# Acquisition and Development of a Shared Psychological Intergroup Repertoire in a Context of an Intractable Conflict

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## INTRODUCTION

THE STUDY of stereotypes[2], prejudice[3], and racism has evolved as one of the major research areas in the social sciences in general, and in social and developmental psychology in particular. Developmental psychology has focused on issues related to their acquisition, and through the years, numerous studies have tried to elucidate the general mechanisms and trajectories of their development. Gradually, attention has begun to turn to the context in which children and adolescents develop their social views and attitudes (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Oppenheimer, 2006). Evidence suggests that social contexts affect how stereotypes, prejudice, and racism develop. One context that is particularly salient in the daily lives of children is intractable intergroup conflict.

The plan for this chapter is to present a perspective on the role of intractable conflicts in the development of children's stereotypes and prejudices,

with a particular focus on the Israeli-Arab conflict. We will describe the Israeli-Arab conflict, and then we shall review current theories explaining the development of stereotypes and prejudice in children, and the empirical findings generated by them. After pointing out some challenges to these theoretical views, we shall present an alternative theoretical approach that we have identified as an Integrative Developmental Contextual Theory (IDCT). We will review empirical evidence supporting IDCT obtained from Jewish and Arab[4] children and adolescents in Israel. Based on the reported findings we will discuss contextual and age-related implications, and offer suggestions for further research and ideas for prevention and intervention.

## INTRACTABLE CONFLICT AND SHARED PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERGROUP REPERTOIRE (SPIR)

We define intractable conflicts between political, cultural, or ethnic groups as those that last at least 25 years. They evolve over goals that are perceived as existential, unsolvable, and of zero sum nature. Conflicts are often violent. Furthermore, they intensely preoccupy society members, who invest materially and psychologically in adjusting to them, and paradoxically in maintaining the conflict (Bar-Tal, 1998, in press; Kriesberg, 1993, 1998). Intractable conflicts, such as those in Sri Lanka, Northern Ireland, Kashmir, Rwanda, Chechnya, or the Middle East, involve all society members, including children.

Bar-Tal (in press) suggests that conflicts create a sociopsychological infrastructure, which eventually becomes part of the culture of conflict. This sociopsychological infrastructure includes narratives, beliefs, attitudes, and emotions related to the causes of the conflict outbreak, its course, the desired goals, and solutions. It serves as a prism through which society members view the conflict, the rival group, and themselves, and functions to help them meet the challenges of the conflict.

An important function of this infrastructure is to increase the identification of society members with their group. As noted by realistic conflict theory (Bar-Tal, 1990; Bobo, 1988; Campbell, 1965; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966, 1967), conflicts over major goals such as territory, resources, or values produce stereotypes, prejudice, associated emotions, and behavioral intentions toward the rival group. All constitute critical elements of the socio-psychological infrastructure that develops in the context of conflict. We refer to this infrastructure as the Shared Psychological Intergroup Repertoire (SPIR), and will elucidate it further when discussing the context for the development of stereotypes and prejudice.

Although the reviewed research in this chapter comes from studies carried out in the specific conflict known as the "Israeli-Arab conflict," we believe that our observations transcend that particular case and provide insights for a general understanding of the development and nature of SPIRs in the context of severe and violent conflicts. The line of research we present follows the developmental course of the view of the "rival" by the younger generation and provides information that may explain its

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[4]We are aware that many of the Arab citizens in the State of Israel consider their primary identity as Palestinians. In this chapter we use the formal label "Israeli Arabs," which is accepted by most Israelis.

deep influence on the psyche of society members, and the perseverance and intransigence of the conflict. Further, these insights may inform us as to why, in some instances, the vicious cycle of violent conflicts continues for generations, and may also suggest that when advancing reconciliation, changing both children's and adults' SPIR regarding the rival is of pivotal importance.

## BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The conflict between Jews and Arabs who lived in the area defined until 1948 as Palestine has lasted over 100 years. These two nations claim the same territory as their homeland and through the years have engaged in a violent struggle to achieve their mutually contradictory goals (Gerner, 1991; Tessler, 1994). The conflict began as a sustained and small-scale sectarian conflict. In 1948, following the declaration of an Israeli state, it evolved into a full-blown interstate conflict between Israel and five Arab nations. Since then, the conflict has generated seven wars and two civil uprisings (Intifadas). For decades, it has represented all the prototypical characteristics of an intractable conflict (Bar-Tal, 1998).

The dramatic visit of the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977, and the peace agreement with Egypt signed in 1979, was a turning point in the nature of the conflict, and contributed to its de-escalation. Another major positive turning point in the Israeli-Arab relations took place in 1993, when Israelis and Palestinians signed an agreement negotiated in Oslo. This agreement involved mutual recognition and assurance of a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The peace process that followed the Oslo agreement lasted (with ups and downs) until 2000. However, the failure of the Camp David Summit initiated by President Clinton with the participation of Israeli and Palestinian leaders, and the eruption of the second Intifada, led to its breakdown. As evidenced in the 2006 violent confrontations between Israelis and Palestinians in Gaza, and with Hezbollah in southern Lebanon, the conflict continues to flare up. The recent violent confrontations escalated the conflict, contributing to widespread pessimism about its resolution.

Within this context, on both sides, children grow to become members of their respective societies. From a very early age they absorb the SPIR prevailing in their society, including the stereotypes of the rival group and prejudice toward it. The context of conflict provides the specific contents, attitudes, and emotions, but the acquisition of the SPIR is also affected by developmental processes. This suggests that, in order to understand the intergroup representations held by children in any society, one has to examine both the contextual and developmental factors underlying their acquisition and change during the developmental trajectory.

## THEORIES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF IN- AND OUT-GROUP STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE IN MULTIETHNIC SOCIETIES AND IN THE CONTEXT OF INTRACTABLE CONFLICT

In the last two decades, research on the developmental trajectory of intergroup stereotypes and prejudice has drawn on two major theories: social-cognitive theory (SCT) (Aboud, 1988; Chapter 4, this volume) and social identity development theory (SIDT), (Nesdale, 1999, 2000, Chapter 13, this volume; Nesdale, Durkin, Maass & Griffiths, 2005; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). SCT suggests that due to limited cognitive capabilities, affective influence (fear), early emotional attachments to individuals perceived

as similar to the child, and egocentric social perspective, preschoolers prefer their own ethnic group. When children reach the age of 7 to 9, cognitive maturation is expected to introduce more flexibility and social tolerance. Indeed, ample findings indicate that in multiethnic, nonviolent social contexts, children aged 7 to 9 become less biased (Aboud, 1988, Bigler & Liben, 1993; Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Doyle & Aboud, 1995; Doyle, Beaudet, & Aboud, 1988; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2005).

Nesdale (Chapter 13) and his associates based their model on social identity theory SIT (Tajfel & Turner 1986), and proposed it as an alternative account of the development of stereotypes and prejudice to that offered by Aboud (1988). They identify their theory as social identity development theory (SIDT). SIDT draws on the tenets of SIT, suggesting that individuals develop their social identity as group members and as a result much of their experience, thinking, feeling, and acting occur within a group framework. They categorize groups, identify with the groups to which they belong, and integrate them as a part of their self-identity. Moreover, individuals not only relate to themselves as group members, but also perceive and treat others according to the knowledge they possess about the groups to which they belong, and about the relationship between their group and any given out-group. Subsequently, they engage in social comparison and, being motivated by a need to enhance their social esteem and through it also their self-esteem, they favor the in-group and devalue out-groups. Empirical evidence confirms that even a superficial newly-acquired group identity (in a minimal group paradigm) is sufficient to trigger in children and adults differentiation between in- and out-groups, favoring the former and discriminating against the latter (Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Hinkle, Taylor, Fox-Cardamon, & Crook, 1989; Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Mackie & Geothelas, 1987; Nesdale and Flesser, 2001; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961; Vaugham, Tajfel, & Williams, 1981).

