

# BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 2025: SCENARIOS ON FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS



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Paul Pasch, Editor

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# **Bosnia and Herzegovina 2025: Scenarios on future developments**

Paul Pasch, Editor





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# Foreword

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The global economic downturn has hit Bosnia and Herzegovina hard. The socio-economic situation is in dire straits. Political impasse is prevalent. The international community is still very much engaged. Much has been and still is being published about the country. Still, sometimes we do have misperceptions regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The FES project “Bosnia and Herzegovina 2025 – Scenarios on future Developments” - offers five different scenarios on what the country could look like in the year 2025. The scenarios seek to provoke the on-going debates by providing an unconventional look on the situation.

The international community is committed to help Bosnia and Herzegovina overcome the shadows of its traumatic past, assist it on its way to transatlantic and European integration, and to help the country regain its status as a modern and functional European country.

The current Constitution – being one of the annexes of the Dayton Peace Agreement – with its complex structure

of semi-autonomous entities, i.e. the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with its 10 Cantons – is not conducive to the efficient functioning of state institutions. Back in 1995 the Dayton Peace Agreement was a very welcome achievement, but with Bosnia and Herzegovina’s ambition to accede to both NATO and the EU, things have changed.

Everyone now seems to be aware that Bosnia and Herzegovina is in need of constitutional reform. A better functioning of state level institutions needs to be ensured. In October 2010 general elections took place. For a state that has begun to lag behind the rest of the region, that should have been perceived as a starting point to move forward from the political deadlock. However, it took the leaders of the six main political parties 15 months of brinkmanship to come to a watered down compromise that allowed for a principal agreement on the formation of the Council of Ministers.

Thus there is a pressing need for the new administration to take some clear



decisions with regard to the future of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), Brcko District, compliance with the Stabilisation and Association Agreement, NATO membership and EU accession candidate status.

The international community is more and more convinced that the driving force behind these changes should come from the people and their leaders. The reform process should be undertaken with a continuous step-by-step approach. The harmonisation of the Constitution with the European Convention on Human Rights, the adaption of state aid legislation, as well as finding a compromise on the census law, are the first steps that need to be taken. Furthermore, the rule of law and the principle of legal certainty should be respected. But above all a paradigm shift needs to take place so that reconciliation amongst the people can yield fruit.

Constitutional reform must be well prepared and agreed with local politicians in order to be able to form a coalition Government. A solution to the conflicting concepts of *Confederation* versus *Federal State* must be found. Overall the required reforms should be perceived as a win-win situation for everyone. This of course is easier said than done.

This political deadlock was the starting point when we first considered if a

scenario planning exercise could contribute to the process in a constructive way. We hope that, by presenting politicians and policy makers possible and plausible scenarios of what Bosnia and Herzegovina could look like in 2025, we may provide them with food for thought. By being confronted with possible scenarios that might be in line with their visions of the future of their country, or which they would like to prevent by all means, policy makers and politicians might implement their political strategies with more determination.

It is obvious that local ownership is the only way to guarantee the outcome of the necessary reforms. However, according to the actual scenarios, the international community still has some obligations to fulfil to assist in the efforts to overcome the dysfunctional Dayton structure. That is why Bosnia and Herzegovina needs to be pushed to make progress towards reforms.

The scenarios do not give a blueprint for decision-makers how to act but they give a message, from which the recipients can draw their conclusions. The present publication intends to add some value to a controversial public debate that will hopefully contribute to overcoming the stalemate. The people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, like all people of the Western Balkans, deserve to have

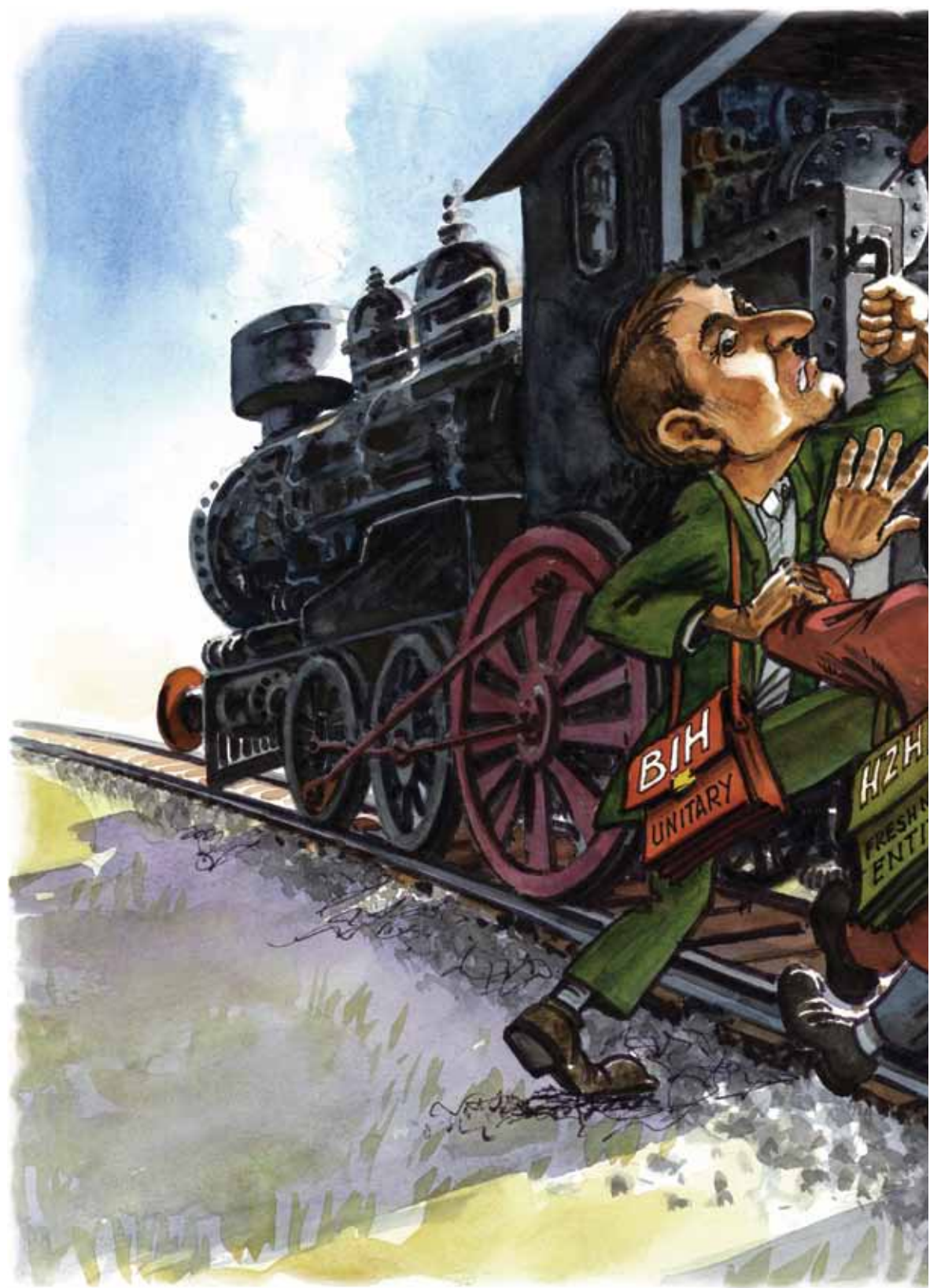
a peaceful, prosperous and socially just perspective within the European family.

This publication project was made possible through the joint efforts of a very committed scenario team consisting of 20 people from all walks of life of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society, together with the FES coordination team. All team members participated in the scenario building in a personal capacity. The scenarios are necessarily a compromise, reflecting consensus among the whole scenario team. I wish to acknowledge my appreciation to all the team members who were, over the year, so

determined to make this project a success. I would especially like to thank Winfried Veit, Merima Alic, Mia Karamehic and Tanja Topic for their dedicated work throughout the year-long exercise. It is their coordinating role, research, writing and technical editing that made this project possible. I am also grateful to Mirza Ibrahimasic and Filip Andronik for their invaluable work in illustrating and designing this publication.

This publication remains the sole responsibility of the editor.

Paul Pasch









# INTRODUCTION

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# The Scenario Method<sup>1</sup>

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“We simply do not know.” This was John Maynard Keynes’ famous comment on the future – and the main motivation for building scenarios. Human beings have been trying for centuries to forecast the future, in former times by consulting the oracle in Delphi, in present times by sophisticated trend extrapolation techniques. Military strategists, in particular, have always been keen on designing scenarios for different situations. In more recent times, the scenario technique has been adapted for business as well.

Uncertainties complicate the scenario building process. As the future is completely unknown, everything is thinkable even though one might consider it improbable. Peter Schwartz got to the point by stating: Scenarios are a tool to help us “make choices today with an understanding of how they might turn out” (Schwartz 1991: 4).

How do scenarios work? They do not spell out the only possible future,

but delineate different futures. It is then up to decision-makers to decide upon which future they prefer and which strategy they choose to reach this future. Scenario sceptics might argue that a specific trend is exaggerated or the influence of certain factors is overestimated. Scenario advocates might accentuate the way in which scenarios can be used as a mirror, showing reality in an unpolished way.

How are scenarios built? A scenario exercise starts by analysing what is already known, i.e. the present situation. Current key issues in a specific area are agreed upon, dynamics that may play a crucial role in the future are identified, and external events that could lead to fundamental changes are taken into account. Scenarios should be built by a heterogeneous team whose members have different backgrounds and varying perspectives. Scenarios are not aimed at building consensus, quite the contrary; they need controversial debates to paint

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<sup>1</sup> This section has mainly drawn on “The Geneva Scenarios on Global Economic Governance 2020”, FES Geneva, 2009.



different and nuanced pictures of the future. Scenarios should be consistent and plausible even though “some parties to the exercise may regard certain scenarios as exceedingly unlikely and undesirable, but no one should be able to prove any scenario impossible” (Lempert/Popper/Bankes 2003: 30).

In recent years the scenario method has also been applied as a tool for strategic planning in the social and political spheres.

The core of the deliberations is not a firmly stated goal nor the way and means to achieve this goal, but rather the question: “What if...?” e.g. What will happen if events occur which currently are not actually predictable, but which are well within the bounds of

possible developments and could thus thwart the planning process? What can we possibly do to prevent this from happening? In the dialogue between different societal groups, this method offers the advantage of describing different future scenarios and helping to build consensus for various future versions, as would be the case in an argument over one possible future scenario. However, each participant has to be ready to acknowledge the likelihood of the future scenarios presented by his/her political opponents.

For the purpose of illustrating the scenarios the team chose the metaphor of different trains. These illustrations are catchy and, during public presentations and discussions of the scenarios, have proven to be very effective.

# The Need for a Fresh Look

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What will Bosnian and Herzegovinian society look like in 2025? And what developments will it go through by then? Will it succeed to overcome the deep fissures that characterises it today? And if not, what options for its future does the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina have at its disposal? The search for answers to these questions was the aim of a scenario planning exercise that was conducted between March and November 2011 with 20 participants from all walks of life of Bosnian and Herzegovinian society.

The project was initiated by Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and was modelled after the Mont Fleur scenario-simulation game. The FES office in Cape Town used a similar approach during the transition from apartheid to democracy in South Africa at the beginning of the 1990s.

From the outset one thing was clear to all participants: the future cannot be predicted. Instead, scenario planning is an intellectual exercise used as an instrument for strategic planning. Thus the objective of scenario planning is to describe,

on the basis of a clear analysis, a number of options for the future and possible pathways leading to them. These scenarios may provide the basis for the initiation of discussion among policy makers and decision takers, followed by an elaboration of which steps and measures need to be taken in order for certain future scenarios to become possible, or alternatively to prevent them from materialising.

The scenario planning team was composed of 20 persons representing various backgrounds in politics, economics, academia, media and society, as well as different political camps and distinctive ethnic backgrounds. In a very dynamic process of discussion and analysis, the participants succeeded, despite their differing and partially contradictory political and ideological positions, to agree on five possible scenarios for the future of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian society, symbolised metaphorically by using different train names:

- Dayton Mail – Status quo
- Trans BiH Arrow – Functional decentralised state

- BiH Union Express – Functional centralised state
- Western Balkan Inter City – Regional reconnection
- Tripartite Border Train – Dissolution

The members of the group found a common language not only to describe possible future scenarios, but also the present situations of their communities. All participants were aware of the acute danger that is rooted in the social and ideological divisions of society. Thus the year 2025 as a conceptual target point of the various scenarios is only of symbolic meaning: the developments described in the scenarios could become reality even tomorrow.

