0.00015	0.000756
0.147131	0.099396	0.078249	0.095593	0.081822	-0.29001	-0.22733	-0.29152	-0.27262	-0.30822	0.857143	0.000761	0.000959
0.116279	0.083164	0.110497	0.105501	0.0824	0.022587	0.034898	0.088709	-0.0371	0.022041	0.473684	0.000249	0.002005
0.097215	0.121292	0.103382	0.112519	0.09407	0.016112	0.073298	0.0691	0.056761	0.075106	2.2	0.000126	0.000601
0.131156	0.12001	0.090824	0.100165	0.093663	-0.13035	-0.10927	-0.06443	-0.10556	-0.0453	2.25	0.00031	0.001222
0.092914	0.082773	0.099406	0.104193	0.067593	0.19256	0.203155	0.218792	0.25305	0.112591	15	0.000213	0.002699
0.126261	0.106823	0.095137	0.085547	0.086694	-0.16462	-0.00029	-0.1089	0.024673	-0.14001	0.75	0.000286	0.007221
0.079002	0.116873	0.094638	0.136744	0.074511	-0.10633	-0.07809	-0.00501	-0.01839	0.068167	1.777778	0.000688	0.004628
0.108143	0.127526	0.108944	0.119997	0.083564	-0.05302	0.12331	0.136533	0.068441	0.052054	1.2	0.000277	0.005656
0.140125	0.106406	0.113228	0.111531	0.104142	0.086172	0.101084	0.100897	0.023581	0.12821	3.25	0.00021	0.002565
0.182425	0.183548	0.099422	0.088873	0.115678	-0.07732	0.044051	-0.05197	-0.04154	-0.15371	0.666667	0.002092	0.005059
0.112748	0.09626	0.120957	0.093427	0.112147	-0.04902	0.025841	-0.02384	-0.02221	0.007813	1.777778	0.000138	0.00086
0.097067	0.100231	0.085439	0.061037	0.098297	-0.19328	-0.02752	-0.06103	-0.06391	-0.02893	0.571429	0.000268	0.004671
0.117926	0.115243	0.089181	0.085979	0.103157	0.082553	0.055742	0.071877	0.002339	-0.01931	0.846154	0.000213	0.002

Appendix 5: Qualitative Analysis of Reports on Public Perceptions

Care/harm	Bosniaks	Serbs	Croats	
Acknowledgement of harm				
Period of war is extremely important	50	25	25	UNDP Facing the Past
Peacebuilding processes should ensure justice for victims	37.1	24.2	22.4	UNDP Facing the past
Peacebuilding processes should define reparations for victims of war	5.4	12.4	13.8	UNDP Facing the past
Authority should play a leading role in facing the past	53.4	27.3	41.7	UNDP Facing the past
Political leaders should acknowledge what was done to a minority	65	65	65	Wilkes: Factors in
State leaders should apologize for past crimes	61	61	61	Wilkes: Factors in
Truth commissions should be established	89	89	89	UNDP Facing the Past
Clarify the degree to which all parties suffered during the war	70	70	70	Wilkes: Factors in
Liability and guilt is important for trust-building process	54	54	54	Wilkes: Reconciliation ar
Want to discuss war with other ethnic groups	34.4	34.4	56.3	UNDP Facing the Past
Average	51.93	46.23	49.82	
Compassion for victims				
City should support memorial events of minorities	58	58	58	Wilkes: Factors in
Level and scope of support to victims from the government and	43	43	43	UNDP Facing the Past
Victims' needs are not sufficiently met through court proceedings	50	50	50	UNDP Facing the Past
Believe all peoples in BiH had a hard time during the war	79	79	79	NSCP 2021
Believe there should be compensation given to victims	66	66	66	UNDP Facing the Past
Victims of war are a group abandoned by almost all segments of societ	50.4	30.7	29.2	UNDP Facing the past
Peacebuilding processes should ensure justice for victims	37.1	24.2	22.4	UNDP Facing the past
Peacebuilding processes should define reparations for victims of war	5.4	12.4	13.8	UNDP Facing the past
All people had a hard time during the war	77	86	86	NSCP BiH (2022)
All people had a hard time during the war	73	89	78	NSCP BiH (2021)
Average	53.89	53.83	52.54	
Suffering and distress				
Experience inequality and marginalization even as a majority	80	80	80	Atlantic Initiative 2021
Sense threat to their ethnic group, feel endangerment	52	52	52	Atlantic Initiative 2021
Think about the grievances experienced during or after the war	43	32	38	NSCP BiH (2022)
Fear another war could break out	34	21	36	NSCP BiH (2022)
Believe their nation has suffered more than others throughout history	96	95	97	Attitudes and values in E
Feel endangered due to interethnic tensions	31	21	30	NSCP BiH (2022)
Average	56	50.16667	55.5	
Caring and kindness				
