

**Young Children's images of the "enemy".  
A study with Greek and British children.**

**by**

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## Abstract

This study examined the enemy images as perceived by young children in two countries. The children's sources of information as well as whom or what they conceived as a protector from the enemies were also inquired. The field of enemy images among young children is hitherto a relatively unexplored one. However, the study was influenced by more general literature on how children perceive their social environment, and in particular by the writings of Lambert and Klineberg, Vygotsky, Cullingford, Dragonas and Frangoudaki.

The empirical part of the study took place from January 1996 to February 1997 with 171 school children aged five to nine. It was conducted in Greece (in a big city and an island) and in Britain (in a small English city). Due to problems of access the number of British children involved in the research was much smaller than the Greek one. The data collection methods included semi-structured group interviews and a projective exercise, where children were asked to produce a drawing of an enemy.

The children conceived specific groups or individuals as enemies. The following main enemy images could be distinguished:

a. enemy-warriors (often countries that had been in war conflict with their country in the past); b. enemy-criminals (people doing evil things, threatening the society; sometimes crime was associated with specific social groups, such as "the immigrants"); and c. enemy-acquaintances (other children at school or from the peer-group. Some cases of bullying were also reported). A number of sub-categories of enemy images were also identified.

Almost all the interviewees described the same enemy images. They did, however, give different emphasis and meaning on what it is to have enemies, depending on their age, gender and place where they were from.

The research suggested that the social context in which children live and grow up has the major role in the formation of enemy images; children's age and gender also appeared to influence the images children held.

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## Author's Declaration

I wish to declare that this thesis is product of my own work, it is original and has not been published before, with the exemption of the following papers and articles that have been produced from the data gathered from the research:

PAIDA, S. (1997), Enemy images in young children and their views of the world, BROWN, M. (ed.) Seminar notes on Global Education, Educational material for a summer school held by the Centre for Global Education, University College of Ripon and York, St. John.

LISTER, I. & PAIDA, S. (1997), Young Children's images of the enemy: An exploration into mental mapping, New Era in Education, vol. 78, no. 3, pp. 81-84.

LISTER, I. & PAIDA, S. (1998), Young Children's images of the enemy: An exploration into mental mapping, Part Two, New Era in Education, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 13-17.

PAIDA, S. (unpublished), The image of the enemy in nursery and primary school children in Greece and Britain. Some implications for educators, to appear in Ekpedeftiki Kinotita.

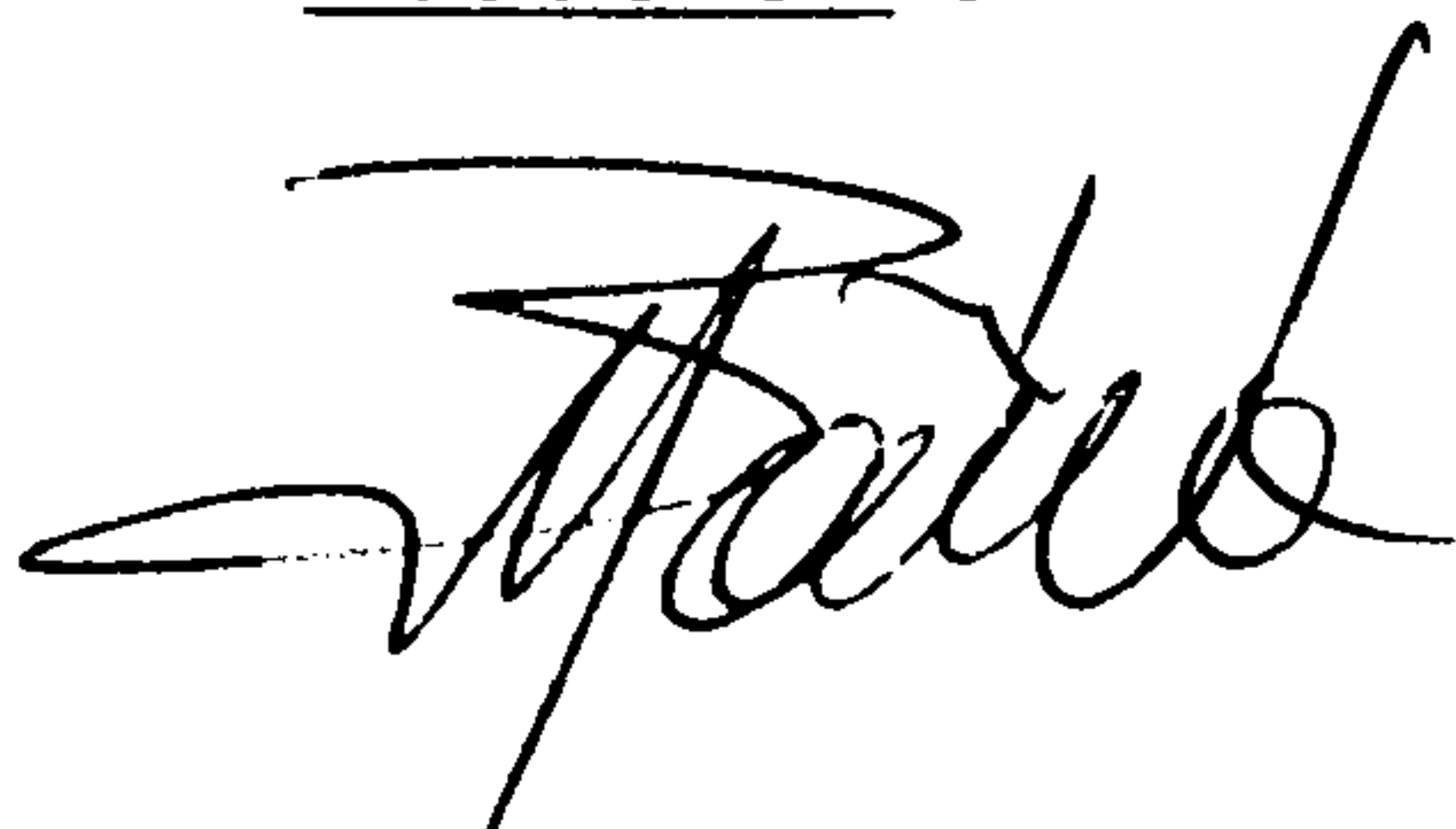
I have also presented parts of this study as papers:

Images of enemy among young Greek children. Stereotypes and prejudices against foreign countries and out-groups (1997), Paper presented at the Early Childhood Education Department of University of Athens, Graduate Seminar, May 1997.

Enemy Images: Young Children and their views of the world (1997), Paper presented at Summer School, Centre for Global Education, University College of Ripon and York, St. John, August 1997.

The image of "the enemy" among young children in Greece and Britain (1998), Paper to be presented at the British Education Research Association Annual Conference, at the Queen's University of Belfast, in August 1998.

Enemy Images: A Comparative Study of Greek and British Primary School Children (1998), Paper to be presented at the European Conference for Educational Research at the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia, in September 1998.



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### ***1.1 What is this research about?***

The principal aim of this research was to explore enemy images among young children in two countries, Greece and Britain. Apart from identifying the enemy images among young children, the research also explored the sources of information about enemies as well as whom or what children conceived as protectors from enemies. It also examined whether these enemy images were different among boys and girls from three different age groups coming from three different places in the two countries.

The term image refers to the ideas, the mental structures, people hold towards specific situations, objects, phenomena or groups of people (Nicolas, 1977; Campbell, 1996; Royle and Barrett, 1997). Images are stereotypical internal models, patterns of explaining the world. Enemy is regarded as an unfriendly, hostile person, who causes feelings of threat (Oxford English Dictionary, 1992). The enemy images one holds are supposed to be commonly shared and accepted by the whole in-group that one belongs to. The existence of enemy images offers a focus in the externalisation of the person's and in-group's aggression and creates a sense of in-group cohesiveness. This of course does not mean that the existence of enemy images in a society will definitely lead to conflict, national upheaval or war. The existence of stereotypes and prejudices against specific people and especially groups could, however, serve as a focus of aggression in time of conflict period or economic recession. In this century there have been many incidents of systematic, organised violence against negatively stigmatised groups. The holocaust of the Jews, and the war in Former Yugoslavia are typical examples of mass

violence being exercised against different groups living in the same country with the aggressors.

This research is a “mentality research” that examines how children perceive the surrounding world and other people. The field of mentality research with children is fairly unexplored. In late 1960s and 1970s there has been some research conducted with children and their views on politics and the political world (Hess and Torney, 1967; Greenstein, 1969; Connell, 1971; Tolley, 1973; Stevens, 1982). Some research has also been conducted on the ways young children view themselves as parts of specific social and national groups (Jahoda, 1963, 1964; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Tajfel and Jahoda, 1966; Tajfel, 1969, 1973; Williams and Morland, 1976).

### ***1.2 Recent research interest on the ways children think about themselves and “others”***

Recently, there has been an increasing interest in the area of education about the way children view their future (Beare and Slaughter, 1993; Longstreet and Shane, 1993; Tough, 1995; Hicks and Holden, 1995; Hutchinson, 1996 a, 1996 b; Hicks, 1994, 1997) and how they cope with violence and conflict in their everyday interactions (Smith, 1991, Smith and Sharp, 1994; Cullingford and Brown, 1995). Much concern has arisen on the ways children view their national identity and other people from different countries (Cullingford, 1990; Barrett and Short, 1992; Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995; Barret, 1997; Wilson et al, 1997; Royle and Barrett, 1997). There has also been some research examining the ideas and aspirations of educators about racism, minorities and national identity and how these concepts are presented in the educational system (Dragonas et al, 1996; Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997).

It seems that children even from a very young age approach the world and their environment with a set of pre-constructed ideas, predictions

and dispositions about phenomena, individuals and groups of people. Recent research (Hicks and Holden, 1995; Hutchinson, 1996a and 1996b) showed that the majority of the children asked had rather pessimistic views of their future and the future of their communities and countries. They could predict, among other things, that the future would be stigmatised by war and further environmental degradation.

Further research also suggested that children preferred as friends, classmates of their own nationality and that they held poor ideas of children belonging to different ethnic or social groups (Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996). Children had ideas and attitudes under which they approached the world, other people and other nationalities. In many cases children had negative images of specific countries, especially if these were presented by media, schoolbooks, films and comics as past enemies of their own country (Connell, 1971; Barrett and Short, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995; Bennett, 1996).

There has developed significant research interest on the effects of war, civil conflict and violence, on children and adolescents. Studies of this kind have emerged from Northern Ireland, Israel, and occupied territories, like Cambodia, South America and South Africa (Staker et al, 1996; Cairns, 1996; and Ladd and Cairns, 1996). Nevertheless, to the best of our knowledge, very little research has been conducted about enemy images of children who do not actually live within a conflict zone. Many researchers have placed special attention to the need for more extended research on the way young children think about enemies. Bjersteadt et al, (1991), suggested that there should be research examining the ideas pupils from different age groups hold about enemies. The need for comparative, cross-cultural research has also been stressed (Silverstein and Holt, 1989).



### ***1.3 The background in which the idea of this research was conceived***

The end of the Cold War has caused lots of uncertainty and turmoil in the political, social and economic fields and was accompanied by a number of military conflicts. As Grove-White puts it (1994, p. 2),

... world-wide it is widely argued now that the end of the cold war, whatever its wonderful, good sides, has ushered in a range of new uncertainties and new instabilities...

The Balkans was one of the main areas in which the post Cold War conflict emerged: the civil war in Former Yugoslavia; the fall of the Communist regimes in many countries in the area; the economic crisis in those countries and a series of political conflicts among Balkan countries. Within this climate, this research attempts to map out the ideas young children held about enemies. The origins of the research lay initially in personal and professional concerns. This research is also of scientific and methodological interest and importance.

My first concern about enemies goes back to the place where I was born and brought up, a Greek island in the Aegean Sea, Chios, which is in the border area with Turkey. The relations of Greece and Turkey were never particularly good, and my first public memory was the recruitment of all the male members of my family in the Greek army in 1974, when Greeks and Turks fought over Cyprus. Until the early 1980s, in the eastern coast of Chios island there was a mine field for the fear of a possible attack from Turkey. So, the first concerns about enemies and whether one could live without such conflicts had already been formed since my childhood. Later, (1990-1994) as a student of the Early Childhood Education department of the University of Thessaloniki, I studied more systematically issues concerning the ways people acquire their views of "others" and how stereotypical images and prejudices may lead people who feel threatened by enemies, to act violently against them.

During my placement in different nursery schools as a student-teacher, I realised that many young children held negative images of specific social and national groups living in and outside of their country. Children normally had not much real knowledge or information about these groups and they had hardly ever met any member of these groups. However, they seemed to have an already made set of ideas and to believe that certain groups of people were a source of threat for them and for their families.

My interest in those observations gradually increased due to the situation in the Balkans during that period of time. The Former Yugoslavia faced a very severe civil war. Sarajevo, the city that used to be one of the multicultural centres of the area, turned out to be the centre of the military conflict. It was not only the Former Yugoslavia that had vital problems. At the same time many of the former Eastern Bloc countries in the area were in the process of changing regime in a dramatic way, facing problems of corruption and economic recession, while Greece was involved in a political conflict with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. Last but not least, the centuries old tension between Greece and Turkey had been intensified. The common thread connecting all of these incidents was the use of violence as almost the only means of conflict resolution in a limited geographical area.

At the same time the population of Greece was changing rapidly as many people immigrated there, mainly from the former communist countries in the area, seeking a better future. According to statistics, until 1990 the number of immigrants in Greece was approximately 1.5%, while in the middle 1990s, the number increased rapidly and was estimated to 10% of the whole population (National Statistic Services of Greece, 1997). The immigrants were considered to be involved in crime and many xenophobic incidents have been reported against immigrant people (Vima, 12 January 1997, 22 March 1998). All these led me to conduct an

enquiry for undergraduate dissertation on the examination of enemy images among the pupils of a nursery school in the city of Thessaloniki. This research (Paida et al, 1996) showed that children viewed certain people and groups as enemies. The groups that children thought of as enemies were either countries that were at war with their country in the past (such as Germany and Turkey) or sub-groups living in the same country (such as "the immigrants" and "the Gypsies"). I also found that there was not sufficient information given to children through the educational system about "different" social and national groups. Often the only references to other countries were made when the "others" were presented as enemies of Greece in past wars.

Based on the belief that children should not hold distorted ideas of reality and that they should be educated in a climate of mutual understanding, refraining from prejudices, a number of teachers and academics developed an interest in breaking stereotypes of young children about "other" people. I had the chance to work with a group of teachers and academics from Universities in Thessaloniki and Istanbul, aiming to challenge stereotypes among young pupils from Greece and Turkey about each other. During this project, it was understood that any educational innovation had to be based on research. Research should reveal the ways young children perceive enemies, and should inform the academic community and the professionals about the children's ideas of "others" and enemies. Educational innovations should be based on research findings rather than on assumptions of professionals and policy makers of what may be happening in children's minds. Under this perspective, the research aims were developed.

The aim of the research is to examine the enemy images among young children and to explore where these images derived from, and whom or what children conceived as a protector. Additionally it is examined whether and to what extent the children's descriptions about enemy

images are different between boys and girls of different age (5, 7 and 9-year-olds), coming from two different countries and three different places in those countries. All these questions will be highlighted and discussed throughout this thesis.

#### ***1.4 The importance of this research***

No substantive research has been conducted so far on enemy images as perceived by very young children. This research is innovative as it fills in a literature gap. It is even more important as it was conducted in two countries that are not directly involved in war conflict. At the same time, Greece has poor relations in the political arena with a neighbouring country, Turkey, and during the time of the research there was a clash between those two countries that created a fear of military conflict. On the other hand, in Britain the old military conflict in Northern Ireland was still going on at the time of the research.

Both Greece and Britain are members of the European Union. There is an increasing interest to educate children towards the acceptance of similarities among the Europeans, the fact that they had common fates and faced similar disasters. Children, the citizens of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, must overcome their prejudices and their stereotypes for the different social, ethnic or national groups and other countries. This research is very important because it contributes to the understanding of whom and which groups children conceive as enemies and why.

### ***1.5 Ethical issues connected to conducting research about enemies with young children***

This research aims at getting information from children about enemies and this can be a very delicate and sensitive issue. There was the possibility of interviewing children who might have negative experiences that they would not feel comfortable to talk about. I was very much aware of these ethical issues, especially as the target group of the research were very young children who might find it very difficult to “defend” themselves. That is why a number of actions were taken.

