Note: all changes are marked – new writing is underlined, deleted sections are indicated.

1. Title:
Learning National Identity: Formal and Informal Education in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia

2. Related Projects:
Communities in Crisis: Justice, Accountability, and Social Reconstruction in Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia CPHS # 2000-4-3 (expansion)

“Learning National Identity” is an offshoot of the education expansion of the “Communities in Crisis” project (CIC). The current project will make use of existing interview and focus group data gathered in the CIC project. The CPHS guidelines state that the use of existing data is exempt “(a) if these sources are publicly available, or (b) if in both the researcher's private data (including field notes) and in any published material, the information is recorded by the researcher in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.” The CIC data are not publicly available, but the second criterion is met in this case. In the CIC interviews and focus group data, subjects are identified by number only. Further, the informed consent obtained at the time of that research included the following language: “We may share these data with other researchers in the future but never with any names attached to the information.” Thus, the use of the existing CIC data should be exempt.

However, the current project will also collect new data from human subjects. This protocol is primarily focused on this round of data collection.

3. Nature and Purpose:
The goal of this project is to examine the learning of national identity in the secondary schools of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BiH) and Croatia. Specifically, it aims to explore the effects of curriculum content and ethnic segregation on the identity formation of secondary school students in the aftermath of armed conflict. It addresses the following research questions: How do individuals conceive of their national identities? How is national identity learned? How do curriculum and segregation policies affect the learning of national identity in post-conflict contexts? What other factors influence individuals’ conceptions of identity?

To answer these questions, a large-N survey will be administered in secondary schools in BiH and Croatia. The questionnaire for the survey will be developed on the basis of information obtained from data collected through the CIC project as well as on the basis of a content analysis of history and geography texts in use in these schools this year. The survey will be administered with the help of a team of local research assistants in May 2004, after students have nearly completed the curricular units for the 2003-2004 school year. Since part of the purpose of the study is to measure the learning of certain curricular units, if I am unable to conduct the study in May, I will need to wait until the end of the 2004-5 school year to conduct my study.

The research will be conducted in two secondary schools in each of twelve towns: Beli Manastir, Hrvatska Kostajnica, Ogulin, Ivanec, Knin and Buje in Croatia, and Tešanj, Široki Brijeg, Gornje
Vakuf-Uskopje, Žepče, Jajce and Tuzla in BiH. Using publicly available information, including census data, these cities were selected to produce variation in population demographics, curricula and segregation policies throughout these two states.

National identity is the dependent variable of the model. This is a complex theoretical construct that is not directly observable, and is best treated as a multi-dimensional variable. In addition to asking subjects to identify themselves using standard census categories such as Croat and Serb, my survey is primarily comprised of a group of items designed to assess these multiple dimensions.

Four sets of independent variables form the core of my analysis, some of which are contextual-level variables, while others are measured at the individual level.

1. **Formal group relations** – measured at the state-level. Whereas Croatia is the Croats’ nation-state in which minority populations of other national groups including Italians and Hungarians, as well as Serbs also live, BiH is a fledgling multinational state with three constituent peoples. This designation in BiH that Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs are all “constituent people,” means that the constitution specifies that all three of these nations have equal status within the state of BiH. Thus, the “group rights” that Croatia’s minorities are able to claim are significantly more limited than the rights reserved for the three constituent peoples of BiH. Since BiH and Croatia differ in terms of their formal group relations, it is likely that minority populations in Croatia feel greater pressure to assimilate than do constituent groups in BiH. However, whether minorities would identify more strongly with their national group than with the state in which they live because of this pressure is unclear. Thus, I expect formal group relations to have an effect on identity, but I do not specify a directional hypothesis.