Group members were of the opinion that their definition for the status quo should be clarified as “the existing state of affairs (at a particular time)” or “the situation as it currently exists”. The concept of status quo is often used when referring to political or social conditions. The idea is often debated vis-a-vis the dialectic between power systems that reinforce the status quo and those who seek to subvert it.

Moreover, it should be stressed that none of the scenario team members favoured the dissolution scenario. Rather they viewed it as a plausible possibility, but with different probable outcomes.

# Executive Summary

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“FES Bosnia and Herzegovina 2025 - Scenarios on future developments” offers five different scenarios on how the country could look in the year 2025. Its aim is to sensitize policy-makers to possible consequences of their decisions, whether they are actions or non-actions. The scenarios are intentionally exaggerated, but they are not implausible. They seek to further provoke the existing debate on required reforms by taking a fresh and unconventional look.

In order to facilitate cross-scenario comparison, all scenarios are structured along the same lines. They have a common starting point, looking back through time from the year 2025, beginning with stock-taking in the post-election year 2011 and developing from there a pathway to the specific scenario. Each scenario then develops its unique dynamic, which leads to different results.

A synopsis of the proposed possible outcomes is provided below.

## **Dayton Mail – Status quo**

*In the year 2025 the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina still remains the same – two entities (including 10 cantons in the Federation of BiH) as well as Brcko District, and with three constituent peoples, Others and Citizens. Although the implementation of some reforms have enabled BiH to receive EU candidate status, the state is in a bad economic situation in comparison to neighbouring countries, facing intolerable levels of public spending, massive internal and external debt, as well as delayed payments of wages and of social benefits. The functioning of the system still depends on the particular agendas of politicians. Changes are taking place, but always in the same manner: at an extremely slow pace or as a result of political self-interest to retain power, as well as under various international, regional and internal pressures. Croatia accessed the EU in 2013 and by 2014 other neighbouring countries were granted candidate status.*

## **Trans BiH Arrow – Functional decentralised state**

*By the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina - a member of the European Union - is a functional decentralized state with a functioning rule of law, respect for human rights and a blooming economy, all of which are the result of substantial constitutional changes. The newly established political elites have managed to overcome the obstacles of the old political system, which was based on particular ethnic interests, and to create a new structure, with a clear socio-economic policy that serves the interests of all citizens of the state and protection mechanisms to ensure respect for the rights of different groups.*

## **BiH Union Express – Functional centralised state**

*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a functional centralised state and a member of the European Union. The centralised political system established after the violent conflict and subsequent international military intervention enabled simplified decision-making processes which resulted in political, economic and judicial reforms. Human rights legislation is being implemented, the economy is on an upward path, unemployment rate is in decline, and social cohesion is on the increase.*

## **Western Balkan Inter City – Regional reconnection**

*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina is part of the EU together with Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo. As a result, a new political paradigm has been created and partition along national or ethnic lines has become futile. However, before the region arrived at this point of integration it went through a decade-long process of reconnection that was driven by several important motivational elements: economic-interdependence; mutual sport and cultural values; a common EU membership perspective; absence of a language barrier; cultural regionalisation, among others. Decades of political stalemate, economic and fiscal crises that drained social welfare programs in each and every country stripped off nationalistic ideologies and showed to the full extent their long-term destructive potential. Since these ideologies were not able to offer anything new, but the same old mantra of ethnic division, soil, blood and historical memories, people had gradually started to seek an alternative. More sober and pragmatic forces thus got their chance. Regional reconnection had become a modus operandi that embraces connections rather than disconnection points.*

## **Tripartite Border Train**

### **– Dissolution**

*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina no longer exists in its previous form. The smouldering ethnic conflict which had lasted for decades, culminated in the dissolution of BiH into three separate countries under the patronage*

*of the international community to prevent violent conflict. These new countries are now focused on their path towards EU integration through internal structural change. The economies in the newly formed countries are developing due to the influx of foreign direct investments and international aid.*



# **SCENARIOS BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA 2025**

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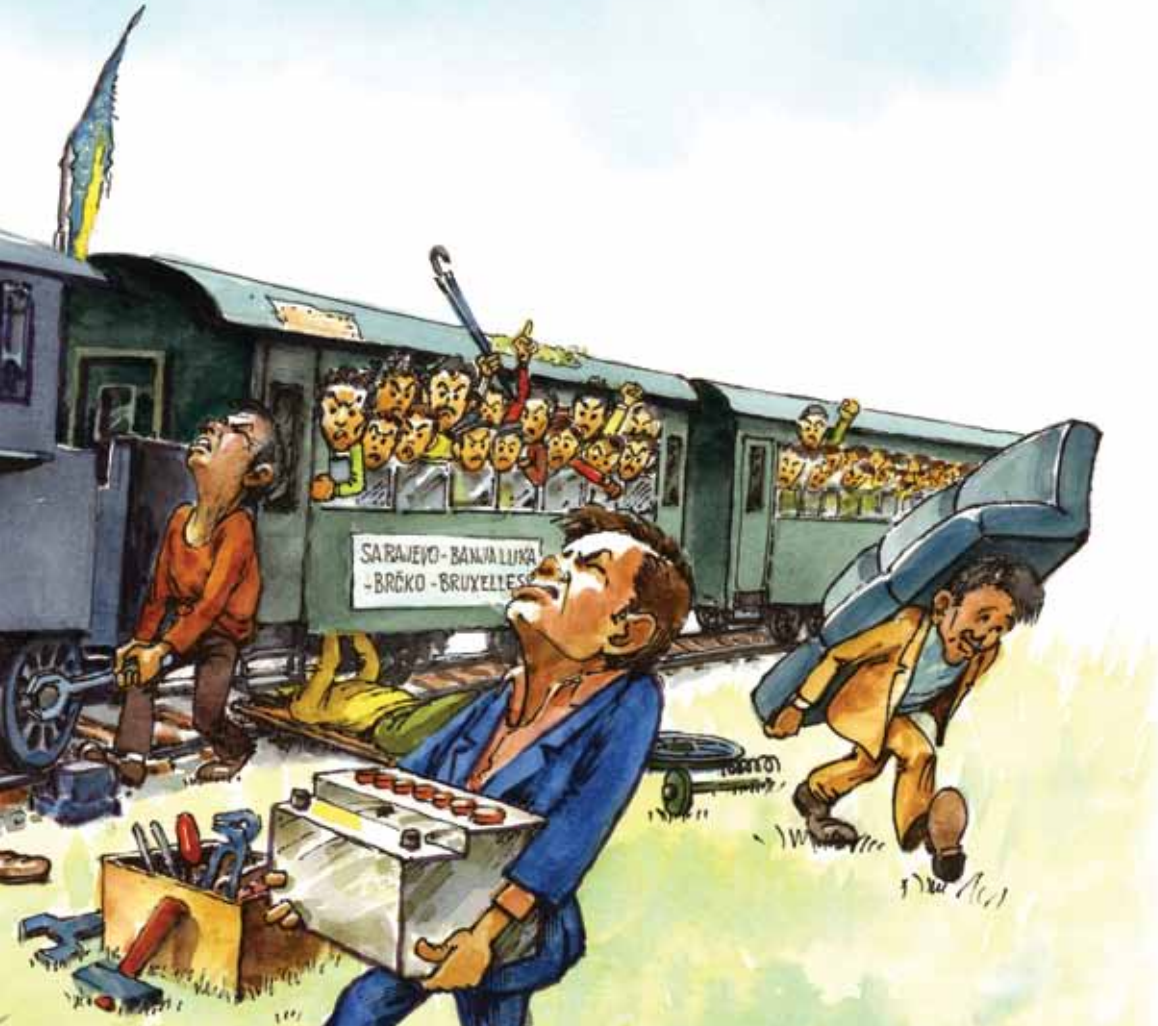




*In the year 2025 the constitutional structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina still remains the same – two entities (including 10 cantons in the Federation of BiH) as well as Brcko District, and with three constituent peoples, Others and Citizens. Although the implementation of some reforms have enabled BiH to receive EU candidate status, the state is in a bad economic situation in comparison to neighbouring countries, facing intolerable levels of public spending, massive internal and*

# Dayton Mail

## Status quo

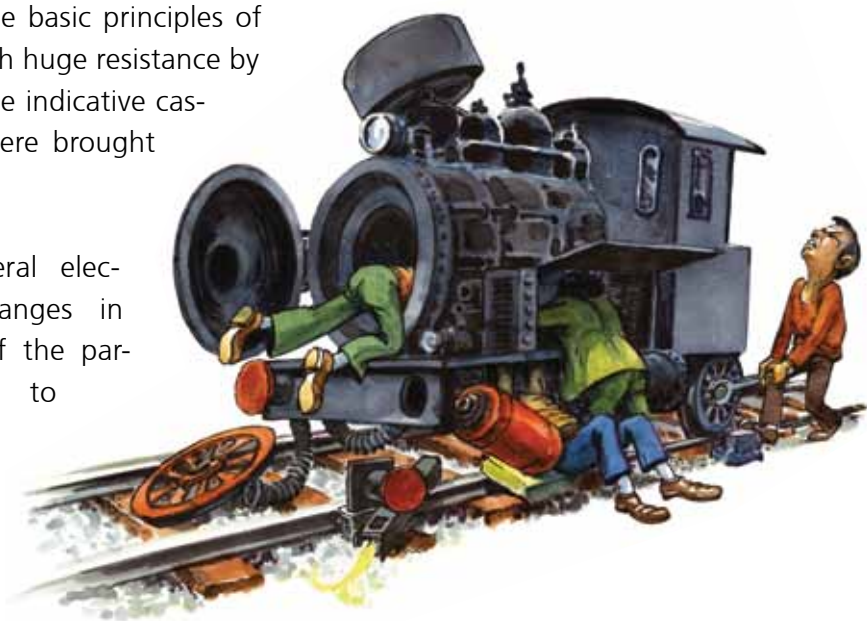


external debt, as well as delayed payments of wages and of social benefits. The functioning of the system still depends on the particular agendas of politicians. Changes are taking place, but always in the same manner: at an extremely slow pace or as a result of political self-interest to retain power, as well as under various international, regional and internal pressures. Croatia accessed the EU in 2013 and by 2014 other neighbouring countries were granted candidate status.

After a very long and painful procedure of endless negotiations in order to form a government, a deteriorated political situation emerged after the 2010 general elections, creating a political stalemate which further contributed to the economic decline. Even after the Council of Ministers was agreed upon by the End of 2011, there was no significant improvement in the political and economic situation, which was also influenced by the consequences of the global economic crisis. Social decline, the threat of debt crises and a lower standard of living led to strikes and further unrest. The EU persisted on full compliance with the basic principles of the rule of law. With huge resistance by affected elites, some indicative cases of corruption were brought to the courts.

The next general elections brought changes in the composition of the parliaments, leading to more constructive leadership since the old

elites realised that their power base was fragile. As a result the vast majority of previous decisions came under re-examination, primarily those on economic affairs. Due to the fact that the governments were in desperate need for reforms and foreign investments, the CoM and other governments were formed at a much faster pace, and consisted partly of technical experts concerning the ministries for economic affairs. The reason for this was that politicians were averse to taking responsibility for painful decisions in social matters and in restructuring the social and administrative system.







Time pressure to start a cycle of progress and to remain in power forced political parties to loosen obstacles to the functionality of institutions at all levels, thus creating more effective coordi-

nation mechanisms on EU matters and the establishment of a common legal framework in terms of a single economic space, health and education standards. The impact of these reforms was meant to generate a push towards poverty reduction and economic growth, investment opportunities, health and peaceful civic engagement. However, the outcome, at least in the short-to-medium term, was not all positive.

In 2013 Croatia became a full member of the EU, and suddenly BiH lost a large portion of the market for its products while imports increased. At the same time BiH was burdened by the repayment of the original obligations from the IMF stand-by arrangement. The surrounding countries had in time set their priorities and started enforcing required reforms to improve market economy mechanisms, secure social justice, improved employment opportunities and gain relative prosperity in

order to become full-fledged members of the European Union. Due to this BiH remained more and more isolated, especially since the modified standards at the now surrounding external frontiers of the European Union caused increasing difficulties in exporting its products. Additionally, there was internal pressure among people living in poverty and external pressure by international financial institutions and formal and informal centers of power. As a consequence, there were efforts towards reform although at a slow and painful pace. Despite the lack of the fulfilment of EU accession obligations, the EU granted candidacy status for BiH for political and strategic reasons.

In 2025 the structure laid down in the Dayton Peace Agreement remains in place in BiH, but with less obstacles between different administrative units and a more functional economic space as a result primarily of social pressure and economic necessities, as well as the fulfilment of the obligations originating from the EU integration process requirements.





