

# Creating a Cohort Committed to Democracy? Civic Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to identify predictors for important measures of political engagement on a range of participatory skills and political attitudes in an emerging democracy, Bosnia and Herzegovina, among seventh- and eighth-grade students, half of whom had participated in a civic education program. A sample of over 1,400 students from four cantons were surveyed on measures of political skills, participation and attitudes. Drawing from theory and research, I developed hypotheses for predictors of these scales and analyzed the data using hierarchical linear modeling. In this sample, comprised primarily of Catholic and Muslim youth, civic education and active teaching proved significant predictors for nearly all scales measuring political skills and attitudes conducive to participatory democratic citizenship. Gender was also a significant predictor across most scales, which indicated that girls were less skilled and felt less efficacious than boys. Students belonging to minority ethnic groups within classrooms scored lower across some measures, as did those coming from less privileged backgrounds. Significant interaction effects revealed that Bosnian Croats made greater gains in some instances than Bosniac students.

Emerging democracies require a citizenry with a basic understanding and minimum commitment to democratic principles. Yet they lack agents of socialization available in established democracies, such as parents familiar with democratic participation, a free press, rule of law and experience with peaceful transitions of power. Education, which has long occupied a central place in teaching new generations which values to hold, is one means available to policymakers. It is not surprising, then, that civic education is being pursued as a tool of democratization in many new nations.

Using education to create a more democratic society is the vision that is captivating educators from Kazakhstan to Nigeria to the Balkans.<sup>1</sup> More than one-hundred years ago, American progressives such as John Dewey argued that the optimal way to prepare young people for social life would be to engage them in the “habits of serviceableness” (Dewey 1909, 7-17). Dewey argued that the “open ended” purpose of education was to create a more democratic society, a vision shared by modern educators in emerging democracies (Dewey 1909).

One definition of civic education is to promote “informed, responsible participation in political life by competent citizens” (*National Standards for Civics and Government* 1994). Interest in the field is cyclical and currently in an upswing. This is due in part to the interest in education for democracy by those nations with no history of democracy. V.O. Key, Jr., wrote, “All national educational systems indoctrinate the coming generation with basic outlooks and values of the political order” (Litt 1963). For post-communist and postwar societies, the “order” is new. In the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, there is a special sense of urgency, for adults are eager to give young people new skills that they do not possess themselves. As one civic educator from Republika Srpska said, “I hope that our children learn these lessons so they do not make the same mistakes we did.”

Research has demonstrated that the amount of formal education is the strongest factor in explaining political engagement (Nie and Hillygus 2001, 30). But there is minimal research to show what happens within the educational process to cause increases in engagement. This paper focuses on content and student characteristics to identify predictors for change in democratic skills and attitudes. This will contribute to the discussion on the effectiveness of civic education as a tool to promote informed political participation. The paper begins to explore which groups might be expected to gain the most so that future civic education efforts might be better targeted.

### **Previous Research on Civic Education and Predictors of Political Engagement**

Does research validate civic education as an effective tool to promote reasoned political participation? The answer seems to be yes, if it is well implemented (*Approaches to Civic Education: Lessons Learned* 2002). Instructional methods are significant predictors of change. Research on fourteen-year-old students in twenty-eight countries found that

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<sup>1</sup> The program to be investigated in this paper, *We the People: Project Citizen*, has been translated and adapted in thirty countries. See [www.civiced.org](http://www.civiced.org).

educational practices within schools and classrooms influenced civic knowledge and engagement (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz 2001, 176). Methods that engage students as participants, rather than lectures that treat students as passive receptacles for information, appear to impart democratic skills and attitudes more effectively. The authoritarian model, in which teachers lecture and students listen, provides no opportunity for students to publicly explore ideas or roles. Hierarchical structures work in the opposite direction of change and have been found to reduce political tolerance (Korman 1971, in Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus 1982, 117). However, within most civic education classrooms, instruction is still dominated by teacher-centered formats employing a combination of textbooks and recitation (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001, 162-164).

Many civic education teachers allow discussion of controversial issues in their classes, but role-playing and project work is rare (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001, 162-164). This is unfortunate as research in social psychology suggests that playing roles may cause individuals to adopt attitudes consistent with the behaviors they are acting out (Finkel 2001, 10). Opportunities to role-play and to practice democracy may be especially important in shifting attitudes and values, although predictors within education that cause changes in attitudes are not well understood. Prior research in the United States demonstrated that political tolerance is weakly related to education in the aggregate when other variables are controlled (Sullivan, Piereson, and Marcus, 1982, 251). While this is encouraging, education is used in the aggregate.

More recent studies suggest that even short-term interventions or experiences can change attitudes and values (Finkel 2000; Evans and Whitefield 1995). Data collected on adults in South Africa and Poland demonstrated small but significant increases in political tolerance resulting from participation in civic education workshops. Predictors for this change included time spent in the training, prior political awareness, cognitive skills, and individuals' dispositions (e.g., openness to compromise) (Finkel 2000). Participants who viewed the economic and political system more favorably were also more politically tolerant following a workshop (Finkel 2000, 31). By role-playing in simulated congressional hearings, American youth increased their political tolerance (Brody 1994). Research on South African youth found that perceived levels of instructor competence and likeability increased attitude change (Finkel and Ernst 2001).

Data drawn from the Socialization Panel Study find the years in one's life prior to the age of thirty to be "impressionable years" (Jennings and Stoker 1999). Panel data confirm adolescence/early adulthood as an important window for acquiring and integrating political attitudes and behavior. While optimal years of youths' development to acquire civic skills have not been well researched, adolescence appears to be a critical period for students to develop support for democratic norms (Avery, et al., 1992).<sup>2</sup> Skills which are acquired early in the educational process are important predictors for later political activity (Nie and Hillygus 2001, 31). Verbal ability combined with enrollment in social

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<sup>2</sup> Most fourteen-year-olds are not, however, very interested in the political process (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, and Schulz 2001).

studies courses correlates positively with political engagement, including turnout, for college students (Nie and Hillygus 2001, 48).