Building relations of trust and honesty across groups has impact on BiH	81	69	82	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Want to take action instead of focussing on own affairs	61	37	61	NSCP BiH (2021)
Peacebuilding processes should encourage dialogue among parties	27.2	24.9	37.9	UNDP Facing the Past
Building trust and honest relationships is important	88	88	88	Wilkes: Reconciliation ar
See understanding and trust as a priority	73	73	73	Wilkes: Reconciliation ar
Preference for non-violent methods to resolve interethnic tensions	55	55	55	NSCP 2021
Trust building should be focused on enabling citizens to understand each	75	75	75	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Building relationships amongst religious and ethnic groups will have a p	75.4	75.4	75.4	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Tolerance and respect for other people is an important quality	72	72	72	World Value Survey
There should be understanding and respect of similarities as well as	76	76	76	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Agrees that what brings them together is more important than what sep	63	63	63	Balkan Barometer 2024
It is important to talk about all aspects of war with at least three differe	83.2	75.5	58.4	UNDP Facing the Past
Also see the war from the perspective of other ethnic groups	46	52	52	NSCP BiH (2022)
Want to take action instead of focussing on own affairs	67	39	57	NSCP BiH (2022)
Average	67.34286	62.48571	66.12143	
Openness towards others				
Approve cross-ethnic marriage	42	38	40	Global Pluralism Monitor
Would enter relationship with someone from other groups	27	21	27	Global Pluralism Monitor
Intra-ethnic trust	74	81	74	NSCP BiH (2021)
Inter-ethnic trust	45	50	61	NSCP BiH (2021)
General trust	17	18	10	Global Pluralism Monitor
Trust people belonging to other ethnic groups	40	40	40	NSCP 2022
Trust for outgroup members	47	47	47	USAID May 2023
Has interpersonal trust	4.5	4.5	4.5	Atlas of European Value
Agree that most people can be trusted	19.5	19.5	19.5	Global Pluralism Monitor
Trust toward outgroup members	34	34	34	USAID RA 2023
Population does not experience inter-ethnic anxiety	72	72	72	NSCP 2021
Does not experience interethnic anxiety	68	68	68	USAID May 2023
Most people can be trusted	16	16	16	World Value Survey
Do not believe in join commemoration for all groups	50	50	50	USAID RA 2023
Would not attend commemorations of the outgroup	50	50	50	USAID May 2023
Most people cannot be trusted	92	93	94	Pew assets
Inter-group trust	52	50	59	Global Pluralism Monitor
Average	44.11765	44.23529	45.05882	

Fairness/cheating				
	Bosniak	Serb	Croat	
Accountability and justice				
All relevant facts about the war have been established	42.1	15.6	35.3	UNDP Facing the past
Peacebuilding processes should ensure justice for victims	37.1	24.2	22.4	UNDP Facing the past
Peacebuilding processes should define reparations for victims of war	5.4	12.4	13.8	UNDP Facing the past
Victims of war are a group abandoned by almost all segments of society	50.4	30.7	29.2	UNDP Facing the past
Denial of war crimes is disturbing	87	73	70	NSCP BiH (2022)
Authority should play a leading role in facing the past	53.4	27.3	41.7	UNDP Facing the past
All war victims should have equal rights, regardless of where they live	73.4	86.9	66.9	UNDP Facing the Past
Leaders should apologize for past crimes	61	61	61	Wilkes: Factors in Recon
Victims did not receive justice in court proceedings	50	50	50	UNDP Facing the past
Liability and guilt is important for reconciliation	54	54	54	Wilkes: Reconciliation ar
Political and military leaders during war should be held responsible	55	55	55	Wilkes: Factors in Recon
Tribunal for war crimes is a necessity	97	20	73	Attitudes and values in E
Average	55.48333	42.50833	47.69167	
Corruption				
Government corruption	93	71	93	Gallup Balkan Monitor (C
Fight against corruption is ineffective	79	79	79	NSCP 2022
Media reporting on corruption is inadequate	51	51	51	NSCP 2022
Local government is corrupt	41	41	41	NSCP 2022
Court system is extremely corrupt	42	42	42	NSCP 2022
Public sector is corrupt	73	73	73	NSCP 2021
Public education is corrupt	32	32	32	NSCP 2022