*By the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina - a member of the European Union - is a functional decentralised state with rule of law, respect of human rights and a blooming economy, which is the result of substantial constitutional changes. The newly established political elites have managed to overcome the obstacles of*



# Trans BiH Arrow

## Functional decentralised state

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*the old political system, which was based on particular ethnic interests, and to create a new structure, with a clear socio-economic policy that serves the interests of all citizens of the state and has established protection mechanisms to ensure the respect of the rights of different groups.*

Year after year, the situation in Bosnia worsened. The country's economy was at an all time low. Unemployment, decay of the system of social protection and all-round poverty caused massive social unrests. The dysfunctional political system proved to be a major obstacle in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration. Due to the lack of stability and legal uncertainty, no foreign direct investment could be attracted for the development of the huge hydropower potential of the country. Nationalistic rhetoric, chauvinism and hate fuelled by the discourse of political parties and the media triggered random acts of inter-ethnic violence designed to shift attention from the deteriorating economy, the lack of development strategies and staggeringly high unemployment.

The second global economic and financial crisis of 2015 hit Bosnia and Herzegovina severely. The prices of energy on the global market skyrocketed, reflected by the energy costs in the country. Huge segments of society could no longer afford to heat their homes and took to the streets. By the end of the

year, public budgets were empty and the government imposed new taxes in an attempt to maintain the functioning of its big and complex administration. All social compensations for demobilised soldiers and for casualties of war were terminated, while incentives for export-oriented companies were revoked. Popular discontent was manifested in a growing opposition to the ruling ethno-nationalist oligarchies, which were accused of masking the dreadful economic and social conditions by fuelling ethnic conflicts. Trade unions and newly founded citizens' alliances organised a series of strikes all over the country.

To prevent the destabilisation of the country, a national convention was convened under the patronage of the international community. It included representatives of civil society, academia, trade unions and different social groups. Its task was to amend the constitution and elect a transitional government. In this context, the international community offered financial assistance and legal expertise to help the transitional government implement necessary reforms.

A new state structure was formed, comprising three levels of government. The state level was to be comprised of one President, Vice-Presidents, the bicameral parliamentary system, and the central government. This government was to be given jurisdiction over the state military force, the single police force, internal security, monetary and fiscal policy, energy policy, natural resources, foreign policy and international relations, as well as higher education, tertiary medical care facilities and the communications sector.

Special attention was paid to sustainable development and the

management of natural resources with the focus on hydropower and renewable energy. The equality of all people was to be ensured by the newly established Supreme Court.

The mid-level of governance was to be comprised of territorial units with their own administration designed to work efficiently and without unnecessary costs. The territorial units were to be established according to geographic, infrastructural, economic and cultural factors, taking into consideration the ethnic dispersion of population wherever possible. All units were to be given mechanisms of protection against discrimination, while also reinforcing inter-ethnic respect and thus preventing

the future endangerment of any

ethnic, religious or

social groups. The

units were to be

linked through

a series of in-

frastructural

development

programmes as

well as cross-

border coopera-

tion. These pro-

grams were to

be financed by

grants and low-

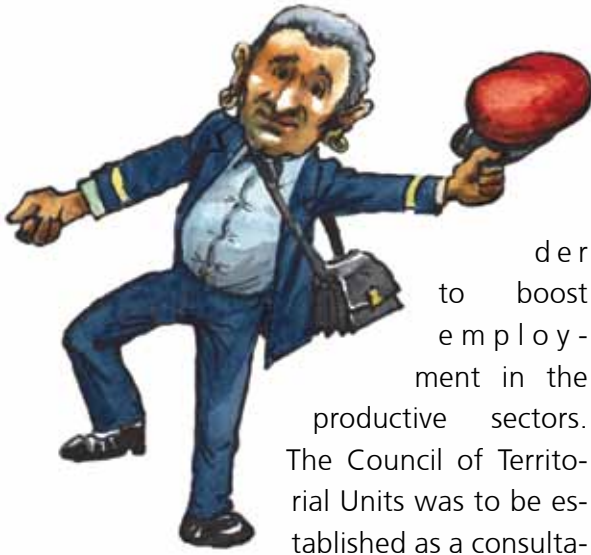
interest develop-

ment loans provided by the in-

ternational community in or-







der to boost employment in the productive sectors. The Council of Territorial Units was to be established as a consultative and planning body tasked with proposing measures for the social and economic development of territorial units to the state government and monitoring their implementation.

The third, municipal level, coordinated by the Council of Municipalities, was to be given strong competences and charged with meeting most of citizens' needs by providing services pursuant to the European Charter of Local Self-Government, a body which is guided by the principle of subsidiarity.

The reforms, implemented by the transitional government as well as by the new government elected in 2018, stabilised the country. Legislation was reformed in order to remove administrative barriers for investments and to provide a healthier climate for SMEs, as well as to introduce tax reductions and subsidies that would increase employment rate, boost exports and improve the country's economic ratings. The achievement of political, economic and social stability causes a relaxation in ethnic tensions and leads to a higher level of social cohesion. These reforms led to EU candidate status for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2020 and its accession to the EU in 2025.

Although the structure of political system in 2025 is still complex, the planning, decision-making and implementation processes are developing in a much more functional and efficient way. This results in positive consequences for the Bosnian-Herzegovinian economy and a higher standard of living.





*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina is a functional centralised state and a member of the European Union. The centralised political system established after the violent conflict and subsequent international military intervention enabled*

# BiH Union Express

## Functional centralised state

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*simplified decision-making processes, which resulted in political, economic and judicial reforms. Human rights legislation is being implemented, the economy is on an upward path, unemployment rate is in decline, and social cohesion is on the increase.*

Year after year, the situation in Bosnia was worsening. By 2015, the country's economy reached an all-time low. Unemployment, the decay of the system of social protection and all-round poverty caused massive social unrest. The dysfunctional and complicated political system proved to be a major obstacle in the process of Euro-Atlantic integration. After the 2010 Elections, and an extremely long delay in forming the state government, the 2014 General Elections proved to be an even larger disaster in terms of building a stable political coalition at the entity and state level. Nationalistic rhetoric, chauvinism and hate fuelled by the discourse of political parties and the media, triggered random acts of inter-ethnic violence which were designed to shift attention from the deteriorating economy, the lack of development strategies and staggering unemployment.

In 2015, neighbouring Croatia was already a full-fledged member of the EU and Serbia was in the final phase of the candidacy process. However, due to the enlargement fatigue within the EU,

Serbia's accession was put on hold. This stirred discontent among its citizens and brought about the destabilisation of the political situation in the country, exacerbated by demands for more autonomy in Vojvodina and the Sandzak, and also because of the still unresolved Kosovo issue.

By the end of the year, political elites in BiH were still unable to form a government at the state level, culminating in discontent. At the same time, the international community pushed for constitutional changes that would strengthen the state competences, but which was unacceptable for the parties in Republika Srpska. The politicians from RS argued that the stalemate prevented economic development and undermined political stability that influenced both the state and the two entities. There was no common state level economic strategy, while fiscal policies were causing discontent, especially regarding the distribution of taxes and funds from the state level towards the entities and Brčko District. The RS politicians presented this as yet another reason why, in their view, it was impossible for BiH to be maintained as



a state. Therefore, they decided to hold referendum on the secession of the RS from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Reactions from the Federation were massive and volatile, the referendum being perceived as a proclamation of war.

In the beginning of 2016, all three ethnic groups were mobilizing, fuelled by rapid increase in ethnic tensions and hostile and openly aggressive public discourse which was supported and enforced by the media. Frequent attacks on returnees in both entities, the forming of paramilitary groups and the breakout of armed conflicts threatened to escalate into a civil war. The escalating violence prompted NATO to launch a military intervention. The swift reaction of the international community was an expression of the lessons learned from the past mistakes, especially those committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1992 – 1995 period. The objective of this mission was not only to pacify the conflict, but also to finally stabilize the situation in the region by creating a functional state framework. After years of dealing with numerous institutions and representatives at 14 different governance levels, the EU and the rest of the international

community pushed for a centralized state in order to make communication and cooperation with the authorities easier, faster and more efficient. Serbia firmly opposed the intervention claiming that the interests of Serbs in BiH were endangered. However, after strong political pressure by the international community it renounced its opposition.

The goal of this mission was not only to pacify the conflict, but also to disempower the established ethnic political elites, most of them in power since wartime. Following the pacification in the field, the international community convoked a national convention, comprising the representatives of civil society, academia, trade unions and other social groups, was formed to amend



the constitution and elect a transitional government.

Pressure was exerted on politicians to adopt a constitution defining Bosnia and Herzegovina as a centralised state with in-built mechanisms for the protection against any kind of discrimination. The new Constitution, adopted by the end of 2016, defined all the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina as citizens with equal rights and individual freedoms and a political system designed to comprise one President, one strong central government, a bicameral parliament and municipalities. Moreover, new

election legislation was introduced to protect ethnic and minority rights by using the principle of mandate rotation at all levels of governance between the three largest ethnic groups and Others. Any future possibility of blocking the functioning of the state and resorting to election rigging was prevented.

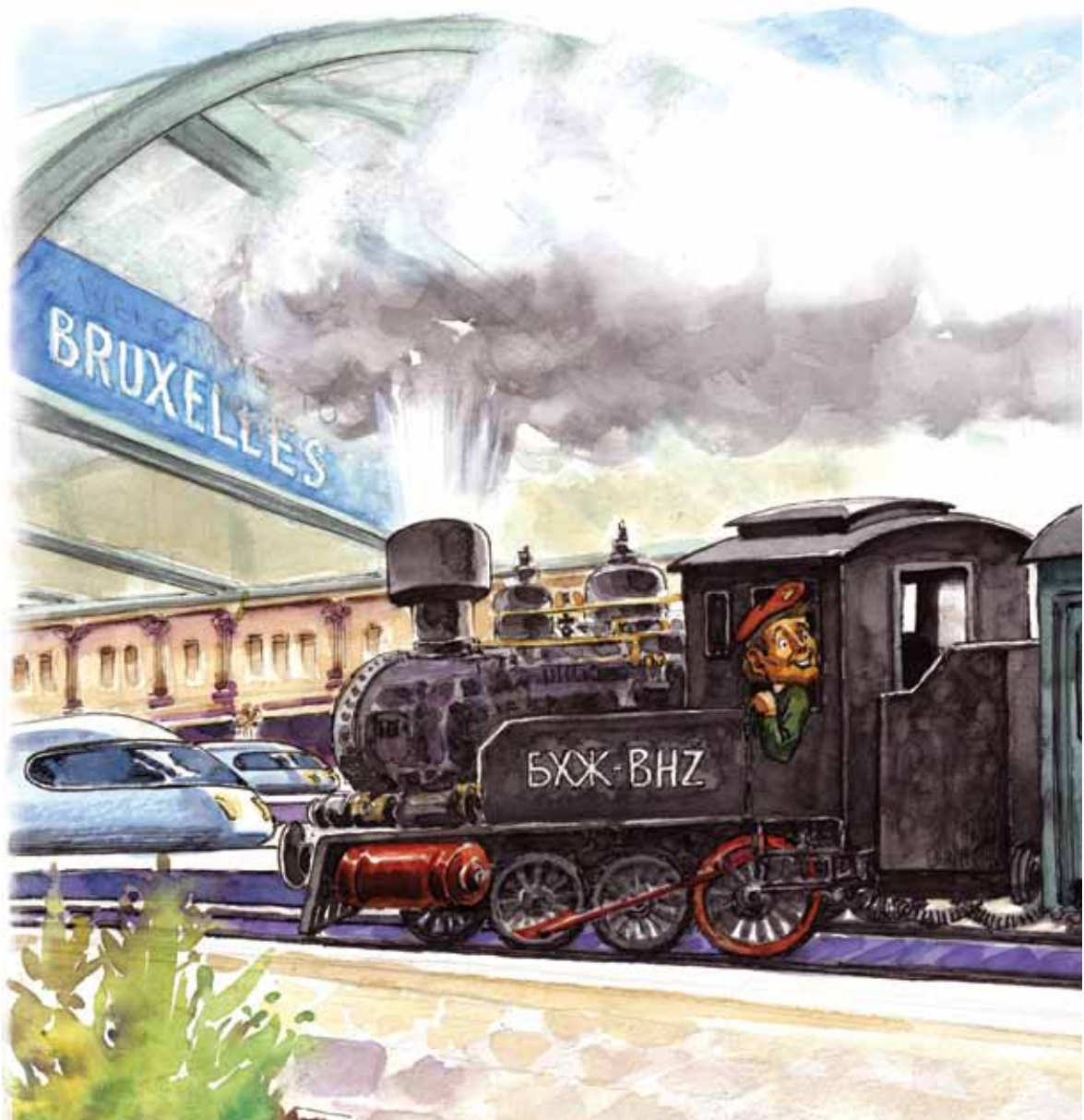
The 2017 General Elections produced new political elites, which emerged in the one-year period of transitional government as a result of intensive lobbying of the international actors present in BiH society. The international community developed an economic plan similar to the famous “Marshall Plan”, boosting infrastructure, employment and economy. This resulted in a relaxation of ethnic tensions due to substantial improvement of the quality of life and the standard of living for BiH citizens. The new state structure enabled the creation of a unified and strong economic policy and a sustainable development strategy, which, in combination with a set of legal reforms, created a stable climate for foreign direct investments. The reduction of the heavy administration made possible substantial subsidies and support programs for local companies, which was reflected in stable and steady growth of the local economy, very much to the satisfaction of BiH citizens and the international community alike. Regional co-operation was further improved and the country was making significant progress towards Euro-Atlantic integration with the help of its neighbours Croatia and Serbia – now both members of the EU.