2. **Segregation policies** – measured at the school-level. There is variation in the organization of schooling in both countries. Some schools are completely segregated, with separate administrations and school buildings for the different national groups, as in Beli Manastir and Ivanec in Croatia, and Tešanj and Široki Brijeg in BiH. In other cities, schools are completely integrated with common administrations, classrooms, teachers and curricula, as in Ogulin, Knin, Hrvatska Kostajnica, and Buje in Croatia, and Jajce and Tuzla in BiH. There is also a great deal of variation between these two extremes. For example, some schools have students of different national groups sharing a single building, but attending separate language programs in shifts or in different parts of the building – a system described by some as “two schools under one roof.” This is the case in Žepče and Gornje Vakuf-Uskopje, in BiH. I expect students attending schools with policies that are intended to foster greater degrees of segregation to have stronger and more ethnic-oriented national identities. However, it is possible that identities will be even stronger in schools where there is limited contact among students of different national groups that leads to conflict between them. Thus, I expect a curvilinear relationship between segregation and identity.

3. **Curriculum** – This is comprised of two variables, measured at the classroom-level and the individual-level, respectively. At the level of classrooms, there are various curricula in use in these two states. In BiH for example, no less than three curricula are employed, with at least one for each constituent group. This first variable will be measured at the classroom-level through a
content analysis of history and geography texts used in the schools in my study. It will capture the variation in the degree of nationalist subtext contained in these curricula. Furthermore, individual students vary in the extent to which they learn these messages. Thus, a second, individual-level variable will gauge individual differences in learning through “test” questions on the survey. It is expected that students who are taught with more nationalist curricula and those that absorb more of the content will have stronger group identities.

4. Finally, I include a set of variables to capture the influence of informal sources on individuals’ national identities. These include the influences of an individual’s family and friends, and the degree of conflict between the national groups in each of the locations. Items designed to measure the individual-level variables will be included in the survey.

4. Subjects:
The targeted subject population consists of Bosniak, Bosnian Croat, Croat, Croatian Serb and Croatian Italian secondary school students, ranging in age from 14 to 18 (1st through 4th grade of secondary school, which is equivalent to the 9-12th grades of high school in the U.S.). Variation in student demographics has been built into the design of the study through the purposive selection of schools and towns. Specifically, one school in each town is an academically-oriented gymnasium, serving an elite population, and the other is a vocational school. Further, the towns vary in their ethnic composition, which is summarized in the chart below.

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<tr>
<th>S = mono-ethnic town</th>
<th>Bosniak</th>
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The categorization of ethnic groups into majority and minority populations in this chart is based on the composition of the town, not the country. In BiH, Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats are both constituent peoples. In Croatia, all groups other than Croats are considered minorities. Thus, the only groups included in the study that are officially considered minorities are Croatian Serbs and Croatian Italians.
All students who attend the selected schools will be invited to participate in the study. The schools range in size from 200-1400 students. In total, approximately 10,000 students will be invited to participate in the study.

In these two countries, there are no formal channels to obtain local ethical review. Permission from the appropriate authorities is its closest equivalent. In BiH, the structure of educational oversight is quite complex, with almost all authority devolved to the cantonal level, which is somewhere between the county and state-level in the US. At the time of writing, permissions have been obtained from all the cantonal ministries of education where the research is to be conducted, with the exception of a single canton-level ministry, which oversees the schools in Gornje Vakuf-Uskopje, and Jajce. This ministry has requested the opportunity to inspect the survey instrument prior to granting permission. I will not proceed with the data collection until this permission is obtained. Further, while the highly centralized Croatian ministry of education has expressed support of the project, I am also seeking permission from the local educational authorities prior to the administration of the surveys. Again, I will not administer the survey until I have secured these permissions. I expect to have them secured by May 1 at the latest.

5. Recruitment:
Permissions for the research that will be conducted in the schools of Croatia have been secured from the Ministry of Education and Sport. The situation in BiH is more complex, as authority to grant permission is devolved to the Cantonal Ministries of Education. It is expected that these permissions will be secured by February 2004. Once permission has been secured for all parts of the study, the headmaster of each school will be contacted by a member of the research team and will be invited to have his or her school participate in the research.

