

# Caught between the ethnic sides: Children growing up in a divided post-war community

Dean Ajdukovic and Dinka Corkalo Biruski

University of Zagreb, Croatia

The war-related process of disintegration of a highly integrated and multi-ethnic community is described using a series of studies done in the city of Vukovar (Croatia) as a case example. After analyzing the key points of the community *social breakdown*, the three roots of ongoing ethnic division are explored: the feelings of being betrayed by important others at life-important situations; massive suffering and traumatization; and lack of compassion and acknowledgment of the victimhood. These also influence the inner dynamic of the divided community in which the strong social norm is not to cross the ethnic lines in public. When the schools became divided after the war so that the Serb and Croat children started going to separate schools, opportunity to meet each other across the ethnic lines became and remained severely limited. The implications for children that grow up in an ethnically divided community are documented in a study of children's and parental inter-ethnic attitudes and behaviors. The study included 1,671 students aged 12 to 16 and their parents. It showed that the children had more out-group biases and negative attitudes, and were more likely to choose discriminative behaviors towards their peers from the other ethnic group. Consequences for the future community inter-ethnic relations in the post-war societies and life limitations the children face are discussed.

Keywords: children's inter-group attitudes; divided community; inter-ethnic attitudes; majority-minority relations; parental influences on children's inter-group attitudes

Heterogeneous communities, be it religious, ethnic or racial, are prone to divisions that not only reflect the majority and minority relations, but under certain conditions bring into the forefront the previously unthreatening differences, such as ethnic or cultural background. While at normal times community heterogeneity may be welcomed or at least tolerated, at times of upheaval various differences among community groups become a matter of concern and growing distrust. Typically, at times of war and unrest, the majority group tends to misuse its power to isolate or persecute another ethnic minority, demonstrating the fear that this minority may not be loyal to the interests of the society. This has been recorded even in democracies during Second World War when the American government interned its own citizens of Japanese origin. The British government did a similar thing with Italian immigrants when the war broke out in 1940 between Britain and Italy (Ugolini, 2006). Turning against the neighbors of other ethnic origin reached its historical peak in the Holocaust. But 60 years later the world watched the genocide in Rwanda, and ethnic cleansing in Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo and Darfur. Consequences of expulsion of millions of Germans from East Europe after Germany lost the Second World War are only today beginning to be discussed among the professions concerned with human well-being.

For several years we have been studying the social reconstruction processes in a few communities that used to be well integrated multi ethnic settings before the wars that dissolved former Yugoslavia. In particular we have focused on the city of Vukovar in East Croatia (Ajdukovic & Corkalo, 2004; Biro et al., 2004; Corkalo et al., 2004) which has transformed in a

short period of time from a well integrated multi-ethnic community into the setting loaded with ethnic tensions leading up to horrific atrocities committed by the Serb military and paramilitaries in November 1991.

In the following text we will turn to these studies to discuss major points that paved the way to the dissolution of a highly integrated community of the city of Vukovar that has a strong symbolic meaning in collective memory of Croats because of extreme suffering of thousands of people. After analyzing the key points of the community *social breakdown*, we will explore the roots of current ethnic division and the inner dynamic of the divided community, including the key elements that prevent it from becoming integrated again. Then we will look at the implications for children that grow up in an ethnically divided community. In this part we will present results of a study of children's and parental inter-ethnic attitudes and behaviors. Finally, we will discuss possible implications of growing up in a divided community for the future community inter-ethnic relation.

## Disruption of integrated multi-ethnic communities

The 1991–95 wars in the former Yugoslavia resulted in the estimated 200,000 deaths and forced displacement of two million people. While Croatia and Slovenia accomplished independence and territorial integrity, Bosnia Herzegovina is left divided into two areas: a Croat-Muslim Federation and a Bosnian Serb entity. Because about 25,000 people are still listed

as missing, the level of emotional burden for many families remains high, and at the same time, impedes the ability of ethnic groups to overcome the differences. The wars that broke up former Yugoslavia originated with the Serb–ethnic Albanian conflict in Kosovo where in fact the final phase of these wars will unfold. With the cessation of overt hostilities, the task of rebuilding the infrastructure, building new political and legal institutions, democracy and independent media began.

### City of Vukovar case

The city of Vukovar in east Croatia can be taken as a textbook example of disrupted multi-ethnic community that used to be well integrated and proud of its ethnic diversity before the 1991–1995 war. The area used to be a rich agricultural and vine-producing region, with a strong economy based on the largest shoe and rubber industry in the former Yugoslavia. Prior to the war Vukovar had 44,639 inhabitants. Croats were the majority (47%), the largest minority were Serbs (32%), followed by Yugoslavs (10%) and Hungarians (1.5%) (Croatian National Census, 1991). When we interviewed them, the inhabitants of Vukovar proudly emphasized that 29 ethnic groups lived in the municipality. They provided many examples showing the dense social network and ethnic integration of the pre-war community.

Ten years later, the census showed a considerable change in the population. There were about 1/3 less inhabitants, while the ethnic composition showed the relative increase in the Croat (57%) and decrease in the Serb population (33%) (Croatian National Census, 2002). The period between 1991 and 1997 was filled with ethnic violence, atrocities and forced uprooting of the Croats and other groups of non-Serb origin in 1991. After six years of occupation by the Serb paramilitary, the area was reunified with the rest of the country and the displaced Croats gradually returned to the city in which 62% of the housing was destroyed (Zunec, 1998) and majority of urban infrastructure almost completely devastated. But then the Serb population fled, only to begin returning to their homes several years later.

### Breakdown of the multi-ethnic community

We studied the rapid deterioration of community inter-ethnic relations and its consequences by interviewing 52 people who used to have close friends from the other ethnic group (Ajdukovic & Corkalo, 2004). This process, which led to the state of anomie and to committing some of the worst atrocities in Europe at the turn of this century, is well described by the *social breakdown* hypothesis (Useem, 1998). It maintains that the social breakdown process is the gradual violation of social norms in a previously functional community as the violence escalates. When social institutions and structures no longer provide safety, people start looking for other means that will protect them. They typically turn towards their own group, hoping that it will provide safety for them and their families. In such circumstances, one's own ethnic group becomes perceived as a source of safety and the out-group as a source of threat. The fear, messages from the political leaders, media manipulation and psychological warfare lead people to transform the implicit inter-ethnic stereotypes into open biases and prejudice. As the time moves on, discrimination against the

out-group becomes more evident, contributing to the spiral of increasing violence.

When a multiethnic community becomes destabilized, the minorities become afraid that the ethnic majority will misuse its advantage by turning the institutions into instruments of ethnic dominance, observed Ignatieff (1998). Under such circumstances, he claims, individuals start feeling that they cannot trust their friends and neighbors from the other ethnic group as before.