SIT and SIDT highlight the fact that intergroup comparison and evaluation processes are influenced by the socio-structural context within which the groups exist. Thus, in addition to group identity, factors such as the status of groups and the nature of the boundaries between them, mainly permeability, determine intergroup attitudes (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Others added different factors that also contribute to the development of those attitudes, including group norms (Brown, 2000), intensity of group identification (Brewer, 1999), and the threat that groups pose for each other (Brewer, 1999; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1966; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). By now, the influence of most of these factors has been examined in studies with children (Aboud, 2003; Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Nesdale & Brown, 2004; Nesdale & Flesser, 2001; Nesdale et al., 2004).

Early in its development SIDT predicted no effect of age on children's intergroup beliefs and attitudes (Nesdale & Flesser, 2001). However, data from Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, and Griffiths (2005) supported the age predictions suggested by SCT. As a result, Nesdale and colleagues suggested that children traverse four stages of social identity development between the ages of 2 and 7. According to this paradigm, progression to ethnic preference (age 4 to 5), and especially to ethnic prejudice (age 6 to 7), depends on the acquisition of self-identification, understanding of social structure, ability to engage in social comparison, and preference to belong to a high-status group.

The idea that out-group prejudice is based on more advanced cognitive faculties than in-group preference was also proposed by others (Aboud 2003; Augoustinos & Rosewarne, 2001; Brewer, 1999; Cameron, Alvarez, Ruble, & Fuligni, 2001). In addition, all agree that conditions of conflict may accelerate the appearance of prejudice.

This qualification acknowledges that the cognitive capabilities required for the development of intergroup responses and their positivity/negativity emerge quite early in life, and that their activation depends on the context. Indeed, the findings we shall report suggest that in the context of intractable conflict, children as young as 2 and 3 years old develop intergroup attitudes. Furthermore, in the context of intractable conflict, children aged 8 to 9 do not moderate their intergroup views, (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Thus, we propose that the influence of cognitive development on social biases depends on the context.

Another challenge for cognitively based theories emerges from repeated findings showing that, irrespective of age, majority-group children prefer their own group, while young minority children also tend to prefer the majority group, and only in later ages prefer their own group (Aboud, 1988). Since cognitive development is based on universal patterns, cognitively based theories of prejudice cannot explain this difference between same-aged children from different social groups. Furthermore, recent findings for minority children in conflict indicated that under certain conditions, even 12- to 13-year-olds did not differentiate between their group and a majority group (Teichman & Zafrir, 2003).

Finally, following the reasoning that cognitive development reduces social biases leads to the assumption that children 10 years and older would manifest a further reduction in biases. However, studies conducted in nonviolent environments and in conflict reported a renewed elevation in prejudice during this age (Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Rutland, 1999; Teichman, 2001; Vaughan, 1987). We attribute the findings obtained for minority children and for early adolescents to the influences of context and identity development. Put together, the findings for majority children aged 2 to 3 and 8 to 9 in conflict, as well as those for minority children and adolescents, led us to suggest an integrative theoretical framework relating to the acquisition and development of intergroup repertoires in the age range of 2 to 17.

## INTEGRATIVE DEVELOPMENTAL-CONTEXTUAL THEORY (IDCT)

IDCT proposes that SPIRs are mediated by the simultaneous influence of multiple factors in a given social context. IDCT acknowledges the role of cognitive development and self-enhancement motivation, which were highlighted by SCT and SIDT as playing an important role in the development of SPIRs. However, instead of focusing on one specific factor, IDCT includes both and traces their influence within a developmental perspective. Since self-enhancement motivation was not embedded within a developmental framework, we propose to view it within the theory relating to identity development proposed by Erikson (1968) and Marcia (1980; 1998). Along with cognitive and identity development, IDCT points out an additional factor as exerting important influence on the development of SPIRs. The third factor is affect, and it is also considered developmentally.

Another contribution of IDCT is a proposition derived from Marcia's (1980; 1998) theoretical expansion of Erickson's (1968) well known psychosocial developmental model. Marcia (1980) stressed the cumulative progression of experience along the life-span. Thus, although developmental experiences and issues are stage-specific, and critical stages are defined, all developmental issues have precursors and successors that unfold through life. Thus, advancing from stage to stage, individuals face

stage-related challenges, accumulated stage-related experiences that were encountered before the stage-specific issues gain major salience (Vertical progression), and experiences related to resolutions achieved in previous stages. The accumulated attainments and experiences from earlier stages are the foundation for the next developmental stage (horizontal progression). In Marcia's (1998) words:

> . . . each stage has its preparatory predecessors in the form of partial resolutions occurring before that stage's ascendancy. As well, each stage, once its ascendancy has been reached and the psychological issues resolved, contributes its strength to the resolution of succeeding stages (p. 32).

Accordingly, we propose that, though having critical stages, all the factors involved in the development of SPIRs (affect, cognitive, and identity development) are active all along the developmental span. In different stages, a different factor has the potential for acquiring salience and major influence, but contextual conditions or previous experiences will influence the salience of each factor. Thus, in infancy the main factor is affect; in school age, cognitive development; and in pre- and early adolescence, identity development. Proposing that at any given time SPIRs are mediated by multiple factors expands the theoretical perspective to a wider developmental span than that covered by either SCT or SIDT. On the younger end of the developmental trajectory, IDCT accounts for development from the time children can use language, namely ages 2 to 3, all the way through adulthood.

Once established, SPIRs exert their influence on each of the factors involved in their development, and on the information children process. On the one hand, this may lead to their modification, but more often, SPIRs and external factors become self-reinforcing, stabilizing negative stereotypes and prejudice and producing extreme consequences such as ethnocentrism and delegitimization (Bar-Tal, 1989; 1990). This suggests a differential approach, in which the specific configurations of the different factors vary by age and context, thus influencing information processing and determining specific developmental trajectories for each case. This theoretical framework is depicted in Figure 18.1.
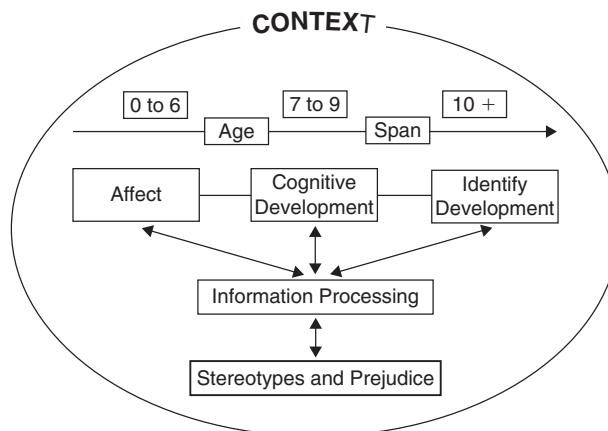


**Figure 18.1** Integrative Developmental Model of Stereotypes and Prejudice.

IDCT helps to account for puzzling findings not explained by SCT or SIDT, including the expression, in conflict contexts, of out-group negativity among very young children; the maintenance of prejudice, in conflict contexts, among 7- to 9-year-olds; differences in attitude development between majority and minority children, and findings regarding pre- and early adolescence.

### The Influence of Social Contexts on SPIRs

As reflected in Figure 18.1, affective experiences and cognitive and identity development occur in a *social context*. In contrast to "situation," which is "a particular concrete physical and social setting in which a person is embedded in any one point in time," Ashmore, Deaux, and McLaughlin (2004) defined social context as a "general and continuing multilayered and interwoven set of material realities, social structures, and shared belief system that surround any situation" (pp. 103).

The most critical aspect of the social context for intergroup perspective is the layer of "shared beliefs" that is a central feature of the cultural context of social groups. This cultural context is constructed through years and is shaped by the cumulative experiences of each society. It includes products such as the tangible and nontangible symbols, scripts, habits, rules, narratives, concepts, and knowledge relating to one's group and other social categories. Together, these products represent the shared psychological repertoire that provides meaning and rules of practice for society members. The part of the cultural context relating to intergroup reality is the SPIR.

In every society the SPIR is transmitted to the younger generation by socialization agents (Bourdieu, 1977; Geertz, 1973; Goodnow, Miller, & Kessler, 1995; Nelson, 1996; Selman, 1980; Vygotsky, 1980). Children absorb cultural information and it shapes their perspectives on their social world, including their views about the nature of the relationships between their group and other groups within or outside their society. In the words of Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, and Nisbett (1998):

> Children and adults actively use the locally available cultural practices to generate meaningful interactions. . . . To engage in culturally patterned relationships and practices, people must coordinate their responses to their particular social milieu. (pp. 916–917).