After headmasters have accepted the invitation to be included in the study, arrangements will be made for the data collection. Headmasters will choose an optimal week for the research to be conducted, and will make arrangements with either their history or their geography teaching staff to set aside 20 minutes in each class period for the data collection. Since these are both required subjects, all students in a given school will be invited to participate, regardless of which subject the headmaster prefers to use for the data collection. Based on my prior experience in the field, I fully expect teachers to cooperate with this research plan.

On the appointed date and time, a member of the research team will introduce the research project to the class and distribute the invitation/informed consent form (see Appendix A), which will be attached to the survey instrument. Those students who choose not to participate may study quietly while those who choose to participate will fill out the questionnaire.

6. Screening Procedures:
No screening procedures will be used.

7. Procedures:
Those subjects who accept the invitation to participate will be asked to fill out a paper-and-pencil questionnaire, which is expected to take no more than 20 minutes. As explained above, the questionnaire will be administered in the classroom of a regularly scheduled history or geography class by a member of the research team working with the teacher responsible.
Students who choose not to participate will remain in the classroom and will use the time for quiet study under the teacher and researcher’s supervision.

It is not possible for me to carry out this research with the limited funding I have obtained without conducting the survey during regular class hours. In my previous fieldwork in this region, headmasters volunteered to pull both students and teachers out of their regular class-time activities to participate in interviews. Further, the use of class time for quiet study is quite common and teachers will have a great deal of flexibility in scheduling the survey administration at a convenient time. Thus, I expect that teachers will not take issue with the loss of class time. It should also be noted that I will make clear to the headmasters and their teaching staff that their cooperation is entirely voluntary.

By attaching the survey instrument to the invitation to participate, students will not have to make their choice to participate or not participate known to the rest of the class. Every student will receive the invitation and survey, sit at his or her desk and either complete the questionnaire or study, and at the end of the 20-minute period all students will pass back their complete or incomplete surveys at the same time. This provides a non-stigmatizing option for students who wish to opt-out.

8. Benefits:
The research, however, will benefit knowledge and science by advancing understanding of the ways in which schools can best serve the needs of the different national groups living within a single country.

9. Risks:
Some of the communities included in the study could be described as “communities in crisis,” most notably, Gornje Vakuf-Uskopje and Žepče in BiH and Knin and Beli Manastir in Croatia. In my past work in the region, I found that the greatest sensitivity has to do with questions regarding attitudes towards the “other.” For example, a survey administered in both Vukovar and Mostar as part of the CIC project included items that asked subjects if they would discriminate against members of the other group living in their town. One such question asked students to indicate if the following statement was true for them or not, “If I had to decide who is going to join the school sports team, between two pupils I would choose a Croat/Serb even if the other one were a better sportsman.” Some people who participated in both the survey and the interviews or focus groups mentioned these items as having been offensive. As such, I have designed my survey in such a way that avoids questions having to do with the conflicts between the groups living in these areas. Instead, the focus of my survey is how individuals feel about their own group and the state in which they live. When people talked about these topics in the interviews and focus groups in the CIC project, they tended to do so with strongly positive feelings. Group identity is certainly salient in this region, but unless the focus is on divisions brought about because of it, there are no increased risks due to the relations in the community. There are no foreseeable risks to subjects as the research involves no exposure to a possibility of harm that is greater than that ordinarily encountered in daily life or during routine examinations or tests.
10. **Confidentiality:**
No identifying information will be gathered from the subjects other than demographic characteristics, which will not provide sufficient information to identify individual subjects. Nevertheless, all information collected as part of this research project will be kept in a locked file in a secure location. No individual subject will be identifiable in any presentation or publication of the data.

11. **Informed Consent:**
I am asking for a waiver of written informed consent from the subjects as well as a waiver of informed consent from the parents of the subjects. The proposed invitation to participate/verbal consent script can be found in Appendix A.