We found that this was true for the people in Vukovar. Due to a variety of factors, such as biased information processing, rumors and political pressures, in the mind of people their close friends and neighbors of the other ethnic background gradually shifted from the “in-group category” into the “out-group category”. The in-group became redefined: Distant relatives and even previously unimportant individuals from their own ethnic group became increasingly important as they as a group seemingly offered psychological safety under the threatening circumstances. Even minor differences between ethnic in-group and out-groups that have previously been irrelevant became crucial identifiers of “who is who”, giving way to new in- and out-group biases. It became important to distinguish and be distinguished from the ethnic out-group members. In order to do this, people increasingly insisted on any possible difference as a support for building own new social identity. Language, history, culture, looks, dressing, food served this purpose well. For example, our participants reported that, as the inter-ethnic relations deteriorated, they became aware that their friends from the other ethnic group started using words that have not been a part of the common, everyday speech. Both sides interpreted this as an attempt to demonstrate that they are more different than previously thought. As the political leaders emphasized the need for ethnic homogenization of their own group and highlighted differences towards the out-groups, the community rather quickly became socially divided and groups with conflicting interests started perceiving each other as enemies. At the same time the social institutions, such as police, courts of law, employment agencies, became unable or unwilling to serve and protect all the citizens equally, increasing the distrust. Fear from the other ethnic *group*, not particular *individuals*, colored the inter-group relations. The aggressive clues became also present in the community (such as weapons, hate speech, discrimination), increasing the likelihood of aggression, as predicted by the social psychological theories of aggression (e.g. Bandura, 1973). Our participants clearly recollected the fear they felt when weapons became distributed within each ethnic in-group by the local leaders.

What once used to be a closely knit multi-ethnic Vukovar community, over a period of only one year became a stage set for the ethnic violence.

### Roots of current ethnic division

In a series of focus groups combined with ethnographic studies (Corkalo et al., 2004) and interviews with former friends from two ethnic groups (Ajdukovic & Corkalo, 2004), we clearly established that this community used to be characterized by strong feelings of belonging, and attachment to friends and neighbors. Typically, the people either did not know the ethnic background of their friends, peers or neighbors, or simply did not care. They spent a lot of free time together; sometimes they also worked at the same job. Helping each other out was a

strong social norm. Both ethnic groups described how for several months in 1991 they shivered together in the bomb shelters during bombardment, shared scarce food and water. These studies also helped us analyze the roots of current community ethnic divisions.

The first root of the current ethnic division seems to be related to profound feeling of betrayal by close persons from the ethnic out-group. After the nationalistic parties won the elections in all countries of former Yugoslavia, including Croatia, many people in Vukovar started to feel uneasy as the pressure by the Croatian nationalists on Serbs increased. At the same time the aggressive politics lead by Milosevic against the non-Serb populations in former Yugoslavia quickly escalated. Many people did not understand nor like this, but felt helpless and distrustful towards the newly elected local politicians. The Croat police and the military started night searches through houses for the insurgent Serbs, some homes and businesses owned by the Serbs were blown up, prominent Serbs were taken away and disappeared. The fear settled down on Vukovar, felt by the Croats but much more by the Serb minority. Under such circumstances, a number of Serb families secretly left for Serbia. This turned out to be the first crucial factor that made the Croat friends feel betrayed by their life-long friends. In fact they believed (and still do) that their friends had information about the ethnic cleansing and mass killing of Croats due to happen in the city in less than three months and that they failed to warn them. At the same time, the Serbs that were interviewed described their decision to leave the city as being as a result of being overwhelmed with fear, and under chaotic circumstances.

The second root of division is related to the crucial experience of mass execution, deportation and humiliation of Croats after the city fell to the Serb military and paramilitaries in November 1991. In the few days, 700 Croats were executed or disappeared (and are still listed as missing). It has been estimated that three-quarters of the 3,000 civilians killed in Vukovar were Croats. When the paramilitaries started deporting and executing the Croats, they hoped that their Serb friends and neighbors would help in some way. This was the matter of life and death – the last hope for the Croats was that the local Serbs would vouch for them. But that did not happen, and the survivors still today cannot get over this feeling of blunt betrayal. A Croat women said:

We all used to be friends and this the reason for the pain we now feel. We used to share happiness and sorrow with them. And suddenly in 1991 you come to seek protection from a person (from the Serb group) who until yesterday was your very good friend, and he almost does not recognize you and more. He would not dare to be your friend any more. (Corkalo et al., 2004, p. 145)

The Serbs we have interviewed said that they themselves were terrified by the paramilitaries who ruled the city and could have done nothing to help their Croat neighbors (Ajdukovic & Corkalo, 2004).

The third root of still cold relations between the two major ethnic groups is related to lack of recognition of the Croat mass suffering by the Serb residents. Our studies have shown that the Serbs living in Vukovar today insist that the Croats' suffering had nothing to do with them personally. The Croats are still hurt by the lack of empathy for their traumatization and see this lack of validation of victims' status as being consistent with the Serb failure to help them when their lives

were threatened. They cannot understand that their neighbors believe that the inter-ethnic relations can be repaired without acknowledgement of their suffering and show of remorse.

However, even highly traumatized and divided communities can move towards integration. Herman (1992) argued that individual traumatic experiences prevent people from moving on with their lives unless they work them through. In ethnically torn communities such progress can include reconsidering broken relations with the contested out-group. In a major study including 1,624 participants from probability community samples in three cities (Vukovar in Croatia, Mostar and Prijedor in Bosnia and Herzegovina) we found that in the aftermath of organized violence the role of trauma as a barrier to social integration is not straightforward (Biro et al., 2004). The individual traumatic experience was found to be an obstacle to improving relations with the other ethnic group *only* if it was associated with other negative experiences (e.g. being discriminated or having bad experiences with the out-group before or after the war, feeling unsafe in the community). The findings suggested that authoritarianism, nationalism, and ethnocentrism may be the most important obstacles to the process of reconciliation among the ethnic groups. On the other hand, pre-war positive experience and friendship with ethnic out-group members were associated with an orientation towards re-establishing relations.

The model of social reconstruction of communities that remain divided by ethnic tensions after collective violence proposed by Ajdukovic (2003, 2004, 2005) emphasizes three parallel and interdependent processes that should take place in order to enable the community to become socially functional. These include: (1) recovery from losses, violence and trauma; (2) establishing social norms of tolerance; and (3) community empowerment. The model defines social reconstruction as "a process within a community [. . .] which brings the community's damaged social functioning to a normal level of interpersonal and group relations and renews the social fabric of the affected community" (Ajdukovic, 2003, p. 20). The model claims that unless people are able (and helped if necessary) to recover from suffering and integrate their traumatic experiences, they will not become able to move on with their lives nor to re-establish relations with community members from the ethnic out-group. The other, parallel, track, re-establishment of social norms that will encourage inter-ethnic integration, is the most challenging community task and especially so for children and youth. However, this is exactly where the leaders, both formal and informal, need to demonstrate their leadership capacity and responsibility. Given that in a highly traumatized community they too have suffered massive losses and have been traumatized, the interdependence with the first track is obvious. The third parallel track emphasized the need to empower individuals and groups to become proactive in finding alternatives that increase the likelihood of improved quality of life wellbeing, safety and normal social function of the community. Since the people feel disempowered after prolonged personal and collective suffering, increasing the sense of self-efficacy, and the role of active social agents, is important.