Corruption as reason to leave the country	70	70	70	NSCP 2021
Judiciary is corrupt	51	51	51	NSCP 2022
Judiciary is corrupt	53	53	53	NSCP 2021
Average	58.5	56.3	58.5	
Inequality				
Their victims are not recognized	86	73	73	NSCP BiH (2022)
Bothered by 'all groups have suffered equally'	74	51	57	NSCP BiH (2022)
Their group is blamed for war crimes	83	73	71	NSCP BiH (2022)
Victims of war are a group abandoned by almost all segments of society	50.4	30.7	29.2	UNDP Facing the past
Experience inequality and marginalization even as majority	80	80	80	Atlantic Initiative 2021
State institutions do not treat all citizens equally	72	72	72	Atlantic Initiative 2021
Society is not set up in a way so that people usually get what they deserve	79	79	79	NSCP 2022
Disagrees that the law is applied to everyone equally	77	77	77	Balkan Barometer 2023
Society is not fair	63	63	63	NSCP 2022
Average	73.82222	66.52222	66.8	
Ineffective institutions				
Court of justice documentation is not the best basis for facts	16.6	73.5	40.6	UNDP Facing the past
Elections will be manipulated and are not fair	34	69	43	Attitudes and values in E
Trials are not fair	83	96	83	Attitudes and values in E
Angry toward politicians and government representatives	67	67	67	NSCP 2022
Employed are part of ruling parties	69	69	69	Atlantic Initiative 2021
People cannot affect government decisions	73	73	73	NSCP 2022
People cannot affect local government decisions	69	69	69	NSCP 2022
No self-reported democracy	85	85	85	Atlas of European Value
No political will to fight corruption	85	85	85	NSCP 2021
Political parties are guided by political interests, not interests of citizens	79	79	79	NSCP 2021
Religious leaders should not influence how people vote	71.4	71.4	71.4	World Value Survey
Religious leaders should not influence government	66.8	66.8	66.8	World Value Survey
Judiciary is ineffective for combatting corruption	70	70	70	NSCP 2022
No fairness and judicial impartiality	76	76	76	NSCP 2022
Disagrees that rule of law is applied and enforced effectively	69	69	69	Balkan Barometer 2023
Execution of judgements and transparency is very bad	64	64	64	Balkan Barometer 2023
Distrust judiciary	66	66	66	Global Pluralism Monitor
Distrust judiciary	90	90	90	NSCP 2021
Society must be radically changed	76.5	76.5	76.5	World Value Survey
Dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country	88	81	89	Pew assets
Distrust in social security systems	60	60	60	Atlas of European Value
Skeptical about the role of the educational system	74	74	74	Balkan Barometer 2023
Religious institutions are too involved with politics	72	72	53	Pew assets
Not at all confidence in judiciary	85	96	92	UNDP Facing the past
Average	70.3875	74.925	71.30417	
Trustworthiness				
Intra-ethnic trust	74	81	74	NSCP BiH (2021)
Inter-ethnic trust	45	50	61	NSCP BiH (2021)
General trust	17	18	10	Global Pluralism Monitor
Most people can be trusted	28	28	28	NSCP 2021
Most people would try to take advantage of you and not try to be fair	33.9	33.9	33.9	World Value Survey
Trust people belonging to other ethnic groups	40	40	40	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust for outgroup members	47	47	47	USAID (May 2023)
Has interpersonal trust	4.5	4.5	4.5	Atlas of European Value
Most people can be trusted	7	5	6	Pew assets
Trust toward outgroup members	34	34	34	USAID RA 2023
Most people can be trusted	16	16	16	World Value Survey
Inter-group trust	52	50	59	Global Pluralism Monitor
Average	33.2	33.95	34.45	

Loyalty/betrayal	Bosniak	Serb	Croat	
Ethnic group solidarity				
Vote based on candidate's religion or ethnicity	36	56	36	NSCP BiH (2022)
Believe their nation has suffered more than others throughout history, a	96	95	97	Attitudes and values in E
Do not want to discuss war with other ethnic groups	65.6	65.6	43.7	UNDP Facing the Past
Proud of their nationality	64.6	64.6	64.6	World Value Survey
Regard their culture as superior to others	66	74	69	Pew assets
Prioritizes 'our people' over others	95	95	95	Atlas of European Value
Having been born in the country is important to national identity	80	57	73	Pew assets