In terms of the waiver of written informed consent, through previous experience working with these populations I have learned that the process of securing informed consent is frequently misunderstood by subjects, causing them to become suspicious and thus tainting the results. This is especially true when the research is conducted by a foreigner. For this reason, in order for this research to be successful, the process of securing informed consent needs to be as subtle as possible. Since the survey will not be significantly different from an ordinary in-class exam, and since some of the survey questions are similar to those found on an ordinary in-class exam, and the other questions do not expose the subjects to a possibility of harm that is greater than that ordinarily encountered in daily life, there are no foreseeable risks of harm to subjects from participating in the study. This statement can be verified by perusing the draft survey instrument, which is provided in Appendix B. Further, the waiver of written consent will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects. Finally, since the surveys will not gather identifying information, a written informed consent document, if required, would be the only record linking the subject to the research.

In terms of the waiver of informed consent from the parents of the subjects, I will address the provisions/requirements for obtaining the waiver as stated in the CPHS guidelines individually:

(a) **The research presents no risks of harm, considering probability and magnitude, greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine examinations or tests.**

As discussed above, this provision is met.

(b) **the waiver or alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects**

A waiver of informed parental consent will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects since the students themselves will have given informed consent and authorities at several levels whose responsibilities include the rights and welfare of the students will have granted permission to survey the students. Both state-level and local-level educational authorities will have approved the study, as will the headmasters and teachers who are more directly responsible for the rights and welfare of the students.

(c) **the research could not practicably be carried out without the waiver or alteration**
The research simply cannot practically be carried out without this waiver. The difficulties of obtaining written consent noted above apply equally to the parents of subjects as they do to the subjects themselves. Further, the expense involved in securing verbal permission of any sort from parents would render the research infeasible.

(d) whenever appropriate, the subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation.

This is not applicable to the issue at hand.

Two further points should be considered. First, the Ministries of Education as well as the headmasters of each school will have granted permission for the study. Second, the laws of both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia distinguish between “children” who are under the age of 14, and “minors” who are between the ages of 14 and 18. Legal age in both countries, like in the United States, is 18. However children over the age of 14 are given the authority to make certain decisions for themselves. For example, in both countries the legal age to consent to sexual relations is 14.

12. Financial Aspects:
There are no financial considerations as no remuneration will be offered.

13. Written Materials:
Please find in Appendix B an initial draft of the survey instrument. The items are grouped by the topics to be addressed.

In addition to basic demographic information, the questionnaire will contain three main categories of questions. First, there will be a series of questions designed to gauge the extent to which students have learned the history and geography they have been taught during the school year. These questions will resemble history and geography test questions and will be developed on the basis of a content analysis of the history and geography texts employed in each grade in each school. Second, a series of questions will measure the strength and content of the students’ national identities. These questions will be comprised of a series of statements with which subjects will be asked the extent to which they agree or disagree. Finally, a set of questions will attempt to capture the extent to which students learn about their national group outside of school.

In place of the final survey instrument, I have provided a large number of sample questions. This draft instrument is much longer than the final instrument will be. At this stage in the survey design, I have compiled all applicable items from previous scholarship and written a number of new questions. Although this list is extensive, for the final version of the questionnaire I might need to write a few new questions that will be similar to those provided. However, my focus now will be to eliminate a large number of the questions provided in the draft instrument. If there are particular items of concern to the committee, they will be eliminated or revised.
The only section of the survey for which I have not provided sample questions is the curriculum section. It will consist of about 5-10 multiple choice and true/false questions that will resemble questions on an in-class history test. The purpose of these questions is to gauge the extent to which each student has learned the facts conveyed in the history text from which they learned. In order to write these questions, I need to complete the content analysis of the school texts. The only other changes I foresee are minor edits to the wording of some of the questions provided in the draft survey instrument.