### Growing up in a divided community: What does it mean for children?

The position of children in a traumatized and divided community is especially troublesome. With no adult models

that cross the ethnic lines and encourage inter-ethnic encounters, the children grow up within a context loaded with social signs saying that the community wants you to stay within your own ethnic group. The school in post-war processes is a particularly strong socialization agent throughout childhood and adolescence. The schools in Vukovar became divided after the war so that the Serb and Croat children started to go to separate schools. This means that they have very limited opportunity to meet each other across the ethnic lines. The question is: What does growing up in a divided community mean for the intergroup attitudes and behaviors of children and their parents? Some answers are provided in the study described in the rest of this article.

Although there are very few longitudinal studies that deal with long-term consequences of childhood war trauma on children's later psychosocial development (eg. Dyregrov, Gjestad & Raundalen, 2002; Rousseau, Drapeau & Platt, 1999; Thabet & Vostanis, 2000), there is research showing detrimental effects of war on children's psychological adjustment and further development (Punamäki, Quota, & El Sarraj, 1997). Typically, the children's adjustment is assessed in the context of immediate war trauma. There are only few studies that looked at children's experiences and behaviors in the context of prolonged war circumstances, political violence and post-war social hardships (Ladd & Cairns, 1996; Macksoud & Aber, 1996). Moreover, studies looking at the influence of such circumstances on children's inter-group attitudes and social behaviors are nonexistent.

A divided community creates a unique social milieu that shapes people's social behavior. This is especially true for children who in fact do not know of the alternative, the socially and ethnically integrated community their parents have known for the majority of their lives. We defined the divided community as the one where there is *one major line of division* (ethnicity, race, culture, class) that penetrates into all aspects of social life and profoundly shapes the community dynamics. Of course the children recognize multiple markers of the unspoken social norm not to cross the ethnic line. When it happens, the contact is usually short-term and superficial or primarily work-related. Since there is no difference in the appearance of the members of the two groups, a complex community dynamics after the war has developed numerous social signs and behavioral codes for identifying who belongs where – from the way of saying *hallo* to a more complex division of urban space, such as separate coffee shops, restaurants and other public spaces (Corkalo et al., 2004).

Moreover, the ethnic division for children is even less sophisticated – they are simply separated by going to separate Croat and Serb school classes and kindergartens. Children are not encouraged to socialize with the out-group in their free time either. The fact that they do not have an opportunity to meet and socialize with the other group inevitably affects their perceptions of “the other”, their affective and cognitive responses towards them and their overall comprehension of the social relations. Research has shown that children's perceptions of inter-group similarity and friendship potentials are influenced by children's inter-group contact (McGlothlin & Killen, 2005). The role of children's social experiences and social constructs for their criteria of inclusion and exclusion of out-group peers, attitudes and behaviors towards the others has been shown to depend on the social context (Verkuyten & Steenhuis, 2005).

## Study of children's and parental ethnic inter-group behaviors and attitudes in a divided community

In the study presented here we had two objectives: First, to explore a set of ethnic inter-group relations in various everyday situations, as a function of gender, age and ethnic majority/minority group status. Second, to look at the congruence of a pattern of inter-ethnic relations between children and their parents. With regard to the first objective, following the social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) we assumed that the majority/minority status would influence expression of inter-ethnic relations, with majority group being more likely to report negative relations towards the out-group. We also assumed that the boys would be more inclined to declare negative out-group attitudes. Considering ambiguous results of the previous research regarding congruence between parents' and children's attitudes, we hypothesized a low to moderate relationship, expecting that other social cues and socializing agents influence children's attitudes towards the other ethnic group beyond their parents.

With regards to the second objective, we acknowledged that inter-group attitudes are formed, developed and maintained in a complex way, depending on a number of contextual factors, e.g. current group relations, history of conflict between groups, social status and distribution of power, minority/majority ratio, social norms, etc. Family is one of the major transmitters of social norms, including the norm of relating with other groups in a given society. Parental direct and indirect influence on inter-group attitudes and behaviors is expected and emphasized (Aboud & Doyle, 1996; Allport, 1954; Durkin, 2003; Verkuyten, 2002). However, the relationship between parental and children's inter-ethnic attitudes is neither strong nor consistently found. For example, working with the sample of majority (white) parents and children, Aboud and Doyle (1996) found no correlation between parents' and children's attitudes. Other studies found significant association, even between children's out-group attitudes and the parental ethnic attitudes as children perceived them (Verkuyten, 2002). These findings are particularly important since they show, as Verkuyten pointed out, that parents' influence might not be direct, but mediated by how children interpret them. In the context of a divided community this notion may be of special importance: Contextual influences on children's attitudes could also be mediated by children's perceptions and interpretations about what social norms regulate inter-group relations and in-group behaviors (Ojala & Nesdale, 2004).

In this study a representative probability sample including 718 students of elementary and high schools and 953 of their parents in Vukovar participated. They were sampled from both Serbian and Croat schools programs. The sampling model and the sample size ensured high representative quality of the study. Namely, the sample included 25% of the elementary school population and almost 15% of the secondary school population in the city and a corresponding proportion of parents.

### Measures and procedures

*Inter-ethnic group relations* were assessed using three indicators: Inter-ethnic contacts, inter-ethnic friendships and inter-ethnic discriminative behavior intentions. The inter-ethnic contacts were measured by asking participants about type of contacts



they had with members of other ethnic groups. Their responses were coded from 1 (no contacts whatsoever), 2 (accidental contacts), 3 (acquaintances), to 4 (friends). The inter-ethnic friendships were tapped by asking the participants to report how many friends they had among members of the other group. The responses were coded as 1 (up to 10), 2 (between 11 and 50 friends), and 3 (more than 50 friends). Tendency to discriminate against the ethnic out-group was assessed using descriptions of everyday situations for which the participants were asked if they would necessarily choose a member from their own group in order to complete the task described. Each participant was exposed to three such descriptions and was asked to respond with Yes or No. These are illustrative vignettes: “If I were a manager of a company and had two equally skilled workers, I would give a higher salary to the Croat/Serb for my own reasons” (example for adults); “If I had to decide who is going to join the school sport team, between the two students I would choose a Croat/Serb even if the other one was a better sportsman” (example for children). The total number of positive or negative responses was summed, with zero as the minimum result on discrimination, and three as the maximum result. The inter-item reliability of this three-item scale was satisfactory in the both samples (in children sample  $\alpha = 0.76$ ; in parental sample  $\alpha = 0.91$ ).

*Data collection.* Data were collected during regular school classes, when the questionnaire for children was administered in group sessions. During this period only a member of the research team was present, who was also able to provide individual explanations if any of the students needed them. The parents were approached through their children. The parents were asked to complete the questionnaire at home, seal it in an envelope provided and return it to the school via their child, who was supposed to hand it to the researcher on the day that was previously arranged. Compared to the greatest possible theoretical number of parents, 66.4% of the sample participated. There are no reliable estimates about the number of parents who have been killed, are listed as missing or still have been uprooted, so the response rate can be considered high. Since data collection was done anonymously, using only codes that enabled relating data between a child and his or her parents, reasons for gaps between the returned and non-returned questionnaires was not possible to assess.