Nationality was important because it was the group they belonged to	39.5	39.5	39.5	Pew Research Centre
Nationality important to determine who to vote for	8.1	8.1	8.1	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Religion and ethnicity of a political party candidate are the main factors	43	43	43	NSCP 2022
Sense threat to their ethnic group	52	52	52	Atlantic Initiative 2021
Average	58.70909	59.07273	56.44545	
Loyalty to nation				
Belonging to country as main identity	22.4	22.4	22.4	World Value Survey
Is above all Bosnian Herzegovinian	36.6	36.6	36.6	World Value Survey
Proud to be citizen of the country	69	21	44	Pew assets
Proud to be Bosnian	85	7	9	Attitudes and values in E
Forget about ethnic affiliation and have Bosnian identity	58	7	12	Attitudes and values in E
Identify with Bosnia as opposed to local community or region	76	2	4	Attitudes and values in E
Bosnian identity is very important, C/B/S not	44	26	17	Attitudes and values in E
Identify as a person from BiH	95	76	83	NSCP BiH (2021)
Is above all BiH	23	27.3	8.5	World Value Survey BiH
Support a unified Bosnia	90	3	9	Attitudes and values in E
I would stay and fight for BiH	43	21	13	NSCP BiH (2022)
Average	58.36364	22.66364	23.5	
Anger at traitors				
If I tried to understand the other group I would betray my own people	37	32	36	NSCP BiH (2022)
Supporting others is treason of their own	50	50	50	USAID May 2023
Would not attend commemorations of the outgroup	50	50	50	USAID May 2023
Reject leadership by representatives from other groups	40	40	40	Atlantic Initiative 2021
Do not support measures that benefit other groups	33	33	33	Balkan Barometer 2023
Other groups should not receive financial support	39	41	21	Pew assets
Average	41.5	41	38.33333	
Rejection of outsiders				
Not approve cross-ethnic marriage	58	62	60	Global Pluralism Monitor
Would not enter relationship with someone from other groups	73	79	73	Global Pluralism Monitor
No inter-ethnic trust	55	50	49	NSCP BiH (2021)
No inter-ethnic trust	48	50	41	Global Pluralism Monitor
No inter-ethnic trust	59	47	47	NSCP BiH (2022)
Do not experience positive interethnic experiences	37	39	26	NSCP BiH (2022)
Worry ethnic tensions will lead to armed conflict	54	36	45	NDI
Ethnic tensions might lead to dissolution of the state	51	31	48	NDI
Not open to have outgroup members as neighbours	66	66	66	USAID RA 2023
Not open to have members of different race as neighbours	13	13	13	World Value Survey
Not open to have immigrants as neighbours	25	25	25	World Value Survey
Not Comfortable with having others as a neighbour	29	29	29	NSCP BiH 2022
NotWilling to engage in close interethnic relationship	55	55	55	NSCP BiH 2022
Not Open to have people of a different culture as neighbours	23	23	23	Global Pluralism Monitor
Not Willing to engage in close interethnic relationship	63	63	63	USAID: May 2023
Not Willing to engage in close interethnic relationship	59	59	59	Atlantic Initiative (2021)
Youth engage in no interethnic contact	20	20	20	USAID: Reconciliation /
Has not cross-group acquaintances	27	27	27	NSCP BiH 2021
Has not contact with outgroups	15	15	15	USAID: May 2023
No trust people of other ethnic groups	56	56	56	NSCP BiH 2021
No trust toward outgroup members	55	55	55	USAID: Reconciliation /
No trust toward outgroup members	70	70	70	USAID: Reconciliation /
Does not Trust people belonging to other ethnic groups	60	60	60	NSCP BiH 2022
Does not Trust immigrants and strangers	63	63	63	Kuburic (2010)
Does not Trust toward outgroup members	53	53	53	USAID: May 2023
Not willing to accept Jews into family	56	39	39	Pew assets
Not willing to accept Jews as neighbours	15	9	12	Pew assets
Not willing to accept other religion as family	49	47	35	Pew assets
Not willing to accept toher religion as neighbour	7	10	6	Pew assets
Joint commemorations for all groups would evoke disagreements and te	50	50	50	USAID RA 2023
Average	45.45	43.35	42.75	
Commonality oriented				
Building relationships across groups will have a positive impact	75.4	75.4	75.4	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Similarities are more important than differences	63	63	63	Balkan Barometer 2023