Before entering the school I discussed my interview plan with the head-teacher and the class teachers, who had to be convinced that the research would not by any means be threatening for their pupils. I was then introduced to the pupils by their teacher. I told children that I needed their help for a research enquiry which I was conducting and I asked for volunteers to talk with me about “enemies”. Normally, many children would volunteer to be interviewed. After picking some children I would ask them to choose some of their friends who would also like to be interviewed and form a group. Children were interviewed in these friendship groups that they had formed themselves, and none was forced to participate. Before the beginning of the interview children were told that the interviews were confidential and that they were not associated with their school performance and that their teachers would not have access to their answers. They were also told that they could leave the interview if and whenever they wished to. Throughout the interview, I did not offer any kind of explanation of what an “enemy” was. The children were free to answer whatever they wanted, with no direction from my side.

The ethical guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (1992) have been used for this research which was also examined and approved by the Institute of Educational Research of the Greek Ministry of National Education. Of course it might not be appropriate to ask

children who have been directly affected by war about enemies as that might bring them back very nasty memories. It might also be inappropriate to discuss issues like that in schools and areas where there is much bullying and violence. Indeed, in some schools in Yorkshire, I was denied access, as the head-teachers told me that it would not be proper to ask their pupils about enemies.

It seemed from this research that the children interviewed did have enemy images and in some cases these images were particularly strong. These issues exist, children do have fears and feelings of threat, unjustified in some cases, and, unfortunately, justified in others. There is a dilemma for education researchers whether they will decide to address these issues and try to deal with them or not. This research, always respecting children's personality and sensitivity, addressed the issue of "enemy" and made an effort to map the children's images of the enemy, and to offer an explanation of how such images were formed.

### ***1.6 The structure of the thesis***

The thesis is structured in five parts, introduction (chapter 1), literature review (chapters 2-5), methodology (chapter 6), data presentation and analysis (chapters 7-10) and conclusions (chapter 11).

Chapter one provides an introduction to the research, it offers a background and presents the main issues that will be examined into the next chapters.

Chapters 2 to 5 present the theoretical background of this study. In chapter 2 the key concepts used throughout the thesis are defined and explained. The research explores the ways children think about other people, situations and events. The difference between attitudes and behaviours is explained. The terms "stereotype" and "prejudice" are defined, and the different theories about their function are discussed. It is argued that stereotypes are not neutral mental structures that help

humans to organise their surroundings. It is, on the contrary, claimed that stereotypes serve social functions normally promoting the idea that one's own in-group is "better" as compared with other groups. Prejudice is a predisposition about people belonging to specific groups which is accompanied with deductive inferences that every person belonging to a specific group carries all the negative characteristics attributed to that group. The issues of racism, nationalism and interpersonal aggression are also briefly tackled. This chapter refers to a great range of issues relevant to the research. Of course the references to all these issues remain rather limited but it is attempted to give a synopsis of the broader field concerning enemy images.

Chapter 3 refers to previous research with children and the ways they perceive their environment (homeland, other nations, social groups). Research conducted during the Cold War period indicated that children held negative images about the countries belonging to "the opposite bloc". Research conducted after the Cold War focused on how children perceived their own social and national identity as well as different social, ethnic and national groups living in their country.

In the following chapter, the issues tackled in the two previous chapters are reviewed in respect to the social environment where this research took place. Nationalism and racism as viewed in Greece and Britain and more specifically as presented in the educational systems of those two countries, are discussed.

Chapter 5 is a link chapter, bringing together the information gathered from the literature and the research questions. All the previous issues that were discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4 offer a framework on how children form attitudes about the surrounding world and what sort of attitudes these are. These information helped the structure of the research questions.

The methodological issues are raised in the sixth chapter. Much thought was given to the discovery and employment of the most appropriate methodological tools that would produce valid and reliable data to address the research questions. The positivist and the naturalistic approaches to social research are presented. Qualitative methodology is employed for the collection of data with the use of semi-structured group interviews and a projective exercise, where children were asked to produce a drawing of an enemy. The problems associated with interviewing children and the complications faced in this research are also dealt with in this chapter. Ethical issues relevant to interviewing young children about sensitive issues such as the images of the enemy, are also discussed. Data from 171 children were gathered from three areas in Greece and Britain. For the better understanding and the best possible evaluation of the data, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data presentation and analysis are used.

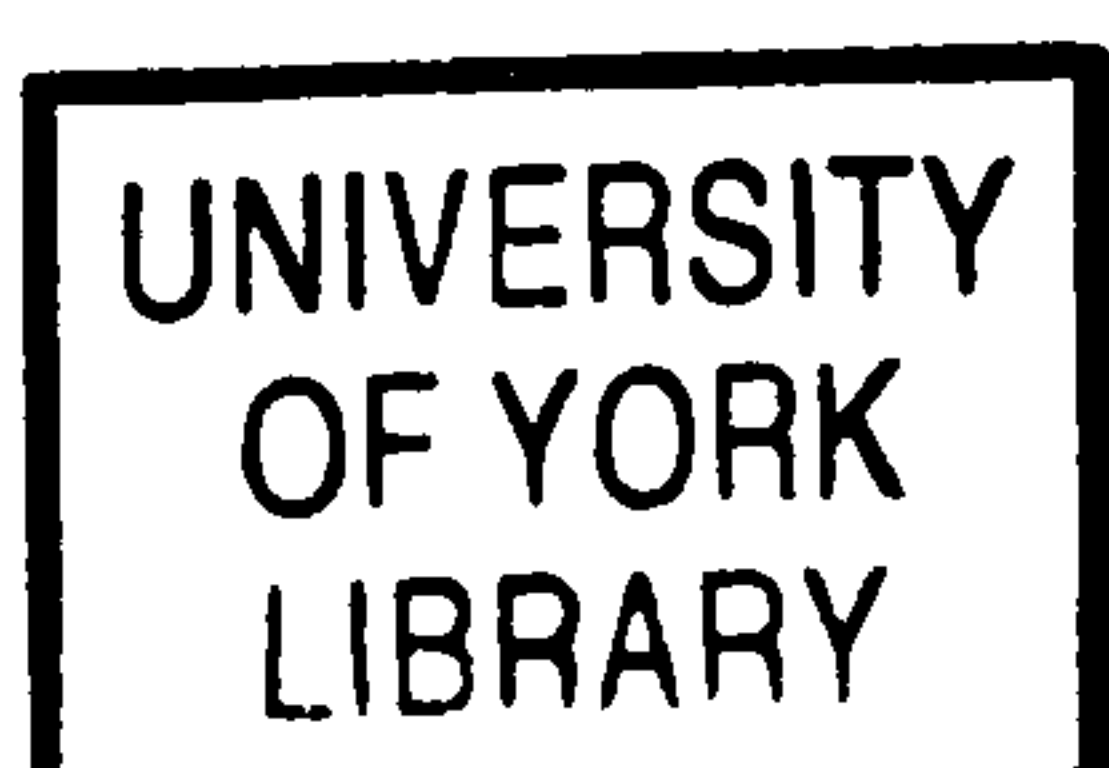
Data are presented, discussed and linked to the existing literature in the following four chapters (7-10). Chapter 7 presents the answers of all the children involved in the study. The responses of all the children about enemy and threat, as well as their sources of information and the means of protection from the enemy are presented in this chapter. The main enemy images as described by the children were: Enemy-warriors (soldiers or hostile countries with which the children's country had been in war in the past). Enemy-criminals (people doing evil things, hurting and threatening the society; sometimes crime was associated with out-groups or sub-groups like for example "the immigrants" or "the Gypsies"). Enemy-acquaintances (other children at school or at the play-group, some cases of bullying were also reported). Children claimed that they had formed their ideas about enemies through what they had heard from their families and peers, what they had learnt at school and watched on the television. Some children also claimed that they had



personally found out about enemies, via for example their experiences of fighting with other children, or what they had witnessed and could recall from the Greek-Turkish conflict over some Aegean Sea islands, that had taken place a few months before the children were interviewed. Children referred to their friends and families as offering them protection from their enemies. Some of the children also mentioned that their teachers protected them from being bullied and that the police protected them from crime. Some Greek children claimed that the army defended them from enemy countries.

The eighth chapter presents the responses of children according to their age groups. At the end of this chapter the developmental changes in the responses of children are discussed. It seemed that children from the three different age groups examined, referred to the same enemy images. The different age groups however, did emphasise on different enemy images. So, the youngest group of children interviewed seemed to be much more concerned of enemy-warriors than the older interviewees who mainly described as enemies other children from their peer group.

The responses of children according to their gender are examined in the ninth chapter. The boys and girls described the same enemy images; they focused however on different aspects on what it is to have enemies and suggested different ways of dealing with conflict. Girls believed that one should avoid direct clashes with enemies and suggested that the best way of dealing with enemies is to ignore them or to negotiate with them. Many of the girls who talked about enemy-warriors mentioned the impacts of war on the civilian population and were quite emotional in their descriptions of conflict situations. Boys in general gave more dramatic descriptions of enemies, often focusing on war scenes, describing the soldiers' armoury in detail. Many boys also believed that



the best way of dealing with enemies is direct confrontation, both at an interpersonal and an international level.

In the tenth chapter the responses of the children that were interviewed in Thessaloniki, Chios and York are compared and contrasted. It seemed that the social environment, in which children grow up, influenced their images in both cognitive and emotional levels. So, children from Greece, -who had lived in an environment where there is much talking about the possibility of a military conflict with a neighbouring country, Turkey, and whose country was under occupation during World War II and faced a civil war after that- gave more descriptions of the enemy-warrior category. The children who were interviewed in York, however, seemed a lot more relaxed about enemy-warriors. Their major concern was the poor interpersonal relations they had and that sometimes led to bullying.

In the last chapter the findings of the research are summarised. The main images of the enemy as perceived and expressed by the children involved in the study are resumed. The research suggested that the social context in which children live and grow up has the major role in the formation of enemy images; children's age and gender also influenced the images children hold. A graphic representation of these findings is provided. The conclusions' chapter also offers critical reflection on the work, recognising the limitations and suggesting possible developments of the research, as well as some thoughts and speculations for further research on the field. Finally, some educational implications are suggested, so that children's stereotypes will be challenged and children will be educated in a free-of-prejudices environment, where they will respect themselves and their culture as well as the "others".

## **Chapter 2**

### **Key Concepts**

In this chapter, the main concepts that are related to the study will be presented. As this study is concentrated on the examination of children's images of the enemies, working definitions concerning images and attitudes and their differences from behaviours are discussed. Issues concerning stereotypes, prejudices and how they effect racism and nationalism in modern society are also discussed. The definitions of enemy and "enemy images" will also be given as well as some accounts of the expression of children's aggression at an interpersonal level. The issue of bullying will also be tackled. Finally, as the research is related to children, some human development theories will be presented, so as to have a better understanding of the area.

## **2.1 Images, attitudes and behaviours**

The aim of this research is to examine the enemy images among young children. Images are beliefs, perceptions, ideas, which enable individuals to make sense of the physical and social world. According to cognitive psychology, images are components of cognitive process, and people acquire them through their experiences and maturation (Nicholas, 1977; Vosniadou, 1990). A further perspective on images is given by the social representations theory, that views images as ideas commonly shared by the whole in-group in which one belongs. According to this theory, images are socially created, socially sustained and culturally transmitted ideas (Campbell, 1996; Royle and Barrett, 1997).

This thesis will not further investigate the debate on whether images are cognitively acquired ideas or culturally transmitted schemata. In this work, "image" will be regarded as an idea people hold about a given stimuli. The images people have about their environment and the ideas in which they approach it, help them to make sense of it and influence their attitudes towards it.

This research focuses on the examination of children's images and reveals children's attitudes, that is the way children think and feel about certain things, not the ways they actually respond to them. The research does not reveal children's behaviours towards other individuals or groups. There is a significant difference between the notions of "attitude" and "behaviour". Attitude is a "mental set" which affects the ways people respond to events and organise their cognition (Stratton and Hayes, 1993). The authors also claimed that attitudes have three dimensions: (a) the cognitive dimension, containing the beliefs and the ways people employ to explain their attitudes; (b) an affective dimension involving emotions, likes and dislikes and (c) a behavioural dimension which has to do with whether the person holding an attitude is going to act according to it or not. Attitudes are, according to

Goldenson, (1970), particularly unconscious; attitudes might have a great or minor influence on the actual behaviour of humans. They might occur from past experiences; alternatively people might simply adopt the ready made attitudes prevailing in the social environment in which they live.

Attitudes are also enduring and once formed are very stable and difficult to change. Eysenck et al, (1972), stressed the evaluative character of attitudes, according to which people tend to make judgements on events, situations and other people. Eysenck et al, (1972), also emphasised the fact that people's attitudes about the same phenomena differed from culture to culture.

There is not a clear answer as to what extent children's attitudes influence behaviours in adult life. It seems, however, that the existence of attitudes towards certain issues, phenomena or people predisposes and leads people to specific behaviours. If for example, people have negative attitudes towards minority groups in their country, they may not protest personally against these minority groups but they may more readily agree with any discriminatory policies employed by governments.

## ***2.2 Stereotypes and prejudices***

### **2.2.1 What are stereotypes?**

People's attitudes towards other people and nations have been partly attributed to their stereotypes and prejudices (Davey, 1983). The term stereotype was first used in 1922 by Lippmann. It comes from the Greek word "stereos", which means solid, unchangeable. Lippmann was a journalist and transferred the word stereotype, which in printing means the metal cast used to make repeated and identical images of a character on paper, to social psychology. He claimed that stereotypes

were not innocent, neutral beliefs, but classification mechanisms conveying some sort of comparison, with one's own group always considered superior.

...A pattern of stereotypes is not neutral. It is not merely a way of substituting order for the great blooming, buzzing confusion of reality. It is the guarantee of our self-respect; it is the projection upon the world of our own sense of our own value, our own position and our own rights. The stereotypes are therefore, highly charged with the feelings that are attached to them. They are the fortress of our tradition, and behind its defences we can continue to feel ourselves safe in the position we occupy (Lippmann, 1922, pp.102-103).

Until the beginnings of this decade, cognitive analysis of stereotypes was dominant in social psychology. It was believed that, in order to understand and recognise their complex surroundings, humans tended to perceive things and people as belonging to one or another category. Human minds tend to establish firm ideas about specific social groups in the form of social categories. Once these ideas are formed, the entering of new information, which might prove that some or even a great majority of members of that group actually do not fit into the formed picture, is blocked. These pre-formed pictures are the stereotypes (Van der Heijde, 1997).

The process of stereotyping involves the recognition that someone belongs to a certain category or class. It also involves the attribution to that particular individual person of the characteristics that are mythically ascribed to the whole category.

Social stereotypes, as argued by Tajfel, (1969), essentially consist of a set of characteristics attributed to a human group. All people belonging to this group are considered similar to one another in all these characteristics while they are supposed to differ from all other groups in respect to these characteristics. Later, Tajfel claimed (1973), that stereotypes were sometimes based on historical or cultural traditions, and that they derived through the process of categorisation.

Cullingford and Husemann, (1995), described stereotypes as inescapable limitations of humankind. Husemann, (1995), explained the formation of stereotypes as a need, since people do not have the time or the opportunity to find out about the world themselves. He did, however, agree that the formation of stereotypes was not a process concerning single individuals. He described stereotypes as shared attitudes common in the whole social group and claimed that they were offered by socialisation agents such as the family and the peer group. Husemann, (1995), also stressed that humans should be aware of the fact that stereotypes could lead to prejudices and homogenisation and depersonalisation of out-group members.

### 2.2.2 Identification with one's own in-group

People tend to think positively about the groups they belong to. They need to have a good opinion about their group as their group determines in a way, what kind of persons they are. According to Hogg, (1992), groups determine people's language, attitudes, cultural practices, education, level of prosperity and what people are. Belonging to specific in-groups influences people's identity. It also influences the way people view and evaluate other people according to which group they belong. People acquire the sense of group-belonging from a very young age. And the peer group is the primary agent of socialisation in which children establish behaviour patterns relevant to life beyond the family (Harris, 1995).

Cohesiveness is a very important element of group reality. According to Hogg, (1992), cohesiveness is the essential value of social groups, the solidarity, the sense of "we-ness", "group-ness" and belongingness. People very often identify themselves with their in-group with the use of symbols. Allport wrote:

As a rule personal loyalty can adhere to an abstraction only when the abstraction is richly symbolised. Christianity rivets attention upon the cross, nations focus on their flags respective (Allport, 1950, p. 153).

The idea of the sanctification of group emblems is also presented in Durkheim's, (1915), work about totems. He claimed that group members identify each other and declare their loyalty to their group by referring to and worshipping certain symbols, unique for each group. Durkheim claimed that in olden societies people used totems to project their group membership, the same way as people use flags to declare their nationality or sanctified emblems to show the religious group they belong. All these totems, emblems and symbols also have a sanctified character and their insult can be regarded as an insult to the whole group.

Prejudice, discrimination, and ethnocentrism were, according to Hogg, significant aspects of inter-group relations, related to the solidarity of large-scale social categories. Social identities convey self evaluation. Thus, group members adopt strategies for inter-group comparisons that favour their in-group.