By adulthood, most members share the same SPIR and, further, transmit it to the next generation (Oppenheimer, 2006). With time, the repertoire becomes rigid and resistant to change. In conflict situations it inhibits de-escalation and peaceful resolution. Even when rival groups eventually embark on the road of peace, their SPIRs may serve as major barriers to the peace process.

Though generally stable, cultural contexts and SPIRs may be influenced by major events. A major event is experienced either directly or vicariously. It causes wide resonance, has relevance for the well-being of society members and for the society as a whole. It engages society members, holds a central position in public discourse and agenda, and generates information that forces society members to reconsider, and often change, their psychological repertoire (Oren, 2005). Bar-Tal and Sharvit (in press) identify such events as being a part of a transitional context, and propose that the more intense and negative the psychological conditions of the transitional context, the more extensive, profound, and unidirectional their influence on people.

Intractable conflicts and wars are obvious examples of major events that constitute a "transitional context" that hardens SPIRs. Because of their psychological implications, they exert intensive and lasting effects on personal and intergroup reality (Kelman, 1997; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003). On the personal level, a conflict determines the level of threat, anger, hatred, sense of danger, uncertainty, and hardship (Bar-Tal, in press). It accelerates the acquisition of specific linguistic expressions, concepts, and knowledge, while at the same time controlling others. It intensifies awareness regarding group distinctiveness, and as a result the collective identification (Brewer, 1999) and commitment of the group (Spears, Doosje & Ellerms, 1999).

On the intergroup level, conflict determines the content, valence, and intensity of the SPIR. It institutionalizes the norms guiding the behavioral intentions and actual behaviors toward the enemy, the status of the involved groups, the type of boundaries between them, and as a result, the level and type of contact between them. Usually, the information disseminated in or through societal channels presents the in-group as pursuing moral goals, while the out-group is demonized (Sande, Geothals, Ferrari, & Worth, 1989). In creating this dichotomy, aggression, violence, and animosity become salient topics in societal discourse. Other influences of conflict are reflected in the structure of in- and out-group images (i.e., the level of complexity or homogeneity with which they are perceived) promoting simplification of the out-group and generalizations about it. The various personal and intergroup consequences of conflict polarize and stabilize in- and out-group beliefs, emotions, and attitudes (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Brown, 2000; Darby, 1976; LeVine & Campbell, 1972; Oppenheimer, 2006; Rieber, 1991; Sherif, 1966, 1967).

## FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORY OF STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE

The three factors identified by IDCT as influencing the development of SPIRs— affect, cognitive development, and identity development—are nourished by the social context, however, they also follow their own developmental course and exert specific influences on the developmental trajectory of stereotypes and prejudice.

*Affect*   Examining the influence of affect, Aboud (1988) suggested that infants' and toddlers' basic reactions to others are determined by the emotions they arouse (positive or negative). Aboud (1988) also stated that "in the social domain, affective processes dominate from 3 to 6 years and then decline" (pp. 119). Contrary to this position, and closer to Allport's view, IDCT proposes that negative affect (i.e. anxiety, threat, or fear) produces negative feelings toward the individuals or groups that arouse such feelings, create distance from them, and generate negativity toward them. These consequences interfere with information processing and reappraisal of experiences, thereby causing individuals to overlook new inputs and to judge out-group members by relying on expectations or stereotypes (Wilder & Simon 2001).

Thus, irrespective of developmental progression in other domains (cognitive, identity), affect may stabilize beliefs and attitudes established at very early age and perpetuate them (Holt & Silverstein, 1989; Silverstein & Flamenbaum, 1989; Oren & Bar-Tal, 2007, Rieber, 1991). Indeed, studies with children demonstrate that the influence of affect does not decline with age, positive and negative moods, or threat-determined attitudes towards out-groups (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, & Griffiths, 2005; Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, & Griffiths, 2005; Ramsey, 1987). The same results were

reported for adults (Bar-Tal, 2001; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1994; Forgas & Moylan, 1991; Jackson, Hodge, Gerard, Ingram, Ervin, & Sheppard, 1996; Lake & Rothchild, 1998; Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2004). These findings suggest that through the lifespan, emotions play an important role in initiating, maintaining, or changing interpersonal and intergroup responses. Understanding these processes may provide insights for early prevention of biases.

*Cognitive Development*   Since Aboud's (1988) contribution to the understanding of prejudice in children, age-related changes in children's cognitive skills are acknowledged as an influential correlate of prejudice. However, many findings cannot be explained solely by cognitive development. For example, SCT does not account for the very early development of prejudice (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). IDCT's proposition that all factors influencing the development of intergroup responses are present from infancy helps account for this finding.

The view that infants possess the cognitive capabilities needed for acquiring social knowledge, developing a theory about their environment, and expressing it is based on ample empirical evidence, which indicates that infants are aware of stimuli in their surroundings; they process information, absorb, encode, analyze, categorize, and remember their inanimate and social environment (Baillargeon & DeVos, 1992; Hirschfeld; 1996; Hirschfeld & Gelman, 1994; Mandler, 1990, 1992; Shermann, 1985; Wellman & Gelman, 1992; Wellman & Phillips, 2001; Younger, 1993; and others). Later in development, contextual inputs and experiences, and the desire to preserve consistency and continuity (Stangor & Ruble, 1989), reinforce and stabilize the initially formed categories, and beliefs and attitudes associated with them. In Piaget's (1952) terms, new information may be assimilated within the existing categories, or categories may be accommodated to fit new information. The old or readapted categories then guide information processing and understanding of the physical, natural, and social reality.

In a context where threat is repeatedly associated with an out-group, information about the out-group is encountered and processed very early, accelerating the acquisition of the knowledge and attitudes existing toward this group. Integrating affect and cognition as underlying factors in the development of SPIRs provides the developmental background for Allport's well-known definition of prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (Allport, 1954, pp. 9). The early established antipathy and faulty generalizations create the primary intergroup biases. These biases continue to develop and gain power during preschool age.

Indeed, researchers reported that preschoolers display high in-group biases that prevail until about the age of 7 to 9, when moderation begins to emerge. SCT attributes the moderation to cognitive development. When children reach the age of 7 or 8 (concrete operational thinking in Piaget's terms) classification of people shifts from affective criteria to more objective ones, and the egocentric perspective broadens. At this stage children start to manifest cognitive flexibility and social tolerance. Our findings that, in the context of intractable conflict, prejudice does not moderate during this age-span (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Teichman, Bar-Tal, & Abdolrazeq, in press) suggests that contextual conditions may overpower the influence of cognitive development. Accordingly, in any study of children's prejudice conducted in the context of intractable conflict, including our own studies, we would not expect 8- to 9-year-olds to express moderation toward the enemy.

From pre-adolescence (age 10 and later) abstract and hypothetical thinking begin to develop, providing the ground for valuing justice, dignity, equality, and human

rights. All of these contribute to the advancement of social tolerance (Kohlberg, 1969; Piaget, 1952; Selman, 1980). However, as with children aged 8 to 9, advances in cognitive development represent a potential contribution only, the realization of which depends on the context in which they grow up and on the other factors. A factor of major importance for this age is identity development.

*Identity Development*   IDCT's theoretical proposition regarding the development of social biases beyond school age acknowledges the importance of processes related to identity. The development of integrated self-identity, including personal-identity, social-identity, and the self-esteem related to each[5], begins in infancy (Amsterdam, 1972; Lewis & Brooks-Gun, 1979; Stern, 1985) and proceeds through the developmental span (Marcia, 1980, 1998). This suggests that in early development, along with affective and cognitive influences on SPIRs, we may also expect that processes related to identity acquisition and changes in self-esteem may influence the development of children's intergroup biases. It is plausible to suggest that because social identity is made salient by the social context among ethnic minority children, this factor influences their intergroup responses earlier than it does for majority children, motivating them to express out-group preference.