When it is finalized, copies of the questionnaire will be sent to CPHS.
Dear Student,

My name is xxx. I am a researcher in the Department of Political Science at the University of California at Berkeley, in the United States. I would like to invite you to take part in my research about the role of schools in a country which is home to people of different national groups. I want to know what you think about your national group and how you are taught about it in school.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to refuse to take part. If you agree to participate in my research, you will be asked to fill out a survey that asks questions about your national group’s history and your feelings about your national group. Some of the questions will be personal and you may refuse to answer any questions or stop at any time. The survey should take no more than 20 minutes. If you would rather not participate, you can use this class period to study quietly. Whether or not you choose to participate in this research will have no bearing on your standing or grades at school.

When I talk or write about the answers you give, you will not be identified by name. I will describe the results of the research only in terms of groups of people, not for each person separately. I might share your answers with other researchers in the future, but never with any names attached to the information.

There are no foreseeable risks to you from participating in this research. Although there is no direct benefit to you either, I hope that the research will benefit society by learning about the best way for schools to serve the different national groups living within a single country.

If you have any questions about your rights or treatment as a participant in this research project, please contact the University of California at Berkeley’s Committee for Protection of Human Subjects at (510) 642-7461, or e-mail, subjects@uclink4.berkeley.edu.

Sincerely,

mr. xxx
Researcher
Department of Political Science
University of California at Berkeley

1 The title “mr.” is the way one indicates that one holds a master’s degree in this region.
APPENDIX B: DRAFT SURVEY

The questions are separated into subject sections – the order in which they are listed does not reflect the final ordering of the survey items. The “Identity” section contains many questions that will be omitted in the final survey instrument.

Demographic Information

1. How old are you?
2. What is your date of birth?
3. Where were you born?
4. For the most part, where did you grow up?
5. How long have you been living in [this town]?
6. Where did you live between [specific years of conflict]?
7. What grade are you in school?
8. Which school do you attend?
9. If your school has more than one program, which program are you in?
10. Which of the following passports do you hold – circle all that apply:
    a) BiH passport
    b) Republic of Croatia
    c) Serbia
    d) Italy
    e) Other (Specify)___________
11. What religion do you practice, if any?
12. Would you say that you are very religious, somewhat religious, slightly religious, or not religious at all?
13. To which national group do you belong?
14. If you belong to more than one national group, to which do you feel the strongest allegiance, if any?
15. To which national group does your father belong?
16. To which national group does your mother belong?
17. What language do you speak at home with your family?

Curriculum

This section will be comprised of about 5-10 multiple choice and true/false questions that will resemble questions on an in-class history test. The purpose of these questions is to gauge the extent to which each student has learned the facts conveyed in their course’s history text.

Identity

1. Some people think of themselves as belonging to a national group more strongly than they think of themselves as belonging to the state in which they live. Others think that they belong to the state first and to their national group second. Still others feel an equal sense of belonging to their national group and to the state in which they live. Please circle the choice that best describes the way that you feel:
a) First and foremost, I belong to my national group and only after that to the state in which I live.
b) First and foremost, I belong to the state in which I live and only after that to my national group.
c) I feel an equal sense of belonging to my national group and to the state in which I live.

2. To which of these groups of people would you say you identify with first?
   a) The people who live in your town
   b) The people in the region of BiH/Croatia in which you live
   c) The people who live in the state of BiH/Croatia
   d) The people living in another state (please specify _____________)
   e) The people of Europe
   f) The people of the world

3. And which group would you say you identify with second?
   a) The people who live in your town
   b) The people in the region of BiH/Croatia in which you live
   c) The people who live in the state of BiH/Croatia
   d) The people living in another state (please specify _____________)
   e) The people of Europe
   f) The people of the world

Below is a list of items that might or might not be important to your self-identity, that is, your sense of who you are. For each, please indicate how important it is on a scale of 1-10, with 1 being extremely unimportant, and 10 being extremely important.