Category memberships are represented in the individual member's mind as a social identity that both describes and prescribes one's attributes as a group member. That is, when a specific social identity is the salient basis for self-conception, self-perception and contact become inter-group stereotypical and normative, perceptions of relevant out-group members become out group stereotypical, and inter-group behaviour acquires - to varying degrees, depending on the history of relations between groups- competitive and discriminatory properties (Hogg, 1992, p. 90).

Tajfel, (1973), claimed that "other" groups are often viewed as bad or inferior. He also supported the idea that conflicts between groups occur because they serve the in-group cohesion. Tajfel finally believed that if people were taught about the group functions and processes, they



would realise that conflicts serve psychological functions and are not the outcome of the malevolence of specific groups.

...the only chance we have is massive education in understanding that inter-group conflicts arise from objective and not from "personal" reasons, planned against a background of social reform and of strong legislation preventing public forms of discrimination against minorities and other out-groups (Tajfel, 1973, p. 93).

An in-group is a group in which all members share strong positive feelings of identity with the group and with each other. The in-group members tend to act in ways that exclude the others. An out-group is composed of all the persons who do not belong to one's in-group (Reber, 1985). The simplest way of recognising an in-group is that there is a commonly shared "we" identity among its members.

It is difficult to define an in-group precisely. Perhaps the best that can be done is to say that members of an in-group all use the term "we" with the same essential significance (Allport, 1958, p.30).

### **2.2.3 Stereotypes and prejudices promote a positive image of the in-group in comparison to other groups**

Augoustinos and Walker, (1995), claimed that social psychology had for a considerable period treated stereotypes as cognitive notions attributing an individualistic quality to them and neglecting their symbolic and ideological nature. Locating prejudice primarily within the individual rather than in society, social psychology theories have colluded in conceptualising prejudice as an individual pathology. After all, they argued, when Lippmann first talked about stereotypes, it was long before the development of cognitive psychology. Billig et al, (1988), also criticised the fact that cognitive psychology studied the ways individuals process information, draw inferences and categorise social

world, in a way as if individuals acted in a vacuum or in the laboratory, without being influenced by society.

Cognitive psychologists have been notably remiss in examining the process of cultural and ideological history flow through the minds of their laboratory subjects (Billig et al, 1988, p.2)

Along these lines, Dragonas et al, (1996), claimed that stereotypes serve social functions, promoting the sustenance of social position and the maintenance of the system reproducing these positions. Prejudice and racism are connected with cognitive and emotional characteristics of individuals, but one should rather associate them with the structural function of society.

Prejudice is a relatively enduring attitude, a predisposition, according to which one can evaluate objects, persons or events in a particular way. Prejudice is considered to derive from stereotypes. It is the failure or refusal to consider a person's own individual qualities reacting to people as if they possessed the negative qualities that are attributed to their social group. The process of prejudicing has to do with forming and holding an attitude about some person or object without having sufficient information about the particular person or object. Prejudice could be based on residues of past experience, which has been unified and ordered so as to provide the individual with a commitment to a point of view. Prejudice is difficult to be transformed and the less one is aware of it, the more difficult it is to change. The reason is that prejudice functions as a filtering mechanism for all incoming information from the environment; the individual therefore tends to ignore or deny the parts of information that do not match the prejudice (Davey, 1983).

Two schools of thought try to explain the formation and function of prejudices. The first school of thought offers a psycho-dynamic explanation. It stresses the role of individual motivation, frustrations and needs that lead humans to be prejudiced. This theory emphasises the

role of the person and diminishes cultural or social, economic or historical factors that may lead to formation of prejudice. Further theory is the socio-cultural one that minimises human factors and stresses that prejudice is a product of historical, economic and social factors. According to this theory, social structure lies behind every prejudice; the prejudices against black people for example are regarded as products of slavery (Allport, 1958). According to this perspective, oppression and dominance systems survive and reproduce themselves through social stereotypes, and prejudices. Therefore, stereotypes cannot be regarded as "innocent" dispositions, but ways of perpetuating social order (Dragonas et al, 1996).

## **2.3 Racism and nationalism**

### **2.3.1 Racism**

Racism is a set of stereotyped beliefs about racial differences in such areas like intelligence, motivation and moral character. Racism is a prejudiced attitude with racial basis (Johnson, 1995). It includes a determination of actions, attitudes and policies backed up on beliefs about racial characteristics, which always result to the oppression and subordination of a group of people, that it is believed that they belong to a specific race (Abercrombie et al, 1984).

Racism is a social phenomenon which aims to the maintenance of the clearance and purity of the social body by not allowing "other" people from different races to spoil it. The maintenance of purity is achieved through the use of different forms of violence, intolerance, discourses, representations and exclusion against different racial groups, against people who are stigmatised because of their skin colour. Racial exclusion is based on assumptions that specific racial groups are better than others (Balibal, 1991).

The ideas about racism and racial segregation were dated since the time of Aristotle, who talked about "racial superiority". Locke, like Aristotle, subscribed to popular opinions that dark skins were linked to moral and mental inferiority (Gundara, 1990).

### 2.3.2 Nationalism

According to Miles, (1993), nationalism was a product of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while until the beginnings of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the notions of nationalism and racism were almost synonymous.

National identity is a set of beliefs, stereotypes and attitudes where the sense of belonging to a nation has a very important role. This identity offers a clear distinction between the in-group and out-group. National identity has almost always historical influences and claims to glorious moments in the past of each nation; it has claims on territorial loyalty, normally based on kinship, common language and religion. The formation of this identity is maintained through social units such as family and peer groups, or via more organised social institutions like school, church and government (Larsen et al, 1992).

For Elliot, (1986), the notion of "nation" is very flexible and is strongly connected with people's beliefs; he claimed that a nation exists once there is a community who think they are nation. National identity encompasses the beliefs, the stereotypes and the attitudes characterised by a sense of national consciousness, and it serves the in-group versus out-group segregation (Larsen et al, 1992). According to Silverstein and Holt, (1989), patriotism is the tendency to value one's own country highly for its intrinsic value. The tendency to consider, one's nation superior to others is nationalism.

After the end of Cold War and the fall of many Communist regimes, an increase of nationalist movements can be observed. These nationalist movements demanded autonomy or independence from the bigger

country' and have often led to massacres and civil war, like the war in the Former Yugoslavia (Grove-White, 1994; Vima, 28 July 1996). Many of the nationalist movements have led to use of extensive violence in the name of love and respect for one's own nation, to its traditions and to the group's shared dreams. As Keldorf, (1991), argued the ultimate proof of whether people identify with their national identity is that they deliberately concede to die in an upheaval or war for the sake of their nation.

Modern nationalism is partly a creation of the romantic movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to nationalistic ideas, nation is an ecumenical, "natural" being, unchangeable through time and space. National identity is viewed as an autonomous representation of the social cohesion of a particular group. National identity is maintained through social institutions. One of them is schooling, which can easily promote the idea of belonging to a nation to large numbers of young people who are there to acquire knowledge about and for their society. Along the same lines, Wallerstein, (1991), claimed that the history of the modern world shows that in most cases statehood preceded nationhood, and not the other way round, and claimed that in many cases the idea of nation is a myth.

It has been claimed (Gundara, 1990) that many countries have tended to define themselves as one-nation states, by generating a sense of the "other" as an outsider who does not belong. The outsider, the out-group, is what the in-group rejects. Out-groups could not only be found outside but also within one's country. Modern thinkers have claimed that many European educational systems have promoted the assimilation of their pupils into an imagined culture. This phenomenon is attributed to the general effort of national governments to present their societies as uniform.

European societies were, however, historically diverse. Gundara, (1990), offered examples of the Samish and Lappish people who live in Scandinavian countries; the Bretons and Corsicans in France, the Gaelic and Celtic peoples in Britain; the Basques in Spain, and last but not least, a significant number of Muslims in many European countries. He claimed that national policies tended to promote a generated identity for their citizens, through myths and memories which might or might not be true. He went on that the realisation of the ideal of one-nation state, promoted by many European governments, had to face an important problem, the existence of minority groups. Minorities were either old groups that had lived in the same country for centuries, or new groups that came to western countries with the post-World-War II immigration movements. European governments felt ill at ease with the existence of "too many" foreign people in their countries. Gundara referred to the Belgian minister of the Interior who, in a speech in 1987, expressed his concern about the existence of many "barbarians" who had "nothing in common with our civilisation" (Gundara, 1990, p. 87). As a result of this concern, many governments implemented assimilative educational systems, to promote common identity for all the pupils. On the other hand many governments tried to discourage immigrants from settling in their country. This was even more so after the economic crisis in the 1980s that resulted in the introduction of special laws preventing immigration (Miles, 1993).

### **2.3.3 Racism in a politically correct environment**

While grandiose ideas about the virtues of one's nation are widely expressed, few people would openly approve nationalistic or racist ideas. Racism is nowadays conceived as negative behaviour. People who hold racist ideas, thinking that specific races are better than others, avoid (according to Perez and Mugny, 1996) expressing these ideas

openly. According to Billig et al, (1988), the majority of the population in Western countries claim that they are anti-racists, while only a small minority admit their racist attitudes. The authors also claimed that racist practices, such as name-calling, that were common in earlier decades, are generally avoided. Billig et al, (1988), also argued that members of the majority group tended to express their resentful feelings about minorities in more subtle ways. It is said, for instance, that non-white people get more state benefits than they "deserve" and that they would be better off in their countries of origin. The authors described this kind of refined discriminating attitude as "symbolic" or "modern" racism.

Billig et al, (1988), claimed that very often there was an antithesis between people's attitudes and behaviours. Attitudes consist of people's ideas and images about the world. They are their pre-dispositions. People, however, do not always act according to their pre-dispositions. The fact that people may hold racist attitudes against different groups of people does not necessarily mean that they are going to take actions against them. It has been observed (Billig et al, 1988) that in many cases the attitudes do not accord with people's behaviours.

Another point about racist ideology and discourse was made by Van Dijk, (1986), and Cochrane and Billig, (1984). In both their researches, many people who admitted their racist attitudes towards minority groups, claimed that they or their relations had personally negative experiences from their interaction with minority groups. They narrated stories proving how bad people belonging in minority groups could be. Some prejudices could be based on past experience, which has been unified and ordered so as to provide the individual with a strong point of view.

## **2.4 Enemy images**

This research aims at the discovery of enemy images among young children in Greece and Britain. The term image was explained and associated to the notion of attitude.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, (1992), enemy is “an unfriendly, hostile person, somebody who wishes to do ill, the one who hates and opposes”. A further definition of enemies given by the Oxford English Dictionary describes enemies as belonging to a hostile army or nation or the hostile force itself.

The definitions of enemy images concern out-groups inside or outside one’s own country. These out-groups are believed to threaten the country’s existence in various ways. The definition given by previous research about enemy images, portrays them as a result of negative stereotypes. Psychologists, such as Keen, (1986); Wahlstrom, (1987, 1989); Bjerstedt, (1989, 1990); Melnikova and Shirkov, (1990); Keldorf, (1991); Bjerstedt et al, (1991), emphasised the international context of enemy images. They focused on, explored and attempted to explain people’s beliefs about the countries that were considered hostile and a possible threat. It is common for countries to feel threatened by an external enemy, for example, another country. When people feel threatened by another country then they attribute to that country and to its citizens a series of negative qualities (Bjerstedt, 1989, 1990; Wahlstrom, 1987, 1989; Melnikova and Shirkov, 1990; Bjerstedt et al, 1991; Keldorf, 1991). The same researchers also argued that if a country feels threatened by another then the first country will be more ready to use violent means against the second. It will be more ready to go to war.

It has also been argued (Wahlstrom, 1987, 1989; Bjerstedt et al, 1991) that these enemy images serve the in-group versus out-group function, where the in-group members compare themselves with the out-group with themselves always gratifying. Every practice, characteristic or trait that is considered by the in-group as negative, bad, filthy and blameworthy, is



projected into the out-group, the enemy. A projection is the process by which one's emotions, traits and attitudes are ascribed to another person. Projection is a defence mechanism as the persons who project their feelings and emotions deny them as inappropriate. A typical example of projection can be found in Hitler's speeches where he condemned and denounced Jews for their desire to rule the world (Eckhardt, 1991).

A preliminary stage of projection is the unconscious transfer on a primary level of an unwanted aspect of the self or the group, to another person or group. More complex projection involves the unconscious assignment of unacceptable images, attitudes and thoughts to other persons or groups. Shared mental mechanisms of projection contribute to the establishment of a shared common prejudice (Wahlstrom, 1987; Volkan and Itzkowitz, 1994).

Wahlstrom, (1987, 1989), viewed enemy images under the prism of social representations theory and claimed that the enemy images are commonly shared by the whole in-group in which one belongs. Enemies are therefore, considered fearful creatures ready to ruin the in-group's well being. Wahlstrom gave the following definition of enemy images.

The commonly held, stereotyped, dehumanised image of the out-group. The enemy image provides focus for externalisations of fears and threats. In addition a lot of undesirable cognitions and emotions are projected into the enemy (Wahlstrom, 1987, p. 48).

The enemy is accused of being evil and inhuman, capable of nothing but extreme cruelty, aggression and violence. The person or group characterised as "enemy", is deprived of its human existence, no in-group member should ever have any feelings of pity or forgiveness for the enemies.

This state of dehumanisation process is served very well in the modern militaristic society. For instance the description of the annihilation of one

million people, is named "mega-death", if these million people do not belong to one's in-group. The human identity of the enemy is erased but weapons which are used to "defend" the in-group's contentment, are mystified and humanised. The people for instance who died in Hiroshima did not have an identity or name, but the bomb was called "Little Boy" (Wahlstrom, 1987). A more recent example comes from the Gulf War (1991) where "smart bombs", bombs that were not killing civilian population were used; while the death of civilians was called "collateral damage", destruction of non military targets.

Enemies are constantly blamed by the in-group, the social body, of being evil and menacing. They are blamed of creating all the social problems. In short, enemies are used as scapegoats onto which the in-group projects all its social problems. A typical example of an enemy image is the one of "the Jew" ("der Jude") in Hitler's Germany, as given by Erikson, 1995.

The Jew is described as small, black, and hairy all over; his back is bent, his feet are flat, his eyes are squint, and his lips smack; he has an evil smell, is promiscuous, and loves to deflower, impregnate, and infect blonde girls (p. 309).

The description of the Jew is dehumanised, resembling that of an ape rather than a human being. That was also the case in many propaganda posters, used in the World War II presenting "the Jew" in Germany, the Germans in Britain and the Japanese in the United States. The official enemies of the country, were presented as beasts and animals (Keen, 1988).

Such a description suggests that the social body should be alert, rallied round their in-group, ready to defend its existence from a brutal enemy attack. The enemy is considered as a barbarian and fanatic, capable of any crime, or deceit (Mellville, 1988). Therefore, any action against the

enemy, no matter how violent and brutal it might be, is completely justified.

According to Bjerstedt, 1989, 1990; Bjerstedt et al, 1991; Keldorf, 1991; Wahlstrom, 1987, 1989; and Melnikova and Shirkov, 1990, the enemy images should be studied along with the prevalent in a society stereotypes and prejudices. They cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon and have therefore to be examined within the social context. The enemy image legitimates the use of violence, of war and of expensive armaments. Actions against the enemy can also be thought of as a special kind of ideological and psychological commitment among civilian populations exposed to violence and war. From the moment the enemy is perceived as evil, then war is worth fighting.

However, the existence of a collective enemy image within a society does not necessarily lead to military conflict. The existence of negative predisposition against specific national or social groups influences the society's activities towards these groups. The whole society, for example, considers the existence of a well-trained and equipped army as a priority and prefers spending the state budget on war preparation than on education, health or social services.

#### 2.4.1 Is there a human need to have enemies?

Contradictory ideas have been expressed about whether the existence of enemy imaging is a human need or not. Erikson emphasised the importance of society and social influence that determine the individual's development. He noted in 1966, that every new-born could fit in any clan, tribe or class. He argued that humankind constitutes one species divided into pseudo-species. However, he claimed, people do not realise their common ancestry. Allport, (1958), was of the same opinion. He considered that the whole of humankind could constitute an

in-group that lives and functions in harmony, reacting as a group against the difficult situations that threaten its existence.

Psychological emphasis must be placed primarily on the desire for security, not hostility itself. One's own family is an in-group and by definition all other families on the street are out-groups; but seldom do they clash. Hostility toward out-groups helps strengthen our sense of belonging but it is not required (Allport, 1958, p. 50).

Every community is defined in relation to what it is not; that is the outsiders, the aliens, the non-members of the group. People are defined in relation to others. The notion of "other" is essential in the notion of "us". Along these lines, Luostarinen, (1989), defined enemy images both as a reflection of real conflict between countries as well as a way of creating and maintaining the internal cohesion in a country.

Volkan claimed that the existence of enemies and allies had always been a human need.