Gender has been found in some studies to predict political engagement, but the differences seem to be decreasing. In one-third of twenty-eight nations surveyed, fourteen-year-old girls were found to have lower levels of civic knowledge (Torney-Purta et. al 2001, 146). This is a change from a similar study conducted in 1971 where gender differences were notable, especially among older students. In some countries, males expressed greater interest in politics and were more willing to participate in illegal political activities (spray-painting protest slogans, blocking traffic) (Ibid, 127). In northern European countries and the U.S., females were more likely to say that they would vote once they were eligible. Gender inequality, unlike race or socio-economic status, is recreated in each life cycle (Verba, Burns, and Schlozman 2001, 20). Researchers have not yet determined whether civic education might reduce gaps due to gender socialization where they exist.

Early socialization researchers were interested in what they felt was the first level of political learning, termed the “political community,” which is the sense that one’s destiny is tied to others (Easton and Dennis 1960). This sense of belonging may prove difficult to achieve in deeply divided societies like Bosnia and Herzegovina. Different ethnic groups do not yet share national symbols (the state was created in 1995) or a common version of history. While all three main ethnic groups are Slavs and speak various Serbo-Croat dialects, Bosnian Serbs, Croats, and Bosniacs use different social studies, geography, and history curricula. With the exception of the Civitas **Project Citizen** curricula, all three groups use separate textbooks with different versions of history. Bosnian Croat students use the Croatian curricula, and Serb students follow the curricula from Belgrade.

The different commitment to the state on the part of groups that parents identify with is likely to play a role in the acquisition of democratic values by their children. Among adults, surveys reveal that only Bosniacs (Muslims) are committed to keeping a unified state. A majority of Bosnian Croats (Roman Catholics) would like to join Croatia.<sup>3</sup> Many Bosnian Serbs (Orthodox Christians) would like to join Yugoslavia. As this prospect grows increasingly unlikely, this aspiration may fade. Bosniacs comprise a majority with 44% of the population, followed by Bosnian Serbs with 31% of the population, and Bosnian Croats with 17% of the total. Other groups (Albanian, Roma, etc.) make up the remaining 8%.

In addition to ethnicity, socio-economic status is likely to affect learning about the political process. Children with better-educated parents demonstrate more political knowledge, participatory behaviors, and political efficacy (Niemi and Chapman 39). Students whose parents are not supportive of their educational goals or who do not expect their children to continue their educations are less politically informed and may be less likely to vote (Torney-Purta et. al, 2001, 156). Higher socio-economic status imparts

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<sup>3</sup> Data are from USIS public opinion polls taken in the late 1990s. Attitudes may be shifting, especially since in 2001 Croatia formally gave up its claim to reintegrate the Croatian part of Bosnia; Bosnian Croats now have no official support in their effort to create a union.

advantages to adults their role as engaged citizens, and it may prove a predictor for youths' political engagement as well.

***We the People: Project Citizen:***  
**The Program Investigated in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

[CIVITAS@BosniaHerzegovina](#) is a nonprofit organization funded through grants in part from the Center for Civic Education, a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational corporation dedicated to fostering the development of democratic informed, responsible participation in civic life. The Center's funding for the international programs comes a grant from the United States Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement. [CIVITAS@BosniaHerzegovina](#) is also funded by the United States Department of State.<sup>4</sup> Since 1996, the organization has trained 4,000 teachers in curricula consisting primarily of *We the People: Project Citizen* and *Foundations of Democracy: Authority, Privacy, Responsibility, and Justice*. Over half of all schools offer the program (59% of all primary schools and 54% of all secondary schools). Approximately 682,850 students have participated in **CIVITAS Project Citizen** since 1996. During the 2000-01 academic year, more than 120 **Project Citizen** competitions were held with the participation of 900 student teams.

**Project Citizen** teaches students how to monitor and influence public policy. Students work cooperatively to develop consensus and to create a public policy option of their own. The program consists of six steps, wherein students

1. Identify public policy problems in their communities.
2. Select by vote a problem for the class to study.
3. Conduct research and gather information.
4. Develop a portfolio. Students discuss problems, evaluate alternative policies, and develop public policy. The class supports an action plan to get the class policy accepted. The portfolio is a documentary display that consists of four panels representing each of these steps.
5. Present their portfolios for judging in a simulated legislative hearing. The judges, comprised of influential community members, pose questions to students that allow them to demonstrate their knowledge of public policy. Classes may compete at all levels: municipal, cantonal, and national.
6. Reflect on their learning experience.

Public policy issues which students have selected include proposing and, in some instances, securing funding from public officials to support orphanages, provide hotlines for child abuse victims, and establish drug-abuse programs and youth clubs, to name a

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<sup>4</sup> The program is directed by Rahela Dzidic and assisted by Rasema Dzinjala and Tanja Jerlagic, all of whom deserve much credit and thanks for their assistance in implementing this research. The research was funded by the Center for Civic Education as part of Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program through a grant from the United States Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, in cooperation with the United States Department of State. See [www.civiced.org](http://www.civiced.org).

few. **Project Citizen** has been translated and adapted in over thirty nations, including the United States.

While all civic education programs begin with the idea that ordinary citizens need a minimal understanding of the political system to effectively express their preferences, many fall far short in their translation into the formal curriculum (Niemi and Junn 1998). By limiting this study to one program, I skirt a methodological problem that stems from inconsistent “treatment.”

### **Study: Research Design**

This research utilizes a quasi-experimental design with matching control groups, and pre- and posttests. The subjects are seventh- and eighth-grade students. Treatment and control classes were surveyed at the same school. The pretest was administered in September 2000, and the posttest was administered April 2001.

Out of a total of ten cantons (states), four were selected where program participation is mandatory for eighth-grade students. Of these four cantons, two are predominately Bosniac (Tuzla and Zenica-Doboj), and two are Bosnian Croat (Posavina and West Herzegovina). The population within Bosniac cantons is higher, so more Bosniac classes (32) than Bosnian Croat (22) were sampled. Within each canton, all classes were numbered and fifty-four were randomly selected. Thirty-two classes were predominately Bosniac and twenty-two Bosnian Croat classes.

Civitas network coordinators implemented the survey by visiting each class and administering questionnaires.<sup>5</sup> Because participation in the program is mandatory at the eighth- grade level, the control group was made up of seventh-grade classes. Unbeknownst to program implementers in Bosnia, many seventh-grade classes were participating in the program, so a mix of grade levels was in the study. Eight seventh-grade and 13 eighth- grade classes participated in **Project Citizen**. The control group consisted of 15 eighth-grade classes and 18 seventh-grade. Mean age for participants was only slightly higher than for nonparticipants (three months, with nearly all students ranging from fourteen to fifteen years of age).