The data gathering was done anonymously in order to protect the privacy of the participants. During the preparatory meetings with the school principals, teachers and parents, the aims of the study and procedures were described in detail. The parents and the school staff provided strong support to the research team in all the schools.

### *Analyses and results*

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to assess the effects of age, gender, and minority/majority status on inter-group attitudes and behaviors. Correlational analysis served to explore congruence of inter-ethnic attitudes and relations between children and their parents.

### *Tendency to discriminate against the out-group*

In order to estimate the effects of age, gender, and majority/minority status on discriminatory tendencies, a  $3 \times 2$

$\times 2$  independent design ANOVA was done. Age (12, 14 and 16 years), gender (boys vs. girls) and majority/minority status as between-subjects variables were used. The descriptive statistics for the children and parent subsamples for all dependent variables are given in Tables 1a and 1b.<sup>1</sup>

The main effect of minority/majority status ( $F(1,673) = 56.49, p < 0.001$ ), indicated that children from the majority group tended to discriminate more against the out-group ( $M = 1.52; SD = 1.17$ ), than minority children did ( $M = 0.90; SD = 1.08$ ). There was also a main effect of gender ( $F(1,673) = 29.58, p < 0.001$ ), with boys scoring higher ( $M = 1.38; SD = 1.20$ ) than girls ( $M = 0.97; SD = 1.07$ ). A three-way interaction including age, gender and majority/minority status also came out significant ( $F(2,673) = 3.02, p = 0.05$ ). As can be seen in Figure 1, while the older boys discriminated more regardless of their majority/minority status, the pattern of results for the girls is more complicated. They did not show any developmentally consistent pattern of discrimination, but indicated that the girls aged fourteen from the majority group are less prone to discriminate against the out-group, while girls from minority group showed the opposite – their tendency to discriminate against the out-group was the highest at this age.

The same analysis for the sample of parents was only partially consistent with the results for their children. There was a main effect of majority/minority status ( $F(1,910) = 193.51, p < 0.001$ ), with the majority scoring higher on discrimination ( $M = 1.06; SD = 1.29$ ) than the minority ( $M = 0.13; SD = 0.53$ ). The main effect of age ( $F(1,910) = 5.70, p < 0.01$ ) indicated that parents of older children were more inclined to discriminate ( $M = 0.77; SD = 1.21$ ), than the parents of younger children ( $M = 0.43; SD = 0.96$  for parents of 14-year olds and  $M = 0.52; SD = 1.03$  for parents of 12-year olds).

### *Type of contacts with the out-group*

The analysis for the contact with the out-group as the depended variable revealed two main effects and one interaction. Again the effect of majority/minority status was significant ( $F(1,667) = 32.25, p < 0.001$ ), showing that the children of minority groups had more meaningful contacts with members of the majority group ( $M = 3.05; SD = 1.05$ ), than the other way around ( $M = 2.60; SD = 1.15$ ). A main effect of gender ( $F(1,667) = 7.80, p < 0.01$ ) indicated that the girls had closer contacts with the out-group ( $M = 2.97; SD = 1.04$ ), than the boys had ( $M = 2.72; SD = 1.18$ ). A gender by age interaction ( $F(2,667) = 3.86, p = 0.02$ ) showed that at younger age boys and girls had about the same type of contact with the out-group ( $M_{\text{boys}} = 2.86; SD = 1.20; M_{\text{girls}} = 2.87; SD = 1.04$ ). However, as shown in Figure 2, at the age fourteen, girls had closer contacts with the out-group ( $M = 3.13; SD = 1.01$ ) than boys ( $M = 2.54; SD = 1.15$ ). In the secondary school the type of contact with out-group was again more or less the same for both genders ( $M_{\text{boys}} = 2.75; SD = 1.17; M_{\text{girls}} = 2.90; SD = 1.06$ ).

<sup>1</sup> Although not directly related to our research questions, it's worth mentioning that when differences in inter-ethnic attitudes and behaviors between children and parents exist, they were not determined by the gender by type of participant (a child or a parent) interaction. Only three such interactions out of 18 comparisons were significant.

**Table 1a***Reported relations with the out-group members in children's sample: Means and standard deviations (in parenthesis)*

	Majority children						Minority children					
	6 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		2 <sup>nd</sup> high		6 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		2 <sup>nd</sup> high	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Degree of contact	2.53 (1.08)	2.47 (1.25)	3.00 (1.06)	2.23 (1.11)	2.75 (1.15)	2.64 (1.14)	3.20 (0.88)	3.35 (0.95)	3.22 (0.98)	2.86 (1.11)	3.12 (0.87)	2.82 (1.19)
Number of friends	1.16 (0.50)	1.21 (0.42)	1.18 (0.46)	1.14 (0.48)	1.33 (0.66)	1.63 (0.84)	1.26 (0.51)	1.12 (0.33)	1.24 (0.43)	1.34 (0.61)	1.46 (0.69)	1.40 (0.63)
Discrimination	1.36 (1.08)	1.80 (1.16)	0.95 (1.04)	1.98 (1.06)	1.32 (1.15)	1.58 (1.23)	0.51 (0.84)	0.87 (1.10)	0.87 (1.15)	1.13 (1.13)	0.59 (0.74)	1.09 (1.16)

**Table 1b***Reported relations with the out-group members in parents sample: Means and standard deviations (in parenthesis)*

	Majority parents of:						Minority parents of:					
	6 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		2 <sup>nd</sup> high		6 <sup>th</sup> graders		8 <sup>th</sup> graders		2 <sup>nd</sup> high	
	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers
Degree of contact	2.88 (1.00)	2.77 (1.00)	2.82 (1.01)	2.88 (0.93)	2.73 (1.13)	2.62 (1.06)	3.62 (0.70)	3.53 (0.65)	3.54 (0.74)	3.57 (0.70)	3.49 (0.74)	3.24 (0.88)
Number of friends	1.30 (0.64)	1.63 (0.87)	1.34 (0.65)	1.35 (0.61)	1.55 (0.80)	1.75 (0.81)	1.72 (0.81)	1.61 (0.76)	1.69 (0.75)	1.61 (0.83)	1.59 (0.75)	1.88 (0.81)
Discrimination	0.89 (1.22)	1.04 (1.25)	0.88 (1.20)	1.05 (1.33)	1.15 (1.32)	1.24 (1.39)	0.03 (0.23)	0.05 (0.39)	0.06 (0.35)	0.04 (0.26)	0.27 (0.77)	0.27 (0.77)

Main effects were found depending on the majority/minority status ( $F(1,888) = 136.80, p < 0.001$ ). The effects of age of their children did not have a clear tendency. Minority parents, as was the case with their children, reported closer contacts with the out-group ( $M = 3.49; SD = 0.75$ ) than parents from the majority group ( $M = 2.77; SD = 0.94$ ). Parents of 12-year olds had closer contacts with the out-group ( $M = 3.18; SD = 0.94$ ) than the parents of 16-years olds ( $M = 3.00; SD = 1.03$ ), but the closest contact was declared by the parents of the 14-years old group of children ( $M = 3.24; SD = 0.91$ ).