As long as the enemy group is kept at least at a psychological distance, it gives us aid and comfort, enhancing our cohesion and making comparisons with ourselves gratifying (Volkan, 1985, p. 243).

He claimed that people who live in contiguous lands, and who are therefore very much alike, often clash. He referred to the Portuguese and the Spanish, to the English and the Scots, the Southern and Northern Germans. He argued that enemies are familiar people, so the in-group can recognise them, externalise their bad self-images on them and project onto them their unacceptable thoughts.

Volkan's ideas seem to derive from psychoanalytic thinking. Freud argued that a large group of people could be attached together with love bonds, provided that all the group members would project their aggression against other people who would not be members of that group. Freud, (1963), referred to many neighbouring countries that do not like each other and claimed that this situation served group

cohesion. The members of the national in-group, the citizens of one country could live harmoniously together satisfying their aggressive urge against the people living out of their own country.

## **2.5 Aggression**

The notion of enemy is associated with the expression of aggression. The next sections will present some theories about aggression and some recent research about the aggressive behaviour of children and bullying. The aim of those sections is to offer more information about issues concerning enemies. Of course only a limited number of the theories that have been expressed about aggression will be presented here. This study is not focused on examining aggressive behaviour in children. The aim of this thesis is to examine the images young children have about enemies. By mentioning these information about aggression and interpersonal conflict it is hoped to have a general overview of the field and understand better the children's responses.

The very definition of the term "enemy" implies the use of, or the potential use of some sort of, aggressive behaviour. There are volatile and contrasting aspects of human aggression and its expression. Aggression concerns and upsets social life. The term aggression includes a great deal of phenomena and activities from the simple verbal insult to homicide, war and self-destruction (Papadopoulos, 1996).

Aggression is a social act as it involves conflict between two or more persons, which aims to corporal harm or to threat an unwilling victim (Riga, 1996; Campbell 1996). A more broad definition describes as aggression any action that deliberately causes physical or mental harm or injury, (Bergowitz, 1983). According to Dollard et al, (1939), aggression is any sequence of behaviour, the goal response to which is the injury of the person toward whom it is directed.

As many evil effects are connected with aggression, this has been subject to much thinking and research. The expression of aggression has been studied even from the early stages of childhood.

Two types of children's aggression have been recognised, the hostile and the instrumental (Papadopoulos, 1996). Hostile aggression is focused against certain persons, and the aggressive acts serve the actor's major goal to harm or injure a victim or threaten the victim's self-esteem. Instrumental aggression aims to the gain of objects, privilege, space or resources. The latter form of aggression is considered to be more common in early childhood years. Young children appear to have significant problems to share things with others. Hostile aggression is mainly found in older children and adults.

### **2.5.1 Differences in the expression of aggression between males and females**

The title of this section might seem provocative as it is argued that one should focus more upon the commonalties in the traits of both males and females, rather than stressing on their oppositions (Shaffer, 1996). Nevertheless, as it will be presented in this section, aggression is considered as the area where the most striking differences between the two sexes<sup>ii</sup> can be observed.

A number of studies in countries from all over the world, indicate that males are more aggressive than females. It was also found that men generally felt quite satisfied when being aggressive (Campbell and Muncer, 1994; Shaffer, 1996; and Campbell, 1996).

...men hold more positive attitudes to aggression, are more likely to be aggressive in public than in private, are more willing to use physical as well as verbal forms of attack and experience less guilt and anxiety about aggression than women (Campbell and Muncer, 1994, p. 234).

Maccoby and Jacklin, (1986), summarised the main differences concerning male and female aggression. First, they argued that males

are more aggressive than females in all human societies. These sex differences, they stated, were obvious even at very early stages of human development. They also attributed aggression to hormones and claimed that aggression could be adjusted and physiologically manipulated. A number of experiments have indicated that aggression is hormonally manipulated. Maccoby and Jacklin, (1974), made observations on guinea pigs and found that the males were more aggressive than the females. After this observation, they gave testosterone, a male hormone, to female guinea pigs, which resulted in an increase of aggressive behaviour of the females. Keen, (1986), defined war as a "man's game". He argued that there were no matriarchal societies in which women used organised, systematic violence against other communities, and he concluded in a provocative statement, "war is a disease caused by an excess of testosterone", (Keen, 1986, p. 30).

It was argued that sex differences in the expression of aggression start when children are very young. Maccoby and Jacklin, (1974), found that by the age of two, boys exhibited more aggressiveness than girls, both physically and verbally. According to Archer and Parker, (1994), there were striking differences in the attitudes of boys and girls, aged from eight to eleven, towards aggression. Boys were more likely to suggest that fighting was necessary when socialising with certain people; they also justified the use of violence when somebody humiliated them publicly. A number of studies, (such as Campbell, 1996) showed that boys were more positive towards the idea of using violence. Boys often formed big, loose groups and enjoyed games involving fighting and killing. Girls used to form smaller but more coherent groups, their friendships were more intimate and when a friendship ended, it caused them anxiety and distress. Differences were also observed in the ways boys and girls manipulated interpersonal conflict. Boys normally

threatened their opponents, while girls would propose a compromise. In the same way, when moral dilemmas occurred, boys would use "blind justice" to solve them, pleading to unchangeable external rules. Girls on the contrary, would concentrate on keeping both sides satisfied and happy.

Some scientists have attributed the differences in the responses of boys and girls to biological reasons. Other scientists, on the contrary, have tried to explain these differences by attributing them to the ways society was divided thousands of years ago. Some ethological work stressed that differences in the expression of aggression between males and females had their origins in the hunter-gatherer societies. In those societies the role of males was to protect the group by fighting other groups. The role of the females had been to mutually care for children. Females were therefore a lot more group-oriented and relied on co-operation. This was reflected in the fact that when women wanted to punish another woman they would exclude her from their group, (Smuts, 1995).

Differences have also been observed in the ways the two sexes express aggression (Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Campbell and Muncer, 1994; Ahmad and Smith, 1995). Three types of expression of aggression can be distinguished. One is the physical aggression in which the victimiser uses physical violence upon the victim. Physical aggression includes purposeful hitting, kicking, beating and generally the use of physical power. Certain types of bullying can be categorised under physical aggression since they involve intentional harming. Another type of expression of aggression is direct verbal aggression; in this case the victimiser calls names, teases and generally annoys the victim. All these actions take place in front of the victim, as opposed to indirect aggression. In the case of indirect aggression, the victimiser and the victim do not face each other. This type of expression of aggression



involves the spread of rumours, gossip and lies about the victim, to a third person (Biorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Biorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992). According to Ahmad and Smith, 1995; and Bjorkquist et al, 1994, girls and women preferred expressing their aggression indirectly by spreading rumours and gossiping against their victims.

According to Biorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Biorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; and Biorkquist et al, 1994, younger children use more physical aggression than older children. The reason according to these researchers is that older children have incorporated the social norms that consider physical aggression undesirable and unacceptable. Therefore, they claimed older and more mature children adopt alternative ways of expressing their aggression. They use indirect verbal means, like gossiping or spreading of nasty stories. The authors also claimed that girls preferred a lot more than boys the use of indirect means of aggression. The reason is, they argued, that boys are physically stronger and feel more confident in resolving conflict with the employment of violence.

Crick and Grotpeter, 1995, found that girls preferred to use indirect aggression in the form of rumour spreading and gossiping. They attributed that behaviour to the fact that small in-groups were of particular importance to them. The same way with their female hunter-gatherer ancestors, modern girls considered that the exclusion from the group was the worst form of punishment. Boys on the contrary were dominance-oriented and preferred using their power, since that would add their prestige. Crick and Grotpeter, (1995), concluded that each sex group expressed aggression according to what each sex considered as important.

It has also been observed that many girls felt guilty after having used violence and tried to avoid using it (Archer and Parker, 1994). Several

times, girls have been reported to ignore boys who were teasing or causing trouble (Maccoby, 1988). They avoided friction with them as they were, most of the times, defeated in those fights.

The following table presents the patterns of the expression of aggression by men and women. It is a synopsis of the literature used in this section (Biorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Biorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Biorkquist et al, 1994; Campbell and Muncer, 1994; Ahmad and Smith, 1995; Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; and Campbell, 1996).

PATTERNS OF EXPRESSION OF AGGRESSION BY MEN AND WOMEN		
TYPE OF AGGRESSIVE BEHAVIOUR	EXPRESSED BY	USED MAINLY BY
PHYSICAL AGGRESION	Intentional use of violence, kicking, hitting, pushing	Male way of expression of aggression
VERBAL AGGRESSION	Name calling	Male way of expression of aggression
INDIRECT AGGRESSION	Spread of rumours, gossip	Female way of expression of aggression

Table 1  
A literature synopsis concerning the patterns of the expression of aggression by men and women.

No matter how aggression is expressed by the members of the two sexes, there is an intense interest in the reasons why aggressive behaviour appears. There are three main categories of theories that try to explain aggressive behaviour. The first category consists of theories that accept aggressive behaviour as an instinct or genetic urge. The second category attributes aggression to the environmental factors, presenting aggression as a response to environment. Finally, the third set of theories consider aggression as a result of learning through imitation.

### 2.5.2 Aggression as an instinct

Psychologists, like Freud, after the dramatic events of World War I, tried to explain that certain world phenomena could be attributed to the conflict of human urges. It was claimed that every person has a quantum, a certain amount, of energy, that wants to be expressed. If this energy is blocked, it will be expressed indirectly. Once all external expression is blocked (since humans feel oppressed by modern civilisation and are unable to express themselves), it will turn back to the individual, as aggression (Eron et al, 1971).

Aggression was described by Lorenz, (1966), as the fighting instinct in animals or humans directed against members of the same species. The supporters of this theory were of the opinion that aggression helps as much as any other instinct, the survival of the individual and the species. Lorenz, (1966), believed that he had discovered a biological function of aggressive behaviour. He claimed that due to aggressive instinct, natural selection could be achieved, as the most powerful individuals were the ones who imposed themselves and survived, passing on their genes. He believed that aggressive behaviour has been programmed into animals as a result of phylogenetic adaptations, and that it served the preservation of the species. This innate aggressive drive caused members of one species to fight against other members of the same species. However, Lorenz, (1966), claimed that the environment had been divided between the members of species in such a way, that everybody could exist within the potentialities given. The aim of aggression, he went on, was never found to be the extermination of the fellow-members of a species. Lorenz claimed that aggression had hereditary origins. He also noticed a basic difference between humans and animals. Animals rarely kill members of their own species. Humans and mice are, he argued, the only species that have not developed a suspend mechanism for the extermination of members of their species (Papadopoulou and

Markoulis, 1986). According to these scientists, mice and humans are the only beings that live in communities, in clans and are social and peaceful within those clans but in conflict situations they can kill members of the same species who do not belong to the same clan with them. According to Lorenz, (1966), humans are relatively weak creatures who lack the natural weapons to kill big prey. This was the reason according to Lorenz that humans did not need to develop any suspending mechanism preventing them from exterminating members of the same species.

Even when humans lived in small communities there was no need for the development of inhibitory mechanisms against sudden manslaughter. Quick killing, argued Lorenz was impossible, as

...the potential victim had plenty of opportunities to elicit the pity of the aggressor by submissive gestures and appeacing attitudes. (Lorenz, 1966, p. 207).

Modern society is a lot different than the one humans were programmed to live in. The invention of artificial weapons and remote control weapons, permitted humans to kill from a distance, not always realising the consequences of their actions.

Nowadays humans live in a rather "dehumanised" society. People in big cities do not know their neighbours and may not identify with the ones who even live next door to them. Human efforts and culture, (Lorenz, 1966; Eibl Eibesfeldt and Sutterlin, 1990), have changed rapidly the environment and the conditions of life. The aggressive impulse, that was meant to ensure the survival of humans on earth, has often destructive results. Humans according to the authors have not changed emotionally within the last 10,000 years. So they claimed that

...persons with a stone age mentality today guide superpowers.... .  
Culturally we have created an environment, for which we have not

evolved, so adaptations have to be cultural. For this, we need to be aware that some of our biological adaptations may be sources of problems (Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Sutterlin, 1990, p. 392).

Freud, (1963), had also expressed the idea that humans need to satisfy their aggressive urge. He also claimed that living in a small society gives the opportunity to its members, to express the common aggressive urge as a hostility towards the foreigners. So, the group cohesion will be easily maintained, since the group members will express their aggression towards the out-groups instead on each other.

The theory of aggression as an instinct has been subject to extended criticism. The followers of behaviourism never accepted that aggression was an instinct like hunger or thirst. One of the objections of the aggression being an instinct is that when a creature is deprived of food or water for a long time, the motivation for the satisfaction of these needs, increases. However, if organisms are deprived of aggressive stimuli they will never perform aggressive behaviour. That was also Gandhi's argument that aggression is a learned behaviour, rather than a hereditary one (Erikson, 1969).

Aggression is a very complicated behaviour and is connected to the experiences of the particular individual. That was also what the supporters of the following theory claimed.

### **2.5.3 Aggression as a result of environment**

In 1939 a team of psychologists expressed a new theory explaining the appearance and expression of aggression. Scientists like Dollard, Miller, Doob, Mowrer and Sears supported the idea that aggressive behaviour is always a consequence of some kind of frustration. Not only that, but they stated that frustration always leads to some kind of aggressive behaviour (Dollard et al, 1939).

This theory was very influential when it first appeared. It has however been severely challenged and has been questioned. It seems that this theory cannot be generally applied, as it cannot explain every aggressive violent action, or the expression of massive aggression like military conflict. The aggressive behaviour of pilots of war planes, for instance, is not due to any sort of frustration (Papadopoulos, 1996).

#### 2.5.4 Aggression as a result of learning through imitation

The theory of aggression as an instinct has taken much criticism. Ethologists were blamed for being blind to the tremendous importance of cultural and environmental factors. Peace educators considered these ideas over-simplistic, claiming that wars are something more than

...a consequence of neurotic leaders being unable to control their innate aggressive tendencies and to resolve conflicts with other leaders in rational way (Boehnke, 1992, p.134).

Many anthropological researches have shown that there have been civilisations which had not developed any kind of aggressive behaviour. The same anthropologists have noticed that in these societies, there were no words or expressions about war, or insulting words for other persons.

Walters, in 1963, claimed that individuals develop aggressive behaviour because they believe that they will benefit from it. The psychologist Bandura, (1961), showed that even a simple observation of aggressive behaviour, real or symbolic via television or cinema, led children to the development of aggressive behaviour. Children used to imitate aggressive behaviour regardless whether the observed behaviour was rewarded or not. Bandura called this behavioural pattern "observational learning"<sup>iii</sup>. He defined it as the process in which the behaviour of a person changes, as he or she is exposed to the actions of others. These

"others" might be viewed directly (parents or teachers offering role models) or indirectly, symbolic modelling, via, for instance, a television screen (Liebert, 1973).

The supporters of this theory viewed aggression as a result of imitation of what goes on in the social environment. Humans and especially children are particularly influenced by the messages they receive from the socialisation agents and they reproduce the relations that they observe in their social environments.

### ***2.6 Interpersonal aggression in children. Issues on bullying***

Recently there has been much consideration and investigation of the aggressive behaviour of children, especially of bullying. Research about bullying and anti-bullying policies is not among the priorities of schooling in Greece. That is not however the case for many other European countries, including Britain. In the following section some recent research about bullying will be reviewed.

Until recently bullying was a "hidden problem" (Smith and Sharp, 1994) and it was not given any special attention through the educational system. Bullying was considered a hot issue only after a series of dramatic events. In Norway, in 1982, three children, from three different schools committed suicide within a week, giving as a reason the fact that they were bullied at school. Those events initiated an extended campaign against bullying in Norwegian schools. An evaluation program three years later, showed that bullying had been reduced to half of what it was before.

With the exception of Scandinavian countries, the issue of bullying has only recently been a concern of many European educational systems.

Bullying is defined as,

... long-standing violence, mental or physical, conducted by an individual or a group and directed against the individual who is not

able to defend himself in the actual situation (Roland and Munthe, 1989, p. 36).

All the definitions of bullying agree in attributing to it three characteristics. Bullying occurs when a strong person or a group expresses aggressive behaviour towards a weaker individual who did not provoke such an aggressive behaviour. Therefore, the fight between two children of about the same strength, is not considered as bullying. Bullying is a repeated action. According to Smith and Sharp, the typical contexts in which bullying might occur are amongst groups with clear power relationships and low supervision, like the armed forces, prisons and schools (Smith and Sharp, 1994, p. 2).

In 1990, in Britain, the Child-Line decided to open a special telephone line, the Bullying line. During the three months that the line was open, over two thousand records on bullying were made (Smith and Sharp, 1994).