During pre- and early adolescence (ages 10 to 13), identity formation and consolidation become the main developmental task (Erikson, 1968; Damon & Hart, 1992; Marcia, 1980, 1998). The insecurity aroused by the processes involved in the integration of the different aspects of identity increases the need for self-reassurance. In this stage, the status of the groups to which one belongs, the drive for self-enhancement identified by SIT, and intergroup comparisons which reflect on self-esteem become highly relevant. As suggested by Hogg and Abrams (1990), low or threatened self-esteem leads to social biases. It follows that in this developmental stage the advancement in cognitive development alone cannot account for social biases. With further cognitive and identity development, older adolescents, 14 and on, may be expected to begin displaying social tolerance.

In the context of intractable conflict, we have found that, compared with younger children and adolescents, pre- and early adolescents demonstrate an increased in-group preference and out-group rejection (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Black-Gutman & Hickson, 1996; Rutland, 1999; Teichman, 2001; Vaughan, 1987), supporting our contention that in this phase of development youth have a high need for self-enhancement. Likewise, findings reported by Nesdale and Brown (2004) and Nesdale, Maass, Durkin, and Griffth (2005) show that children aged 9 and 12 were more sensitive to a negative representative of their in-group than were younger children. In these studies the findings were attributed to the "black sheep" effect, referring to a tendency to derogate an unlikable in-group member more than an unlikable out-group member. However, the fact that this reaction was more pronounced at the ages of 9 to 12 may be attributed to the threat that the negative, unlikable in-group member posed for the group members' self-esteem.

A more direct examination of the association between self-worth, in-group favoritism, and out-group rejection would include a comparison between intergroup responses of participants with high and low self-esteem. Indeed, the adult literature devotes extensive attention to self-esteem (personal and collective) and in-and

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[5]Other aspects of self-identity—i.e., gender identity, religious identity, family identity, etc.—are also parts of the integrated identity, but are not considered in this chapter.

out-group biases. As indicated by general reviews (Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993; Long & Spears, 1998) and meta-analyses (Aberson, Healy, & Romero, 2000), the data are not conclusive. Some support Hogg and Abrams' (1990) proposition (Fein & Spencer, 2000; Hogg & Sunderland, 1991), while others suggest that the high self-esteem participants are those who tend to favor the in-group or to discriminate (Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993; Seta & Seta, 1992). The out-group biases displayed by the low self-esteem participants were defined as self-protection, while those displayed by high self-esteem participants were defined as self-enhancement (Crocker, Blaine, Luhtanen, 1993) or self-esteem maintenance (SEM; Tesser, 1988).

In the child and adolescence literature, few studies have examined issues related to self-esteem. The few studies that have been conducted have yielded inconclusive results. Studies that examined 6- to 9-year-olds reported that high self-esteem participants express higher in-group favoritism (Bigler, et. al., 1997; Gagnon & Morasse, 1995), whereas results reported for older participants, particularly for those aged 10 to 12, found this tendency in low self-esteem participants (Sasson, 2004, reviewed by Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). It is possible that while younger children manifest self-enhancement or self-maintenance, older children, characterized by normative self-doubt, manifested self-protection. Although the manifestation of biases by the 10- to 12-year-olds offers support for the relationship between the identity-related needs during pre- and early adolescence and intergroup responses suggested by IDCT, further examination of this proposition is required and we shall present more empirical evidence to support it. With further cognitive and identity development, older adolescents, 14 and on, may be expected to begin displaying social tolerance.

## Summary of the Developmental Predictions Derived from IDCT

IDCT suggests that in neutral intergroup contexts, social biases will emerge at the age of 3 to 4, and preschoolers will express only positive in-group biases. For school-age children, the leap in cognitive development and relatively conflict-free personal development will lead to a reduction in social biases that will reappear in pre- and early adolescence. Moderation may be expected in late adolescence when cognitive and identity development reach optimal stage.

IDCT also makes specific predictions about the acquisition and development of stereotypic beliefs and prejudice in children who grow up in an intractable conflict: IDCT predicts that in the context of intractable conflict, from a very early age forward, children will experience threat associated with a specific out-group. The threat will accelerate social categorization and the emergence of positive *and* negative social biases. In terms of further age-related trajectories, two opposing expectations are plausible: The conflict could either amplify or defuse the conflict-free developmental pattern. Amplification would suggest an intensification of the developmental trends outlined above; diffusion suggests a commonly shared social bias overpowering developmental, age-related influences.

## REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL FINDINGS RELATED TO IDCT

Examining the developmental trajectory of the SPIR of children and adolescents in the Israeli Jewish society who grow up in the shadow of conflict, we focus on the stereotypes and prejudice they express toward the generic category of the "enemy" identified as "Arab." The studies we present examined children in a wide

developmental range and addressed questions such as children's awareness of threat, group categorization, acquisition of social identity, and developmental trajectory of stereotypes and prejudice. To complete the picture we shall present additional data obtained for children and adolescents belonging to the Arab minority in Israel for whom the Israeli Jews represent the enemy. These data will further demonstrate the combined influence of context and age on the development of stereotypes and prejudice. With regard to measures, we presented children with separate in- and out-group stimuli, with explicit investigator determined trait and feelings lists or images, and with free-response implicit measures. Also, we differentiate between content variables (attributed traits, expressed feelings, etc.), and structure variables (homogeneity, complexity).

Awareness of Threat

A preliminary question to be addressed is whether children growing up in a conflict are aware of threat, and at what age they begin to report it. To examine children's awareness of threat, we presented children aged 2.5 to 3.5 years and children aged 5.5 to 6.5 years with two drawings of the same person, one dressed in traditional Arab clothing and the other dressed in Western clothing. The children were asked to look at each drawing and report whether they experienced fear. Seventy-five percent of the children in both groups reported fear when viewing the man in Arab dress. Only 25 percent of the younger group and 5 percent of the older group reported fear when viewing the drawing of the man dressed in Western clothing. Thus, from the early ages of 2.5 to 3.5 years, children who grow up in a context of an intractable conflict differentiate between social groups and absorb messages about the rival group and the emotional climate associated with it. Importantly, fear was rarely related to the unfamiliar target that represented the in-group. This means that the expressed threat was associated with a particular target (i.e., with the Arab).

To assess school-age children's and adolescents' awareness about the conflict, participants ages 8 to 17 were divided into five age groups and asked to report their belief about "How many Arabs want to annihilate the State of Israel?" The scale ranged from (1) none of them, 0 percent, to (5) all of them, 100 percent. The group comparisons indicated that the attribution of the wish to annihilate the State of Israel decreased with age, reaching the lowest point at the age of 16 to 17. However, the means ranged from 4.04 to 3.25. Namely, in all age groups, respondents attributed threatening aggressive intentions to a high proportion of Arabs and believed that more than half of them want to annihilate their country. Thus, the experience of threat is still evident in late adolescence and most probably in adulthood as well. Additionally, since the measure we used allows an examination of out-group homogenization, the results indicate that despite an age-related increase in out-group differentiation, perceptions of out-group homogeneity remained high.

Children's awareness about social conflict was also investigated in Northern Ireland, with children aged 6, 9, and 12. The authors (Sani, Bennett, Agostini, Malucchi, & Ferguson, 2000) found that most 6-year-olds were unaware of the conflict. They attributed this to the type of "conflict at the level of relatively abstract groups" (pp. 233) and to efforts by parents and teachers to shield children from the conflict. These findings suggest that conflicts may have different influences on children depending on the information disseminated by the respective SPIR.

Social Categorization and Acquisition of Social Identity

After establishing that for Jewish children in Israel aged 2.5 to 3.5 years onward, people representing the enemy arouse fear and, for older participants, are associated with existential danger, we addressed developmental questions. The first question refers to the age at which, in an intractable conflict, children acquire social categories and social identity.

To answer this question, we individually interviewed 80 Jewish Israeli children aged 2 to 6. They were divided to four consecutive age groups, each including about 20 children. Following a short play session and some neutral questions, children were asked: (1) "Have you heard the word Arab/Jew/Israeli?"; (2) "Do you know what an Arab/Jew/Israeli is?"; and (3) "Can you describe or tell me something about an Arab/Jew/Israeli?" The second and third questions aimed at examining initial conceptual understanding and categorization associated with the words. Finally, in order to establish identity acquisition, children were asked, "Are you a Jew/Israeli?"