BiH was granted candidate status for EU accession in 2019 and became a member in January of 2025. A stable political and social environment in the country positively influenced the entire region.









*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina is part of the EU together with Serbia, Croatia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo. As a result, a new political paradigm has been created and partition along national or ethnic lines has become futile. But, before the Region came to that point of integration, it went through a decade-long process of reconnection that was driven by several important motivational elements: economic- interdependence; mutual sport and cultural values; a common EU membership perspective; no language barrier; cultural regionalisation, etc. Decades of political stalemate, economic and fiscal crises that drained social*

# Western Balkan Inter City

## Regional reconneccion

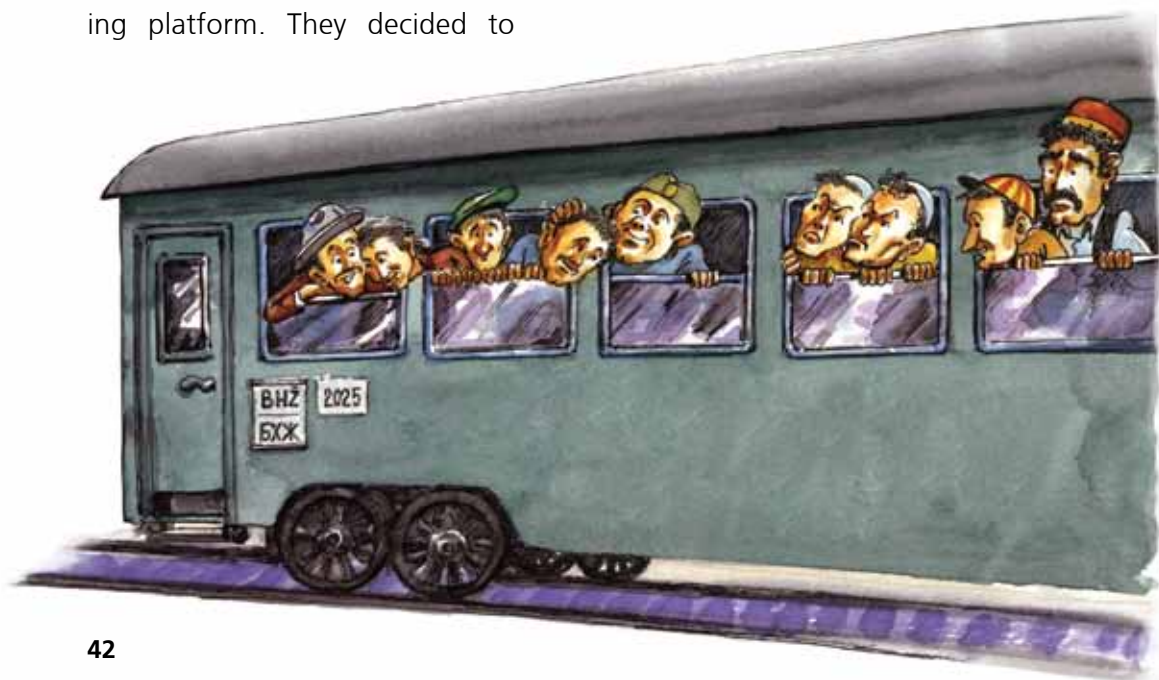
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*welfare programmes in each and every country, stripped off nationalistic ideologies and showed to the full extent their long-term destructive potential. Since those ideologies were not able to offer anything new, but the same old mantra of ethnic division, soil, blood and historical memories, people had incrementally started to seek for an alternative. More sober and pragmatic forces thus got their chance. Regional reconnection had become a modus operandi that embraces the connections rather than disconnection points.*

As they had neither the opportunity, nor the capacity, to cope with big European corporations on their terrain, major companies in the Western Balkan countries were pushing for closer economic cooperation among their countries in order to improve poor infrastructure that posed heavy obstacles to their expansion. Because of the support of the media controlled by economic oligarchs, and due to ongoing social unrest, new political parties and leaders who came to power on the wave of an ideological paradigm shift, embraced economic interdependence as a working platform. They decided to

upgrade the economic environment and instead of playing the irrational card of ethnic division, started playing the card of regional preferences and economic interests. Furthermore, by that time all war criminals in the Balkans had been prosecuted and inter-ethnic tensions came to rest. A wide-spread campaign for reconciliation under the slogan "Never again war!" took place in the whole region, accompanied by numerous cultural and sport exchange programs. The existing regional structures, such as the "Central European Free Trade Agreement" (CEFTA)





and the “Regional Cooperation Council”(RCC), the latter’s headquarters based in Sarajevo, were being used as a platform for regional reconnection with the overarching goal to better prepare the countries use of the EU’s structural and cohesion funds. This coincided with the intentions of the EU to create a common economic space at its South Eastern border as a kind of “waiting room” for EU membership.

In a series of meetings, regional leaders and EU representatives prepared the ground for the future. The “Western Balkan Economic Union” (WBEU) officially came into existence at a regional summit held in Sarajevo in 2017. The Bosnia-Herzegovinian capital was chosen not only as the headquarters of the RCC, but also because BiH is the geographical heart of the region and forms a kind of “micro-sphere” of the cultural-ethnic-religious make-up of the region.

WBEU was not intended to be a state or confederation per se, but rather to serve as an economically-driven integration within the given EU mechanisms. Each and every country in WBEU was to remain fully independent with a firm individual perspective for EU membership. WBEU was to replace neither the EU as a common goal, nor to presuppose that all the countries involved should give up their constitutional frameworks, institutional settings and sovereignty. The

creation of WBEU was not meant to lead to a new Yugoslavia, but rather as an integration half-step towards the EU. The EU served as a kind of model: European integration started after World War II at a very modest level, with the establishment of the “European Community of Coal and Steel”, and its main philosophy was economic integration up to such a level that war among its members would no longer be possible. There were no emotional issues at stake, but rather sober economic interests.

By 2020, economic issues had become the main topic, while ethnic and national feelings lost their importance as the process of cooperation intensified. Heavy investment in infrastructure connecting the countries of the region allowed the development of BiH’s huge potential of hydro-power and cross-border environmental cooperation. This led not only to better economic prospects by enhancing regional trade, but to an increased feeling of shared cultural heritage and identity in a union of around 20 million people that speak the same language and share the same cultural and media space. The promotion of common economic interests led to better use of the EU cohesion and structural funds, as well as to joint rural and agricultural development projects. The reconnection of infrastructure culminated in the establishment of a regional railway company. Joint business and sometimes

even diplomatic representations of the WBEU were opened around the world, although there was no central government for the Union, but rather, like in the case of Germany and France, a common interest and the need for economic solutions. BiH also became a gateway to the Turkish and Arab markets.

Altogether, the new regional prospects have created a new political paradigm, while national or ethnic partition in BiH has become worn out. As a consequence, the political system in BiH gradually

changed towards a functional federation without the ethno-veto mechanisms that used to be incorporated in every segment of the decision-making process. This helped the government to be efficient and enabled it to catch up with the regional EU dynamics. In 2025, BiH - together with other countries from the Region - was already a member of the European Union



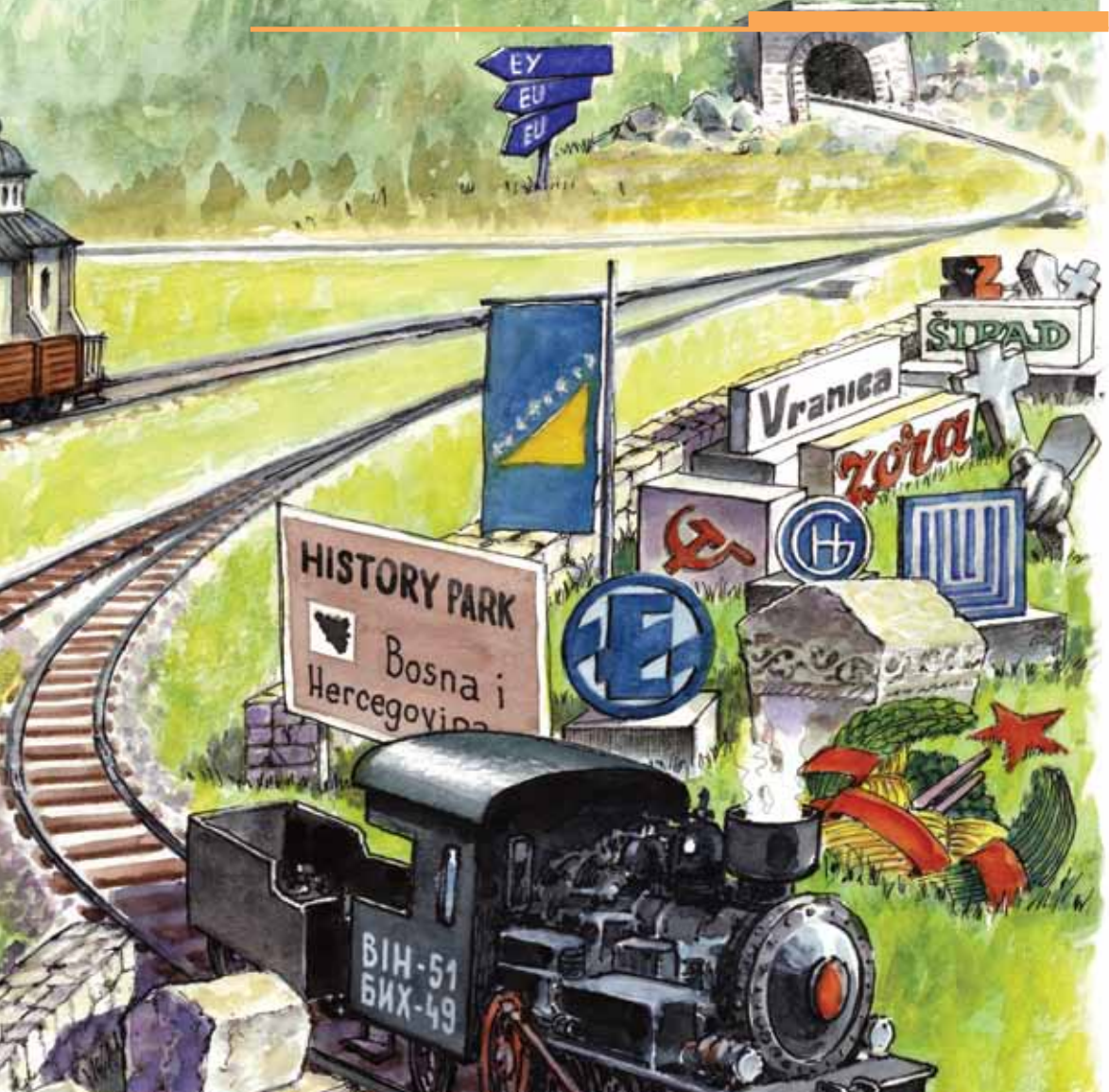




*In the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina no longer exists in its previous shape. The smouldering ethnic conflict, which had lasted for decades, culminated in the dissolution of BiH into three separate countries under the patronage of the international community to prevent violent conflict. These new countries are now*



# Tripartite Border Train Dissolution



*focused on their path towards EU integration through internal structural change. The economies in the newly formed countries are developing due to the influx of foreign direct investments and international aid.*



The neighbouring countries of BiH - Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, as well as Macedonia - join the European Union between 2013 and 2020, having fulfilled all requirements for accession and solved their national issues. By this time, BiH has not yet managed to solve its ethnic question or fulfilled the requirements, and has therefore become isolated in the new European neighbourhood. The necessary reform of the state structure has not been put into effect, which has led to the extension and aggravation of problems which have retarded the country for more than two decades: an overly fragile state level versus entities which are behaving more and more autonomously; the state's progressive ethnic divisions in all forms of civic life, especially in the economy and media. 20 years after the war, the demographic structure of the country is still very different from the pre-war period (1991). Refugees have not returned to their pre-war homes. Displaced persons have settled and organised their lives in their respective entities or other countries throughout the world, thus cementing the results of ethnic cleansing.