There are objections in the ways the issue of bullying is treated. Jenkins, (1997), claimed that there has been too much talking about bullying without any real reason. She claimed that children do not automatically know how to behave as a friend. They may be using aggression in order to test their relations. She expressed her doubts about the seriousness of what is often reported as bullying. She argued that maybe there was too much attention given to normal, natural functions of childhood. Similar ideas were also expressed by Bjorkquist et al, 1994, who claimed that younger children use more violence in order to resolve conflict than what the older children do. Jenkins also expressed her concern that children were given the message that they were constantly prone to be abused, and that children would probably result being suspicious or constantly asking for some institution to deal with their personal problems, as "children do not get a chance to run their own relationships" (1997, p. 8). Smith, (1991), examined whether children who bully others did so



because they lacked the social skills to act in another way. He found that children who bullied others did not -in that research- act differently from the rest of their peers in other situations.

Most of the bullying was reported to be taking place at school, and the rest on the way to or from school or in the neighbourhood. La Fontaine, (1991), claimed that bullying has very negative effects for both the victims of bullying and children who bully. Children who were subject to bullying, had a rather low self esteem. On the other hand, children who bullied others thought that they could get their own way by using violence and used to stabilise this antisocial form of behaviour.

Research about bullying showed that it can take three different forms: (a) Direct bullying, where the victim is directly confronted; it includes the use of violence, kicking, hitting and so on; (b) Verbal bullying, that is mainly nasty name-calling; and (c) Indirect bullying, which is spread of rumours and nasty stories about the victims. These three forms of bullying resemble the types of expression of aggression. Boys seemed to be more prone to direct bullying, which is also easier and more obvious to observe. Therefore, it is likely that in the past girls' bullying has been underestimated (Smith and Sharp, 1994; Campbell, 1996).

It has been argued that children can recognise bullying as early as the age of five (Madsen and Smith, 1993; De Rosier et al, 1994; Smith and Levan, 1995; Almeida et al, 1996). In most of the research conducted, however, it seemed that children at about the age of eight, were a lot more likely to be involved in bullying, both as bullies and victims (Roland and Munthe, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Genta et al, 1996; Pereira et al, 1997). It was also found in the same research projects, that boys admitted to bullying others a lot more than girls did. It seemed that boys were slightly more prone to be bullied than girls. Girls were however, more likely to report being bullied; they were

also found more likely to experience verbal and indirect forms of bullying.

Another commonly observed element was that bullying was mainly taking place in school playground. Pereira et al, (1997), claimed that it was because there was poor inspection, and not enough materials in the playground. The researchers considered that playground was a school area rather neglected by educational authorities and teachers, but highly appreciated by children.

La Fontaine, (1991), claimed that there had been some cases of racial, xenophobic bullying. So did Smith and Sharp, (1994), who recognised racist bullying as a warring feature in some schools. They observed that children of Asian origin have been shown to experience more racist name-calling. Smith et al, argued in 1994, that children at higher risk to be bullied, were children in some way different from the mainstream, like children from minority ethnic groups, children with special educational needs, or some physical disability. The experiences of the Dutch school system were different concerning racial bullying. There was much attention given to multicultural education and therefore bullying had not been merely racial (Roland and Munthe, 1989). In 1995 a research report on British children's perceptions on victims and bullies was published (Cullingford and Brown). One of the questions raised by the researchers had been the reasons why children were bullied. Almost one out of three respondents (128 children aged from 8 to 11 were involved in the study) claimed that it was the "different" children that were bullied. Difference was defined in terms of weight, colour, surname and so on. The researchers stressed that it was not only the children who bullied who were aware of the fact that some children were "different". In most of the cases the whole peer group was aware of those differences.

What was even more worrying was the fact that one out of ten respondents, suggested that the children bullied, deserved it. The

researchers linked bullying to the formation of prejudices about minorities.

## ***2.7 Human development theories***

This research aims to examine enemy images among young children. It was considered therefore useful to refer to some of the main theories of human development that examine how children perceive their environment and how they respond to it.

This section will review the main points of some of the basic theories of human development. Freud, (1920, 1945), and the psychoanalytic school, stressed the importance of early experiences in human life, that determine adult behaviour. Learning theorists (Watson, 1925, 1933; Skinner, 1938, 1976; Bandura, 1961), emphasised the importance of early learning. They claimed that the early acquired behaviours were very difficult to change, and remain durable through time.

Cognitive development theories, in which the dominant figure is Piaget, will be presented in this section. There are two reasons for the more extended presentation of Piagetian theory. First, this theory had been highly influential to the formation of educational and socio-psychological research in the decades after the development of his theory. Additionally, the developmental changes in children's thinking described by Piaget, take place in the early childhood ages that this research is focused on.

### **2.7.1 Cognitive development**

The theory of cognitive development proposed a qualitative stage model of the development of an individual's interpretation of reality. Piaget claimed that children have no inborn knowledge and ideas about reality, but they actively construct their understanding about the world, based upon their experiences. Piaget, (1928, 1932, 1954, 1975),

argued that humans develop in four stages, that invariably follow each other. The first stage is the Sensorimotor, which covers the ages up until to about the second year of life. The next is the Pre-operational stage, for children between the ages of two and seven. In this stage children are egocentric. They are self-centred, incapable of understanding and recognising somebody else's point of view. They confuse past and present and they do not have a clear idea of time span. They also confuse what happens with what they wish or hope will happen, so they narrate imaginary stories. At this age children lack the information and the structures, that help them to classify, and to evaluate other people's intentions. Up to this age, children fail to understand geographical relation. Finally, children who are in the egocentric stage, think that their own opinion and the way they feel and act about things is the only correct one. They fail to realise that their perspective might be different from other people's (Piaget and Weil, 1951). Only towards the end of this stage, do children begin to recognise that others may not perceive the world the way they themselves do. Some of the children in this age can reach conclusions and recognise logical relationships of increasing complexity, (Gage and Berliner, 1992), but they still cannot make mental comparisons. Even in the case when children are reasoning about single objects, argued Piaget, they cannot generalise and apply their deductions to all possible cases. Generally, it seems that children at this stage think in terms of black and white, good vs. bad and right vs. wrong.

Children at the ages of seven to eleven proceed to the stage of Concrete Operations. They manage to use cognitive operations, to manipulate various objects and handle classification, grouping and ordering. They can observe other people's behaviour and deduct conclusions from it. At this age children start taking into account other people's intentions and judge them from their intentions rather than their

actions (Good and Brophy, 1990). They still, however, have problems with abstract thinking. Until about the age of eight children are not capable of distinguishing between the physical, biological laws and the laws that were made by the grown ups (Duska and Whelan, 1977). It is only after that age that children start realising that ways of behaving, rules of games and so on are the outcome of people's decisions and could therefore be changed after agreement. Children's ideas about duty were particularly important in that period. Since they believe that they cannot alternate the rules, they also believe that they should stand up for them and do what they are supposed to.

Piaget supported that children's egocentricity prevented them from understanding abstract notions and realising that they belonged to a larger group forming a nation or country. Piaget also claimed that very young children did not have a clear idea of distance, and geographical relations (1928; Piaget and Weil, 1951). He gave examples where nine-year-old children, had still a very vague idea of what a country was and could not fully comprehend the notion of a nation, country and borders. Piaget claimed (1928), that it was difficult for very young children to give a definition of country, town or district. His explanation was that children were not capable at an early age to relate the part (their territory) to the whole (their country).

It is our belief that the ideas of country and family are still verbal between the ages of 7 and 9 (Piaget, 1928, p. 113).

Later, he argued

We came across normal children who, until they were 7 or 8 years old, had none of the basic knowledge to understand the idea of their country (Piaget and Weil, 1951, p. 563).

The last stage, of Formal Operations, appears from the age of eleven onwards. In this stage children acquire the thinking of the adolescents. They can draw conclusions, hypothesise and generalise. This sort of thinking, could be developed only through maturation and experience (Gage and Berliner, 1992). At around the age of ten or eleven, children begin to synthesise ideas about the geographical location of their country correctly. That is the period where children grasp the notion of country and homeland. This happens, (Piaget, 1928), because at this age children are able to relate part-whole cognitive correlation.

Piaget did not only stress the importance of age in the formation of children's ideas about society, he also emphasised the importance of education and social environment in the development of children. Piaget had supported the idea that morality as well as advanced intellectual thinking are better developed when children are exposed to more than one sources of information and more than one sources of truth (1928, 1932, 1954, 1975). So, Piaget stressed the importance of social environment and education in children's maturity and understanding of society. Piaget's research had been innovative and was considered of great importance. Ever since however, there have been many researches questioning parts of Piaget's theory.

### **2.7.2 Moral development**

The Piagetian developmental stages were the starting point for the creation of the theory of moral stages, by Kohlberg, (1964, 1981). Kohlberg claimed that there are three levels of moral development, which people achieve according to their age and their differing cultural environments (Michalakopoulos, 1981). Each of these levels is divided into two stages. Many humans reach the sixth, the more advanced stage of human development, but many others do not. In order to reach

the highest level of moral development, people have to pass from all the previous stages; moral development is gradually achieved.

The first level of moral development is the Pre-conventional. In this level, children act according to norms and cultural rules. During this stage children try to avoid trouble and punishment; that is the reason why in this stage children go along with rules imposed by the grown ups (Blatt and Kohlberg, 1970; Kohlberg, 1964, 1981). In the second stage of this level, children view their relations with the others in a rather egoistic way based on exchange and satisfaction of needs. As Dusca and Whelan, (1977) put it, in this stage children act in a mutual benefit orientation, where justice and loyalty have no place. The main focus for people in this level is the avoidance of punishment and the achievement of reward.

Conventional level is the next step of moral thinking. People who are in this level aim to adopt good ways of behaving, and try to fulfil other people's expectations. In this level, people identify with their group and comply to its norms. The behaviour of the majority is considered to be the natural, the good behaviour. The next stage in the same level is characterised by respect to authority. The emphasis is on doing one's duty and to respect social order.

The most advanced level of moral development is the Autonomous or Post-conventional which is oriented into human moral values. People who reach the fifth stage of moral development highly estimate the rights of others and the welfare of the community. They are also able to understand that personal values are relative and subjective. People who actually manage to reach the final stage of moral development are motivated by a universal ethical value of respect for the individual.

According to Blatt and Kohlberg, 1970; and Kohlberg, 1964, 1981, children from the age of ten onwards, move from the Pre-conventional

level to the Conventional level of moral thinking. Many researchers who used the theory of moral development to examine children's responses to different issues, argued that until the age of about thirteen most of the children were still in the first stages of moral thinking (Duska and Whelan, 1977; Allen et al, 1997).

### **2.7.3 Further speculations about cognitive and moral development**

The theories of Piaget were severely criticised by Vygotski, (1962). He was a Soviet psychologist who claimed that cognitive development was neither universal nor stage-like. Vygotski developed his own socio-cultural theory and focused on how culture -that is the beliefs, the values, the customs and the skills of a social group- is transmitted from generation to generation. He argued that Piaget ignored important social and cultural influences on human development. Vygotski also emphasised the role of teachers and educational activities on children's cognitive growth. Another contradiction with Piaget was that Vygotski claimed that children are not egocentric, but try to establish communication with their environment even when they are very young (Paraskevopoulos, 1987).

Many research findings showed that children had acquired the ability to understand notions of country at a younger age than the one suggested by Piaget. One of the criticisms of Piaget's theory concerned the place where the research was conducted. Piaget's work was conducted, over half a century ago, in Switzerland with both Swiss and non Swiss children. Switzerland has always been a country where people with different national identities and languages have lived. This might be the reason for young children being confused about the notion of "country". An additional reason could be that Switzerland has powerful local governments, not dominated by a central government, that might



resulted to children not being able to relate their region as a part of a country.

Some researchers disagreed with the idea of developmental stages and claimed that other factors were equally as important as age for the formation of notions and attitudes in young children (Carbarino et al, 1989). Other researchers criticised Piaget's conclusions about young children's inability to de-centre, claiming that children could understand other people's position in an earlier age than what Piaget had claimed (Donaldson, 1978).

The next chapter reviews previous research on the ways in which children think about their social environment and themselves as members of a social group.

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<sup>i</sup> The democracies forming once the Former Soviet Union, started declaring their independence in 1992. Slovakia and Czech Republic were separated in 1993. In Britain, Scotland will have its own parliament, and Wales will have an assembly, while Northern Ireland is still an unsettled issue. In France there are Corsican terrorists. In Spain there are Basque terrorists, while many Catalans would like an independent Catalonia. In Asia, almost twenty-five million Kurds, want their independence from Iran, Iraq, Turkey and Syria. In North America, many people in Quebec want its independence from Canada.

<sup>ii</sup> The term gender usually describes the masculine and feminine traits and behavioural preferences that are heavily influenced by social forces. Sex, on the other hand, describes the biological differences between males and females (Shaffer, 1996). Although the distinction is useful to a degree, the two terms are not entirely distinct. For example "sex" is increasingly perceived as socially constructed category, which is difficult, if not impossible to differentiate from gender. Furthermore, even if one does not agree entirely with the argument that sex is socially constructed, the boundaries between sex and gender are difficult to sustain in practice (Schaffer, 1996). For this reason, in this study the two terms will be used interchangeably.

<sup>iii</sup> In one of his experiments he presented to pre-school children, a film, where an adult behaved aggressively to a rubber human figure. After that, children were put in a room with several toys included the same rubber figure. Children imitated the aggressive behaviour they had witnessed. This kind of aggressive behaviour is called observational learning (Bandura, 1961).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Previous Research**

The previous chapter offered definitions of the key concepts involved in this research, images, stereotyping, racism and nationalism. The issues of enemies and the possible need of “enemy imaging” were discussed. Theories about the origin and expression of aggression were also reviewed, as well as some research about children’s interpersonal conflict.

The third chapter offers a review of previous research about these issues. The emphasis is on the presentation of international research which aimed to examine children’s attitudes towards their direct and distant environment. Previous research on enemy images, in different countries is also presented. Finally, there is a presentation of research findings of the differences in the attitudes of boys and girls about conflict.

### **3.1 Research about children's thinking of "others" and "homeland"**

The first section of this chapter reviews research with children about their ideas of "others" and how they form ideas about themselves as members of a specific social and national group. It is also discussed how children distinguish themselves from others and how they acquire a sense of group identity.

In the previous chapter the theory of Piaget about the cognitive development of children and some of the criticisms to this theory were presented. Nevertheless, Piaget's theory was highly influential. Many researchers conducted research with different age groups to see whether children's ideas would differ in respect to their age.

It was generally believed that very young children could not have a notion of how their social environment was formed and what their role was as part of this environment. It was also believed that young children had "childish", naïve ideas that had nothing to do with the ways adults view their environment and behave.

Most of the research on the ways children form their perceptions of themselves as members of a national group and about other countries, has been conducted with older children and adolescents. There is very little research conducted with children younger than the age of ten. Jahoda, (1964), conducted research, with six to eleven year olds, examining the development in children of the idea of nationality and country, claiming that Piaget's developmental stages, were not valid in general. Jahoda, (1964), claimed that Piaget used clear-cut stages without taking seriously into account factors, like social background responsible for individual differences in the stages achieved.

Jahoda claimed that children did have both information and knowledge about different countries. They also had preferences and dislikes. He found that children had favourable attitudes for "holiday countries", and for people they believed that they were similar to their

own nation (Jahoda, 1963). He also found that children held unfavourable attitudes about certain countries, from a surprisingly early age. These unfavourable attitudes had their roots in past wars. Older or more mature children however, seemed to base their likes or dislikes about countries on current political conflict (1963). The same way, Tajfel argued, in 1973, that children's attitudes to different countries and social groups were due to stereotypes.

Tajfel and Jahoda, (1966), conducted a cross-national research study asking children in Britain, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium and Italy to declare their preferences about four countries: Germany, France, Russia and the United States of America. Children in that research showed clear preferences for certain countries (America and France) rather than for others (Germany and Russia). The children examined had enough information about all four countries (they were, for instance, well aware about the sizes of the countries). Therefore, the authors claimed, children's choices were based on stereotypes that were prevalent in their environment. One should keep in mind that the research was conducted during the Cold War period, in a situation of bi-polarisation, where countries were judged according to which super-power they were attached to (Tajfel et al, 1970). Tajfel also claimed that a number of children tried to find arguments to back up their ideas and prejudices. Tajfel, (1973), argued that preferences and dislikes of children about certain countries were formed according to the social context in which children were growing up.

Thus, the early formation of negative evaluations about out-groups does not present much of a mystery; and there is hardly any need to concoct magical brews made of "territorial imperatives", "instinctive" dislikes, blood bonds, and other such ingredients in order to account for these facts (p.86).