4. your family
5. your friends
6. the language that you speak
7. your gender
8. your religion
9. the town that you live in
10. the canton/region that you live in
11. the state that you live in
12. your membership and participation in social organizations, such as clubs
13. your national group

Below is a list of statements that describe the way people think about national groups in general. For each statement, please indicate whether you, strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree.

14. A person who does not have a clear sense of national belongingness is a person with no identity.
15. Loyalty towards the nation is more important than loyalty towards self.
16. Support for the causes of national groups only leads to more conflict between people.
17. Children should be given national spirit from an early age.
18. Only primitive people emphasize national symbols.
19. People who do not love their nation deserve contempt.
20. I think that clinging to nationalism as a proposal for the 21st century is a step backwards.
21. The feeling of belonging to one’s nation is one of the most beautiful feelings one can have.
22. Members of the same nation should always stick together.
23. I don’t care about nationalism of any type.

Below is a list of statements that describe the way some people think about their national group. Please think about how you feel about the national group to which you belong, or the group to which you feel the greatest allegiance, and for each statement, indicate whether you strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree.

24. My nation has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
25. My nation is an important reflection of who I am.
26. Belonging to my nation is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
27. In general, belonging to my nation is an important part of my self-image.
28. Although my nation is not big, there are many more competent people in my nation than in others.
29. I am prepared to give my life for my nation.
30. The feeling of belonging to my nation gives me a great sense of pride.
31. I would feel poor without a sense of belonging to my nation.
32. Wherever I lived, I would emphasize to which nation I belong.
33. My nationality is completely unimportant to me.
34. First and foremost, I am a member of my nation and only after that a member of humankind.
35. The feeling of belonging to my nation makes me feel like a complete person.
36. A good member of my nation should not associate with our enemies.
37. Every time I hear my nation’s anthem, I feel strongly moved.
38. I find the sight of my nation’s flag very moving.
39. My nation’s flag should not be treated as a sacred object.
40. The symbols of my nation do not move me one way or the other.
41. I would really not want to move outside of the region of the former Yugoslavia.
42. I have warm feelings for the place where I live.
43. I feel no differently about the place where I live than any other place.
44. I would be willing to leave the region of the former Yugoslavia for good.
45. I feel a strong sense of connection to the place where I live.
46. In general, people of my national group are wonderful people.
47. I feel very warmly towards members of my national group.
48. I do not care for most other people of my national group.
49. Most other people in my nation are not worth caring about.

50. There’s been a lot of talk about what belonging to a national group means to people. Would you say that what it means to be a member of your national group is very clear, somewhat clear, somewhat unclear, or very unclear to you?

Below is a list of statements that have to do with how important various aspects of group membership are to some people. Please indicate if you think this aspect of group membership is very important, somewhat important, slightly important or not important at all to you.
51. Speaking the language of your people at home with your family
52. Reading the great works of literature produced by members of your national group
53. Practicing your religious faith regularly
54. Understanding the history of your people
55. Knowing how to speak the proper form of the language of your people
56. Knowing all about injustices your people have been subjected to in the past
57. Using the language of your people in every situation where you know others will understand you
58. Knowing all about how your people overcame oppression in the past
59. Knowing a great deal about the religion of your people
60. Having a keen awareness of your people’s cultural heritage
61. Knowing about the difficult times your ancestors survived

There has been a lot of talk lately about what kind of state Croatia/BiH is becoming. Below is a list of statements that describe the kind of state some people want Croatia/BiH to become. For each statement, please indicate if you strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or strongly disagree.

62. All groups living in [Croatia/BiH] need to have their rights protected.
63. It is more important for members of all the groups living in [Croatia/BiH] to get along than for each group to insist on their rights.
64. The state of [Croatia/BiH] is most concerned with the rights of [Croats/Bosniaks].
65. The state of [Croatia/BiH] should be most concerned with the rights of [Croats/Bosniaks].
66. All children should be able to attend schools in their mother tongue.
67. It is more important for children to get to know and to become friends with members of other national groups in school than for them to have schooling in their mother tongue.
68. It is important for [Croatia/BiH] to be seen by the world as a European country.
69. Too much focus on national concerns will prevent [Croatia/BiH] from joining the EU in the future.
70. It is important for politicians in [Croatia/BiH] to cooperate with the international community.