Altogether, 1,504 students were surveyed in September 2000 and 1,502 in April 2001. Anonymity was promised and students could not be matched up, so data analyzed here are from the posttest.<sup>6</sup>

### **Measures**

The purpose of this study is to identify predictors for important measures of political engagement. By identifying predictors, we might be able to address the question of which students ought to be targeted if resources for civic education are limited.

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<sup>5</sup> The coordinators had participated in two previous studies in 1998 and 1999.

<sup>6</sup> The sole exception is that factor analysis for scales used pretest data, as reported in another study. See Soule 2001.

The dependent variables are scales that measure political skills and knowledge, participation, and attitudes. The initial step to create scales for these factors employed exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to look at the dimensions in the data. To confirm that eight factors adequately explain select questionnaire items better than six or seven, confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was used as a follow-up to the EFA analysis. This approach allows the exact specification of each factor model and was used to test construct validity. All CFA's were estimated using the structural equations programs EQS (Bentler, 1996).

All tables are included at the end of the paper. Table 1 presents the goodness-of-fit indices for the six, seven, and eight factor model. Results of the CFA showed that the eight-factor model fit the data best resulting in a chi-square/df ratio approaching 1.5, and a CFI of .93. All estimated factor loadings were statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 2 shows standardized factor loadings for each of the eight scales. Only factors that loaded above .4 were used to construct scales. Scales were created by summing scores for each item and computing the mean. Internal consistency reliabilities for the scales are shown in Table 3 for posttest data used in the analysis to follow. Reliabilities above .6 indicate reasonable internal consistency, although alphas greater than .7 or .8 are preferable. The most reliable scales that have alphas above .7 are: Traditional Research, Political Participation, Political Contacting, and Tolerance of Nonthreatening Groups. The least reliable scales are Interest in Politics (alpha=.57) and Efficacy (alpha=.59).

Table 4 shows intercorrelations among scales. Most correlations reveal relationships that are positive. Research and knowledge scales correlated moderately and positively with one another, political contacting, and, to a lesser extent, interest in politics. Political participation and contacting have the strongest relationship (.61), and both have moderate, positive correlations with efficacy (.35 and .26). Efficacy is moderately and positively correlated with all scales except for tolerance of threatening groups, which is not surprising. Tolerance scales are correlated with one another at .20, but exhibit little relationships to the other scales. The constructs are for the most part independent, with the aforementioned slight to moderate correlations.

### **Items**

Most question items employed in this study have been used with adults and children in previous studies and modified to eighth-grade reading levels and behaviors. Appendix A lists all items of the scales used in these analyses. The scales measure political skills and knowledge, political participation, and attitudes. The attitudes measured here are political tolerance of threatening and nonthreatening groups, efficacy, and interest in politics.

The independent variables are listed in Appendix B. These ten variables comprise likely candidates to predict scores on the eight scales tested here. The first three, sex, age, and grade point average are self-explanatory. Most students surveyed fell within a narrow age range (14- to 15-year-olds), but it should still be included as there this is an age of rapid

transition and development. Achievement levels are not available for Bosnian students, so grade point average is used as a proxy for ability.

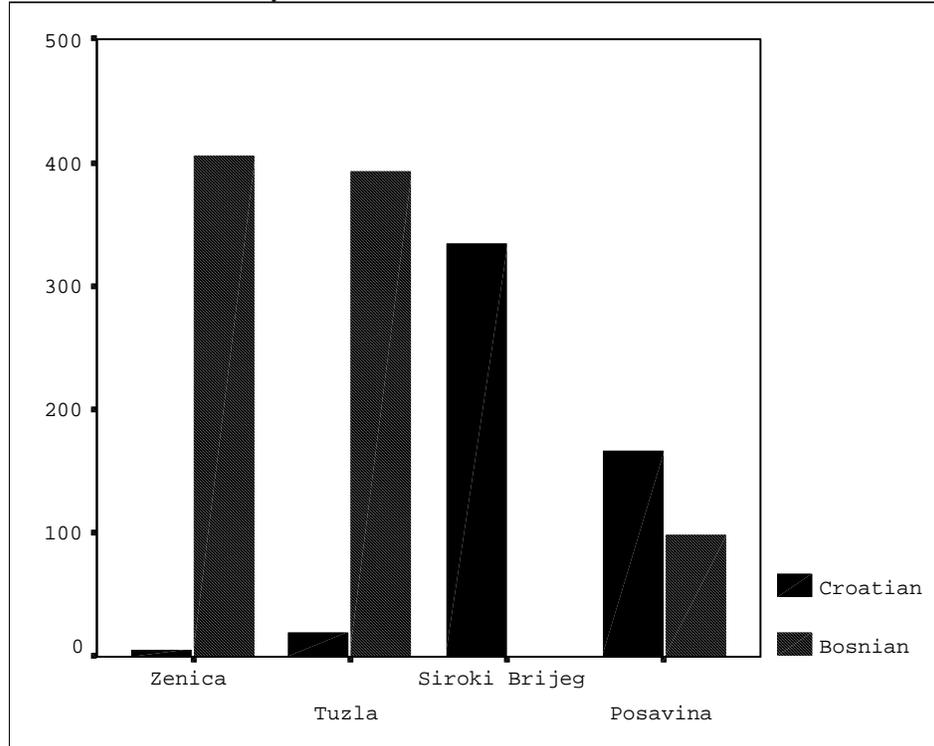
Participation in **Project Citizen** (PC) was measured at the individual rather than the class level because student responses in wave two revealed some contamination: some students in treatment classes said they had not participated in the program, while some students in control classes indicated that they had. These were not large numbers of students, but as program participation is a key predictor, I chose to use individual responses to ensure accuracy in measuring participation.

Participatory methods (ACTIVITY) consists of a scale of three classroom activities: expressing opinions and ideas, cooperating with others and discussing contemporary events. Students rated their opportunities to participate in class on scales ranging from zero to seven.