There should be understanding and respect of similarities as well as	76	76	76	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Agrees that what brings them together is more important than what sep	63	63	63	Balkan Barometer (2023
It is important to talk about all aspects of war with at least three differe	83.2	75.5	58.4	UNDP Facing the Past
Also see the war from the perspective of other ethnic groups	46	52	52	NSCP BiH (2022)
Feel similar to people from the other group	43	59	48	NSCP BiH (2022)
Feel close to other ethnic groups	85	7	9	Attitudes and values in E
Life together is possible	73	7	14	Pew assets
Christianity and Islam have a lot in common	52	24	41	Pew assets
Catholicism and Orthodox have a lot in common	69	75	89	Pew assets
It is better if society consists of people from different nationalities, relig	82	56	79	Attitudes and values in E
Feel strong ties with other people from BiH	74	74	80	NSCP BiH (2021)
Average	68.04615	54.37692	57.52308	

Authority/subversion	Bosniak	Serb	Croat	
Family and traditional values				
One must always love and respect parents	90	90	90	World Value Survey
Tolerance and respect for others is an important quality	71.7	71.7	71.7	World Value Survey
Family background is important for citizenship	84	63	85	Pew assets
Average	81.9	74.9	82.23333	
Government and state				
Happy with the general security situation	58	48	58	UNDP Facing the past
Trust in political parties	8	8	8	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust in armed forces	42	27	42	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust in state-level government insitutions	10	10	10	NSCP BiH (2022)
Prioritizes constitutional reform	37	21	17	NSCP BiH (2022)
Want to improve/change current state-level government	61	32	50	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust in federal government	30	36	19	Gallup Balkan Monitor (2021)
Believe in Dayton Agreement	31	14	8	Attitudes and values in E
Want arrangement of the state to remain unchanged	99	88	95	NSCP BiH (2021)
Trust in institutions of the state system	55	55	55	Kuburic 2010
Little or trust the police	67	67	67	Kuburic 2010
Approve of national leadership	26	26	26	Gallup Balkan Monitor (2021)
People voice political opinions	16	16	16	Gallup Balkan Monitor (2021)
Trust public insitutions	35	35	35	NSCP BiH 2021
Trust government institutions	10	10	10	NSCP BiH 2021
Trust political parties	8	8	8	NSCP BiH 2021
Trust police	27	27	27	Global pluralism monitor
Trust political parties	7	7	7	Global pluralism monitor
Trust presidency	9	9	9	Global pluralism monitor
Favour state-level authority across all sectors	75	37	74	NSCP BiH (2021)
Average	35.55	29.05	32.05	
Religious figures and institutions				
Vote based on candidate's religion or ethnicity	36	56	36	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust in religious institutions	36	57	36	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust in religious institutions	53	66	66	Gallup Balkan Monitor (2021)
Consider religion as very important	54	54	54	GREASE: BiH Country
Religion should be involved in government policies	22	22	22	Pew Research Centre (2010)
Religion has potential to contribute to trust-building	62	62	62	Wilkes: Factors in Recor
Trust religious institutions	44	44	44	NSCP BiH 2022
Confidence in churches and religious organizations	64	64	64	Kuburic (2010)
Trust religious institutions	46	46	46	NSCP BiH 2021
Trust religious institutions	40	40	40	Global pluralism monitor
Consider Islamic scholars/leaders as source of moral guidance	44			Pew assets
Religious institutions strenthen morality in society	49	44	64	Pew assets
Religious leaders should have influence in political matters	18	15	14	Pew assets
Trust religious insitutions of the other	10	10	10	Attitudes and values in E
Average	41.28571	44.61538	42.92308	
Hierarchy and strong leader				
Would not mind greater respect for authority	86.6	86.6	86.6	World Value Survey (2008)
Strong leader is more important than democracy	61	61	61	Atlantic Initiative (2021)
Non-democratic government can be preferable	47	50	46	Pew assets