Below is a list of statements that describe the way people think about being a citizen of BiH/Croatia. Please think about how you feel about being a citizen of BiH/Croatia, and for each statement, indicate whether you strongly agree, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or strongly disagree.

71. Although I am a citizen of [Croatia/BiH], I do not feel that I belong to any particular state.
72. My citizenship has very little to do with how I feel about myself.
73. My citizenship is an important reflection of who I am.
74. Being a citizen of [Croatia/BiH] is unimportant to my sense of what kind of person I am.
75. In general, being a citizen of [Croatia/BiH] is an important part of my self-image.
76. I am prepared to give my life to protect [Croatia/BiH].
77. The fact that I am a citizen of my state gives me a great sense of pride.
78. I would feel poor without a sense of belonging to [BiH/Croatia].
79. Wherever I lived, I would emphasize that I come from [BiH/Croatia].
80. My citizenship is completely unimportant to me.
81. First and foremost, I am a citizen of [BiH/Croatia] and only after that a citizen of the world.
82. A good citizen of [BiH/Croatia] should not associate with our enemies.
83. Every time I hear the anthem of [BiH/Croatia], I feel strongly moved.
84. I find the sight of the flag of [BiH/Croatia] very moving.
85. The flag of [BiH/Croatia] should not be treated as a sacred object.
86. The symbols of [BiH/Croatia] do not move me one way or the other.
87. In general, the people of [BiH/Croatia] are wonderful people.
88. I feel very warmly towards other citizens of [BiH/Croatia].
89. I do not care for most people living in [BiH/Croatia].
90. Most people living in [BiH/Croatia] are not worth caring about.

Special set of agree/disagree statements for Croats in BiH:
1. Legally, I am Bosnian, but I do not feel Bosnian at all.
2. Bosnian is just a synonym for Bosniak. Since I am not a Bosniak, I am not Bosnian.
3. I don’t like being associated with Bosnia because I do not like being associated with Bosniaks.
4. Being a citizen of Bosnia is not an important part of my personal identity.
5. I cannot feel Bosnian because there is no distinctively Bosnian culture.
6. I feel nothing – neither good nor bad – when I see the Bosnian flag.
7. I am angry when I see the Bosnian flag flying in Croat majority areas of BiH.
8. I would feel Bosnian if there were something positive about Bosnia.
9. I cannot be Bosnian because of the terrible things that Bosniaks have done to Croats.
10. No individual can have loyalty to more than one nation at a time. Since I am Croatian, I cannot also be Bosnian.

Informal sources of learning about group identity

1. When you think about where you learned about what it means to be a member of your national group, would you say that you learned a great deal, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all from:
   a) Your parents
   b) Other family members
   c) Friends
   d) History classes at school
   e) Religion classes at school
   f) Language classes at school
   g) Geography classes at school
   h) Religious activities outside of school
   i) Television
   j) Other media
   k) Other community activities
2. When you think about where you learned about what it means to be a citizen of BiH/Croatia, would you say that you learned a great deal, quite a bit, a little, or nothing at all from:
   a) Your parents
   b) Other family members
   c) Friends
   d) History classes at school
   e) Religion classes at school
   f) Language classes at school
   g) Geography classes at school
   h) Religious activities outside of school
   i) Television
   j) Other media
   k) Other community activities

3. Take a moment to think about how much you and your family speak at home about your national group. Would you say that you speak about your national group with your family frequently, often, rarely, or never?

4. Now, thinking about how much you and your family speak at home about what it means to be a citizen of [BiH/Croatia], would you say that you speak with your family about this frequently, often, rarely, or never?