The ethnic breakdown in this study was 60% Bosniac (Muslim) and 35% Bosnian Croat (Roman Catholic). An additional 3% of students had parents with mixed marriages. The remaining 2% represented Serb, Albanian, Slovenian, or other ethnic identities. Ethnicity (BOSNIAN) was coded as a dummy, where Bosniacs equal one. Children in Republik Srpska were not surveyed due to U.S. bombing in nearby Kosovo, which generated some anti-American sentiment in Bosnian Serb areas. During the course of this study, Bosnia's political situation destabilized, causing a possible period effect. In March, Bosnian Croat nationalists withdrew from the federal parliament and armed forces, shaking the foundations of the new state. This occurred during the second wave of testing. At one point, I was confined to my hotel in the canton of Siroki Brijeg due to a car bomb that exploded several hundred yards up the street.

The strategy of "ethnic cleansing" carried out during the war is evident in the ethnic homogeneity within cantons. Not a single student in Siroki Brijeg identified himself or herself as Bosniac or Serb. The most mixed canton was Posavina, which is in the north of the country and straddles the border with Croatia. This is also the area where students report the lowest socioeconomic status.

## Ethnic Breakdown by Canton



To investigate whether minority status matters, a new variable (MINORITY) was created to measure ethnic minority status within classrooms. Minorities might be expected to feel more threatened or less politically efficacious.

Socioeconomic status is a significant predictor within many models of adult participation. Children's socioeconomic status is measured in this study by a scale summing parents' occupational and educational status. Dummy variables were created in which SES1 is equal to low status and SES2 to middle status.

### Data

Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) was used to test the research questions of this study. HLM is a statistical technique that is used in educational research when students are nested within classrooms where test scores may be correlated at the class level (Bryk and Raudenbusch 1986). More importantly, HLM allows a researcher to assess student level and class level effects simultaneously.

Class means were modeled as a function of class level variables in this study. This was done by specifying what are called level-1 and level-2 models. The level-1 model in this study models student scores as a function of student characteristics (e.g. age, ethnicity, and gender). Level-2 models *class means* as a function of: (a) class-mean ability, (b) class-mean activity, and (c) class-mean SES. Appendix B describes all level-1 and level-2 predictors.

Similar to multiple regression analysis, HLM models estimate intercepts and slopes, but they can also allow the intercepts and slopes to vary over classes as a function of second level (class level) predictors. That is, differences in class means can be taken into account in the modeling by allowing intercepts to vary randomly over classes. In multiple regression, it must be assumed that class means (intercepts) are approximately equal for all classes used in the sample. In short, with HLM analysis, class means (level-1 intercepts) can vary randomly between classes, whereas in multiple regression analysis they cannot. See Appendix C for the equations of the HLM models estimated here.

## Skills and Knowledge: Traditional Research

Table 5.1: Predictors of Traditional Research at Posttest (TR2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean TR2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	1.821	.065	28.12	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	.139	.036	3.83	.001
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	-.077	.131	-.59	.559
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	-.039	.100	-.39	.697
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	.011	.023	.478	.632
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	.010	.018	.568	.569
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	.022	.014	1.52	.129
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.225	.049	4.59	.000
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.033	.008	4.43	.000
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	.223	.045	4.99	.000
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	-.195	.063	-3.10	.002
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	-.123	.050	-2.45	.014
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.041	.057	-.73	.466
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.051	.054	-.94	.345
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.019	52	201.87	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.189			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

At the student level, four variables were found to be significant predictors ( $p < .05$ ) of traditional research: (a) PC, (b) ACTIVITY, (c) BOSNIAN and (d) MINORITY. The slope for the variable PC was .23 ( $p < .001$ ). Students who participated in **Project Citizen** conducted more traditional research than nonparticipants.

The slope for ACTIVITY was .03 ( $p < .001$ ) which means that students who engaged in more participatory class methods tended to conduct more traditional research than those students who had teacher-centered instruction.

The slope for the variable BOSNIAN was .22 ( $p < .001$ ). This indicates that Bosniac students conducted traditional research more than their Bosnian Croat counterparts. Furthermore, there was a significant interaction effect for PC by BOSNIAN. The slope for the effect was -.19 ( $p < .01$ ), which indicates that the effect of the treatment (PC) was larger for Croats than Bosniacs. This is interesting, as Croats begin with lower levels and improve more than their Bosniac peers through participating in civic education.

Finally, the slope for the variable MINORITY was -.12 ( $p < .05$ ). This suggests that minority students conducted less traditional research than nonminority students. Perhaps minorities need extra encouragement to conduct research using media, family members, scholars or libraries than their peers, who are ethnic majorities.

At the class level, the variable MEAN.ACTIVITY was the only significant predictor ( $p < .05$ ) of traditional research. That slope for MEAN.ACTIVITY was .14 ( $p < .05$ ), indicating that classes with high MEAN.ACTIVITY conducted more research than those with low MEAN.ACTIVITY. This is above and beyond student-level differences in ACTIVITY. Furthermore, the class-level effect for MEAN.ACTIVITY was larger in magnitude than the student-level for ACTIVITY (.14 compared to .03). This suggests that the class environment played a significant role in the extent to which traditional research was conducted.

## Expert Research

Table 5.2: Predictors of Expert Research at Posttest (EX2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean EX2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	1.425	.059	23.97	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	-.022	.032	-.687	.495
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.091	.114	.800	.428
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	.103	.087	1.18	.241
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	-.078	.022	-3.62	.001
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	-.007	.017	-.432	.665
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	-.017	.013	-1.31	.189
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.182	.045	4.07	.000
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.020	.007	2.80	.006
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	-.019	.040	-.48	.630
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	-.131	.058	-2.26	.024
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	-.026	.046	-.572	.567
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.134	.053	-2.54	.012
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.110	.051	-2.18	.029
<i>Random Effect</i>				
	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.014	52	162.31	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.165			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

At the individual level, the following variables were significant for predicting expert research ( $p < .05$ ): (a) SEX, (b) PC, (c) ACTIVITY, (d) PC\*BOSNIAN, and (e) SES1 and 2. The slope for girls was  $-.08$  ( $p < .01$ ). Girls were slightly less likely than boys to ask experts for information

Participants in **Project Citizen** engaged in more research than nonparticipating peers with a positive slope of  $.18$  ( $p < .001$ ). Students who use participatory methods were slightly more likely to conduct higher-level research, with a slope of  $.02$  ( $p < .01$ ).