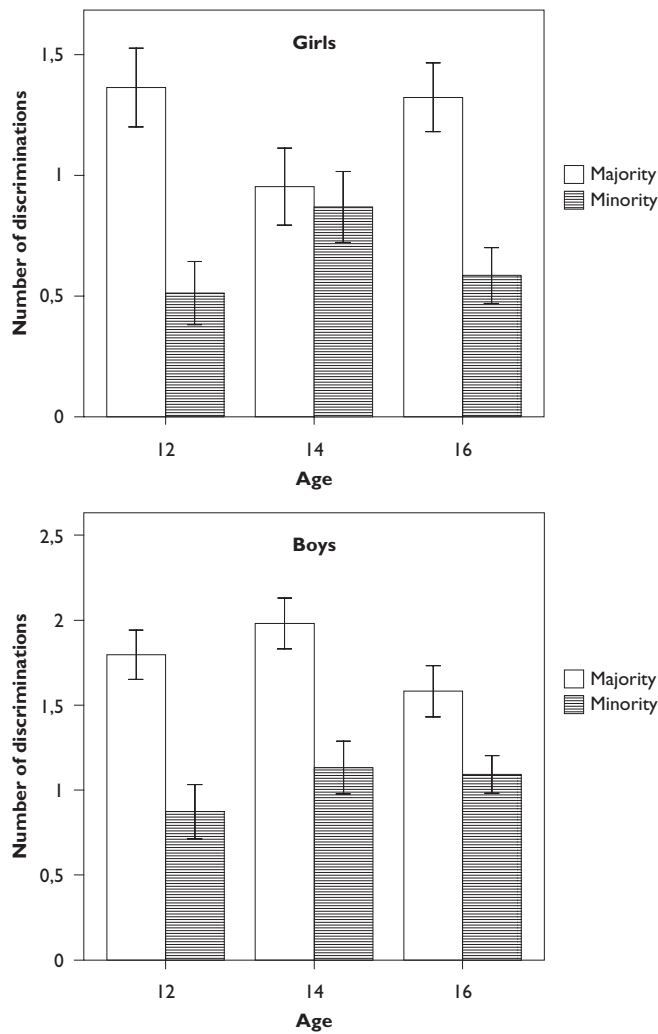
### Inter-ethnic friendships

The only significant effect was the age of students,  $F(2,401) = 8.73, p < 0.001$ . There was a clear age-related tendency – the older the children were, the more out-group friends they had: The least at the age twelve ( $M = 1.19; SD = 0.44$ ), slightly more when they were fourteen ( $M = 1.23; SD = 0.49$ ) and the most at the age sixteen ( $M = 1.45; SD = 0.70$ ) ( $F(2,401) = 8.73, p < 0.001$ ). The minority/majority status was not effective.

Among the parents the majority/minority status had main effect ( $F(1,542) = 8.68, p < 0.01$ ), since the parents from the minority group reported having more out-group friends ( $M = 1.68; SD = 0.78$ ) than the parents from the majority group ( $M = 1.50; SD = 0.75$ ). The age came out marginally significant ( $F(1,542) = 2.97, p = 0.05$ ), showing that the parents of 16-year olds had the more out-group friends ( $M = 1.69; SD = 0.79$ ), compared to the parents of younger children of 14-years old ( $M = 1.54; SD = 0.74$ ) and 12-years old ( $M = 1.58; SD = 0.78$ ).

### Correlations of the measures of inter-group contacts of children and parents

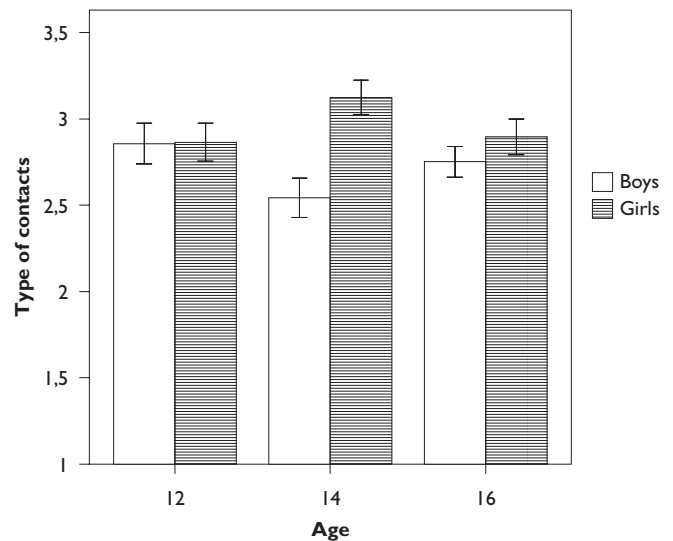
No substantial association between measures of children's and parental ethnic relations was found. The highest correlation was for the type of contacts (on a continuum from having no contact with the out-group to having friends with the out-groups) children and parents had with the out-group: In the minority sample this correlation was higher ( $r(165) = 0.37, p < 0.001$ ) than in the majority sample ( $r(169) = 0.18, p = 0.02$ ). The number of out-group friends between children and parents did not correlate significantly in any subsample. For the tendency to discriminate against the other ethnic group, the correlation in the majority group was higher ( $r(174) = 0.30, p < 0.001$ ), than in the minority group ( $r(173) = 0.15, p = 0.05$ ). For the majority group of children those who had closer contacts with the out-group showed less readiness for discriminatory behaviors ( $r(269) = -0.51, p < 0.001$ ). The same correlation for the minority children was slightly lower ( $r(321) = -0.40$ ). Parental correlations of this kind showed the same pattern. In the parental majority sample the correlation between contacts and tendency for discriminatory behavior was  $r(168) = -0.59, p < 0.001$ , and in the minority sample it was  $r(163) = -0.20; p < 0.001$ . A type of parental contacts with the out-group was also negatively related to the children's discriminatory behavior: in the majority sample this correlation was  $r(168) = -0.30, p < 0.001$ , and in the minority sample  $r(163) = -0.20, p < 0.001$ .



**Figure 1.** Mean number of discriminations (and standard errors) as a function of age, majority/minority status and gender.

## Discussion

In the present study we explored specific aspects of inter-group relations of children and parents in the ethnically divided community, as a function of participants' age, gender



**Figure 2.** Mean type of contacts with the out-group as a function of gender and age.

and their majority/minority status. Another point was to look at the extent at which the trends in children's results might mirror parental inter-group attitudes and behaviors. It was not assumed that relations among the children from the two ethnic groups will directly reflect the relations among their parents – an ample body of research has shown that children's inter-group attitudes are formed in a complex way that does not reflect a simple unidirectional transfer of attitudes and behaviors from parents to children. Besides, correlations between ethnic attitudes and behaviors of children and their parents observed in different studies are inconsistent and varying in size (Nesdale, 2001), sharing in the best case only about 10% of the variance (Brown, 1995).