Election results over the past years have also manifested the ethnic divisions in the country. As a result of the segregated educational system, the post-war generation strongly identify with their respective communities. Attempts to encourage interethnic relations have failed. Decision-makers have advocated that ethnic segregation is completely normal and that it is natural to live one beside the other and not one with the other. Religious influence has become more present in all segments of life, especially in politics and the educational system.

The stagnating conditions and well-established corruption at all levels and functions of the state have kept the population in deep poverty, with increasing lack of prospects and increasing desperation. As these trends continue, the political elites have focused increasingly on ethnic issues, with the aim of distracting citizens from the exacerbating economic and social crisis. The divided media support their respective entity policies by reporting in a biased and propagandistic way. While Republika Srpska has achieved a relatively functional

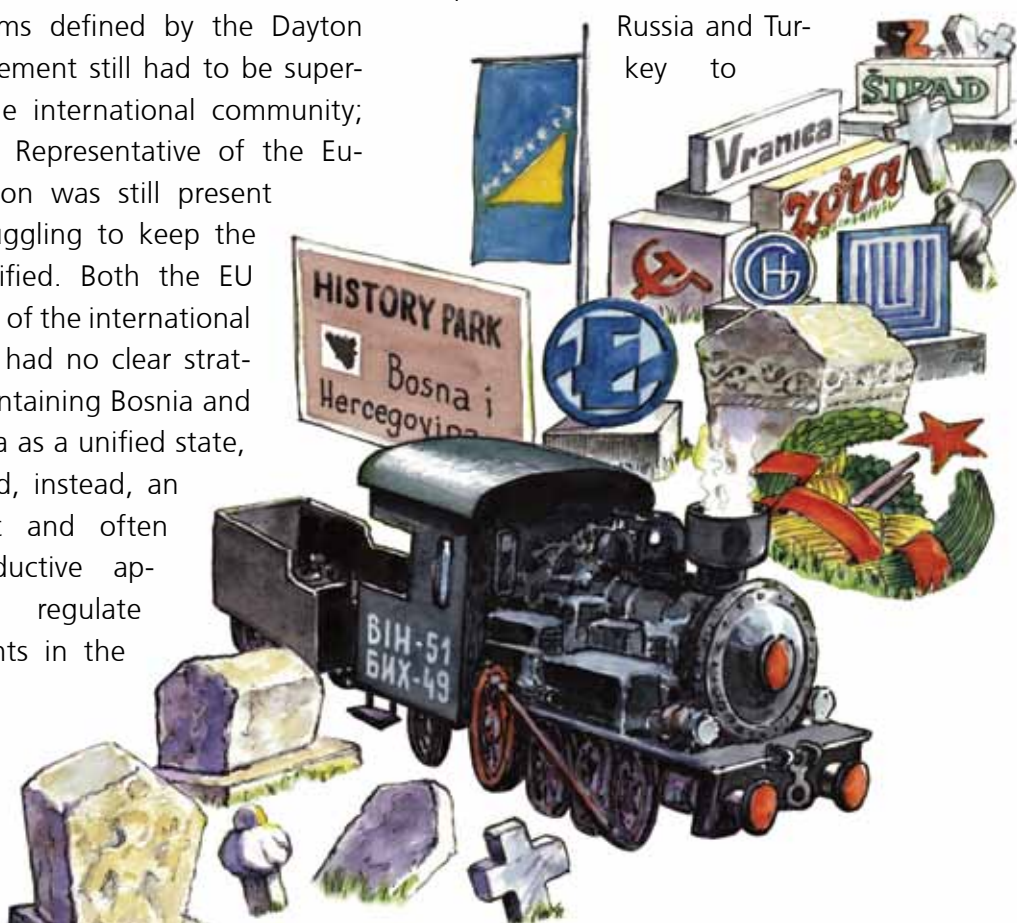
level of administration, both the overall state level and the Federation of BiH have become increasingly dysfunctional, with public institutions inflated to provide public functions for more and more people. This has resulted in huge bureaucracy and reduced the efficiency of the public sector, providing an ideal environment for nepotism, political favouritism and other forms of corruption.

As of 2010, the presence of the international community was reinforced; it started to re-deploy former officials who had worked in the Western Balkans in the 1990s, clearly seeing certain risks developing in the near-failed state of BiH.

The terms defined by the Dayton Peace Agreement still had to be supervised by the international community; the Special Representative of the European Union was still present in BiH, struggling to keep the country unified. Both the EU and the rest of the international community had no clear strategy for maintaining Bosnia and Herzegovina as a unified state, and showed, instead, an inconsistent and often counterproductive approach to regulate developments in the country.

After the last wave of enlargement and the big financial crisis in 2015, the European Union showed great concern for stabilising the last troublesome spot in the region. Both the international community and local communities within Bosnia and Herzegovina saw peaceful dissolution, as was achieved in some other countries, as the only possible option. Bosniak political representatives and the majority of Bosniak people became increasingly frustrated with the constantly failing efforts to keep the country integrated and came to terms with the fact that two out of the three ethnicities could not identify with the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the last few years a consensus was reached among European Union, United States,

Russia and Turkey to



initiate a dissolution process. The outcome of intensive diplomatic actions was the “Dayton 2” Conference held in 1995 that resulted in a dissolution agreement signed by the leaders of the three constituent peoples and supported by the neighbouring countries that were already members of NATO and the European Union.

However, a part of the Bosniak population was opposed to the agreement and expressed their disappointment through violent action.

Nevertheless, three new countries were born, mostly following the borders of Republika Srpska and two groups of cantons, one with a Bosniak and the other with a Croat majority. Some territorial changes were made including the solution of the status of Brcko District to enable their territorial unity. Srebrenica was declared an extraterritorial district with the status of ‘memorial centre’. The new Bosnian state maintained the legal continuity of the previous country, including all diplomatic missions abroad and its seat in the United Nations. Along with this process a donor conference and wide fundraising actions were organised to financially support the stabilisation of the new states and to prevent potential radicalism. Turkey and some Arab countries

were intensively involved in economic investments.

The international community remained actively present in the three new states, including a military presence to calm unrest and prevent the use of the dissolution of BiH as a pretext for terrorist attacks.

In 2002, the international community and particularly the EU are involved in diplomatic endeavours to keep all three countries on the road to EU integration. Furthermore, it is the international community’s task to ensure the protection of human rights, particularly with regards to the presence of newly formed minorities in the new ethnic states, the result of the redrawing of borders in some parts of what was once BiH.

Having resolved ethnic issues, national leaders in the three newly established states and the international community are focused on state building and regional economic integration, thus opening the path towards complying with the conditions to join the EU.







# **BACKGROUND TO THE "SCENARIOS BIH 2025"**

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# Political scenario planing: Short Guideline<sup>1</sup>

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*In the ancient days of old there once existed a powerful kingdom called Lydia, ruled by King Croesus whose name is till today synonymous with immense fortune. At the eastern border of Lydia lay the emerging power of Persia under King Cyrus. Croesus wanted to attack Persia before it became stronger than his own empire. But following the age old tradition, he first sent messengers to the famous oracle of Delphi, asking whether or not he should attack Persia. The oracle's answer was: "If you attack Persia, you will destroy a great kingdom". Croesus then attacked Persia, but lost and his own empire was destroyed.*

This story demonstrates the essence and usefulness of scenarios. Like the ancient oracles, scenarios do not give certain predictions of the future but rather offer different pictures of possible futures, thereby enabling decision-makers and stakeholders to adapt their strategies in order to reach or avoid a certain

scenario. Had Croesus better responded to the oracle's answer, he might not have attacked Persia but instead first measured the military powers of the two empires and then looked for possible allies to ensure his superiority. His main mistake was to mix up the oracle's answer with his own wishful thinking.

Like oracles, scenarios do not give a blueprint for decision-makers how to act, but they give a message from which the recipients can draw their conclusions. This is what happened with the famous Mont Fleur scenarios in South Africa in the early nineties of the last century, in which I had the privilege to participate. Almost twenty years later, the long term finance minister and main architect of South Africa's economic policy, Trevor Manuel, said of this scenario exercise: "I could close my eyes and give you those scenarios like this. I've internalized them and if you have internalized something then you carry it with you for life". Why had Manuel internalised the

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<sup>1</sup> Copyright Winfried Veit.

Mont Fleur scenarios? Because they had a big impact on the direction of the economic policy the new ANC-led government was carrying out, and because this government – unlike Croesus – did not mix up its wishful thinking with the scenarios' messages. If wishful thinking had prevailed, the new government would have carried out a populist economic policy with huge state expenditures but with dire long term consequences, clearly shown in one of the scenarios. Instead, the government opted for another scenario, in which the government's policies were sustainable and where the country took a path of inclusive growth and democracy.

The opposite was the case with another scenario exercise I experienced in Israel in the years 1999-2000, called "Israel 2025 – Scenarios of future developments". Due to the unstable internal situation where minority parties could block any political decision, a business-as-usual policy has prevailed since then despite the fact that the scenarios clearly demonstrated the disastrous consequences of such a policy and that the scenarios had been presented to major decision makers of almost all political camps. Only ten years later, far from 2025, these consequences are already visible with some of the worst scenarios becoming more and more probable.

### *Origins of and reasons for scenario building*

Scenarios were originally developed after World War II for military purposes in order to prepare the armed forces for unpredictable and unforeseeable events. In the early seventies of the last century, in the face of increasing uncertainty and complexity, private companies started working with scenarios and developed their own methodologies, the most famous of which is the multinational Shell Oil company's scenario approach. Later, government agencies, non-governmental organizations, foundations and academia also recognised the usefulness of scenario planning in order to assess political, societal and global developments, in addition to the hitherto prevailing military and business interests. Already in 1972, the "Club of Rome" had published its famous study on the "Limits of Growth", thereby using a kind of early scenario approach. This study had a great impact on the unfolding debate about ecological issues and on the formation of the ecological movement worldwide. This is another example of how scenario planning can influence not only government action but also contribute to public debate and even promote the formation of civil society and political movements ("green parties").

The following remarks draw mainly from my personal experience with

scenario planning in different countries and continents, but also from some of the most influential scenario planning methods and institutions, like Shell, Global Business Network and z-punkt, as well as from authors like Peter Schwartz and Lempert et.al. (See bibliography).

The starting point for scenario planning is the following statement by John Maynard Keynes, the famous economist and one of the founding fathers of the International Monetary Fund after World War II: "We simply do not know". What Keynes meant, is that nobody can foresee the future even if applying the most sophisticated computer programs. For a long time, "forecasting" has been and partially is still today, an instrument that tries to predict future developments. Such methods and techniques like Delphi, Foresight or Trend Exploration all derive from the past and attempt to describe how the key factors and with them the whole setting will develop in the future. The obvious disadvantages of these methods are a limited time horizon and the disregard for discontinuities (also called critical uncertainties). Therefore, all of these approaches find their strengths tempered by their inability to confront the challenge of multiple plausible futures. This has to do with human weakness, which tends to overestimate the existing situation and to think that things will continue in the future as they are now: "Faced with masses of data, humans often recognize

desirable trends where none exist or ignore unwanted but real patterns. Humans are notoriously bad at estimating likelihoods because they greatly overestimate their confidence in the course of future events and simultaneously hold beliefs that violate basic laws of probability. Human biases, coupled with an inability to track the implications of long causal chains, may skew judgments in ways not easily recognized" (Lempert et al, p. 25).

In contrast, scenario-based planning is designed precisely to grapple with this multiplicity and unpredictability. Therefore they do not offer forecasts nor do they deliver strategies. Instead they offer pictures of possible futures, which allow decision makers to take measures in order to avoid undesirable developments and/or to contribute to a desirable environment. "Scenarios are a tool for helping us to take a long view in a world of great uncertainty. They are stories about the way the world might turn out tomorrow, stories that can help us recognize and adapt to changing aspects of our present environment. Scenario planning is about making choices today with an understanding of how they might turn out" (Schwartz, p. 3).