There is no significant independent effect for ethnicity. There was however, a significant interaction, where Bosniac students who participated conducted less expert research than participating Croats with a slope of  $-.13$  ( $p < .01$ ).

The slope for the variables lower and middle socioeconomic status were  $-.13$  ( $p < .05$ ) and  $-.11$  ( $p < .05$ ). This indicates that students from lower socioeconomic groups were less likely to engage in expert research than were students with more means. The most disadvantaged group's conducted the least expert research, followed closely by middle status youth.

## Political Participation

Table 5.3: Predictors of Political Participation at Posttest (PP2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean PP2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	2.391	.079	30.23	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	-.050	.038	-1.32	.194
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.220	.136	1.62	.110
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	-.066	.103	-.636	.527
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	-.091	.030	-3.07	.003
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	-.000	.022	-.011	.991
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	.020	.018	1.13	.258
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.188	.059	3.18	.002
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.014	.010	1.45	.146
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	.031	.051	.604	.545
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	-.067	.076	-.879	.379
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	.003	.061	.045	.964
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.191	.072	-2.65	.008
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.143	.069	-2.07	.038
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.016	52	122.33	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.308			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

Significant student level predictors for political participation ( $p < .05$ ) included: (a) SEX, (b) PC, (c) SES1 and SES2. The slope for the variable SEX was  $-.09$  ( $p < .01$ ). Girls were less likely to participate in politics than boys. The slope for participants in civic education was  $.19$  ( $p < .01$ ), indicating that participants were more politically active than nonparticipants. Students coming from less advantaged homes were also less likely to

participate in politics. The slope for students with the lowest socioeconomic status was -.19 ( $p < .01$ ). For middle status students the slope was also negative, -.14 ( $p < .05$ ).

## Political Contacting

Table 5.4: Predictors of Political Contacting at Posttest (PC2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean PC2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	2.297	.089	25.74	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	-.073	.043	-1.66	.103
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.113	.156	.724	.472
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	-.044	.118	-.372	.711
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	-.084	.033	-2.54	.011
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	-.027	.025	-1.06	.290
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	.012	.020	.609	.542
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.164	.067	2.45	.014
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.023	.011	2.14	.032
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	-.011	.058	-.191	.849
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	-.129	.086	-1.49	.135
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	.024	.069	.344	.730
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.199	.081	-2.47	.014
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.108	.078	-1.39	.166
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.023	52	130.61	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.388			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

At the student level, four variables were found to be significant predictors of political contacting: (a) SEX, (b) PC, (c) ACTIVE and (d) SES1. The slope for SEX was -.08 ( $p < .05$ ). Girls contacted officials at slightly lower rates than did boys. The slope for participating in civic education was .16 ( $p < .05$ ), indicating that participants contacted more public officials. The slope for students who reported active methods in their classes was .02 ( $p < .05$ ). Students who experienced active methods had slightly higher levels of political contacting than their more passively taught peers. The slope for students from the lowest socioeconomic group was -.19 ( $p < .05$ ). Students occupying the lowest

socioeconomic stratum were less likely to contact political officials than students from the highest socioeconomic stratum.

### Political Tolerance: Threatening Groups

Table 5.5: Predictors of Threatening Groups at Posttest (T2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean T2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	2.12	.089	23.68	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	-.039	.078	-.502	.617
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.121	.287	.423	.674
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	.161	.219	.732	.467
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	.017	.027	.628	.530
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	.007	.023	.289	.772
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	-.067	.017	-4.11	.000
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	-.185	.062	-2.99	.003
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.005	.009	.595	.552
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	-.107	.063	-1.70	.088
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	.163	.079	2.08	.037
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	-.127	.063	-2.02	.043
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	.070	.066	1.06	.289
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	.089	.064	1.40	.162
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.125	52	723.78	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.256			

\*Approximate *class-level*  $df = 52$ . Approximate *student-level*  $df = 1488$ .

Student level predictors for political tolerance of threatening groups ( $p < .05$ ) include: (a) GPA, (b) PC, (c) PC\*BOSNIAN, and (d) MINORITY. This indicates that students with higher grade point averages were less politically tolerant of threatening groups. The slope was  $-.07$  ( $p < .001$ ). Likewise the slope for **Project Citizen** participants was negative,  $-.19$  ( $p < .01$ ). Participants were less likely to be willing to permit threatening groups to participate in the political process.

The slope for PC\*Bosnian was .16 ( $p < .05$ ). Bosniac students were more likely than Croat students to allow threatening groups to participate in the political process. Students who composed a minority within their classes were less willing to allow threatening groups to participate with a slope of -.13 ( $p < .05$ ).

### **Nonthreatening Groups**

**Table 5.6: Predictors of Nonthreatening Groups at Posttest (NT2)**

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean NT2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	3.271	.074	44.38	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	.091	.051	1.80	.077
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	-.038	.184	-.209	.835
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	-.122	.141	-.869	.389
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	.116	.025	4.68	.000
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	-.018	.020	-.901	.368
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	-.026	.015	-1.73	.082
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	-.150	.055	-2.74	.007
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.016	.008	2.01	.044
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	.015	.053	.290	.772
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	.101	.070	1.45	.148
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	-.071	.056	-1.27	.206
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.052	.060	-.863	.388
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.072	.058	-1.23	.218
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.046	52	343.47	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.215			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

At the student level, the following three variables were significant predictors for political tolerance of nonthreatening groups: (a) SEX, (b) PC, and (c) ACTIVITY. The slope for sex was .12 ( $p < .001$ ). This indicates that girls were more tolerant of nonthreatening groups petitioning government than were boys. The slope for ACTIVITY was .02 ( $p < .05$ ), which suggests that increasing interactive methods increases political tolerance. At level-2, activity approaches significance (.08), suggesting that increasing interactive methods at the classroom level might change this attitude.

The slope for PC was  $-.15$  ( $p < .01$ ), which indicates that program participants were less politically tolerant than those who had not participated in the program. Groups included environmentalists, students, women's, religious and human rights groups, which do not pose a threat.<sup>7</sup> There were no interaction effects or differences by ethnicity.