Although there is a certain similarity in cross-ethnic relations between the children and their parents, our results indicate that other influences in children's environment may be dominant in shaping their inter-group attitudes and behaviors. We did not find any substantial correlation between measure of children's and parental ethnic relations that would corroborate a widespread assumption stemming from the social learning approach that the parents are most important transmitters of

**Table 2**

*Correlations among measures of out-group relations in the samples of children and parents. (Coefficients for the majority group are given in straight letters, and for the minority in italics)*

	<i>Contacts parents</i>	<i>Friends children</i>	<i>Friends parents</i>	<i>Discrimin. children</i>	<i>Discrimin. parents</i>
Contacts children	0.18*	0.04	0.30*	-0.51**	-0.14
	<i>0.37**</i>	<i>0.19**</i>	<i>0.09</i>	<i>-0.40**</i>	<i>-0.12</i>
Contacts parents		0.11	0.08	-0.30**	-0.59**
		<i>0.07</i>	<i>-0.11</i>	<i>-0.20**</i>	<i>-0.20**</i>
Friends children			0.18	-0.12	-0.01
			<i>0.05</i>	<i>-0.16*</i>	<i>-0.10</i>
Friends parents				-0.24	-0.06
				<i>-0.14</i>	<i>-0.11</i>
Discrimination children					0.30**
					<i>0.15*</i>

\*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ .

the attitudes that prevail in social environment (Nesdale, 2001).

It seems that there are two major points that our correlation analysis underlines. First, a difference in the size of the correlation coefficients in minority and majority samples on respective measures brings to attention the fact that the difference between parental and children's intergroup attitudes depends whether the respective behavior towards the out-group is positive or negative. This difference is larger in the minority sample when discriminatory attitudes are concerned and it is larger in the majority sample when type of contact with the out-group is concerned.

Second, the results corroborate earlier findings about only modest correlation of inter-group attitudes between children and their parents. Given the nature of highly divided community in which the participants live, it is likely that the children were more open in expressing their (negative) intergroup attitudes, reflecting the inter-group division as a socially acceptable norm in the community. It should also be emphasized that those children have not had any experience of living in a non-divided social world, since they have lived in the circumstances of inter-group tensions from their earliest age (Corkalo et al., 2004; Corkalo Biruski & Ajdukovic, 2007). Another point should be also considered: A recent study by Sinclair and colleagues (2005) showed a pattern of parental and children's implicit and explicit prejudice indicating that those children who highly identify with their parents may accept parental inter-group attitudes more on the implicit than on the explicit level. The implications are obvious: apart from the direct message that children receive from the community, there is also a likely influence of parents' implicit prejudice that is transmitted in subtle and non-directional way, making the children internalize the inter-ethnic division more strongly. It is very likely that such influences are even more effective in a highly divided community than they are in a more stable social surrounding.

Belonging to the majority or the minority group clearly influenced inter-group attitudes and behaviors. The finding that the majority/high-status group is more prone to show negative out-group attitudes and behaviors is consistent with one of the fundamental assumptions of the social identity theory that would predict more out-group rejection in high status groups comparing to low status groups. This pattern was found in a number of studies, in different countries and different social settings, from experimental conditions (e.g. Tajfel, 1978, 1981) to real-life settings (e.g. Pettigrew, 1998a; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994).<sup>2</sup> A similar trend was observed among children as well (Durkin, 2003; Verkuyten & Masson, 1995). There are many reasons for it, but an uneven distribution of power that "allows" majority to treat minority as inferior is certainly one of the most salient (Bourhis, 1994). The imbalance of power is in one way or another embedded in many theories of inter-group relations, from earlier sociological approaches of the Chicago School (Baldwin, 1998) to more contemporary social-psychological approaches, like Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Such majority status is boosted by a dominant value system, social norms and ideology that functions within a

certain society (Billig, 1995; Blanchard et al., 2003; Pettigrew, 1998b).

However, when interpreting findings in the present study a specific social context should be taken into account. It is more complex than just the minority and majority status. It is likely that after years of feeling victimized, the Croats feel "entitled" to openly show generalized discriminatory attitudes towards the Serbs (Corkalo et al., 2004; Freedman et al., 2004), believing that this will not be perceived as a socially unacceptable behavior by their own group. Their feeling of victimhood serves as justification of their discriminatory behavior. However, this is exactly the point where a new circle of injustice and violence could start – by discriminating against individuals on the basis of their out-group membership, a victim is at risk of becoming a perpetrator.

The age of participants showed an inconsistent pattern of influence on inter-group relations. As a main effect it influenced discriminatory attitudes of parents, where older participants were more inclined towards discrimination than were the younger participants. Age was also related to the type of contacts and a number of out-group friends in the parental sample. While older parents had more friends among out-groups, the relation of age and type of contact with the out-group was not so clear-cut.

In the children's sample, age was also an important variable. For discriminatory attitudes it interacted with gender and majority/minority status, showing that 14-year old boys discriminated more than 12-year and 16-year old adolescents in both the majority and the minority group. The same trend holds true for girls from the minority group. On the contrary, 14-year old girls from the majority group discriminated less than either younger or older girls in the same subsample. Thus, our results corroborate only partially an expected developmental decrease in prejudice with age (Aboud, 1988), although it should be noted that the children in our sample are well above developmentally critical age, as suggested by Aboud's socio-cognitive theory. Adolescents of 14-years old showed specificity, consistent with previous findings: While younger and older boys and girls estimated their contacts with out-group similarly, the 14-year old girls reported less friendly contacts with the out-group than their male peers. As for the number of out-group friends, there is a clear developmental trend: older children have more friends.

It is challenging to explain why 14-year old adolescents deviate from the expected trends, and do so differently depending on gender. In a recent study looking at the impact of terrorist attack in Israel on stereotyping of Israeli adolescents, Bar-Tal and Labin (2001) showed that children aged 13–14 declared more negative feelings towards three target ethnic groups than the older adolescents. Similarly to our results, the explanation of these age differences in affective response towards out-groups could not be easily ascribed to the differences in cognitive development. However, we hypothesize that there might be a specific influence of a remarkably strong contextual factor of war *combined* with a sensitive developmental phase children were in: the 14-year olds were at the age of about four years when they and their families have been exposed to the war and their home community to atrocities. Research has shown that preschool children may be especially vulnerable for experiencing long-term effects of early childhood trauma (Lieberman & Knorr, 2007), including the experience of political violence (see for example Dawes, 1990). Preschoolers are also in such an age when ethnic

<sup>2</sup> However, see also different results when considering more pronounced discriminatory behavior of *numerical* minority vs. majority (e.g., Leonardelli & Brewer, 2001).



identification and inter-group attitudes begin to form, and children are developmentally in the phase when their social world is very simple, described by broad categories of “we” and “them” (Durkin, 2003). In spite of being broad and undifferentiated, these perceptive-cognitive categories are the only mental tools for understanding the social world children live in, and particularly inter-group relations in their community. It could be hypothesized that unstable and ethnically loaded communities send different, but less diverse messages about social groups and inter-ethnic norms than a more stable community does. This is probably how children pick up affective and evaluative reactions about own and other groups. Combined with young children’s simple cognitive categories that are less developed and elaborated at the age four than at the age six, the age at which our 14-year old group of participants was when the war started, these mostly negative social responses created a fertile ground for establishing negative attitudes towards out-groups, prejudice and discrimination particularly for this group of children. Hence, it is very likely that war-related experiences that took place in this sensitive period of child development affected the 4-year old children most, shaping their identity, conception of inter-group relations and their discriminatory attitudes in more “hard-line” and hawkish way. As Beale Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) pointed out: “. . . the outcome to younger children’s establishment of ethnic and racial identification, preferences and attitudes also contributes to adolescent identity formation” (p. 297). This view strongly supports Erikson’s (1968) notion on contextual and historical influences in identity formation. It would be important to explore in more detail how specific war circumstances may have influenced children’s identity formation and inter-group attitudes, taking into account a phase of their socio-cognitive development when they were affected by the war (see Ladd & Cairns, 1996 for related argument).