The findings of the cross-national research of Lambert and Klineberg, (1967), were that stereotyping and hostility towards foreign people, were higher among six-year-olds than among the older children. The researchers argued that as children grew older they developed a sense of morality. They found that at the age of ten, children were most friendly toward foreigners as they were well adjusted to conceptions of the social world and still comfortable with protection from the family and institutionalised groups. The older children examined, however, did not seem very tolerant towards other people and civilisations and they had a stronger sense of excluding "out-groups". The authors argued that children, first developed attitudes towards other groups, in order to comprehend reality. As children grew up, their attitudes tended to be identical to the attitudes of the social group they belonged to. Lambert and Klineberg observed that children's socialisation had been influenced by the environment they lived in. They also claimed that there were differences in the cognitive maturity of same age children. Finally, they argued that early learning experiences had been a lot more important for the further development of attitudes, than was believed in the past.

Connell, (1971), worked with Australian children aged from five to sixteen, examining the construction of their ideas about politics. He found that even young children had a very strong idea of specific countries being enemies. Children used to get very emotional when talking about these countries. He also attributed many children's attitudes to television programs, as well as to the social environment and traditions. He claimed, however, that children were not simply reproducing adults' beliefs, but were actually producing their own ideas. Connell argued that children's ideas were very much related to the cognitive stage they were at, and that their age and maturity characterised their political consciousness.

We may argue that these children lack a conception of political structure, not because they lack sources of information about it, but because they lack the cognitive equipment to represent it (Connell, 1971, p.18).

While Connell stressed the importance of age in the formation of ideas in children, he was critical of Piaget's developmental stages. He claimed that as early as the age of seven children started showing awareness of the political world. Connell claimed that the developmental stages of Piaget had been formed in respect to children's abilities to understand number, weight, volume or spatial relationships. Therefore, these stages could not really reflect children's ideas of society.

During the 1970s, when the Cold War was at its peak, Tolley, (1973), conducted research in the United States with almost 2,500 children aged from seven to fifteen, examining their ideas about war, political socialisation and international conflict. Tolley claimed that the importance of that research laid in the fact that it was conducted after the Vietnam war. The Vietnam war was the first war broadcast on television and American children of 1973 were the first generation to observe televised combat. Tolley had been very keen on examining children's attitudes towards war, as he believed that childhood socialisation influenced adult political beliefs. The theory of developmental stages was also employed in Tolley's research, as a model for the explanation of the socio-political thinking of children. The research indicated differences among younger and older children concerning their attitudes towards foreign countries and other people.

The relation between age and views of war appears uncertain although it seems possible that younger children are more tolerant to war (Tolley, 1973, p. 37).

Tolley, observed that younger children were more tolerant to war and as they grew older they evolved a complex sense of social morality. Boys displayed more tolerance to war, but sex differences had not been as many as expected, in respect to previous research about children's views of war. It might be, he claimed, that changing social patterns had reduced the traditional differences in the attitudes of boys and girls towards war. Tolley stressed the importance of other factors apart from sex and age that influence the formation of ideas in children. One was school which reinforced national cohesion through patriotic ceremonies and with the projection of models of national heroes. The other factor was media, which (according to Tolley, 1973) transmitted the government's view of the reality. He also claimed that televised brutality made children indifferent to violence. Both school and media were considered as important socialisation agents.

Stevens, (1982), conducted research with children in Britain, trying to examine their political awareness. She claimed that children started to construct concepts of politics from about the age of seven. Her model resembled the model of cognitive growth of Piaget, the only difference being that the children involved in Steven's research, were able to acquire complicated notions at an earlier age.

McKelvey, (1983), conducted a small-scale exploration of English primary school children's recollection's of Falklands War of 1982. She found that children examined several months after the war, could still recall it. McKelvey also observed that younger children used to insist on what she called "concrete aspects of the war", such as guns and soldiers, while older children concentrated on the consequences of conflict. Some of the children examined, failed to understand the geographical distance between Britain and Argentina and claimed that at the time of the conflict they were afraid of their houses being bombed.

Dyson, (1986), conducted research with children aged from fourteen to sixteen, examining their images of other countries and peoples. It seemed that children had negative perceptions of the people they characterised as different. It also seemed that some of the children involved in that research had rather naïve ideas of why developing countries were poor. They also tended to stress the differences between themselves and the people living in developing countries, while they failed to recognise the similarities between humans.

The studies of Graham and Lynn, 1989; Cullingford, 1990, and 1992, also indicated that British children had poor images of developing countries. The researchers claimed that children's images were based on television news and reports that only projected the negative aspects of life in those countries.

The idea that children are very much influenced by the social environment where they live in has also been expressed by Coles, (1986). He claimed that some children expressed their love and loyalty to their country and their hate or dislike for others. He claimed that children all around the world acted accordingly to what their nations expected them to.

An examination of these research projects in chronological order, reveals the increasing interest of the researchers in the social factors influencing children's thinking. Piaget's work was conducted before and shortly after World War II. After World War II society was severely stigmatised by Cold War and the bi-polarisation of world economy and politics. Children in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s grew up in a society where the "bad" people were the ones belonging to the "other", the "opposite" political system. The opponents were to be blamed for threatening world peace and security. Children grew up with ideas about a possible world war and the fear for a nuclear holocaust.



### ***3.2 Research about children's thinking of "others" and "homeland" conducted after the Cold War***

The year 1989 was characterised "annus mirabilis" (miraculous year), to describe the end of the Cold War. The post-Cold-War period has influenced social environment in various ways.

Recently an increasing interest has been developed in the area of the development of national identity in children. In a study examining the images that English primary school children had about European people, Barrett and Short, (1992), claimed that young children held relatively stable affective ideas about other European nationals. Children, claimed Barrett and Short, gave emotional responses without having factual information about the "other" people. It was also found in that research that children had negative images of the Germans. These images derived from comics, books, films and television programs about World War II.

Cullingford, (1992), interviewed children aged from seven to eleven about their views of society and power. He argued that the study did not emerge with significant changes in the responses of different age groups and claimed that the underlying pattern seemed to be set by the age of eight.

A number of researchers have claimed that television has inevitably changed the ways children view the world as well as their views about violence. Cullingford and Husemann, (1995), examined the ideas of British children towards the Germans. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Germans have been a kind of hereditary foes for British people. There have been two wars with Germany and children were aware of those events. Children recognised Hitler as the dominant image of the war. Some children also gave accounts of relatives being soldiers during World War II. Sometimes, children were incapable of recognising the time difference between those events and the present. That resulted in them saying that Germans were still enemies and that they would be still

capable of attacking Britain. The authors claimed that a great deal of children's attitudes were based on media and that school did not offer enough information about different countries and social environment in general.

The Gulf War, 1991 had profound effects on children who experienced a number of war enterprises from television. It was estimated that the Gulf War was seen through television in 98% of American homes. The effects of this exposure of young American children who had just begun to be socialised to the values of their community and nation were examined by Rohrer, (1996). She stressed the importance of social environment, as well as children's developmental levels, in the formation of attitudes and ideas about the Gulf War. Rohrer concluded that in spite of the fact that children in the United States were not expected to participate or be personally involved in that war conflict, as for example children in Northern Ireland, they responded to the military conflict both cognitively and emotionally. They knew lots of facts and issues about the war and they had very strong feelings of fear that their families might be affected and hoped that their country would win the war. Rocher claimed that children were afraid about a war in which their country was involved to, even if the conflict zone was too far away to affect them personally. Finally, she claimed that girls seemed to have as much information about the conflict as boys, but showed less interest in it.

Another study which involved 800 British school children was conducted in 1996, (Bennett, The Independent, 10 June 1996). The research aim was to reveal children's attitudes towards Europe. British children agreed that the last European country they would like to visit was Germany, followed by Bosnia and France. Children seemed strongly anti-German, associating Germany with World War II. Many children had misconceptions about Germany considering it, for instance, the poorest country in Europe. According to this research children's information

came mainly from television and school, while only a small percentage said that their information came from newspapers and their parents. A few days after that article was published in The Independent, the same newspaper hosted more articles on the same topic. It was stated that German children were bullied in British schools as a result of prejudices and anti-Germanism prevalent in British society (The Independent, 25 June 1996).

In Greece many immigrant people from nearby Balkan countries have settled. Children in Greece had for the first time come in immediate acquaintance with immigrants and refugees. Since early 1990s Greek children have the chance to have direct everyday relations with children coming from different countries with different culture and languages. At the same time children witness and imitate the reactions and behaviours of adults, towards people who have just moved into their country. Young pupils' attitudes and behaviours towards their classmates from minority background are often a reproduction of their teachers' behaviour (Giangounidis, 1995).

The significant change of pupil population in primary schools initiated a research project in co-operation with Amnesty International. This project studied the ways young children perceived their classmates belonging to "different" ethnic, national and religious groups (Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996).

In that research, primary school children, were asked to nominate which groups of children they preferred having as friends, and which they did not like socialising with. The children examined seemed to reject their classmates of Albanian and Gypsy origin. The mostly preferred groups were respectively: other Greek children, children from Western countries, children from Eastern European countries, and finally children of Arab origin, Asian and African children.

African children were not at all popular. The Greek children examined seemed to hold more friendly attitudes towards Asian children, in spite of the fact that not many Asian children live in Greece. The researchers' assumption was that while people from China or Japan are relatively unknown to Greek children, the technological achievements of these countries are widely known. Another important finding of that research was that the non-Greek origin children who were examined, showed preferences towards Greek children, rather than towards their compatriots. They complied with the majority, that evaluated their classmates in a hierarchical order depending on their origin. "The Albanian" and "the Gypsy" children were discriminated against. It seemed that the rest of the children did not want to mix with them. According to the researchers, that was due to the prejudices dominant in Greek society at the time of the research.

... our initial hypothesis was confirmed: the negative attitudes of social background (e.g. family, media) against Gypsies and Albanians, has influenced and formed the attitudes and behaviours of pupils (Argiraki et al, 1994, p. 20).

The researchers concluded the same way with Giangounidis, (1995), by stressing the important role of educators in offering behaviour models to their pupils and promoting intercultural understanding.

For about fifty years, researchers addressed questions of how children understand the world around them and how children respond to issues like war, politics, other countries and so on. Some research findings showed that young children were not in a position to fully realise where certain conflict situations took place; some other children expressed their ambiguity on who the actors of specific events were and when these incidents had taken place. What is common in all the research projects presented, was the fact that children from a relatively early age had

some sort of information and carried attitudes and ideas about their social environment.

Children's attitudes were very much influenced by stereotypes and prejudices dominant in the social environment they had grown. There were contrasting opinions on whether gender differences had an impact in children's attitudes towards "others". Age seemed to be an important element in the ways children constructed their views of the world. It seemed that there had been some differences in the responses of children from different age groups. However, these differences did not seem to be generally applicable. Some researchers claimed that they were expecting more differences in the responses of boys and girls than they actually found, while other research did not even take sex differences into account (Cullingford, 1992).

### ***3.3 Findings from previous research on the attitudes of boys and girls about conflict***

The previously cited research examined children's attitudes towards other people and countries, war and violent military conflict. One of the parameters used in the analysis of the research findings was sex differences.

Greenstein, (1969); Tolley, (1973); McKelvey, (1983); and Hesse, (1992), argued that girls were less interested and less opinionated than boys about war. Hesse claimed that children's drawings about war and enemies were somehow different according to their gender and age. Younger girls tended to draw more positive things than boys of the same age. Older boys used to draw conflict and to emphasise on weapons, while older girls tended to personalise conflict and draw victims, and the impact of conflicts on humans in general. According to Hagglund, (1996), when questioned about peace and war, girls defined both concepts in terms of relationships between humans. Boys on the other

hand, described peace as a result of disarmament and war in terms of war activities.

Much thought has also been given to the social expectations from boys and girls. Role expectations, according to Hess and Torney, (1967), are quite different for the two sexes, even at a pre-school level. These differences would be expected to lead to great compliance to authority by girls, regardless of general degree of internalisation of moral rules.

Greenstein, (1969), also talked about sex differences claiming that:

Women are less likely to support policies they perceive as warlike or aggressive policies ranging from universal military training to capital punishment (p.107).

He also talked about women having a moralistic orientation. Some other researchers though, did not find differences between the responses of boys and girls (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). More recent research (Feingold, 1988; Hyde et al, 1990) showed that the small differences in the behaviour of boys and girls that Maccoby and Jacklin, (1974), had identified, were even smaller more than 20 years later, when the studies were repeated. Recent research rejected the assumption that there should be a pre-judged hypothesis about the potential differences in the responses of boys and girls (Cullingford, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995), and found no evidence of any kind of difference between children's responses.

Findings from previous research conducted in Greece, concerning the enemy images among five-year-old children (Paida et al, 1996), indicated that there were not dramatic differences in the responses of boys and girls. It was, however, observed that in some cases girls had a more neutral and indifferent attitude towards enemies, as if it was something which did not concern them personally. The researchers had at the time expressed their concern that this was a worrying figure, since

many girls and women are pathetic receivers of violence to which they respond with compliance and submission.

It should be noted that gender variations act in particular social and cultural context, which defines peoples' phenotype. A core part of one's identity derives from group membership and in childhood gender is widely used in grouping. Every group defines itself with respect to its differences from the others, which reinforces the differences between the two sex groups (Abrams, 1989). It has been argued (Hyde et al, 1990) that gender accounts for 5% of the variations children display in aggressive behaviour. The remaining 95% is due to individual differences.

### ***3.4 Research on enemy images***

Towards the end of Cold War period a number of psychologists from different European countries, attempted to conduct research on the ways citizens from their countries perceived enemies. The existence of armed conflicts, and enemy images, was the reality that inspired those psychologists (Bjerstedt, 1989, 1990; Bjerstedt et al, 1991; Keldorf, 1991; Melnikova and Shirkov, 1990; Wahlstrom, 1987, 1989, 1992) to begin research in the area of peace studies. Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and the former Soviet Union were involved in that study. The researchers' assumption was that enemy images were basic ingredients for warfare. The socio-political background of the 1980s permitted such research. The arms race had already reached its peak in the 1980s; in addition a change was increasingly becoming evident in the Soviet Union, with Gorbachev as leader, trying to promote a new image for his country.

The researchers tried to examine the notions of the enemy among university students in the above mentioned countries. According to that research (Bjerstedt et al, 1991) one of the most popular enemy descriptions was pollution and environmental degradation. Another

popular enemy image was the social and economic problems of society as well as the threat of war. Negative personality features of the population, as important drawbacks to the country's prosperity, were also mentioned. Finally some geopolitical, historic enemies and some sub-groups within the same country, were mentioned. At the time of the research the national enemy projected through media in most of the Western bloc countries had been the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the respondents seemed to be afraid of a nuclear disaster more than a possible attack from a foreign force. The results of the same research project which was held in the Soviet Union, were very similar. Soviet students identified enemies mostly within their country (e.g. bureaucrats). The references to external, hereditary foes, were rather rare (Melnikova and Shirkov, 1990).

Silverstein and Holt, (1989), referred to works that had tried during the Cold War period, to measure the attitudes of the American citizens towards the Soviet Union. It seemed that American people's attitudes were very varied and volatile. The same way as the European, the American respondents were very much concerned about the possibility of a nuclear war. It seemed that enemy imaging was not a particularly strong or stable issue or a priority for American citizens. All these research projects were conducted in certain countries and under specific social, political, economic and historic background, which seemed to influence more than anything people's attitudes.

In the next chapter some aspects of the social context prevalent in Greece and Britain will be presented and discussed.

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<sup>1</sup> Tajfel gave an example drawn by one of the studies on the national attitudes in children; an eleven-year-old boy interviewed in the suburbs of Vienna, claimed that he disliked Russians. When he was asked why, he stated that it was because the Russians had occupied his country and that Hitler was their leader. That was the case in the research of Van Dijk, (1986), and Cochrane and Billig, (1984), where people referred to stories to back their racist dispositions up.



## **Chapter 4**

### **Social Context**

The two previous chapters presented the main theoretical issues connected to this research and gave a review of relevant research in the field, respectively. In this chapter there will be a presentation of the social context of the two countries in which the research took place, Greece and Britain. The social environment in these two countries will be presented in relation to the key concepts of the research. The way national identity is projected through the educational system of these countries, will be discussed. Some historical facts that have influenced the way “others” are faced in Greek and British societies will also be reviewed.

## **4.1 Racism and nationalism**

In this section the theoretical issues of racism and nationalism are examined in the context of the two countries where the research was conducted.

### **4.1.1 The Greek experience**

Greeks have tended to see their country as a mono-cultural, one-nation state. Greece was established as a state at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It became an independent state after an uprising against the Ottoman Empire. At the time there was a mixture of minority populations living in Greece, composed of significant numbers of Turks, Slavs and Jews. A violent period of intense nationalism was to follow in the newly established country, whose frontiers were stabilised as late as 1923. That was after the Balkan Wars, World War I and the war operations in Asia Minor that led to a massive population exchange between Greece and Turkey<sup>1</sup>. Cultural homogeneity, through assimilation, had been among the national priorities. The extensive population exchange eliminated the Turkish and Slav minorities, while almost the entire Jewish population was exterminated by the Nazis during World War II. Therefore, the remaining population was primarily Greek. After the end of World War II, economic, social and political reasons, -Greece was a relatively poor, agricultural country, ravaged by civil war- made large numbers of Greeks emigrate to West European countries (Dragonas et al, 1996).