## Political Efficacy

**Table 5.7: Predictors of Efficacy at Posttest (TE2)**

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean TE2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	<b>3.167</b>	<b>.088</b>	<b>35.88</b>	<b>.000</b>
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	.043	.041	1.05	.298
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.001	.146	.014	.989
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	.119	.111	1.08	.287
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	<b>-.130</b>	<b>.033</b>	<b>-3.91</b>	<b>.000</b>
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	<b>-.067</b>	<b>.025</b>	<b>-2.69</b>	<b>.008</b>
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	.045	.020	2.22	.026
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.208	.066	3.17	.002
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.058	.011	5.40	.000
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	.068	.056	1.22	.222
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	<b>-.153</b>	<b>.085</b>	<b>-1.80</b>	<b>.072</b>
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	<b>-.076</b>	<b>.067</b>	<b>-1.13</b>	<b>.259</b>
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	<b>-.238</b>	<b>.081</b>	<b>-2.93</b>	<b>.004</b>
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	<b>-.216</b>	<b>.078</b>	<b>-2.78</b>	<b>.006</b>
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.017	52	110.27	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	.391			

\*Approximate class-level  $df = 52$ . Approximate student-level  $df = 1488$ .

At the student level, the following seven predictors were significant for the efficacy scale ( $p < .05$ ): (a) SEX, (b) YEARBORN, (c) GPA, (d) PC, (e) ACTIVITY, (e) SES1, and (f) SES2. The slope for SEX was  $-.13$  ( $p < .001$ ). Girls were less likely than boys to feel politically efficacious. Likewise, younger students felt less efficacious than did older

<sup>7</sup> The list was created through an open-ended response to questions about least-liked groups in a previous study conducted in 1998, and from focus groups.

students, as the slope for YRBRN was  $-.07$  ( $p < .01$ ). This was the only scale where age was a significant predictor.

The slope for GPA was  $.05$  ( $p < .05$ ). Student's who had greater ability felt slightly more efficacious. The slope for ACTIVE was  $.06$  ( $p < .001$ ). Again, active methods proved a positive predictor of political efficacy.

Participation in **Project Citizen** resulted in a slope of  $.21$  ( $p < .01$ ). Students who participated in civic education felt that they better understood important political issues and were more prepared to participate in political and public life.

The slopes for SES1  $-.24$  ( $p < .01$ ) and SES 2 was  $-.22$  ( $p < .01$ ), were both negative. In this instance, low ses students were least likely to feel politically efficacious, followed by middle ses students, who in turn felt less efficacious than high ses students. These data indicate that across many of these scales, poor youth are at a disadvantage via their more affluent peers.

## Political Interest and Attention to Media

Table 5.8: Predictors of Political Interest at Posttest (PI2)

<i>Fixed Effect</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>t-ratio</i>	<i>p-value*</i>
<i>Class-Level</i>				
Average Class Mean PI2 ( $\gamma_{00}$ )	2.878	.185	15.56	.000
MEAN.ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{01}$ )	.048	.101	.470	.640
MEAN.SES ( $\gamma_{02}$ )	.203	.364	.558	.579
MEAN.GPA ( $\gamma_{03}$ )	.115	.277	.414	.680
<i>Student-Level</i>				
SEX ( $\gamma_{10}$ )	-.295	.067	-4.40	.000
YEARBORN ( $\gamma_{20}$ )	.019	.052	.364	.716
GPA ( $\gamma_{30}$ )	.086	.041	2.10	.035
PC ( $\gamma_{40}$ )	.564	.140	4.03	.000
ACTIVITY ( $\gamma_{50}$ )	.147	.022	6.79	.000
BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{60}$ )	.263	.126	2.08	.037
PC*BOSNIAN ( $\gamma_{70}$ )	-.664	.180	-3.70	.000
MINORITY ( $\gamma_{80}$ )	-.399	.143	-2.80	.006
SES1 ( $\gamma_{90}$ )	-.119	.163	-.728	.467
SES2 ( $\gamma_{100}$ )	-.073	.157	-.465	.642
<i>Random Effect</i>				
<i>Random Effect</i>	<i>Variance Component</i>	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p-value</i>
Group Mean ( $u_{0j}$ )	.148	52	176.72	.000
Level-1 effect ( $r_{ij}$ )	1.569			

\*Approximate *class-level*  $df = 52$ . Approximate *student-level*  $df = 1488$ .

At the student level, the following seven variables significantly predicted interest in politics and attention to media ( $p < .05$ ): (a) SEX, (b) GPA, (c) PC, (d) ACTIVITY, (e) BOSNIAN, (f) PC\*BOSNIAN, and (g) MINORITY. The slope for SEX is  $-.3$  ( $p < .001$ ). Girls were less interested in and paid less attention to public affairs. The slope for GPA was  $.09$  ( $p < .05$ ). Students with greater academic ability were more interested in politics.

The slope for PC was  $.56$  ( $p < .001$ ). Program participants were more interested in politics and paid more attention to news than did nonparticipants. Active classroom methods were also significant, with a slope of  $.15$  ( $p < .001$ ).

The slope for BOSNIAN was .26 ( $p < .05$ ). This indicates that Bosniacs reported greater interest in politics and paid greater attention to public affairs than Croat students. However the interaction term was also significant; the slope for PC\*Bosnian was -.66 ( $p < .001$ ). Participating in Project Citizen increased interest in politics and attention to news among Bosnian Croats. The slope for MINORITY was -.4 ( $p < .01$ ), indicating that minorities within classrooms were less interested in politics than ethnic majority peers.

## Discussion

A familiar pattern emerged when analyzing students' socioeconomic status. Youth from less advantaged backgrounds were significantly less likely to engage in high-level research and to participate in politics. They felt less efficacious as well. They did not however, differ from more advantaged students in interest in politics and attention to media or in their support for political tolerance.

Grade point average, a proxy for ability, was not a significant predictor at the class level, indicating that classes with higher mean levels of ability were not significantly more skilled or engaged than less gifted classes. At the student level, those with higher GPAs were less tolerant of threatening groups; they were more willing than their lower-achieving peers to restrict the rights of groups (nationalists, for instance) to petition government. Perhaps better students were more aware of the roles different groups played in bringing about the war. Less surprising was the higher level of political efficacy found among better students. Better students also paid slightly more attention to media and expressed greater interest in public affairs.