### *Scenario planning methodology*

Scenario building is an art, not a science. It does not use quantitative

methods but is a qualitative approach, based on intuition, creativity, courage and unorthodox thinking. At the same time it is team work whereby the process (of scenario building) is almost as important as the results (i.e. the scenarios). This can clearly be seen by the example of the Mont Fleur Scenarios, which not only influenced government orientation but also led to a greater understanding amongst rival and even hostile positions of the team members (ANC vs. white minority representatives) which later turned out to have a positive impact on the peaceful outcome of the negotiations. The same is true for the Israel scenarios where peace activists, Jewish settlers and representatives of the Arab minority more than once clashed during the scenario building process but later agreed on the four scenarios and built trust among themselves albeit with no avail concerning the political situation. Even on a less emotional global issue it was hard for some team members of the Geneva scenarios on global economic governance, which I directed in the years 2008/09, to agree with all four scenarios and there were almost emotional discussions about a rather sober issue.

These examples show how important the scenario team and its composition are for the outcome of a scenario planning process, but also how such a process can influence and change stalled positions and longstanding prejudices. A

scenario team should reflect the different political, social, demographic, gender, educational and professional strata of a country or region and also include external expertise. However, the number of participants should not exceed more than 20-25 people. The reason for this is that everybody should have "a voice" and enough time to articulate himself or herself, and also because scenario building workshops are "working sessions" and not classical seminars. They are democratic exercises ("round tables"), where no hierarchy exists and where every participant has the same importance. There is no separation between "speakers" and "public" and there are no lectures or long debates between the participants.

As scenarios are a "collective product", the team as a whole must identify with them. However, there need not be consensus but rather respect for the position of the others. Scenarios have always to be put into question; quite naturally, they cannot be complete nor reflect all the values and perspectives of team members with their different backgrounds. Scenarios should not look too "polished"; on the contrary, they have to be considered as a success if they call for further discussion and they have to be tested consequently for consistency and plausibility. Some parties to the exercise may regard certain scenarios as exceedingly unlikely and undesirable,

but no one should be able to prove any scenario impossible.

The question of how many scenarios should be built cannot be answered in a general manner; this depends on the subject matter. However, there should not be too many scenarios and one should avoid looking at them simplistically as “positive”, “negative” or “mainstream”. This would have more to do with wishful thinking than with serious scenario building and one should always bear in mind that not everything is positive or negative for everybody in the same way. An interesting example from literature in this respect is “The Alexandria Quartet”, a collection of four novels written by Lawrence Durrell. Each novel deals with the same subject but from the perspective of four different people closely connected to each other. The result is four different “scenarios” for the same setting with different views – a literary example for how people look at the same issue through their own glasses.

### *The three pillars of scenario building*

As explained above, there are a number of scenario building approaches, which in general differ only slightly. In my opinion, the most consistent and proven methodology, which has been applied in all my scenario exercises, is

Shell’s approach “exploring the future”. Shell was one of the first multinational companies to conduct scenario planning in a systematic way and later to expand it from narrow business views towards a more general view under the title “People and Connections: Global Scenarios to 2020”. This means that Shell recognised in an early stage, that business interests cannot be looked at without taking into account the political, social and ecological environment. The Mont Fleur scenarios, for example, were conducted by Adam Kahane, at that time the head of Shell’s scenario team who during this exercise recognised the importance of political and cultural issues and who later became an international organiser, designer and facilitator of scenario projects on issues like the peace process in Guatemala, unblocking a political stalemate in the Philippines or dealing with widening cultural and ideological schisms in Israel. He is also the author of several bestselling books on scenario planning.

To put it simply, the Shell scenarios follow three steps: orientation, building and affirmation. These three pillars of scenario planning are usually the themes of three workshops, each of which deals with one of these issues. *Orientation* means, first, identifying the issue at stake (which sounds easier than it is); second, taking into account the present situation, the underlying assumptions



every participant holds and learning more about the challenges a country/region/organisation faces; and third, exploring the many “driving forces” that could shape the future. By driving forces we mean “agents” of change that influence future developments in either a predictable or unpredictable way (the latter also called “critical uncertainties”). *Building* means telling “stories” by the members of the scenario team or creating headlines of newspapers in the time horizon we are dealing with. From these stories, we can usually “cluster” outlines of what will later become scenarios and which will be elaborated in working groups. *Affirmation* means testing the scenario outlines, mainly regarding plausibility and consistency, getting the affirmation by the whole scenario team and then writing the actual scenarios.

*Orientation:* the first step in this phase is identifying the issue at stake. This issue is more important than one might think. If you put the question too generally, you might have difficulties, ending up with plausible and consistent scenarios. If you put it too narrowly, you might overlook important factors and issues, which could also severely limit the consistency and plausibility of the scenarios. To give two examples: if you look at the future of Swiss agriculture in the coming ten years in a general way, you might end up with the following scenario: “Swiss agriculture will continue

to exist, agricultural surface will diminish and biological agriculture will slightly increase”. This scenario is not very helpful for decision makers. Or, for example, when you are looking at the future of a business centre in a conference hotel in the next ten years, you should not forget to look at the future of the hotel in general, because nobody will stay in a hotel just because of the business centre (examples taken from Wilms, p. 71). In the second step we look at the present situation and how every team member sees it. Although scenarios paint a picture of life in the future, they must be rooted in what is happening in the present. They must show a sequence of events, decisions, attitudes and actions that brought us to the future world being described in a given scenario. This has nothing to do with extrapolating or forecasting, but rather it takes into account from our starting-point for building our scenarios, while at the same time clarifying the underlying assumptions of every participant in the scenario exercise and learning (from external experts) about the major challenges the identified issue faces. In the third step we identify driving forces; these are factors or developments that push a system (actors, institutions) in one or the other direction. They “are elements that move the plot of a scenario, that determine the story’s outcome” (Schwartz, p. 107). There are predictable and unpredictable driving forces, the latter also called

“critical uncertainties”; this means disturbing events or discontinuities that could lead to a radically changed environment. They cannot be predicted, but they might happen and therefore must be taken into account.

*Building:* Having identified the issue at stake and the major driving forces, we can start with building the scenarios. The first step involves members of the scenario team telling “stories” about how they could imagine the future. While these stories are not yet scenarios, they are a first step towards elaborating them. A given number of stories can then be clustered into different “blocs” which later may become real scenarios. Another pathway to creating scenarios is to imagine future headlines of newspapers published at the time horizon of the scenarios (for example 2025). An example for this shortened version of scenario building is the “Balkans Daily”, “published” in the year 2015 as a result of a scenario exercise conducted from 2004-2005 in the Balkan region by two internationally operating NGO’s (CASIN and MI). Based on these clusters, which are usually already a kind of scenario outline, several working groups elaborate the actual scenarios and present them to the whole team.

*Affirmation:* According to most scenario techniques, a good scenario should have the following characteristics:

- *Plausibility:* this means that the developments described must be considered as possible which not necessarily means that they will happen. The future paths and pictures described in the scenario must be imaginable and should not be considered as impossible.

- *Consistency:* this means that the future paths and pictures in a given scenario should be consistent and should not contradict themselves in certain aspects or even exclude themselves completely.

- *Differentiation:* scenarios should be clearly distinguishable from each other. They must offer alternative pictures of the future in order to be comparable.

- *Clearness:* the developments and pictures in a scenario should be easily understood. This means that they should be sufficiently detailed but on the other hand they should not combine too many driving forces and critical uncertainties.

- *Transparency:* scenarios always, either implicitly or explicitly, embody perceptions and judgments. It should be made clear how assumptions and options (for example the choice of critical uncertainties) came about.

All this has to be tested by the members of the scenario team and by external experts. The last step is writing (and in most cases rewriting several times) the final scenario version by the scenario director and coordinators.

# The Pathway towards the Scenarios BiH 2025

The scenario project on “Bosnia and Herzegovina 2025” lasted from March 2011 to November 2011, led by the FES country director and his coordinators. The scenario project was facilitated by Dr. Winfried Veit, who has longstanding experience in scenario planning, e.g. the “Mont Fleur” scenarios in South Africa 1991-92, the “Israel 2025” scenarios 1999-2000 and “The Geneva Scenarios on Global Economic Governance 2020” 2008-09. This coordination team managed the process and guided the scenario team. It provided technical inputs and shaped the exercise.

In the scenario building exercise we applied the methodological framework of the *Shell scenarios*. The scenario building consists of three phases: orientation, building and affirmation. The scenario building phase is described in greater detail below.

Orientation was accomplished at a workshop in Vlačić from 7 – 9 April 2011, where in the second part the building process was initiated. The workshop began with an introduction to

the methodology and a “warming up” amongst the team members.

## 1. Orientation

### *a) Review of the present situation*

On Friday, April 8, we started the orientation phase with a review of the present situation, as this would serve as a point of departure to the future. The team members came up with a long list of mostly negative factors highlighting the present difficult situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We entitled this list “Joint in crisis”, as the initial conclusion of all the participants regarding the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina was that the country is in a permanent crisis and the state is not efficiently functioning. Ever since the country gained sovereignty in 1991, immediately followed by four years of war, the crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina was, and still is, a key attribute of the political, social and economic state of affairs.

The main elements of the political crisis identified by the team were: fear

of endangerment coming from other ethnic groups; prevalence of the ethnic principle; bad/non-existent interethnic relations; ethnically segregated curricula in schools and universities; lack of culture of compromise; deficiency of peace building and reconciliation; lack of civic culture; big, costly and ineffective administration; ethnic-driven manipulation of the people by political stakeholders; and disagreement on the involvement of the international community.

The main elements of the economic and social crisis identified by the team are: lack of strategy of sustainable development; lack of sustainable management of natural resources; almost 20% of the people living below the poverty line; high unemployment rate of about 44 %; weak social protection system and empty state coffers; flawed privatisation process leading to mostly negative economic development; ageing society and brain drain; and negative foreign investment and capital flight due to red tape and legal uncertainty.

The political, economic and social elements of the on-going crisis are locked in a downward spiral of mutual causes and effects. Simultaneous intervention at all three levels is needed to reverse it. The team argued that if this situation continues the problems of BiH will be exacerbated and perhaps lead to social unrest and deepened conflict and might even endanger the existence of the state.

### *b) Identifying driving forces*

Driving forces are external factors that have the potential to push a system in different directions. They “are the elements that move the plot of a scenario, that determine the story’s outcome” (Peter Schwartz).

The scenario team identified the following seven driving forces, which will shape the future of the country:

- Economy
- Demography
- Education
- Media
- EU integration
- Regional stability
- International community

### *c) Identifying critical uncertainties*

Critical uncertainties are disturbing events or discontinuities that could lead to a radically changed environment. They cannot be predicted, but they might happen.

The scenario team identified the following four critical uncertainties:

- Human catastrophe in the Mediterranean region
- Disagreement on NATO membership
- Social unrest
- EU implosion/collapse

## 2. Building

### *a) First phase: Vlačić*

After finishing the orientation phase, we immediately started the building phase. Based on the results of the orientation phase, the team members presented many short stories or “newspaper headlines” in the year 2025 that were clustered by the coordinating crew. The result were several very rough outlines of possible scenarios, that later were discussed and further elaborated in working groups. These scenario outlines were presented by the working groups to the whole team on Saturday morning and further discussed, especially as regards their consistency, plausibility and logic. The scenario team agreed on 5 draft scenarios:

- Functional decentralised state
- Functional centralised state
- Regional economic integration
- Status quo
- Peaceful dissolution

These draft scenarios were then further elaborated and written by the coordinating crew immediately after the workshop. They were then sent to all the team members in time for them to be prepared for the second phase of the building process and to comment on the drafts.

### *b) Second phase: Neum*

The second phase of the scenario building took place during the first part

of a second workshop in Neum from 2-4 June 2011. The draft scenarios were further elaborated in working groups, taking into account the comments, amendments and questions by the team members.

## 3. Affirmation

The finalised scenarios were then presented in the second part of the workshop to the whole team for affirmation. Four scenarios were accepted unanimously:

- Regional reconnection
- Functional decentralized state
- Functional centralized state
- Dissolution

However, no consensus could be reached on the “Status Quo” scenario.

A third meeting took place at Jahorina 2-3 September 2011. At this meeting, the partially revised four scenarios were finally affirmed by the whole team and the illustrations adopted. The working group on the “Status Quo” scenario came up with a new version, which however still had some weaknesses concerning consistency and logical structure.

At a final meeting in Bernried/Germany from 18-20 November 2011, the “Status Quo” scenario was revised and approved by the group and then sent by electronic mail to the other members of the scenario team for final affirmation.