The minority groups that remained in the country had purposefully been forgotten and neglected.

... Even the presence of minorities on Greek soil is officially minimised and at times negated (Inglessi, 1996, p. 190).

This was also reflected in the educational system, which was basically ethnocentric promoting ideas of the Christian Orthodox Church along

with the superiority of "Greekness". The notion of the one-nation country that Greek governments tried to promote was problematic, even when assimilation projects were put into practice. State and church had not been clearly separated. The name of the official quarter on educational issues reveals the strong connection between church and education "The Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs". Schools were systematically excluding "different" pupils by simply failing to accept them as equal (Lafazani, 1997).

At the same time Greeks believed that their society was non-racist and that racism in general did not exist as a concept in their mentality. For years the notion of racism had been connected with discrimination against Black people. Greeks, without a black minority in their country, did not hold racist stereotypes against them. Therefore, it was widely believed in Greece, that racist discrimination had never been a problem (Inglessi, 1996). Nevertheless, there are negatively stigmatised groups in modern Greek society. The European Organisation Youth Against Racism (YRE) has reported many cases of discrimination against minority groups such as "the Gypsies" (Eleftherotypia, 21 March, 1997)<sup>ii</sup>.

Massive immigration to Western Europe started just after the end of World War II. Parts of countries like Germany and Britain had to be rebuilt. At the same time de-colonisation started taking place. Many people from the former colonies were encouraged to immigrate to Europe and serve as a work force, helping the reconstruction of economy. It is estimated that almost thirty million people immigrated to Europe and ten million of them stayed in the receiving countries.

At the same time, Greece was one of the countries exporting labour to Western countries. Emigration from Greece started at the beginning of the century. At that time destinations were Australia and the United States of America. After World War II and until the 1970s, the popular destinations were the Western European countries.

Things changed when, in the 1990s, Greece started accepting immigrants and refugees, mainly from Balkan countries. The immigrants in Greece, officially, make up 5% of the whole population of the country (Karidis, 1996)<sup>iii</sup>. This issue of xenophobia among modern Greek society, has only recently come up, focusing against foreign immigrants that have recently moved to Greece. Some people held a prejudice that every Albanian is a potential criminal.

Hospitable Zeus is dead. Our traditional hospitality, our love towards the foreigners and our tolerance towards difference, may be in danger. That is exactly what the statistical surveys prove: we are a lot more racists than we think! Our opinion about illegal immigrants, foreigners and especially Albanians does not justify our hospitality (Vima, 12 January 1997, p. 38).

The same article (1997) presented research showing that "the Gypsies" and "the Albanians" were accused, by the majority of people asked, for having increased crime rate in Greece. This was not the case, as argued in the same article and as shown in the official statistics. Fragoudaki (1997), argued that the presence of about six hundred thousand foreign immigrant workers and refugees, including about two hundred thousand Albanians, has revealed the existence of racist ideas among Greek society. Zoumboulakis, (1994), questioned the commonly shared belief that Greeks are not racists and xenophobic. He claimed that ever since the first immigrant workers arrived in Greece there emerged a deep racism in the Greek society. He referred to statistics showing that during the period 1990-92 the percentage of "foreigners" who committed crimes in Greece was almost 1,2%, while the percentage of those violating properties was almost 8,5%. While the percentages show that a minority only of immigrants were involved in some sort of criminal activity, Greeks tended to consider foreigners "criminals by nature" (Zoumboulakis, 1994). An article in the Greek newspaper Vima, (22 March

1998) presented statistics indicating the increase of criminal activities in the 1990s. It also presented the other side of the coin, referring to a number of xenophobic incidents committed by Greek citizens against foreigners.

#### 4.1.2 The British experience

British nationalism was a creation of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, during the period of the French and the Industrial revolutions. The issues of race, however, had been prominent for four centuries in English historical and political writing. The notion of British identity followed the unification of England and Scotland in 1707.

The myth of common origin was shaped and reinforced by political events of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century England. The Reformation, that separated the Church of England from the Rome-based Catholic Church, was one of those events. English identified their existence and interests with an autonomous Christian Church in Saxon England.

The English Civil War and the English Parliament were also considered to be important elements for the formation of "Englishness". It was believed that parliament was an institution of great antiquity in German democratic tradition, from which the Saxons stemmed. At the time, there were ideas expressed about the existence of an original Anglo-Saxon "race" that was suppressed by a foreign "race", since the Norman invasion in 1066. These ideas helped the formation of beliefs of a social biological category of people ranked in a fixed hierarchy, (Miles, 1993). Englishness, as was formed during 19<sup>th</sup> century, justified the superiority of English, because of their German origin, their desire for freedom, and their natural ability for science. According to Miles, these ideas of superiority, legitimated the reasons that English had to "look beyond" their country and expand via colonialism. Stereotypical ideas of this kind served the purpose of exploitation of certain categories of people, while other groups benefit from them.

Miles, (1993), claimed that ideas of race and nation, were effectively synonymous until the beginning of this century. Twentieth century however, introduced many changes on political and economic fields (capitalism and communism were projected as the domineering features of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and led to the segregation of the world). The great British colonial Empire, that was legitimated on racial inferiority, broke up after World War II. The scientific proofs of racial differences, that were commonly accepted during the previous century, were during World War II connected with Nazi Germany. These ideas had legitimated massive extermination of minorities. At the same time north European countries received many immigrants from former colonies and southern Europe, as a work force. Therefore, ideas about racial differences had to be reconsidered. New terminology had to be implemented for the description of new social realities. That was when terms like "ethnic group" were introduced (Angelopoulos, 1997).

The change of terminology and the use of "politically correct" language has not eliminated racism. On the contrary, Miles, (1993), concluded that in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there had been an intensification of nationalism and cultural racism in Europe. He attributed this modern racism to the fears about the unification of Europe, and explained it as a defence mechanism against the alienation of tradition and cultural heritage. Both Gundara, (1990), and Miles, (1993), argued that nationalism and racism still exist in modern European societies. They claimed, that both nationalism and racism, are based on ideas and practices of in-group inclusion and out-group exclusion that is integral to the formation of imagined communities around the ideas of nation or race. Following, two examples of claims on British superiority are presented. Miles quoted Margaret Thatcher, who as Prime Minister of Britain, in 1982 after the Falklands War, made claims about the virtues of Britishness. According to her, the British nation had proved, in the

Falklands war that "it still possessed those sterling qualities which shine through our history" (Miles, 1993, p. 75). Hunt, in an article about xenophobia in Britain (Guardian Education, 11 June 1996), referred to the friction caused when during the European Football Championship, BBC chose as an anthem the "Ode of Joy". The Education Secretary at the time, complained that BBC was anti-patriotic and claimed that a tune of a British composer should have been used instead.

#### 4.1.3 Nationalism in the Balkans

During the last decade the Balkans have been the centre of violent nationalism in Europe. From 1991 until the end of 1995 the Former Yugoslavia experienced a very violent and cruel war, where the majority of the victims were civilians. On the top of that there are very poor political relations among different Balkan countries. In every Balkan country there are minority groups identifying themselves with a neighbouring nation or country (Inglesi, 1996). Thus, it is common in the area that one country is suspicious that others support their ethnic minorities in the country in order to cause upheaval (the Albanians blamed the Greeks for rallying the Greek minority in Albania against the Albanian government; Greeks blamed the Turks for doing the same thing with the Muslim minority of Thrace). In a situation like that, the notion of European unification seems highly problematic. "National interest" and the defence of "national identity" seem to be elements prohibiting the coexistence of "different" populations.

Until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century all the Balkan nations coexisted under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Even before that people in the Balkans coexisted as citizens of the Byzantine and Roman Empires. Their culture is eventually very similar, but they have maintained their differences, for instance in language and religion.

When the notion of nation-state was projected as a priority, at the beginning of this century, many problems occurred, as populations belonging to one nation would find themselves citizens of another nation-state.

#### ***4.2 Curriculum and the formation of identity in children***

Ideas and beliefs about nation and national identity have inevitably influenced schooling and the formation of national curriculum. Both Greece and Britain have national curriculum imposed by central government. According to Tate, (1997), one of the positive qualities of a national curriculum is that it is a statement of what a society feels is worth passing on from one generation to the next. He also claimed that a key role of a national curriculum should be the explicit reinforcement of a common culture. National curriculum has also been considered as the way in which central authority interfered in the formation of teaching programs and schooling. According to Lister, (1995), through a nationally used curriculum, the uniformity of a society is stressed, while the diversity of each specific social context is normally neglected.

Some countries in Europe today, see European Union as a panacea for their economic and social ills. Many countries that are not currently members of the European Union, would like to join in and aim therefore to meet the "European standards". European Union citizens are required to acquire a new "European identity". They should get to know each other's culture and develop a sense that they all belong to the same in-group. European identity is not an already given optimality that every citizen should reach. The European identity is still in a process of being made. Most European countries currently experience racism and nationalism. Racism and xenophobia found in Europe today, turn both against non-Europeans and the people who live at the European border-lines and whose countries are not members of the European



Union, as these people are associated with poverty (Avdela, 1997). The creation of European identity is based on the promotion of political, economic and cultural characteristics of the people living in a certain geographical unit. This common identity should not be only based on economic unification, but also on common historical consciousness and shared feelings of belonging. The issue of projection of European identity and the education for European citizens in schools all around Europe, are still rather ambiguous and unclear issues (Davies and Sobisch, 1997). Schooling is an important element for the formation of common identity. The role of the educational system in transmitting favourable or unfavourable feelings for social groups and other countries is widely recognised. After the end of the two World Wars, schooling had been considered responsible for reinforcing national fanaticism. The issue of the projection of stereotypes and hostile images of neighbouring countries has for long concerned international organisations. In 1949, UNESCO -as the League of Nations had done in the 1920s- gave out some guidelines for the improvement of school textbooks towards the promotion of international understanding and friendship among nations. This had not been an easy task at all, especially since countries were not obliged to comply with these suggestions (Ventura and Koulouri, 1994).

#### **4.2.1 The Greek experience**

A number of social and political situations determined the content and the methods employed in Greek education (Tamvakis, 1994). Research about textbooks used in Greek schools started last decade, but it has only recently been intensified. There is a lot of criticism about the books that are currently used, but the researchers agree that school books have been improved in comparison to the ones used a few decades ago. Currently used school books do not directly make negative comments about other countries and they have moved away from

nationalism towards to a more humanistic understanding of history (Ahlis, 1983; Milas, 1991; Tamvakis; 1994; Inglessi, 1997).

In 1995, the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Pedagogy, of the University of Thessaloniki, conducted a research study looking at the textbooks used, at the time, in the schools around Balkans. The Greek primary school curriculum currently used, was characterised by those researchers, as formal and rigid. It is overloaded with detailed directions to the teachers, of how each textbook should be used. Most of the schoolbooks currently produced in Greece are written by invitation of the Ministry of Education and the same textbook is distributed to all schools around the country<sup>iv</sup>. Even more, the teachers are not allowed to use extra books for their teaching, but are obliged to use those nationally distributed.

Some of the general guidelines of the Greek curriculum sound very open-minded. The best possible understanding and appreciation of different ethnic, religious, social and cultural groups, for the sake of communication and co-operation, is projected as a curriculum value. However, these targets remain verbal, as they are followed by antithetical directions and recommendations about the ways each unit should be taught. Sometimes the directions are so explicit that sound like "teaching recipes" which are sometimes contradictory (Frangoudaki, 1995, 1997). An example is the Year Four history curriculum: It emphasises the teaching of peaceful periods and cultural activities, as well as the teaching of everyday lives of people. It also suggests that Greek pupils should be provided with knowledge about other nations,

...under the prism of free-of-intolerance patriotism, in harmonious connection with the spirit of international understanding (Presidential Decrees, 1997, p. 539).

At the same time the curriculum prioritises and privileges knowledge of the history of the Greek nation and its achievements. It expects pupils to

understand the historic continuation and the contributions of the Greek nation to the development of civilisation. The history books used in the first years of primary school are mainly books of mythology, narrating legends and the achievements of the ancient Greeks, without referring to historic facts. These books also evaluate nations according to traditional stereotypes (Frangoudaki, 1995).

According to the national curriculum teaching directions, for Year Four History, children should learn that world civilisation owed its existence to the glorious Greek civilisation, which was transmitted in the East by Alexander the Great (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), and in the West by the Romans (1<sup>st</sup> century BC).

In exact words,

Alexander the Great. The end of his expedition and the spread of Greek civilisation.

(Children should) feel proud about the spread of Greek literacy and the prevalence of the Greek language in all the then known world.

The results of the great expedition should be noted and their importance for the Greeks and for humanity in general, should be appreciated (Presidential Decrees, 1997, p. 555).

The national curriculum currently used in Greece is nation-centred, ignoring the contributions of other civilisations in the formation of Greek one. There is a widespread belief that other civilisations benefited whenever they approached Greek culture, both when invaded (during for example the expedition of Alexander the Great) or as invaders (like the Romans).

The belief that certain nations were "discovered" and "civilised" by the troops of Alexander the Great is naïve, but exhibits (according to Preiswerk and Perrot, 1975; Perez Siller, 1992) the same kind of Eurocentricism as many European textbooks. Eurocentricism is the belief that "Western" European countries are superior. It is as if there had not

been civilisation in other continents before their "discovery" from the Europeans.

The reason offered for the emphasis on the ancient Greek history, is that children should love their Homeland as well as the democratic ideals first developed in their country. However, important parts of information are missing, such as that the regime of Sparta was totalitarian, or that there was social inequality in the glorious times Greek Democracy.

#### **4.2.1.1 Greek-Turkish relations in the Greek school textbooks**

In spite of the National Curriculum suggestions for the need for co-operation and friendship among different countries and civilisations, the image given for Turkey is rather poor. Turks, are associated with catastrophic historic events such as wars, and atrocities. The only time Turks are presented in school books is as enemies of the Greek nation. Some examples are the attacks of Turks in the borders of Byzantine Empire and the "Fall of Istanbul" (1453), the Greek-Turkish conflicts during the Greek Revolution (1821), the destruction of Izmir in 1922, and the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in 1974, (Thessaloniki School of Philosophy, 1995). Turks are presented by the educational system, diachronically, as the main threat to the glorious, brave Greek nation. They are presented as the reverse idol of national self (Avdela, 1997).

The emphasis of the history teaching is given to war events and conflicts. Periods when civilisations coexisted are presented synoptically. When there are references in peace approaches and treaties, Greeks seemed to be the ones who initiated these activities.

Both Greeks and Turks have been educated to become antagonists and opponents. For generations they have been fed with aggressive ideologies, with prejudices against the other side, with one sided information and with historical distortions and exaggerations, as if they were armies already marshalled, being exhorted before the last daily charge. This educational practice then naturally generates its own increasing momentum (Milas, 1991, p.23).

Milas recognised the fact that people's prejudices should not be solely attributed to school textbooks. However, he thought that school textbooks do have an important role as they are the official source of information about the past and influence the ideas of children who lack the ability of comparisons and critical thinking.

#### **4.2.1.2 “We” and “the others” in Greek school textbooks. The formation and projection of national identity**

In the Greek school textbooks all the violent conflicts and the wars in which Greece was involved are attributed to the other nations involved in the conflict, “the enemies”. Violence, in general, is presented as a national characteristic of “the others” and not as a social, historical, political phenomenon. The atrocities committed by “the others” are not explained on the basis of war paranoia, but are attributed to the evil nature of the enemies.

In this way, argues Frangoudaki, (1995), children have less chance to develop the political awareness required to understand that there have never been bad and good nations. They will fail to understand that, even among nations considered “bad” in dark moments of their history, there were people or groups, supporting co-existence and being against the violent choices of their leaders. The importance of education to help people understand that conflicts occur for more complicated reasons than the degraded morality of one of the components was also stressed by Tajfel, (1973). It is never explicit in the Greek school textbooks of the nine-year compulsory education that Greeks, Turks and Bulgarians coexisted harmoniously for long periods of time. The same way, children are never told that in Nazi Germany there were 22,000 deserters and conscientious objectors, who were sentenced to death as they refused to serve as soldiers at the time (Frangoudaki, 1995; Arnoumai, 1997).

All these may result in the incapability of young people to comprehend that the causes of wars are political and social. They may fail to recognise that war and totalitarianism are not national defects, but social products.

National identity is also defined through schooling. The main element for the formation of self identity as a member of society and nation is the existence of the "other". Identity formation presupposes the existence of a double process of inclusion of the familiar together with the exclusion and rejection of the unfamiliar. Everything negative or unfamiliar is projected onto "the others". This process takes place through the maintenance of "national memory" (Avdela, 1997). In her study of how the notions of time, history and national identity are represented in the Greek educational system, Avdela claimed that school textbooks projected an image of "ethnic self" that was at the same time used as a way of evaluating and assessing the "ethnic others".