In this study of youth within Muslim and Catholic communities, gender emerged as a predictor of political engagement even by age fourteen.<sup>8</sup> Gender, modeled at level one, was a significant predictor across most models. Girls were less likely than boys to ask officials and experts for information. They were less likely to participate in politics or to have contacted public officials. Girls felt less politically efficacious and were significantly less interested in politics and public affairs. One interesting difference was on the scale for political tolerance of nonthreatening groups; girls were significantly more likely to support the rights of those groups to petition government.<sup>9</sup>

The age range for participants in this study was too narrow to address the question of whether an optimal age exists for youth to acquire political skills and knowledge (most students were born in 1986 and 1987). Age proved to be a significant predictor in only one model, political efficacy, where older students were significantly more likely to feel politically efficacious.

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<sup>8</sup>Other researchers have found a decline in gender differences over the past decade (Torney-Purta et. al, 2001).

<sup>9</sup>This is a bit of a puzzle. One answer might have to do with the list of groups. One of the groups petitioning government was "women's" groups, " which may have generated greater tolerance among girls than boys. Previous research has shown greater support by young women for women's rights (Torney-Purta et. al 2001).

Participation in civic education was a significant predictor for nearly every scale (exceptions were for measures of tolerance). Participants possessed better research skills. They participated in politics at higher rates, and contacted public officials more often. Students who participated in **Project Citizen** felt more efficacious. They were more interested in politics and paid more attention to politics than their peers. In the short term, there is evidence that civic education programs can be effective tools for those who wish to change skills and some attitudes. Will this combination of improved research skills, interest in and attention to public affairs translate into informed political participation when students reach adulthood? A longitudinal study would be necessary to follow up with students to see if these gains endure.

On the two scales measuring political tolerance toward threatening and nonthreatening groups, the slopes for participants' are negative, indicating reduced support for measures of political tolerance. Is this a similar effect to that of GPA, where knowledge leads to decreased support for threatening groups? The interaction term in the model of tolerance for threatening groups shows that Bosniacs who participated became more supportive of the rights of those groups to petition government. There was however, not similar effect of treatment by ethnicity for nonthreatening groups. This is puzzling. Previous research has shown that attitudes are more difficult to change than knowledge or skills (Finkel and Ernst 2001). Additionally, the attitude of political tolerance may reflect fear and trauma experienced by these students when they were young children during the war. Nearly half of students surveyed, 45%, had been displaced from their homes during the war.

To increase tolerance might require a direct approach with tolerance as the goal of the curriculum. **Project Citizen** does not explicitly address political tolerance. It was hypothesized that greater opportunities to discuss controversial issues, to work with other students in teams and to try to influence public policy as a group might would foster more inclusive attitudes among students toward the political participation of other groups. Classroom activity was predictive of political tolerance, which suggests that increasing the use of interactive methods would increase tolerance.

Prior to the war, there was more mixing among ethnic groups in most of these cantons (except Siroki Brijeg). Ethnic homogeneity has increased. The variable MINORITY was used to determine whether students who belonged to the minority ethnic group within a class ( 9% of students in this sample) was predictive of democratic skills and attitudes. The data reveal that minority students were less likely to conduct traditional research. They were also less likely to support the rights of threatening groups to petition government, which is not surprising given that ethnic minorities would be more vulnerable if violence were to flare up. Or to relocate, should nationalists realize their goals to create ethnically homogeneous states. But minority students within classroom were also less interested in and paid less attention to politics. This suggests that students who comprise the ethnic minority within a classroom may require additional activities or attention to bring them on par with their peers.

Given the recent war, economic hardship and varying levels of commitment to the unified state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, ethnic differences might be expected to predict scores on these scales. Greater parental enthusiasm and commitment toward the new state might have predicted higher scores across measures of skills and attitudes for Bosniac youth. This was the case for three scales: Bosniac youth conducted more traditional research, felt more efficacious, and were more interested in politics and public affairs than were Croat students. Also, there was also a positive interaction where Bosniacs who participated in the program became more willing to allow threatening groups to participate in the political process. But there were no differences between groups on measures of political participation, political contacting or tolerance.

Other interaction effects between treatment and ethnicity signaled greater increases for Bosnian Croat youth. Following participation in **Project Citizen**, they conducted more traditional research. They also conducted more expert research than did participating Bosniacs. Bosnian Croat students grew more interested in politics and paid more attention to the media. Other slopes that approached significance, such as scores for efficacy, were negative, indicating that the treatment might increase gains among Croat students. This suggests that civic education may be effective at remedying some existing inequalities in political skills and attitudes between groups, in this instance between Bosniacs and Croats.

In summary, participation in civic education proved a significant predictor across nearly all measures of knowledge, skills and attitudes studied here. The exception is for scales of political tolerance, which may be harder to change than other attitudes due to mistrust and anxiety resulting from memories of the recent conflict. Active teaching methods, where students expressed their opinions, worked cooperatively, and discussed contemporary events, were positive and significant in nearly every model (the one exception was for tolerance for threatening groups). In one instance, active methods were predictive at the class level (research skills). The data revealed a gender gap across nearly all measures, suggesting that educators might target girls with more resources. Minorities within classrooms also scored lower across some measures, as did students coming from less advantaged backgrounds. This study found that, in some instances, greater gains were made by Bosnian Croats, who were less skilled and engaged than Bosniacs. Ethnic minorities or others who are less interested and skilled might benefit more from civic education than those who are more engaged.

## Appendix A.

### Definition and coding of variables and scales

#### Traditional Research<sup>10</sup>

*As part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from:*

- RESA. Television
- RESC. Radio
- RESB. Newspapers
- RESJ. Family and friends
- RESF. Professors or scholars
- RESA. Libraries

#### Expert Research

*As part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from:*

- RESI. Government offices
- RESH. Community organizations or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)
- RESG. Lawyers or judges

#### Political Participation

*Within the last six months, have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason:*

- CONG. Made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group.
- CONH. Taken part in a protest or march.
- CONF. Attended a local council meeting.
- CONI. Met with members of interest groups to obtain information.
- CONJ. Called in to a TV/radio news/political talk show.
- CONK. Tried to persuade someone to vote for a specific candidate or cause.

#### Political Contacting

*Within the last six months, have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason:*

- CONC. Written a letter to a government official.
- COND. Phoned a government official.