Average	64.86667	65.86667	64.53333	
Media and education				
Trust in independent media	23	23	23	NSCP BiH (2022)
Trust media	13	13	13	USAID: Reconciliation /
Trust independent media	24	24	24	USAID: Reconciliation /
Trust media moderately	46	46	46	NSCP BiH 2022
Trust media moderately	60	60	60	Kuburic (2010)
Media effective in scrutinizing government	32	32	32	Balkan Barometer 2023
Trust media	25	25	25	Global pluralism monitor
Trust educational institutions	52	52	52	Global pluralism monitor
Trust media	17	17	17	Atlantic Initiative (2021)
Average	32.44444	32.44444	32.44444	

Sanctity/degradation	Bosniak	Serb	Croat	
Sacredness				
Monuments and memorials are useful for facing the past	80	65.4	63.9	UNDP Facing the past
New monuments should be constructed	84	39.3	58.1	UNDP Facing the past
Have icons or holy figures in home		93	94	Pew assets
Do you wear religious symbols or carry them with you	16	37	60	Pew assets
Declining moral values is a big problem	91	92	95	Pew assets
Average	67.75	65.34	74.2	
Attitudes toward sexual deviants				
Oppose same-sex marriage	84	84	84	NSCP BiH (2022)
Young adults oppose same-sex marriage	79	79	79	NSCP BiH (2022)
Homosexuality or being LGBTQ+ is unnatural	78	78	78	NSCP BiH (2022)
Disagree same-sex couples have the right to marry	78	78	78	NSCP BiH (2021)
Disagree same-sex couples have equal rights to married couples	73	73	73	NSCP BiH (2021)
Disagree same-sex couples can adopt children	84	84	84	NSCP BiH (2021)
Disagree same sex couples can fight for their rights	79	79	79	NSCP BiH (2021)
LGBTQ+ can do what they want but not in public	41	41	41	NSCP BiH (2022)
Disagree same sex couples can fight for their rights	81	81	81	NSCP BiH (2022)
Disagree same sex couples can adopt children	85	85	85	NSCP BiH (2022)
Disagree same-sex couples have equal rights to married couples	77	77	77	NSCP BiH (2022)
Homosexuality should not be accepted	81	86	85	Pew assets
Homosexual behaviour is morally wrong	82	81	87	Pew assets
Oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally	83	88	90	Assets pew research
Average	77.5	78.14286	78.64286	
Attitudes toward immigrants				
Do not want immigrants as neighbours	24.80	24.80	24.80	WVS
Do not want people of a different culture as neighbours	33.00	33.00	33.00	GPM
Do not trust immigrants and strangers	63	63	63	Kuburic
Not willing to accept Roma as neighbour	15	16	23	Pew assets
Not willing to accept Roma as citizens country	6	9	16	Pew assets
Not willing to accept Roma as family members	57	55	47	Pew assets
Not willing to marry a Roma	86	88	91	GPM
Average	40.69	41.26	42.54	
Religiosity				
Religion is very important	54	54	54	GREASE
Religious faith is important	24.5	24.5	24.5	WVS
Religion is an important part in everyday life	49	81	79	Gallup Balkan Monitor p
Accept teachings and demands of religion	74	74	74	Atlantic Initiative
Religion plays an important role in their lives	63	59	65	Gallup Balkan Monitor
Confidence in religious institutions	53	67	65	Gallup Balkan Monitor
Religion is key component of national identity	59	59	59	Pew research centre
Believe in God	94	94	94	Pew research centre
It is necessary to believe in God to have good values	41	30	39	Pew assets
How religious is the country today	77	74	74	Pew assets
Regularly attend religious services	31	10	54	Pew assets
Religion is important in life	88	86	90	Pew assets
Often read religious scripture	30	11	41	Pew assets
Often shares religious views with others	25	10	33	Pew assets
Do you believe in God	98	93	100	Pew assets
Very certain in believe in God	94	88	96	Pew assets
Pray often	33	28	58	Pew assets
Religious values should be institutionalized	21	19	41	Pew assets
Average	56.02778	53.41667	63.36111	
Marriage				
Disapprove cross-ethnic marriage	58	62	60	Global Pluralism Monitor
Would not enter relationship with someone from other groups	73	79	73	Global Pluralism Monitor
Not willing to engage in close interethnic relationship	63	63	63	USAID May 2023
Not willing to engage in close interethnic relationship	59	59	59	Atlantic Initiative
Not willing to engage in close interethnic relationship	55	55	55	NSCP 2022
Average	61.6	63.6	62	