Gender of children turned out to be significant for the tendency to discriminate against the other group and for the type of contact with the out-group. Gender effect was as expected for discrimination: boys were more inclined to discriminate against the other group than girls. This is consistent with the gender effect on the type of contact with out-groups, with girls having closer contacts with the out-group peers than boys. However, this effect is modulated by the age interaction, showing that the real difference in type of contacts between girls and boys emerged in the 14-year olds. This may be ascribed to different socialization outcomes for boys and girls. While boys in early adolescence are more group oriented, girls pay more attention to their interpersonal relationships. As social identity theory suggests, boys’ more intensive orientation to their own group could be related to their more intensive tendency to discriminate against the other group. On the contrary, girls’ more intensive social orientation could lead them to have more meaningful contacts with peers, including those from the other ethnic group (for example Durkin, 2003).

Another set of developmental research is relevant for the present findings, showing that boys are more influenced by risk factors they experienced in their childhood development, and especially so if exposed to multiple risks (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1996). Taking into account children’s early experiences of community violence, war and displacement trauma, together with complexities of living in the divided community, one could assume that cumulative effect of these risk factors would be more evident in boys’ behavior. The boys have also

been reported to have had more war-related trauma experiences (Kuterovac, Dyregrov, & Stuvland, 1994). If a greater tendency to discriminate is taken as a sign of disturbed inter-group relations and not as a measure of a usual and widespread inter-group behavior, our findings shed additional light on the variety of behaviors that could be affected by the childhood experiences. The present study did not measure specifically the risk factors and traumatic experiences that children were exposed to; however, it offers some intriguing findings that show the need for refined research on the interaction of early childhood experiences with war and later inter-ethnic relations. This may have implications for breaking the cycle of violence.

A promising avenue for further research could be a more in-depth examination of parenting practices within minority and majority groups regarding the inter-group attitudes and behaviors. It is possible that these practices vary and that notions of inter-group relations are transmitted differently by the minority and the majority group. Although it has been shown on American minority samples how cultural practices of parents shape the attitudes of their children (Hughes & Chen, 1997; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), there is a lack of studies comparing majority and minority inter-ethnic socialization in general (see Verkuyten, 2002 for related arguments) and especially in settings where the minority group is not visibly different (in terms of skin color) from the majority. These socialization practices are of crucial importance in multi-cultural settings and could have a key role in creating and maintaining harmonious or conflicting inter-group relations. This applies not only to socializing practices of minority parents who on their “socializing agenda” (Hughes & Chen, 1997) *must have* a task of mainstream socialization, but also socialization practices of majority parents who, as their task, *should have not only* the mainstream socialization but also promotion of rights and integration of minority groups and cultures living in the same community.

To keep the children’s social world clearly categorized on the “we” and “them” groups is good neither for them nor for the society. If they have very few and only occasional possibilities to check the social reality of “them”, this makes them less socially prepared for dealing with differences and complexities of the multi-ethnic social environment in which they will inevitably live. They will be also less likely to build their social relations on the basis of individual rather than group characteristics, making these children hostages of their own ethnic group.

## Conclusions

The dissolution of a highly integrated community can be well described as social breakdown process pondered by the long-time consequences of massive losses and traumatization. The roots of current ethnic division in the city of Vukovar that served to illustrate the processes that we have studied, are clearly related to the emotional dimension of inter-ethnic relations. The feelings of being betrayed by important others (close friends, neighbors) under life-threatening circumstances, massive suffering of one side and lack of compassion and acknowledgment of the victimhood have been identified as three roots that deeply color the ongoing ethnic divisions in the community. These also influence the ongoing inner dynamic of the divided community in which the strong social norm is not to cross the ethnic lines in public. When the

schools became divided after the war so that the Serb and Croat children started going to separate schools, the opportunities to meet each other across the ethnic lines became and remained severely limited.

Being loyal to their parents and other important adults, the children who grow up in such environments internalize the social norms of almost exclusive in-group loyalty. We have documented differences in perceptions between majority and minority groups that are more profound among children than among adults. Jelic (2003), the researcher from our group, found that the youth living in a divided community are more likely to report cross-ethnic discrimination than their parents, show stronger ethnic identification and higher in-group bias than the adults. However, similarity between parental and children's attitudes does not simply mirror what the children have learned from their parents. In fact, children's and parent's ethnic attitudes share only a modest amount of commonality. As the children grow up in a society in which ethnic identities became very salient, they are exposed to other socialization agents encouraging them to strongly identify with their own ethnic group. Group identification is a powerful source of personal self-esteem for the young people living in an impoverished community which does not provide many other self-esteem boosters. Unlike their parents, the youth do not have the memory of the same community as a thriving multi-ethnic town in which it used to be comfortable to live. Thus, in addition to the direct and indirect role of parents on forming the inter-ethnic attitudes, other factors enter into the equation, such as growing up under difficult life circumstances, feelings of victimhood, belonging to the minority or majority, lack of opportunity to meet the out-group peers, and social norms that discourage cross-ethnic socializing.