#### Tolerance – Threatening Groups

*Which of the following groups should be permitted to try to influence your government?*

- TOLG. Separatist groups
- TOLH. Armed bands
- TOLE. Nationalist groups

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<sup>10</sup> All scales are computed by averaging items. Listwise deletion was used.

Tolerance – Non-threatening Groups

- TOLA. Environmentalists
- TOLF. Student groups
- TOLB. Women's groups
- TOLC. Religious groups
- TOLD. Human rights groups

Efficacy

- EFFUN. I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.
- EFFPR. I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life.
- KNOWG. If there were a problem in your community, would you know what governmental official or branch might be responsible for such problems?
- KNOWF. How sure are you that you could find the governmental official or branch that is responsible for solving a particular problem in your community?
- SKILLEX. I am skilled at explaining problems in my community or country to other people.

Media Use and Interest

- INT. How interested are you in politics or public affairs?
- NEWS. How many days a week do you usually read the front-page news in the newspapers?  
0-7 days per week
- TV. How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as the evening news on TV? 0-7 days per week

## Appendix B.

### Student-Level and Class-Level Variable Descriptions

#### *Student-level:*

*SEX* – the student's gender (0=male, 1=female)

*YEARBORN* – the two-digit year the student was born (e.g. 86)

*GPA* – the student's grade-point average (1=F to 5=A)

*PC* – an indicator of treatment (1=Yes, 0=No)

*ACTIVITY* – an indicator of the student's activity

*BOSNIAN* – an indicator of ethnicity (1=Bosnian, 0=Croatian)

*MINORITY* – an indicator of minority status in the Canton (1=Yes, 0=No)

*SES1* – a dummy variable indicating low SES

*SES2* – a dummy variable indicating middle SES

#### *Class-level:*

*MEAN.ACTIVITY* – class mean ACTIVITY

*MEAN.SES* – class mean SES

*MEAN.GPA* – class mean GPA

## Appendix C. HLM Equations

*Student Level:*

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j} * (SEX) + \beta_{2j} * (YEARBORN) + \beta_{3j} * (GPA) + \beta_{4j} * (PC) \\ + \beta_{5j} * (ACTIVITY) + \beta_{6j} * (BOSNIAN) + \beta_{7j} * (PC * BOSNIAN) \\ + \beta_{8j} * (MINORITY) + \beta_{9j} * (SES1) + \beta_{10j} * (SES2) + r_{ij}$$

$$r_{ij} \sim N(0, \sigma^2)$$

*Class Level:*

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} * (MEAN.ACTIVITY) + \gamma_{02} * (MEAN.SES) + \gamma_{03} * (MEAN.GPA) + u_{ij}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10}$$

$$\beta_{2j} = \gamma_{20}$$

$$\beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30}$$

$$\beta_{4j} = \gamma_{40}$$

$$\beta_{5j} = \gamma_{50}$$

$$\beta_{6j} = \gamma_{60}$$

$$\beta_{7j} = \gamma_{70}$$

$$\beta_{8j} = \gamma_{80}$$

$$\beta_{9j} = \gamma_{90}$$

$$\beta_{10j} = \gamma_{100}$$

$$u_{ij} \sim N(0, \tau_{00})$$

Table 1: Goodness-of-fit indices for competing factor models

Factors	$\chi^2$	<i>df</i>	$\chi^2 / df$	CFI	NFI	N	Items
Six	1508.696	651	2.32	.83	.74	646	40
Seven	1220.387	637	1.92	.88	.79	646	40
Eight	968.909	619	1.57	.93	.83	646	40

*Notes:* CFI = Comparative Fit index. NFI = Bentler-Bonett Normed Fit Index.

Table 2: Standardized factor loadings

	Traditional Research	Expert Research	Political Participation	Political Contacting	Threatening Groups	Non-Threatening Groups	Efficacy	Interest in Politics
RESD	.85							
RESC	.77							
RESB	.66							
RESJ	.54							
RESF	.52							
RESA	.51							
RESI		.63						
RESH		.58						
RESG		.56						
RESE		.37						
CONG			.64					
CONH			.56					
CONF			.54					
CONI			.54					
CONJ			.48					
CONK			.45					
CONE			.30					
CONC				.75				
COND				.69				
CONA				.32				
CONB				.25				
TOLG					.83			
TOLH					.61			
TOLE					.49			
TOLA						.69		
TOLF						.67		
TOLB						.67		
TOLC						.64		
TOLD						.56		
EFFUN							.61	
EFFPR							.51	
KNOWG							.46	
KNOWF							.46	
SKILLEX							.44	
VOTE							.36	
TOLINF							.35	
TOLPOS							.29	
INT								.63
NEWS								.60
TV								.53

**Notes:**  $N=773$ ,  $CFI=.93$ ,  $NFI=.84$

Table 3: Reliabilities, means, and standard deviations for scales

**Wave 2**

Scale	Items	Alpha	N	Mean	SD
Traditional Research	6	.76	1310	1.95	.52
Expert Research	3	.69	1352	1.29	.45
Political Participation	6	.75	1334	2.26	.61
Political Contacting	2	.72	1390	2.13	.67
Threatening Groups	3	.63	607	2.05	.87
Non-Threatening Groups	5	.75	787	3.26	.68
Efficacy	5	.59	1307	2.97	.71
Interest in Politics	3	.57	1461	2.83	1.37

*Note:* Scales are computed by averaging items.

Table 4: Intercorrelations among scales Time 2

	Traditional Research	Expert Research	Political Participation	Political Contacting	Threatening Group	Non- Threatening Groups	Efficacy
Expert Research	.308 .000 1280						
Political Participation	.250 .000 1235	.345 .000 1263					
Political Contacting	.142 .000 1271	.286 .000 1304	.613 .000 1306				
Threatening Groups	-.117 .005 569	.156 .000 581	.128 .002 570	.161 .000 584			
Non-Threatening Groups	.038 .302 739	-.079 .029 757	-.023 .524 740	.012 .736 766	.201 .000 480		
Efficacy	.308 .000 1208	.254 .000 1238	.349 .000 1235	.260 .000 1272	-.020 .629 565	.032 .385 735	
Interest in Politics	.188 .000 1281	.136 .000 1319	.180 .000 1307	.148 .000 1359	-.055 .178 592	.073 .042 775	.294 .000 1281

Notes: two tailed  $p$ -values and pairwise  $N$ 's are listed below each correlation coefficient.

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