*Social Categorization*   Ninety percent of children ages 2 to 3 years recognized the word "Jew"; 60 percent recognized the word "Israeli"; and none recognized the word "Arab." From the age of 3 to 4 and older, 100 percent of the children recognized the word Jew and 95 percent recognized the word Israeli. Recognition of the word Arab appeared at the ages of 3 to 4, when 40 percent of the children recognized it, while at ages 5 to 6, 82 percent recognized it. Acquisition of the categories corresponding to the three identity labels began to emerge at the age of 3 to 4—40 percent for Jew, 25 percent for Israeli, and 40 percent for Arab. In the next age group (4 to 5) the three categories were acquired by 67 percent, 61 percent, and 61 percent, respectively, and at the age of 5 to 6, 77 percent demonstrated acquisition of the Jew and Israeli categories, and 68 percent acquired the Arab category. Studies with older participants indicate that the acquisition of the three categories increased with age. However, the acquisition of the in-group categories was demonstrated by a higher proportion of the participants than the acquisition of the out-group category. By the age of 12 most of the Jewish Israeli children demonstrated a broad understanding regarding the social category labeled Arabs. The majority knew that Arabs speak Arabic, live in Arab countries, and that most practice Islam (Godsi, 1998; Koren 1997).

*Acquisition of Social Identity ("Jew/Israeli")*   At the age of 2 to 3 years, when asked, "Are you a Jew/Israeli?" more than half of the children (65 percent and 55 percent, respectively) demonstrated ethnic and national self-categorization, many of them before demonstrating category acquisition. Ethnic and national self-categorization increased with age, and at the age of 5 to 6, 73 percent of the children identified themselves as Jews, and 77 percent as Israelis.

The findings regarding categorization and social identity are important because this kind of categorization represents the basis for the development of stereotypes and prejudice (Trew, 2004). In comparison to previous findings regarding identity acquisition (Aboud, 1988), our findings confirm the assumption that conflict accelerates social categorization, social identification, and intergroup differentiation. Children growing up amidst intractable conflict begin to categorize and identify themselves ethnically and nationally a year earlier than has been reported for children in conflict-free multiethnic contexts. This indicates that, depending on the context, differentiation between social groups and ethnic identification may emerge earlier than proposed by Nesdale, Durkin, Maass, and Griffiths (2005).

The findings we report for categorization and acquisition of social identity differ slightly from the findings obtained for children in the context of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Results from a study with preschoolers in Northern Ireland indicated that children begin to demonstrate categorization, as reflected in awareness of the meaning of the terms "Catholic" and "Protestant," only at the age of 6 and even then, only 20 percent did so. When asked to identify concrete items representing the two groups the results are comparable to our findings. Namely, half of the 3-year-olds and 90 percent of the 6-year-olds were able to identify at least one of the items (Connolly, Smith, & Kelly, 2002, cited by Trew, 2004). With regard to identity acquisition, Connelly et al.'s (2002) results indicate that it begins to emerge at the age of 5 to 6.

The difference between the verbal categorization and identification in Connolly et al.'s (2002) findings and ours may be attributed to the level of task difficulty presented to the children in the two studies. While we asked children to first identify national and ethnic labels and then explain them in their own words, or to relate them to themselves, Connelly et al. (2002) presented children with tasks that included identifying events in photographs and interviewed them regarding these events. The tasks faced by the children in Connelly et al.'s study demand a higher abstract ability and more advanced verbal skills. Also, it is plausible to suggest that, for children, religious categorization in the same society is more difficult than ethnic and national categorization that has concrete manifestations in appearance and clothing.

Despite some confirming findings for the early categorization manifested by children living in societies engulfed in an intractable conflict, more research with different tasks and different contexts is needed to clarify this issue. With regard to older children, the findings obtained in the two countries are very similar. In Northern Ireland and in Israel, by the age of 11, children demonstrated full understanding of the social categories representing the sides in the conflict, as well as acquisition of social identity (Cairns, 1987; Stringer & Irwin, 1998).

*Developmental Trajectory of Stereotypes and Prejudice: Jewish Israeli Children and Adolescents.*   We tested the prediction that early categorization of the social environment, early acquisition of social identity, and experience of threat produce the developmental basis for the emergence of stereotypes and prejudice toward the enemy in very young children. We asked preschoolers who completed the categorization and identity acquisition tasks described above to rate the categories "Jew," "Israeli," and "Arab" as good or bad, and to indicate whether they felt love or hate toward them. Regardless of children's category acquisition, 70 percent of the youngest children (2- to 3-year-olds) and 80 percent of the next age group (3- to 4-year-olds) rated both the Jew and the Israeli as "good." Interestingly, 50 percent and 30 percent, respectively, of the children in these groups rated the Arab as good. In the two older groups (4- to 5- year-olds and 5- to 6-year-olds), all or almost all of the children rated Jew and Israeli as good (96 percent and 100 percent, respectively). However, only 17 percent of those aged 4 to 5 and 9 percent of those aged 5 to 6 rated the Arab as good.

Furthermore, 80 percent and 70 percent of the children in the youngest group expressed "love" toward the Jew and the Israeli, respectively, and 85 to 95 percent of the children in the different older groups did so. As for trait attributions (good or bad), positive feelings toward the in-group emerged at the age of 2 to 3. On the other hand, 50 percent of the youngest children and 40 percent of the next age group expressed "love" toward the Arab. Of those aged 4 to 5 and 5 to 6, only 27 percent and 11 percent, respectively, said they loved the Arab. Importantly, when rating the

Jew or the Israeli, children, especially the younger ones, occasionally did not provide an answer or could not decide, whereas when rating the Arab as "bad" and expressing "hate" toward him the answer was instantaneous. We replicated similar findings with other samples of preschoolers using longer lists of traits and more diverse examination of attitudes (as expressed in refusal of any social contact with Arab children), suggesting that in conflict situations 2- to 3-year olds express in-group preference and about half of them express out-group prejudice and negativity. The critical shift to in-group preference and out group rejection, apparently reflecting contextual influences occurred at the age 4 to 5 (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005).

School-aged children display particularly striking patterns of attitudes in the context of intractable conflict. In conflict, despite their cognitive development, these children do not manifest the expected and often reported reduction in positivity toward the in-group or negativity toward the out-group. Rather, our data indicate instances that when compared with younger children, the 7- to 9-year-olds group was less positive toward Arabs, and when compared with older children and adolescents they manifested either the highest positivity toward the in-group or highest negativity toward the out-group (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). Similarly, Assaf (2006) showed children aged 5 to 6 and 8 to 9 photographs of two young men. The photographs were chosen on a basis of a pretest indicating that they could be equally identified as a Jew or as an Arab. The children were asked to rate the photographs on 4 bipolar traits. The list of traits included good or bad, nice or not nice, strong or weak, and frightening or not frightening. The positive pole of each trait was scored as 1 and the negative as 0. Thus, the range of scores was 0 to 4, in which low scores represent low positivity. Before the experimenter identified the photographs as a photograph of a Jew or an Arab there was no difference in the ratings, either by the full sample or by the different age groups. However, when one or the other photograph was randomly identified as a photograph of a Jew or an Arab the ratings changed. Participants expressed a pronounced in-group preference. More importantly, contrary to findings of studies in multiethnic nonviolent contexts, the positivity toward Arabs decreased with age (M = 2.80, SD = 1.36 for the 5- to 6-year olds, and M = 1.45, SD = 1.20 for the 8- to 9-year-olds).

In another study (Teichman 2001), however, children aged 7 to 9 expressed more positive attitudes and intentions toward Arabs than did 4- to 6-year olds. It thus appears that 7- to 9-year-olds possess the cognitive capabilities allowing for the reduction of out-group negativity, but at this age, children's attitudes depend on additional factors such as context and emotional arousal. Indeed, scrutinizing the context more carefully, it appears that Assaf's (2006) study was conducted in a period when the level of violence in the conflict was at one of its peaks, while Teichman's (2001) study was conducted in a time of low conflict level during which peace talks took place. The difference in the results of the two studies suggests that conflict maintains the stereotypic beliefs and social attitudes manifested by preschoolers for a longer time. Other findings we have reported confirm the suggestion that different levels of conflict may be associated with differences in relating to the enemy, and children in middle childhood appear particularly sensitive to these contextual influences (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005).