# Participants individual Stories

*Lejla Čaušević-Sučeska*

***Bosnia and Herzegovina, July 15th 2025.***

Bosnia and Herzegovina will host the next Winter Olympic Games in 2030. The decision was adopted yesterday and resulted in great celebrations across the country. It represents the greatest achievement of the whole state of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war that ended 30 years ago. It is, of course, the result of huge efforts made in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the past ten years, and especially in the period since the country became an EU member in 2020. Citizens will finally have a chance to show the world once again that they are able to host such a huge and important event, as well as to demonstrate their world-famous hospitality.

It is expected that 100,000 work positions will be created due to the need to building all the required premises. Olympic sites on Bjelašnica, Igman and Jahorina, as well on Vlačić, need reconstruction, and domestic construction companies will have the opportunity to

complete all the work. It is expected that as a result Bosnia and Herzegovina will achieve full financial recovery in this economic sector. Our country will finally be linked to regional highways, and most of the present transportation problems will be resolved. Thus, we will surely be the biggest European construction site during the next several years. However, workers in the construction sector are not the only ones who received the information from the International Olympic Committee with a smile on their faces. There was a lot of joy yesterday among employees in the tourism industry and metal industries, catering and trading sectors, etc. We will need to build approximately 30 new hotels, numerous motels and hostels and, of course, many restaurants, bars and other similar places where, during the Games, visitors and tourists will have a chance to fully enjoy their stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result, workers from the above-mentioned sectors, as well as the rest of our



country's citizens, see opportunities for more work and higher salaries during the period of preparations for the upcoming Olympic Games, as well as for the period during and after the Games. It will certainly decrease our unemployment rate, which is, unfortunately, still among the highest in the EU.

A lot of political decisions have to be adopted in the next few months and it

will be a great challenge for decision-makers in our country. There must be some amendments in the present legislation and other relevant documents, which will allow the Organizing Committee to continue its work in the best possible way. There is lot of work that needs doing, but we should take one step at a time.

BiH is a single state with two entities that each have a high level of autonomy. However this does not produce political and other tensions as was the case in the past, because Bosnia and Herzegovina is now a member of European Union. Although there is some improvement in the quality of education, the difficulties from the previous decade have affected young people most deeply. Due to the economic crisis, lack of jobs and lack of a vision for the future, many of them have decided to find a better place for themselves outside the country.

Although BiH has become a member of the EU, it still faces a number of economic and social problems because of the high level of corruption and the slowness of political and economic reforms. Its GDP is still one of the lowest in the region, near to that of Kosovo and Albania. The country faces problems in agriculture and most produce is imported, from Serbia and Croatia in particular.

Corridor 5c is almost finished. Politicians are considering the possibility of

opening it during the election campaign in 2026.

The Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is still working on a number of war crime cases. The Hague Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia is closed. There is no unified view on recent history, i.e. the period from 1991 to 1995, but the atmosphere among peoples of different nationality is better. While they do not share the same views of history, they share the same land, as well as economic and social issues. EU and NATO membership have contributed most to the situation where ordinary people think more about daily issues (raising their children, studying and work), than about political divisions.

There is one President with two Vice-Presidents with more or less similar authorities as previous ones. The state institutions are stronger because that was one of the conditions to become a member of the EU.

The Office of the High Representative does not exist any more. OHR was closed in 2015. The High Representative

celebrated the 20th Anniversary of the Dayton Agreement and then left Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The implementation of Annex 7 of Dayton Accord has failed. There is no significant number of refugees that returned to their homes.

## Muharem Bazdulj

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*Although I know that we are not supposed to think about scenarios for "BiH in 2025" either in terms of wishful thinking or in our fears, I have written two short series of headlines where the first series represents headlines from a "positive" version of the future, while the latter is from a "negative" one.*

### *Headlines I*

- BOSNIAN GDP REACHES 70% OF EU AVERAGE
- NOT VIDEOTON AGAIN: ZELJEZNICAR FC IN SEMI FINALS OF EUROPE UEFA LEAGUE<sup>1</sup>
- BOSNIAN MOUNTAINS - THE CENTRE OF EUROPEAN WINTER TOURISM

### *Headlines II*

- BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IS THE ONLY COUNTRY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS THAT IS NOT PART OF THE EU
- SAD ANNIVERSARY: 14 YEARS AFTER ITS FIRST SUSPENSION, BOSNIAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION STILL SUSPENDED FROM UEFA AND FIFA
- TRAGIC ACCIDENT IN BOSNIAN MOUNTAINS: MINEFIELDS ARE STILL OUT THERE

<sup>1</sup> This is an allusion to the famous defeat of Zeljeznicar soccer club from 1985. when their team lost to the Hungarian Videoton in the UEFA semi-finals match. If Zeljeznicar had won, they would have played against the famous Real Madrid in the finals.

*Amer Kapetanović*

## ***BiH at the heart of regional reconnection***

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By the year 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina will enter the European Union and NATO. After decades of nationalism, ethno-national separatism and collectivism, political elites lost their radical grip, simply because they were outmaneuvered by political rationalism. Passing through the EU and NATO “standardisation tunnel”, BiH has managed to transform itself thoroughly, thus creating new societal parameters: individual prosperity, instead of collective disguise; prosperity of the overall society based on education, economic progress and inter-dependence, instead of mono-ethnic autism. As values that are prone to re-connect rather than separate, they pushed the interest groups forward to embrace a new political philosophy. The same language, the same culture, economic inter-dependence and relatively large and attractive market, made politicians start thinking about winning the hearts and minds of ordinary people by providing them with the opportunity to identify themselves with a broader entity, beyond their own statelets – a region that is big enough and influential enough to be taken seriously as a player within the EU.

After a long stalemate in infrastructural reconnections of the region, held hostage by nationalisms, the countries of this region have finally decided to create a better road and railway network using EU structural funds.

### *Infrastructure*

By 2014, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia (at that time the only member of the EU in the region) have jointly applied for EBRD credit and EU funds in order to construct a part of the Corridor 5c, from Sarajevo via Mostar to the Port of Ploče, where it connects to the Zagreb-Split-Ploče Motorway and part of BiH territory via the Trebinje – Dubrovnik section).

In addition, BiH and Montenegro have jointly prepared a feasibility study for the railway corridor between Sarajevo and Podgorica, which will further lead towards Skopje and Athens, and towards Tirana and Durres.

Based on the regional Energy and Transportation charters, BiH, Montenegro,

Macedonia and Kosovo have jointly established the Regional Star Alliance Air Corporation with an asset 300 million Euros and fleet of 40 airplanes. This is a result of long-lasting effort on all sides to achieve self-sustainability in the field of air transport.

### *Political cooperation*

Following the successful Scandinavian example, BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia have established joint cultural centres in New York, Moscow, Beijing, Tokyo, Berlin, Paris, and London. As of 2020, the four countries hold a joint reception for national days, based on a bilateral agreement on common diplomatic efforts that the respective governments signed on 2018. According to this Agreement, the countries' signatories of this Agreement are obliged to offer to each other diplomatic and consular services in the countries and areas where the other countries do not have their own embassies or consular missions. The feasibility study done prior to the signing of the

Agreement had shown that each country would save around 10 million Euros annually by implementing the Agreement.

### *Economy*

Using EU Diagonal Accumulation as a starting point, BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia have succeeded in establishing many joint ventures, especially in the fields of agriculture, the textile industry and renewable energy. They cleverly use the so-called "source diversification" to supplement each other's efforts in reaching the maximum productivity and presence on EU and third markets.

### *Sports*

For the first time after the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, BiH, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo have established a joint football league. Serbia, BiH and Croatia have jointly applied for hosting the World Football Cup.

*Srđan Mazalica*

## ***2025 Balkan Press (Agency news)***

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*Mostar: European Capital of Culture in 2026?!*

The Herceg-Bosna Minister of Culture lobbied at the Council of Ministers Meeting in Brussels for Mostar to be pronounced the European Capital of Culture in 2026, instead of Sarajevo.

According to the principle of rotation of entity ministers at the EU Council of the Ministers meetings, Mr. Komadina was appointed to represent Bosnia and Herzegovina at the recent meeting. He misused the opportunity to promote the nomination of Mostar for European Capital of Culture in 2026, even though there was a consensus reached in BIH to nominate Sarajevo, which was supported by the RS Government as well.

The Press Office of the Mayor of Sarajevo protested that the previous agreement and the principle of "speaking with one voice in Brussels" had been violated.

*Newspapers have become history?!*

The last printed newspaper has been closed in BIH due to financial problems. Dnevni Avaz, the newspaper with the largest circulation in BIH in the past, has been shut down.

The owner of Dnevni Avaz, Mr. Fahrudin Radončić, said that financial problems existed due to the decline in circulation, as several thousands of internet portals and blogs are being read on cell-phones. He said that he would continue working with Dnevni Avaz as an Internet portal, but that he would lay off many journalists and workers as a result.

*The Facebook crisis*

The Facebook Party representatives in the Parliament blackmail the leading party claiming that they are entitled to get half of the ministerial positions. Several MPs, predominantly young people with no political experience, said that they have been receiving demands for changes in the country on a daily basis



from their voters via the Internet. Other more traditional parties claim that, even though this political crisis has no impact on the economy, failed ambition was the only reason for such behaviour. The post-ideological age has brought about various phenomena, such as the Facebook Party, the Consumers Party, the Alliance of Concerned Men, etc.

### *Srpska opens its heart*

The Government of the Republic of Srpska has completed a call for applications for more than 200 fellows from the other two entities to visit Srpska next year, including its institutions, NGOs and various other destinations, and to stay there with host families.

The press office of the RS Government emphasizes that the project supports the exchange of students and study visits in order to promote cooperation and mutual understanding among youngsters in BIH. "It is our interest to improve and create a better image of our entity, which may have a positive impact on our economy as well."

### *Swedish mayor of Banja Luka*

The Swedish community in Bočac, near Banja Luka, has elected their first mayor of Banja Luka. Johan Soderbergh,

the new mayor of the RS capital, took advantage of the large number of candidates competing, and won with approximately 20% support, gaining most of his votes among the young and liberals.

Swedes, mostly from the town of Lulea, are proud to become part of the community in this way. After the Arctic ice started melting faster than expected, raising the average global sea level, many people from the Scandinavian countries moved to southern, Mediterranean countries, with a milder climate and lower population density. Swedes, having brought their technology to Banja Luka, have improved economy there, and reduced unemployment rate to 10%, which led many Serbs, mainly organised through various Internet social networks, to vote for Johan Soderbergh,.

### *Republika Srpska joined BFA*

After the coal reserves in Ugljevik and Gacko had been exhausted and power plants shut down, Republika Srpska joined the Balkan Fusion Association, investing money in a joint power plant that would produce 60% of energy for the region.

Even though RS produces 50% of its energy from the renewable energy resources (mostly hydro-power plants), the lack of coal reserves has caused a

significant drop in energy production and an increase in production costs.

Given that the BFA membership implies the participation of member states' companies in the construction of facilities, their ownership of stocks, and the sharing the profits, the RS Government justifies this investment with future budget revenues and the creation of new jobs.

### *Income tax rate increases to 15%*

The Association of Foreign Investment Employers, which has over 15% of employers in its ranks, protested against the RS Government's 15% increase in income tax.

Amendments to the Law on Income Tax have been proposed to the RS National Assembly and will be considered at the next session.

RS officials claim that a 10% income tax rate is the lowest in South-East Europe and that it has been increased because of the pension fund debts, which are a result of the increase in the aging of the population in RS.

*Andrija Vrdoljak*

## ***Organic food fair in Livno***

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Today's consumer demands for healthy food encourage producers to produce natural organic products. Today, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not lagging behind the most developed countries of Europe in the field of agriculture.

BiH is one of the regional leaders in this production. The best example is the Organic Food Fair, held in Livno from June 15 to June 21, 2025. The fair brought together some 900 producers of organic food from all over BiH, as well as a large number of producers from the region of South-East Europe.

The fair was opened by the Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina, stating the following in his opening speech:

"The Government intends to continue to invest heavily in the modernisation and improvement of existing capacities because there are huge opportunities in the world markets. It is important to emphasize that Bosnia and Herzegovina has a trade surplus in this field with all the countries of the region, and that this sector employs a significant number of citizens of B&H". The Fair was attended by representatives of all major supermarket chains operating in the region as well as representatives of food industries from almost all the EU countries. It is expected that the Fair will help many producers to make new deals with potential buyers and resellers, and to bring new greater profits to the producers themselves as well as the BiH economy in general.

*Aid Smajić*

## ***Croatia, BiH and Serbia to Host the European Football Championship 2020***

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Today, on June 20th, 2014, the citizens of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia have received great news from the Union of European Football Associations (UEFA). The three countries will jointly host the next European Football Championship, to be held in June 2020.