## References

- Aboud, F. (1988). *Children and prejudice*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Aboud, F., & Doyle, A. (1996). Parental and peer influences on children's racial attitudes. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20, 371–383.
- Ajdukovic, D. (2003). Socijalna rekonstrukcija zajednice [Community social reconstruction]. In D. Ajdukovic (Ed.), *Socijalna rekonstrukcija zajednice: Psihološki procesi, rješavanje sukoba i socijalna akcija* [Community social reconstruction: Psychological processes, conflict management and social action] (pp. 11–39). Zagreb: Society for Psychological Assistance.
- Ajdukovic, D. (2004). Social contexts of traumatization and healing. *Medicine, Conflict and Survival*, 20, 120–135.
- Ajdukovic, D. (2005). Social (re)construction of a local community after massive traumatization. In M.J. Friedman and A. Mikus-Kos (Eds.), *Promoting the psychosocial well being of children following war and terrorism* (pp. 3–9). Amsterdam: IOS Press.
- Ajdukovic, D., & Corkalo, D. (2004). Trust and betrayal in war. In E. Stover and H. Weinstein (Eds.), *My neighbor, my enemy: Justice and community in the aftermath of mass atrocity* (pp. 287–302). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Baldwin, J.R. (1998). Tolerance/Intolerance: A multidisciplinary view of prejudice. In M.L. Hecht (Ed.), *Communicating prejudice* (pp. 24–56). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Bandura, A. (1973). *Aggression: A social learning analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Labin, D. (2001). The effect of a major event on stereotyping: Terrorist attacks in Israel and Israeli adolescents' perceptions of Palestinians, Jordanians and Arabs. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 31, 265–280.
- Beale Spencer, M., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child Development*, 61, 290–310.
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. London: SAGE.
- Biro, M., Ajdukovic, D., Corkalo, D., Djipa, D., Milin, P., & Weinstein, H. (2004). Attitudes towards justice and social reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. In E. Stover & H. Weinstein (Eds.), *My neighbor, my enemy: Justice and community in the aftermath of mass atrocity* (pp. 183–205). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blanchard, F.A., Lilly, T., & Vaughn, L.A. (2003). Reducing the expression of racial prejudice. In S. Plous (Ed.), *Understanding prejudice and discrimination* (pp. 467–472). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Bourhis, R.Y. (1994). Power, gender, and intergroup discrimination: Some minimal groups experiments. In M.P. Zanna & J.M. Olson (Eds.), *The psychology of prejudice: The Ontario Symposium* (Vol. 7, pp. 171–208). Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Brown, R. (1995). *Prejudice: Its social psychology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Corkalo Biruski, D., & Ajdukovic, D. (2007). Separate schools – a divided community: The role of the school in post-war social reconstruction. *Review of Psychology*, 14, 93–108.
- Corkalo, D., Ajdukovic, D., Weinstein, H., Stover, E., Djipa, D., & Biro, M. (2004). Neighbors again? Inter-community relations after ethnic violence. In E. Stover & H. Weinstein (Eds.), *My neighbor, my enemy: Justice and community in the aftermath of mass atrocity* (pp. 143–161). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croatian National Census (1991). Zagreb: State Institute for Statistics.
- Croatian National Census (2002). Zagreb: State Institute for Statistics.
- Dawes, A. (1990). The effects of political violence on children: A consideration of South African and related studies. *International Journal of Psychology*, 25, 13–31.
- Durkin, K. (2003). *Developmental social psychology: From infancy to old age*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Dyregrov, A., Gjestad, R., & Raundalen, M. (2002). Children exposed to warfare: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 15, 59–68.
- Erikson, E.H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Freedman, S., Corkalo, D., Levy, N., Abazovic, D., Leebaw, B., Ajdukovic, D., Djipa, D., & Weinstein, H. (2004). Public education and social reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. In E. Stover & H. Weinstein (Eds.), *My neighbor, my enemy: Justice and community in the aftermath of mass atrocity* (pp. 226–247). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garbarino, J., & Kostelny, K. (1996). The effects of political violence on Palestinian children's behavior problems: A risk accumulation model. *Child Development*, 67, 33–45.
- Herman, J.I. (1992). *Trauma and recovery*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hughes, D., & Chen, L. (1997). When and what parents tell children about race: An examination of race-related socialization among African American families. *Applied Developmental Science*, 1, 200–214.
- Ignatieff, M. (1998). *The warrior's honor. Ethnic war and the modern conscience*. New York: Henry Holt.
- Jelic, M. (2003). Povjera postavki teorije socijalnog identiteta na etnickim grupama [Testing Social Identity Theory on ethnic groups]. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Zagreb: Department of Psychology, University of Zagreb.
- Kuterovac, G., Dyregrov, A., & Stuvland, R. (1994) Children in war: A silent majority under stress. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 67, 363–375.
- Ladd, G.W., & Cairns, E. (1996). Children: Ethnic and political violence. *Child Development*, 67, 14–18.
- Leonardelli, G.J., & Brewer, M.B. (2001). Minority and majority discrimination. When and why. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 37, 468–485.
- Lieberman, A., & Knorr, K. (2007). The impact of trauma: A developmental framework for infancy and early childhood. *Psychiatric Annals*, 37, 416–422.
- Macksoud, M.S., & Aber, J.L. (1996). The war experiences and psychosocial development of children in Lebanon. *Child Development*, 67, 70–88.
- McGlothlin, H., & Killen, M. (2005). Children's perceptions of intergroup and intragroup similarity and the role of social experience. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 26, 680–698.
- Nesdale, D. (2001). The development of prejudice in children. In M. Augoustinos & K.J. Reynolds. (Eds.), *Understanding prejudice, racism, and social conflict* (pp. 57–72). London: SAGE.
- Ojala, K., & Nesdale, D. (2004). Bullying and social identity: The effects of group norms and distinctiveness threat on attitudes towards bullying. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 22, 19–35.
- Pettigrew, T. (1998a). Reactions towards the new minorities of Western Europe. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 77–103.
- Pettigrew, T. (1998b). Prejudice and discrimination on the college campus. In J.F. Eberhardt & S.T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 263–279). Thousand Oaks: SAGE.
- Phinney, J.S., & Chavira, V. (1995). Parental ethnic socialization and adolescent coping with problems related to ethnicity. *Journal of Research in Adolescence*, 5, 31–54.
- Punamäki, R.-L., Quota, S., & El Sarraj, E. (1997) Models of traumatic experiences and children's psychological adjustment: The roles of perceived parenting and the children's own resources and activity. *Child Development*, 64, 718–728.

- Rousseau, C., Drapeau, A., & Platt, R. (1999). Family trauma and its association with emotional and behavioral problems and social adjustment in adolescent Cambodian refugees. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 23, 1263–1273.
- Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). *Social dominance: An integrated intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sinclair, S., Dunn, E., & Lowery, B.S. (2005). The relationship between parental racial attitudes and children's implicit prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 41, 283–289.
- Tajfel, H. (1978). *The social psychology of minorities*. London: Minority Rights Group.
- Tajfel, H. (Ed.) (1981). *Differentiation between social groups*. London: Academic Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1986). Theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.). *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers.
- Taylor, D.M., & Moghaddam, F.M. (1994). *Theories of intergroup relations: International social psychological perspectives*. Westport: Praeger.
- Thabet, A.A., & Vostanis, P. (2000). Posttraumatic stress disorder reactions in children of war: A longitudinal study. *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24, 291–298.
- Ugolini, W. (2006). Memory, war and the Italians in Edinburgh: The role of communal myth. *National Identities*, 8, 421–436.
- Useem, B. (1998). Breakdown theories of collective action. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 215–238.
- Verkuyten, M. (2002). Ethnic attitudes among minority and majority children: The role of ethnic identification, peer group victimization and parents. *Social Development*, 11, 558–570.
- Verkuyten, M., & Masson, K. (1995). “New racism”, self esteem, and ethnic relations among minority and majority youth in the Netherlands. *Social Behavior and Personality*, 23, 137–154.
- Verkuyten, M., & Steenhuis, A. (2005). Preadolescents' understanding and reasoning about asylum seeker peers and friendships. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 26, 660–679.
- Zunec, O. (1998). Rat u Hrvatskoj 1991–1995. 1. dio: Uzroci rata i operacije do sarajevskog primirja [The war in Croatia 1991–1995, Part 1: The causes of war and military operations till the Sarajevo Peace Accord]. *Polemos*, 57–89.