Moving along the developmental trajectory to pre- and early adolescence, when the development of self-identity and esteem is in focus, we would expect an elevation of in- and out-group biases. As noted, findings reported by others corroborate this prediction (Black-Gutmann & Hickson, 1996; Rutland, 1999; Nesdale, 2000; Nesdale

& Brown, 2004; Vaughan, 1987). Our findings, mainly those obtained from implicit measures, often corroborated this expected pattern, but findings from more direct measures were less consistent (Bar-Tal &Teichman, 2005; Teichman, 2001; Teichman, Bar-Tal & Abdolrazeq, in press).

An interesting confirmation for the above prediction was obtained on a content-free implicit measure we developed for assessing children's stereotypes and prejudice. This measure is based on a systematic scoring of Human Figure Drawings (HFD)[6] of typical Jewish and Arab men and women. The count of the items included by participants in their drawings was defined as image complexity. This count was considered analogous to previous assessments of complexity of social images that were based on counting the number of terms or features used to describe people (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980; Livesley & Bromley, 1973). The results of the item counts are presented in Figure 18.2.

Comparing results for four groups of participants ages 4 to 6, 7 to 9, 10 to 12, and 15 to 16 (Teichman, 2001), the items included in the image of Jewish men increased by age with all pairwise comparisons between age groups reaching significance. However, the items included in the image of Arab men increased significantly across age groups only until the ages of 10 to 12, and for this and the following age-group (13 to 15) the complexity of the image of the Jew exceeded significantly that of the Arab (Figure 18.2a).

In a study of drawings of women conducted with different participants, preschoolers were not included, but the results for the other compared age groups replicated the findings obtained for drawings of men (Nir, 1999, reviewed by Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005). As in the drawings of men, significant differences in the complexity of images, favoring Jewish women, first appeared at ages 10 to 12 and endured for the 15- to 16-year-olds (Figure 18.2b). The less differentiated images of Arab men and women depicted by pre- and early adolescents demonstrate the phenomenon of outgroup homogeneity (Linville, 1982; Linville & Jones, 1980), which in itself indicates the presence of stereotyping.
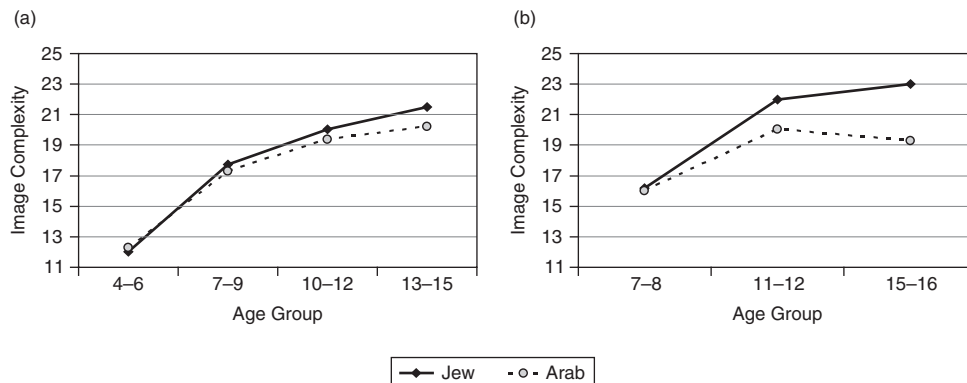


**Figure 18.2**   Image Complexity as reflected in the number of items in drawings of Jews and Arabs (a. men, b. women)

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[6]The development and scoring of this measure were described in detail in previous publications (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Teichman, 2001; Teichman & Zafrir, 2003).
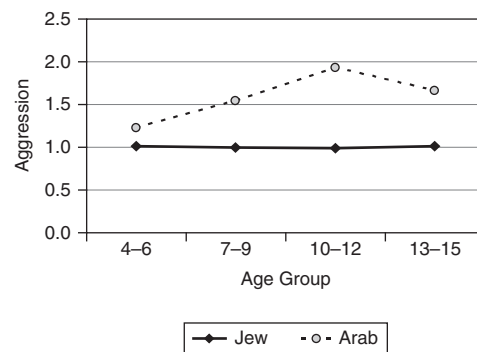
**Figure 18.3** Attributed Aggression as reflected in drawings of Jews and Arabs.

It is plausible to suggest that because the structure of images (i.e. complexity) is a content-free variable not involving a direct expression of beliefs or feelings, it allowed participants an indirect outlet for expressing social preferences. Other results obtained from the implicit measure we utilized (HFD) also revealed the highest negative attributions to Arabs by the 10- to 12-year-olds. An example of this pattern is the attribution of aggression depicted in Figure 18.3. Figure 18.3 also portrays the pattern of findings reported above for the 8- to 9-year-olds. As may be seen, the 8- to 9-year-olds attributed to Arabs a higher level of aggression than did the preschoolers. The aggression attributed to the in-group was significantly lower and was not affected by age.

Importantly, not all measures yielded as clear results for the 10- to 15-year-olds as those presented in Figures 18.2 and 18.3. At first sight, it appears that the inconsistent findings contradict our prediction regarding an elevation of social biases in pre- and early adolescence. However, a more careful consideration suggests that the inconsistency *as such* in fact confirms the developmental rationale offered by IDCT for this age. Apparently, the instability in self-identity and self-worth at this age is also reflected in inconsistency in social biases.

Sasson (2004, reviewed by Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005) took a more direct approach to examining the influence of level of self-esteem on implicit social biases. In this study, participants were divided into three age groups (8 to 9; 10 to 12; 13 to 14). Within each age group children were divided into high and low self-esteem subgroups. Sasson (2004) hypothesized that participants with low self-esteem, particularly those aged 10 to 12, would display the highest in-group favoritism and/or the highest out-group negativity.

Results obtained for four variables derived from the HFD measure showed that whereas the high self-esteem participants displayed small discrepancies between images of in- and out-groups, and this was consistent across ages, the low self-esteem participants displayed significant discrepancies between the images, and the discrepancies were affected by age, shifting from extreme in-group preference displayed by 10- to 12-year-olds to extreme out-group preference displayed by 13- to 14-year-olds. The fact that sharp oscillations between in- and out-group preference occurred only in the low self-esteem-group seems to indicate that this group is more susceptible to social biases. These findings support the prediction offered by IDCT regarding a relationship between insecure identity and out-group negativity. Additionally, the different response pattern manifested by the groups with the two levels

of self-esteem also offers more support for the self-enhancement hypothesis (Hogg & Abrams, 1990) than for the self-maintenance hypothesis (Tessler, 1988).

The support for IDCT's predictions for pre-adolescents and different groups of adolescents provides a possible explanation for their social responses. However, because the empirical findings are not conclusive, research with pre-adolescents and adolescents may benefit from more carefully differentiating between personal and collective self-esteem (e.g. Crocker, Blaine, & Luhtanen, 1993; Teichman, Bar-Tal & Abdolrazeq, in press; Chapter 14, this volume) and between implicit vs. explicit assessment procedures (Aberson et al., 2000; Chapter 14, this volume). These issues may also apply to studies with younger children.

With regard to the type of assessment, Aberson et al. (2000) suggested that high self-esteem participants may express biases on all types of measures while low self-esteem participants are more likely to express bias on implicit measures. Our findings provide some support for this proposition: On the one hand, on explicit measures like trait ratings, adolescents expressed feelings and readiness for social contact; on the other hand, on implicit measures, adolescents expressed strong and consistent bias (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005).

Returning to developmental progression, more consistent moderations on the two types of measures in positive and negative biases were observed in late adolescence (14- to 17-year-olds and older). Thus, even in a society engulfed in an intractable conflict, threat becomes less generalized, contextual messages are more scrutinized, and biases related to enemies decrease when cognitive and moral development reach the highest stages (Kohlberg, 1969; Selman, 1980) and self-identity reaches relative stability and security (Erickson, 1968; Marcia, 1980, 1998). However, at the same time, in conflict the moderations still depend on the level of conflict or on the evaluated target (man/woman) (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005; Teichman, 2001). An example of the reduction in attributed aggression in drawings of Arabs performed by Jewish adolescents aged 13-15 to may be observed in Figure 18.3.