The news came as no surprise. During 2011 representatives of the three national football associations clearly signalled to the UEFA their interest in staging the Euro 2020. After the European Football Association decided to consider joint bids by the three member associations under exceptional circumstances, the three countries made, in 2012, their final bid for hosting this prestigious football tournament. Other bidders included Turkey and another joint bid by the Czech Republic and Slovakia. However, the strong support of respective national governments and an effective promotion and lobbying campaign launched by the national football associations have proved to be successful, and the "coalition" won after having beaten Turkey in the final selection round.

Given the persistent inter-ethnic and political tensions and serious economic slowdown in most of the Balkan Region in the recent years, local authorities and peoples understandably look forward to the event with huge optimism and great expectations. For them, the Euro 2020 is much more than a sporting tournament. As the successful organisation of the event requires the (re)construction of sport and communication infrastructure, the construction of hotels and the general improvement of tourism capacities, it is expected that the event will bring about a significant boost to the three economies and create new jobs for the unemployed. Such expectations are especially high among the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose unemployment rate, according to the latest statistics, is still among the highest in the EU.

But, even more importantly, such joint endeavours of the three states could meanwhile strongly highlight the importance of common economic interests for regional prosperity and political

stability, putting these in the focus as the basic principle of their mutual relations, thus overshadowing ethnic differences and tensions. After the previous year's accession of Croatia to the EU, when Serbia and BiH were also granted candidate status, it is ethnic differences, the consequent inter-ethnic tensions and the burden of the recent past that essentially remain the main obstacles on the latter's path to the EU. Such cooperative approaches and projects have the

capacity to remove this barrier and provide the two countries with a final push towards European integration. Given the prevailing positive atmosphere and the 6-year timeframe, it is highly probable that Serbia and BiH will host the Euro 2020 gathering of national football teams as EU member states. Meanwhile, one thing is sure: it has been agreed by the host state that the final match will be played in the Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

# Some further results of the Working Group on Regional Reconnection

## *Common sport and cultural values*

Globally, the region has always been perceived as one. From renowned film festivals, various cultural fairs to individual cultural presentations, the Balkan cultural tradition has been celebrated to a great extent. The Sarajevo Film Festival and "Exit" in Novi Sad have become regional cultural brands, together with similar cultural events in different areas. Regional cultural identification has been financially supported by big regional companies, EU funds and states alike. In the year 2015, BiH, Serbia, Montenegro and Croatia jointly applied to become a Regional Partner to the International Tourist Bourse (ITB) the greatest world-wide gathering of its kind. Individually, none of these countries could achieve such a status. It actually forced embassies of these countries and their respective ministries to work closely together on their promotion. The Tourism Ministries of both RS and the Federation BiH worked closely

together to define a common platform for the presentation of BiH.

After having presented themselves successfully at the ITB, respective countries decided to make a joint bid to host the first ever European Football Cup on Balkan soil.

## *A common membership perspective*

Serbia was granted candidate status in 2012 while Bosnia and Herzegovina submitted its membership application in the same year (Croatia having accessed the EU in 2013, Montenegro and Macedonia already having candidate status, while Kosovo's EU path remained disputable as far as candidacy status was concerned).

Croatia and Montenegro have helped Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina to better prepare its responses to the

questionnaires relevant for candidate status. Experts from Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro helped BiH and Serbia to get ready for the adoption of all the relevant segments of the acquis. All the countries have signed bilateral agreements on mutual cooperation and technical assistance related to EU affairs.

### *No language barrier*

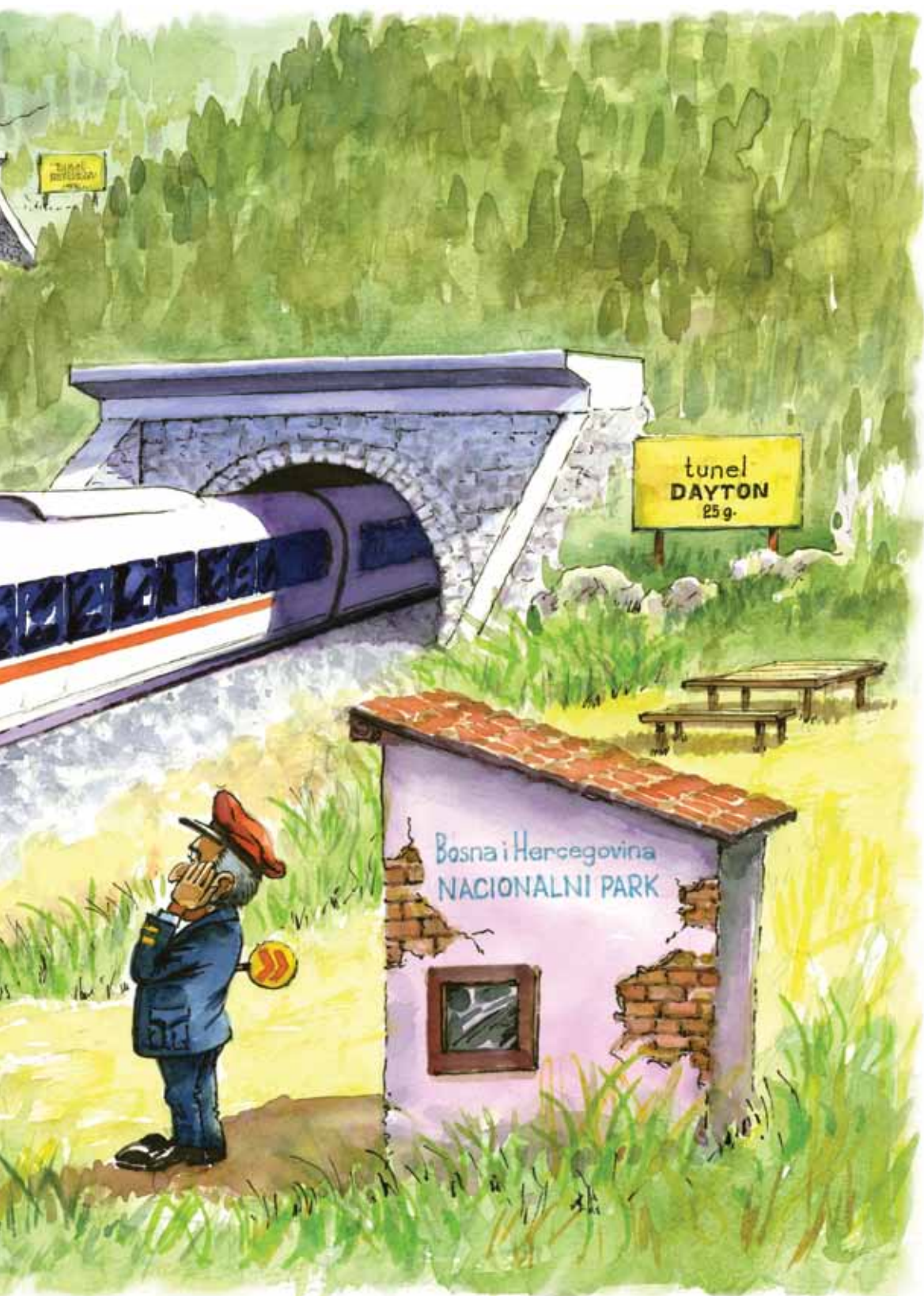
Due to the fact that there is no language barrier between Serbia, BiH,

Montenegro and Croatia, the International Media Corporation has established regional TV programs and started publishing regional newspapers and magazines. TV Al Jazeera was the first to establish a regional News TV channel, followed by some other media groups that purchased different newspapers, streamlining them towards a more regional rather than national editorial approach. Local and international publishers improved their cooperation in the region by establishing the first Balkan Book Prize for authors writing in South-Slavic languages.











# ANNEX

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# Scenario Planning Team

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**Bazdulj Muharem** is a publicist and journalist. He was born in Travnik and currently lives in Sarajevo. He writes for the *Oslobođenje* daily.

**Cenić Svetlana** graduated from the Faculty of Economics in Sarajevo and then completed her postgraduate studies at Cambridge University. Currently, she is a PhD student in Switzerland. She has worked in foreign trade and as a consultant for several foreign companies. She was an advisor to the President of Republika Srpska, Mr. Dragan Čavić. She was the Minister of Finance of Republika Srpska (from 2007 to 2008). She teaches courses at private faculties in Banja Luka.

**Čaušević-Sučeska Lejla** has a degree in Journalism and works as the Head of Office for International Cooperation and Information of the Independent Federation of Trade Unions of BiH. She was born in Zenica and now lives in Sarajevo.

**Džumhur Jasminka** is a Human Rights expert. She holds a degree in Law

and an M.A. degree in Criminology. She was born in Zenica and now lives and works in Sarajevo.

**Jurišić Duška** graduated in Law and holds an M.A. degree in Journalism. She lives in Sarajevo where she works as a journalist.

**Kapetanović Amer** holds a degree in Political Science. He is a career diplomat. He is in charge of the Department for the European Union in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of BiH. He is the President of the Governing Board of the Foundation of Cinematography of BiH.

**Martinović Aleksandra** has a degree in Economics obtained from Belgrade University. She lives and works in Banja Luka. She is a member of Transparency International BiH. She is involved in the fight against corruption in the economic and political spheres.

**Mazalica Srđan** is a delegate of the National Assembly of Republika Srpska. He holds a degree in Electrical Engineering. He lives in Banja Luka and works at



the Elektroprenos BiH Company, Operational Area Banja Luka.

**Nikolić Predrag** is the President of the Centre for Strategic Cooperation in Banja Luka. He is a medical doctor specialised in Clinical Pharmacology. He was born in Tuzla and now lives in Bijeljina. He is a member of the Serb Democratic Party.

**Osmančević Enes** holds a PhD in Journalistic Science. He teaches at the Faculty of Philosophy in Tuzla and the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo. He has published four books and occasionally writes commentaries and articles for various newspapers.

**Ramić-Mesihović Lejla** has an M.A. degree from the Department of Diplomacy of the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo. She lives and works in Sarajevo.

**Rondić Adnan** is a journalist of International TV News Channel Al-Jazeera. He holds an M.A. degree in Journalism obtained from the Faculty of Political Science in Sarajevo. He lives and works in Sarajevo.

**Smajić Aid** holds a PhD in Psychology and teaches at the Faculty of Islamic Studies. He is particularly interested in exploring the status of religion in the lives of individuals and societies. He is active in the NGO sector and works at the Centre for Advanced Studies.

**Stanić Bojan** is a political activist. He was born in Zenica and currently lives in Mostar. He is a professor of Croatian and English languages. He is the director of the HKK "Zrinjski" in Mostar.

**Tešanović Nataša** is a professor of German Language and Literature. Since 1997 she has been the manager of Alternativna Televizija in Banja Luka.

**Trifunović Aleksandar** is the editor of the Buka Media Project in Banja Luka. He publishes articles in local and foreign media.

**Vrdoljak Andrija** is an NGO activist working with the Youth Centre. He lives and works in Livno.

**Zaimović Uzunović Nermina** is a professor of Mechanics and Metrology at the Universities of Zenica and Sarajevo. She is a delegate of the Social Democratic Party of BiH in the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH.

**Zurovac Ljiljana** was born in Zrenjanin and now lives and works in Sarajevo. She has a degree in Theatre and Dramaturgy from the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. She is the author of theatre plays, TV series and TV plays. She has also worked as a radio journalist. She was a director of the High College of Journalism in Sarajevo. She currently

holds the position of Executive Director of the Press Council of BiH.

**Živanović Aleksandar** is an independent consultant in organisational development, communications, negotiation and alternative dispute settlements. He is one of the founders and former executive director of the Mediators' Association in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has led development activities and the application of mediation in the country. He was in charge of a program run by the Helsinki Citizens' Parliament in Banja Luka and a journalist for and editor of several local and foreign media. He has a degree in Journalism obtained from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Banja Luka and is currently studying at a Masters programme of Contemporary Sociology.

## Scenario Coordination Team

**Veit Winfried**, Scenario Facilitator, Associate Professor at the University of Freiburg

**Pasch Paul**, Scenario Co-Facilitator, Country Director, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung BiH,

**Topić Tanja**, Research Associate, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Banja Luka office

**Alić Merima**, Research Associate Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Sarajevo office

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The publication "Bosnia and Herzegovina 2025: Scenarios on future Developments" - offers five different outlooks on what the country could look like in the year 2025.

Twenty individuals from all walks of life were working on the project throughout 2011 applying the methodological framework of Shell scenario planning. The participants chose different train names for each scenario to metaphorically symbolise the countries progress towards European Integration.

The goal of this publication is not to provide a blueprint for decision-makers but to add some value to the on-going debates by providing an unconventional look on possible and plausible developments in the country.