### DEVELOPMENTAL TRAJECTORY OF STEREOTYPES AND PREJUDICE: ISRAELI ARAB CHILDREN

In addition to an interest in developmental patterns, we were interested in intergroup attitudes among majority *and* minority children in Israeli society. The question we pose is how majority children (Israeli Jews), who represent one side of the conflict, and minority children (Israeli Arabs), who represent the other side of the conflict, are comparable in the way they develop mutual stereotypes and prejudice. In order to answer this question we examined Jewish and Arab children and adolescents in Israeli society, in which Arab citizens constitute about 20 percent of the population.

The social context of Jewish and Arab children in the State of Israel includes two inseparable components: a majority (Jews) and a minority (Arabs) status and an intractable conflict between their people. Because there are no Jewish or Arab children in Israel who experience only one component of this social situation, separating the two is impossible. Although it may be assumed that the two groups experience the conflict differently, it nevertheless constitutes a general developmental context for the development of their SPIRs. On the other hand, the experience of belonging either to the majority or to the minority distinguishes the two groups, and there is hardly any contact between them. The borders between the two social groups may be defined as impermeable.

Findings from two studies, one involving Arab children aged 5 to 8 and 8 to 9 (Idres, 2006), and the other involving Jewish and Arab children and adolescents aged 7 to 8 and 12 to 13 (Teichman & Zafrir 2003) are particularly illuminating. The first study utilized the same methodology that Assaf (2006) applied with Jewish children (Asking participants to rate the same photographs, first not identified and later identified as "Jew" or "Arab"). The results obtained for the Arab children by Idres (2006) differed from those reported by Assaf (2006) for Jewish children. Unlike the Jewish children, both age groups in the Arab sample expressed the same level of positivity toward Jews (M=1.80, SD=1.49 for the 5- to 6-year olds, and M=1.90, SD=1.20 for the 8- to 9-year-olds). Thus, neither the younger nor the older Arab children shifted toward in-group preference.

Similarly, Teichman and Zafrir (2003) assessed Jewish and Arab children and early adolescents utilizing HFDs (implicit measure) and a behavior and intentions questionnaire that accompanied the drawings (explicit measure). Drawing on previous findings (Aboud, 1988), and on the developmental and contextual considerations proposed by IDCT, it was predicted that while both Jewish and Arab children would express majority preference in early adolescence when self-identity is experienced as insecure, self-enhancement motivation gains importance, and conflict and a rigid majority–minority situation intensify identification with the in-group, differentiation between groups will surface and reciprocal in- and out-group biases would emerge. However, unlike minority children in multiethnic societies, both groups of Israeli Arab participants, on all implicit parameters, presented their ethnic group similarly to the majority Jewish group. On the other hand, on the explicit measure, the younger group displayed the expected pattern of not differentiating between the groups, while the early adolescents expressed a clear in-group preference.

The similarity between the images presented by the young Arab children reflects majority preference. As in previous studies, such preference may be interpreted as a possible delay in shifting to in-group preference or, more likely, as an expression of sensitivity to the low status of their group in the society and a way of enhancing their self-esteem. Nesdale and Flesser (2001) offered the self-enhancement interpretation for similar laboratory findings showing that, when mobility was impossible, children aged 5 to 8 from a low-status group saw themselves as similar to the high-status group.

The prevalence of majority preference at the age of 12 to 13 is unusual. The fact that this age group consistently expressed majority preference on the implicit measure may be interpreted as indicating the same motivations as those of the younger children. However, unlike the younger children, on the explicit measure Arab adolescents expressed significant in-group preference. Teichman and Zafrir (2003) suggested that on an explicit measure, self-enhancement could not be achieved by rejecting the in-group. The explicit measure elevated the self-awareness of the older Arab children and apparently also raised conformity and social desirability, and triggered more ethnocentric responses. Their wish for resembling the Jewish majority could not be openly expressed on the explicit measure.

In line with previous findings and reasoning (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Katz, Shon, & Zalk, 1975), it appears that the implicit measure represents the more genuine attitudes. In this case, the implicit measure reflected the wish of minority children and adolescents to resemble the majority. Importantly, contrary to previous contentions (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001), genuine expression does not necessarily mean an expression of negative views toward out-groups—rather it may mean an expression of non-normative views.

In terms of context, the findings of both studies suggest that, whereas the social reactions of Jewish children are primarily influenced by the conflict, the Arab children are primarily influenced by their minority status. Teichman and Zafir (2003) explained the lack of intergroup differentiation displayed by children belonging to a low-status minority group in a rigid social situation with no possibility for mobility as reflecting coping by defensive identification. In order to defend their self-worth, these children and early adolescents enhance it by seeing themselves as similar to the majority and not by degrading it. The inner conflict is reflected in occasional explicit preference expressed toward their in-group and negativity expressed toward the out-group. On a more general level, the findings from the two studies involving Arab children also support IDCT. They point to the early adolescent group as inconsistent in relating to the out-group and demonstrate the importance of understanding intergroup responses in *specific* contexts.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION: DEVELOPMENT OF INTERGROUP BIASES IN CONFLICT

The developmental trajectory of the SPIR reported in these studies confirms the proposition that its development does not follow a universal pattern. The difference between developmental trajectories for SPIRs presented in studies conducted in multiethnic societies with no violence and those emerging in the context of intractable conflict and the differences between majority and minority children confirm the proposition that context influences the developmental course of intergroup bias. In the same vein, results obtained from studies of a different conflict (Northern Ireland) indicate that conflicts as contexts of socialization may have different influences on children's awareness of threat and on the development of their social identity. The question regarding developmental trajectories of SPIRs in different conflicts and in different levels of conflict is still an open one, and pursuing it will shed additional light on the theoretical questions posed in this chapter. Furthermore, the studies discussed here support IDCT's proposition that in addition to contextual influences, SPIRs also depend on emotional experiences, cognitive development, and identity development. The dynamic interplay of these factors produces the specific developmental pattern for different age groups in different social contexts.

With regard to developmental sequence of bias in the context of intractable conflict, our findings suggest that, beginning at the ages of 2 to 3, children demonstrate understanding of the context of the conflict in which they grow up and experience threat. At this age about half of the children begin to express in-group preference *and* negativity toward the out-group (seeing its members as bad and expressing toward them the extreme emotion of hate). The fact that very young children manifested rudimentary stereotypes and prejudice calls for a further examination of how social information is obtained and processed. In this regard, investigators have pointed out the importance of television (Barrett & Short, 1992) and parents (Aboud, 1988; Aboud and Amato 2001). Questions about how parents transmit social biases and attitudes and the difference in influence between the two parents require further examination.

Both in-group positivity and out-group negativity increase during preschool years, with rare moderations expressed by the mid-childhood group (ages 7 to 9). In the context of intractable conflict, perhaps because of increased awareness of threat, salience of groups differences, and intensification of social identity, the cognitive

development occurring at the age of 7 to 9 does not reduce in-group positivity and out-group negativity. Further along the developmental trajectory, as cognitive faculties continue to develop, contextual influences may be more easily qualified or challenged; however, pre- and early adolescents maintain the patterns manifested by younger children in which in-group preference and out-group rejection is amplified. In addition, normative fragility in self-esteem among pre- and early adolescents suggests that, at this age, the need for self-enhancement may influence intergroup responses. This proposition, however, needs further empirical examination. When both cognitive development and identity development reach a more advanced level, older adolescents begin to manifest a decrease in biases, but this reduction still critically depends on the level of conflict and on other factors such as target gender. As will be demonstrated in the next sections, empirically substantiated information regarding developmental trajectories of SPIRs may inform interventions directed at preventing their becoming polarized, generalized, and rigid, and in defusing their persistent influence on conflicts.

## IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERVENTIONS FOR CHANGING CHILDREN'S SOCIAL REPERTOIRE

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to review all the theoretical approaches and specific programs developed through the years for changing negative SPIRs (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1976; Brislin, Landis, & Brandt, 1983; Hewstone, 1994; Katz & Taylor, 1988; McKown, 2005; Oskamp. 2000; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Simpson & Yinger 1985; Stephan & Stephan, 2001). Instead, we chose to highlight a number of principles for changing the SPIRs developed by children and adolescents in societies that, after long years of experiencing intractable conflict, wish to embark on a reconciliation and peace process.

As noted, SPIRs produced in the context of intractable conflict are nourished by the conflict and at the same time maintain and even intensify it. Through years of atrocities, a complex culture of conflict evolves. Changing this multilayered, long-lasting culture—and within it the values, social perspective, views of the rival group, related feelings, and behavioral intentions— is a fundamental requirement for changing the hostile nature of intergroup relations (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). Changing views regarding the adversary group includes accepting it as legitimate and differentiated. Legitimization means accepting members of the adversary group, acknowledging their right to exist, and honoring their needs and goals as legitimate. Differentiation or personalization permits a view of rival group members as individuals with various positive and negative characteristics, rather than as an undifferentiated collective (Pettigrew, 1998). One of the most difficult changes involves the introduction of beliefs acknowledging the suffering of the rival group and seeing it, as well, as a victim of the conflict (Bar-Tal, 2000; Kelman, 1999).

Changes of such scope can occur only when violence comes to an end, a reconciliation process begins and eventually a peace agreement is achieved, and all parties fully commit to that agreement (Abu-Nimer, 2001; Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Bar-Tal, 2000; Bar-Tal & Rosen, in press; Bloomfield, Barnes, & Huyse, 2003; Lederach, 1997; Rothstein, 1999; Zartman, 2006). A peace agreement represents a major event, indicating that the context is changing. It is a formal symbolic act acknowledging that the

conflict has ended and that an enemy can be trusted and treated as an equal partner with whom it is possible to share goals and cooperate (Allport, 1954). To facilitate a change of mutual views of past rivals, it is necessary for both sides to show goodwill and readiness for peaceful relations, reciprocate with positive acts, and demonstrate good intentions.

### INSTITUTIONALIZED CHANGES WITHIN THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Allport (1954), who was one of the first to write about changing intergroup relationships, acknowledged the importance of support from recognized authorities to the reduction of prejudice. Advocating the implementation of change in the SPIR held by children and adolescents on an institutional level in schools, the support of those with decision-making authority is particularly important. This support is essential to legitimize the change; without it schools are unable to initiate and lead educational programs.

Individual school principals may initiate various programs for changing negative intergroup repertoires. However, these are limited and sporadic attempts that reach only a small number of participants and, therefore, have little social impact. In contrast, an institutionalized and systematic school approach refers to a planned policy disseminated by the central educational authorities. It involves a mandatory program for peace education that reaches all school-age children and adolescents (see review by Bar-Tal, Rosen, & Nets, in press).

The institutionalized approach is based on four premises. First, since schools are compulsory and all children and adolescents are required to attend, intervention in schools is sure to reach the entire population of children and youth, who will be tomorrow's adults and leaders. Second, because children and youth are still in the process of acquiring a psychological repertoire, they are less affected by the dominating SPIR and are more open to new ideas and information. Third, in comparison with other socialization agents, society has maximum control over the messages transmitted in schools. Educational authorities such as the Ministry of Education or the Board of Education can decide on curricula, educational programs, and school textbooks. Finally, schools are viewed as purveyors of objective, truthful, and factual knowledge. This background facilitates the adoption of the new ideas, beliefs, and attitudes.

### EDUCATIONAL ORIENTATION

Learning a new repertoire about a rival cannot be viewed as a specific and separate subject matter or as "a project," but rather must be embedded within a new educational orientation. The themes of this orientation should represent the change of values and social perspective. They should include a broad scope of topics such as tolerance; conflict resolution legitimization, differentiation, and personalization of the past rival; empathic view of the other; openness to multi-cultural views; the benefits of a nonviolent environment; social sensitivity; respect for human rights, and so on (Bey & Turner, 1995; Deutsch, 1993; Hall, 1999; Hicks, 1988). This material should be incorporated within the curricula of various subject matters and be interwoven within their instruction (Harris, 1988). This approach requires a revision of school textbooks, producing new instructional materials, training teachers, and so

forth. Only a comprehensive, holistic orientation may provide a new prism through which students learn to view and evaluate past rivals in a different way.

## Experiential Learning

Internalization of values, social perspectives, behavioral tendencies, and redefinitions of basic long-lasting themes and approaches cannot be achieved by preaching. Rather, the main mechanism for such changes is experience. In order to realize the negative consequences of delegitimization, stereotypes, and prejudice, students need to acknowledge them. In addition, they need to develop empathy toward the needs and suffering of the other group and to dissolve generalizations about it. These goals, as well as many of those delineated above, may be best achieved through experiential methods in which the rival is granted an equal status, cooperation with him is approved, and mutual goals are acknowledged (Allport, 1954).

Setting up experiential learning in schools is a difficult task for educators. It requires pedagogical expertise, but more importantly demands that teachers have the skills and ability to manage the learning environment while serving as role-models and creating the appropriate atmosphere for effective experiential learning.

## Age-Related Interventions

Programs aiming to change SPIRs have to be implemented as early as kindergarten. Research findings (Devine 1989; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001) indicate that newly acquired knowledge does not change earlier social repertoires. The early repertoires remain stored in memory and continue to exercise implicit influences in later life. Therefore, programs to prevent negative social repertoires should begin before those repertoires are cemented. Programs oriented at very young children have to influence the vocabulary they acquire, their social categorization, concepts, images, and social knowledge. They should recognize and defuse the association between experienced threat and negativity towards the rival, as well as help children process information they absorb from a range of sources including television.

Program developers would be well advised to account for developmental changes in children's capabilities, needs, and developmental challenges. Accordingly, programs need to be adapted to the different age groups. For example, promoting differentiation and personalization of images of the rival among 7- to 9-year-olds may prevent out-group homogenization and generalized stereotyping. At a later age, interventions should aim to equalize the complexity of in- and out-group images. Pre- and early adolescents, especially those with low self-esteem, may use stereotyping and prejudice for self-enhancement. Thus, programs developed for them should address those personal needs. These programs may relate to identity issues, provide participants with positive growth experiences that increase self-worth, broaden social perspective, and moderate out-group negativity or uncritical in-group positivity. Furthermore, programs for intervention and prevention should recognize and address potential differences between male and female representatives of the target group. In addition, different ethnic or religious groups may need programs that are adapted to their cultural context and special needs. For example, in the Israeli society it may be that different ethnic groups, immigrants (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005) or—as illustrated in this chapter—Jews and

Arabs, may need different programs to defuse children's early SPIRs so they do not become fuel for the conflict.

## CONCLUSION

This chapter presented an account of the acquisition and development of stereotypes, prejudice, emotions, and behavioral intentions that constitute children's shared psychological intergroup repertoire (SPIR). The theory presents an integrative developmental contextual approach (IDCT) proposing that the development of SPIRs is mediated by multiple factors including context, affect, and cognitive and identity development. These factors operate from infancy through development, gaining salience in specific developmental stages, and depend on specific societal contexts.

In the context of intractable conflict, very young majority children (aged 2 to 3) experience threat, have basic group identity, and express in-group preference and rejection of the rival out-group. In these contexts, 7- to 9-year-old-children are as or more biased than 5- to 6-year-old-children. Pre- and early adolescents tend to display in-group favoritism or out-group rejection, but the pattern is not consistent. Except in conditions of elevated conflict, older adolescents aged 14 to 15 displayed moderation in biases. Generally, in this context, minority Arab children and early adolescents tended to present their group as similar to the majority, and early adolescents only implicitly expressed out-group negativity.

The chapter focused on the context of intractable conflict, in which SPIRs play an important psychological function in fueling the conflict and maintaining it. Our work has convinced us that without changing the SPIRs held by rivals, it is impossible to launch any meaningful peace process. Our hope is that the theoretical account of the development of SPIRs in the context of intractable conflict and the empirical findings that follow from that theory may prove useful for the development of effective interventions to moderate SPIRs among children and youth who live with the burden of an intractable conflict. The challenge for leaders and educators is to apply this theory and the associated interventions and encourage their continuous examination.

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