The ethnic self is defined as superior towards the uninterrupted continuous of Greek civilisation from antiquity until today and toward the indisputable and recognised influence of the ancient Greek on western civilisation (Avdela, 1997, p. 55).

In the textbooks used in primary and junior secondary schools, the Greek nation was presented as an immortal, everlasting and unchangeable "natural" being. Its characteristics remained unchangeable and identical for thousands of years. The Greek nation was presented as a homogenous and self-contained nation that had never accepted any sort of influence by other nations. On the contrary, it has influenced other civilisations and nations (Frangoudaki 1995; Dragonas et al, 1996; Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997).

The denial of any other but Ancient Greek influences on modern Greek culture is clearly irrational and denotes their (other civilisations) rejection as culturally unworthy. The perception of European civilisation

of the industrialised zone as globally "superior" seems to be the main ideological bind. By accepting it, one necessarily comes to identify with the perception of Balkan, Sephardic, Turkish and other Middle Eastern cultures sharing affinities with the Greek culture, as inferior. The unitary, uniform, uninterrupted, and highly idealised Greek culture, as represented in the educational system, masks highly ethnocentric and xenophobic attitudes (Dragonas et al, 1996, p. 20).

Greek civilisation is presented uninterrupted and unchangeable from Homer and the "golden" 5<sup>th</sup> century of Athenian Democracy, to the Byzantine Empire, until today. The notion of historic time is abolished. Greeks feel very proud of their ethnic past, but somehow embarrassed by their ethnic present. They certainly feel insecure, threatened that in the future they may be culturally alienated. At the same time there is an evaluation of cultures according to a hierarchy. West European civilisation is very highly estimated because of its technological and economic development as well as because of its Greek origins. Last in this hierarchy, "primitive societies" are classified (Avdela, 1997, p. 57).

"Advanced" and "civilised societies" are positively presented in the educational system. Progress and civilisation are connected with technological and economic development. Western European civilisation is considered superior and the nations not belonging to it are by definition inferior.

After presenting her account on textbooks used in compulsory education in Greece, Frangoudaki suggested (1995), certain changes. She claimed that an "authentic national identity" should be projected, but there should also be the acceptance of the similarities between cultures as well as the influences that Greek culture has received from others. She also attributed Greek ethnocentrism in education to the fear that Greeks might lose their national identity because of the unification process with European countries or due to their fear that immigrants who have just moved to Greece, would deteriorate the Greek national identity.

The problems of ignorance of history, may result in people not recognising and not accepting that their own country has to be blamed for atrocities and has caused pain to other people. This is what Kitromilides called "moral deficit". He (in Mihas, Eleftherotypia, 30 August 1997) defined moral deficit as the lack of maturity to accept the problems that one's in-group or country has caused to others<sup>v</sup>. The same opinion was expressed by Milas, (1991), who claimed that two categories of events were skilfully left out of the Greek primary school textbooks. One was the bad things that Greeks had at some points committed. So, schoolchildren almost never read or heard that their ancestors might have injured "the other side", "the enemies". The other omission is that there is no reference to any good action the opponents have ever done. Therefore, the Greek school books attributed to the Turks the continuous characteristic of brutality, and to the Greeks the unchangeable characteristics of greatness and honour (Milas, 1991).

Another important issue to be taken into consideration, is national anniversaries and the way they are celebrated at school. Pantoleon, (1994), expressed her concern that in a period of intensive nationalism, school national celebrations reinforce fanatic attitudes and feelings of national superiority.

#### 4.2.2 The British Experience.

During the 1970s and 1980s there was much criticism about the way British school textbooks presented images of the "superior" European culture. Hicks, (1980), argued that the majority of books used in British schools provided a negative image of "Third World" countries. There were no references to the fact that Western economy was based on wealth coming from the "Third World" and poverty was depicted to be an inborn characteristic of the people living in developing countries.



According to Lee et al, (1992), there have been significant improvements in history programs used in British schools. The core may still be Eurocentric, as in most European educational systems, but there is an element of self-criticism in the way British history is presented.

Up until the end of 1970s, Local Education Authorities were responsible for the administration and control of schooling. Things changed towards the beginnings of 1980s. Britain had to adapt to new social conditions, which included an economic crisis and the war in the Falklands. At the same time there was much discussion going on about the issues of national identity and the definition of Britishness. At the time it was widely believed that there should be a notion of unity and continuation of a British nation. Several Conservative Ministers of Education, claimed that left-wing history teachers had used school history to challenge the existing social, economic and political order; proposed and succeeded the institution of a National Curriculum (Lee et al, 1992). All these were happening at a time of uncertainty of what exactly the definition of "Britishness" was,

It is not surprising that all of this is happening at a time when there is a fundamental uncertainty about what it is, in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century "to be British". A National Curriculum is produced at a time when it is not clear what the nation is, or which nation it is intended for (Lister, 1991, p. 608).

Many sociologists have argued that people in contemporary Britain have lost loyalty to "traditional", established institutions such as political parties, trade unions, government and church. Grove-White claimed that people "less and less take their identities, define themselves, through the identification with such bodies" (1994, p. 2). He claimed that it was mainly the middle classes that had to face the uncertainties that followed the meta-empire period of Britain. Alongside with this crisis, people stopped having faith in family and public values. As individuals

stopped hoping for the improvement of society, they have gradually started caring about their personal growth via religious movements. The emphasis for the modern British people is not, according to Grove-White, a better society but a better individual. Maybe this is one of the reasons schooling and National Curriculum advocates stressed on the projection of a common identity to the British school children.

Under this curriculum, children are taught British history from the Romans to Modern Times. They also learn their local history and the history of ancient civilisations. The National Curriculum was supposed to promote understanding and respect for different religions and cultures (Ventoura and Koulouri, 1994).

It has been argued that the British curriculum is nation centred and does not give much space or time for the teaching about other countries and broader social issues in general. It is worth mentioning that the Germans, the same way as the Turks in the Greek curriculum, are mentioned only as enemies in wars. Children, who are naturally curious about other people and customs, had to complete their knowledge about other countries and cultures from television programs and films, which are loaded with stereotypes of different nations (Cullingford and Husemann, 1995). Cullingford, (1992), also claimed that the pictures that media presented from Africa, tended to be exclusively reports of starvation, war and poverty. So children had an exaggerated and limited image of what really had happened. The same conclusion was reached by Graham and Lynn, (1989), in research they conducted with children aged six to eight. They found that the main source of children's information about other countries was television. Children expressed their sympathy towards the problems of developing countries and at the same time they were reluctant to believe that pictures showing a swimming pool in Gambia or an airport in Nairobi had been taken in Africa.

#### 4.2.3 Some thoughts about the formation of national identity in Greece and Britain

There are some similarities in the ways national identity is projected and promoted in the Greek and British educational systems. In the educational systems of both countries, a positive presentation of national self is promoted. In the Greek educational system “others” are often presented as a possible threat against which the Greeks should resist. In the British educational system there is not such a presentation of “other” people or nations as a possible threat for the existence of the country. An explanation might be that Greeks carry negative memories from wars and occupations. Britain was last invaded by foreign forces in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Britons do not probably share the same feelings of threat and not hold shared memories of being invaded. Greece became an independent state only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, while the last annexing (of the Dodecanese, in the Aegean Sea, which belonged to Italy) happened only fifty years ago. Greece was last occupied during the World War II by Germans and Italians. Greek society carries the collective memory of being invaded and suffering from starvation during World War II. Another historic event that marked Greek collective memory was the Greek-Turkish war in 1920s that resulted to significant numbers of refugees as they had to leave the land in which their families had lived for centuries.

All these are important elements in the shaping of the social context in the two countries. Social context is very much influenced not only by the current socio-political and economic undergoing, but also on what has happened in the past. So, in the case of Greece, the bad Greek-Turkish relations of the past are also projected, shaping partly the present relations of the two countries.

The following chapter offers a review of the literature that was discussed in the previous chapters.

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<sup>i</sup> Balkan Wars in 1912-1913 finished with the annexing of Northern Greece and most of the Aegean Sea islands. World War I ended with the defeat and partition of the Ottoman Empire (Treaty of Sevres). After that Greece occupied Izmir and territories in the Western part of Asia Minor (1919), where there had been a significant Greek population. The Greek army did not stop there but went east, as far as the outskirts of Ankara. At the meantime, Mustafa Kemal (later Ataturk) revolted against the Ottoman leaders, seized power, fought against the Greek army and succeeded in defeating it. Greek troops withdrew and there was a new treaty, in Lausanne in 1923, deciding for the fate of the two countries. First, the modern national state of the Turks was established out of the remains of the multi-national Ottoman Empire. Second, with the exceptions of the Greek Orthodox population of Istanbul and the Muslims of Western Thrace, Greek and Turkish minorities in the two countries were forcibly exchanged. In spite of the fact that both countries joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in 1952, there have been still many troubles. Both countries were strongly connected with Cyprus, and after the intervention of Turkey, in 1974, the two countries' relations became even worse. Today, the most important disputes and grievances among Turkey and Greece have to do with Cyprus, the continental shelf, the minorities in Istanbul and Western Thrace and the military status of the Aegean Sea islands (Dragonas et al, 1996).

<sup>ii</sup> One of the reported cases took place in the island of Chios, where part of this research was conducted. A Gypsy population lives in Chios. These people lived in tents and huts and were settled down in the island under very poor standards of living. The city council decided to do some infrastructure work to improve their hygiene conditions. The Metropolitan Bishop under the initiative of the City Council donated some land in an area near the city centre for the Gypsies to live permanently. Some local people, however, protested against this initiative and managed to postpone the settlement.

<sup>iii</sup> According to official reports the number of immigrants in Greece makes up the 5% of the whole population. As, however, most of the immigrants have crossed the borders illegally and are not officially recorded, the actual numbers are unknown. It is estimated that the immigrant population living in Greece in the mid 1990s comes up to 10% of the whole population (National statistic services of Greece, 1997).

<sup>iv</sup> Other countries where there is state central production of textbooks, include Algeria, Egypt, Vietnam, Mexico and Syria (Avdela, 1997).

<sup>v</sup> In that article, (Eleftherotypia, 30 August 1997), Mihas offered the example of Turkish-Cypriots who emphasise on the oppression and discrimination they suffered until 1974. They do not, however, seem to sympathise with the thousands of Greek-Cypriots refugees who had to leave their homeland after the Turkish intervention. Similarly, Greek-Cypriots do not accept the atrocities caused by their people against the Turkish-Cypriots in 1963.

## **Chapter 5**

### **How literature has influenced this study**

The aim of this chapter is to summarise the main points of literature that were presented in previous chapters. The identification of relevant literature was a rather difficult task. Not much research has been done about enemy images. Since the focus of the study was young children, the relevant literature was even more limited. Existing literature offered, however, a framework of how children thought about their immediate and distant environment.

### **5.1 Research findings on how social environment influences children's attitudes towards "other" people**

The aim of this study is to examine the images young children had about enemies. Images are the ideas, the dispositions people have about their environment and which can influence the ways people respond to it. Very little research has been conducted about children's images of their environment. There has been some research concerning the ways children thought about "other" countries and nationalities. Research conducted after the end of World War II, during the Cold War period, suggested that children held negative or positive ideas about different countries without always having the knowledge that would allow such a categorisation into "good" and "bad" countries (Jahoda, 1963, 1964; Tajfel et al, 1970; Tajfel, 1973; Coles, 1986). These researchers also claimed that the children mostly disliked the nations and countries that had in the past been in war conflict with their own, or that belonged to the "other" (Eastern or Western respectively) bloc of countries.

Researchers like Vygotski, 1962; Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Piaget, 1975; Carbarino et al, 1989, claimed that the social environment in which children lived and the teaching they received at school influenced their learning and cognitive maturity. According to Connell, 1971, children considered specific countries as enemies and he claimed that those ideas derived from the traditions prevalent in the children's environment and the information they got from television. Tolley, (1973), also concluded that children's attitudes towards other countries were very much related to school activities, like patriotic ceremonies and national anniversaries that gave information about past wars. He also claimed that media were important in offering information about conflicts all around the world.

After the end of Cold War there has been an interest developed on the ways children viewed their nation and other countries and national

groups. This interest has been developed along with the interest for investigation into adults' national identities and images of other nations, especially since issues of nationalism have created a series of conflicts after the end of Cold War. Barrett and Short, (1992), found that many of the British children they examined had strong feelings of like and dislike about other European nationals, without having factual knowledge about them. They found that the British children in their study held negative images about Germans and that these ideas came from books, comics and television programs. Cullingford and Husemann, (1995), also reached similar conclusions on the ways British children viewed Germans. It seemed that British children associated Germany with World War II and that in many cases they held wrong information about the Germans (Bennett, 1996; The Independent, 25 June 1996).

In Greece, Argiraki et al, (1994, 1996), found that Greek primary school children held negative ideas about and did not like socialising and associating with, children from particular national groups attending the same school with them. The researchers attributed children's attitudes to prejudices current in Greek society.

Researchers have found that children of different ethnic or national background were often victims of bullying from other children at school (La Fontaine, 1991; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Cullingford and Brown, 1995). Findings such as those initiated research on how and why children thought about "others" in and out of their countries. It has been argued that the educational systems in both Greece and Britain are ethnocentric, presenting the nation as a natural being, unchangeable though time and history (Frangoudaki, 1995; Dragonas et al, 1996; Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997). In Britain the educational system provided children with very little information about other countries and nations and the only information children had about developing countries was limited to images of poverty, hunger and suffering they

had witnessed through television (Hicks, 1980; Dyson, 1986; Graham and Lynn, 1989; Cullingford, 1990).

Certain nationalities were projected as enemies through the curricula in both Greece and Britain. In the case of Britain, Germans were presented as enemies (Cullingford and Husemann, 1995). In Greece it seemed that the Turks were presented as the hereditary foe through school books and national anniversaries (Milas, 1991; Pantoleon, 1994; Thessaloniki School of Philosophy, 1995; Avdela, 1997). At the same time the Greek nation was sanctified while negative characteristics were attributed to its enemies (Frangudaki, 1995).

The following table presents (ordered according to topics) findings from previous research on how social environment influences children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

<b>PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON HOW SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT INFLUENCES CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS "OTHERS"</b>		
<b>RESEARCH</b>	<b>FINDINGS</b>	<b>LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH</b>
Jahoda, 1963 Jahoda, 1964 Tajfel et al, 1970 Tajfel, 1973 Coles, 1986	Children's ideas about other countries were dependent on the stereotypes prevalent in children's environment about these countries.	Children were asked about specific nationalities and countries.
Vygotski, 1962 Lambert & Klineberg, 1967 Piaget, 1975 Carbarino et al, 1989	The social environment in which children lived and the teaching they received at school influenced their learning and their cognitive maturity.	
Connell, 1971	Children considered specific countries as being enemies. Their information derived from traditions prevalent in children's environment and from television.	Emphasis was given on the ways children conceive political figures. The research was conducted during Cold War period.
Tolley, 1973	Children's attitudes were related to school teaching and media.	Emphasis was given on children's attitudes about war. The research was conducted during the Cold War period, after the war in Vietnam.
Dyson, 1986	British children had negative images about developing countries since the social	British adolescents were specifically enquired about developing countries.



	environment tended to ignore these countries.	
Hicks, 1980 Graham & Lynn, 1989 Cullingford, 1990 Cullingford, 1992	British children had poor images of developing countries and their information was based on television news that projected only the negative aspects of life in those countries.	Children were exclusively asked about specific countries.
Barrett & Short, 1992	British children had strong feelings of dislike about other European countries and especially Germany.	The researchers asked children what they knew about specific countries / nationalities.
Cullingford & Husemann, 1995	British children had negative views of the Germans. The social environment and television perpetuated these images.	Children were asked exclusively about Germans.
Bennett, 1996	British children had negative images of Germany, without having much knowledge about it.	
Argiraki et al, 1994, and 1996	Greek children held negative attitudes against immigrant classmates. They also had images of children of African origin, while they had positive feelings for children of Western European background.	Children were asked to nominate which groups of classmates they preferred socialising with.
La Fontaine, 1991 Smith & Sharp, 1994 Cullingford & Brown, 1995	Children of different ethnic background were often victims of bullying in British schools.	Research enquired the phenomenon of bullying.
Milas, 1991 Pantoleon, 1994 Thessaloniki School of Philosophy, 1995 Frangoudaki, 1995 Dragonas et al, 1996 Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997 Avdela, 1997	The Greek curriculum was ethnocentric, evaluating very positively the Greek culture and identity and presenting the Turks as enemies.	These studies examined the educational system and the curriculum and not children's attitudes toward "others".
Grove-White, 1994	There was a crisis in the traditional institutions in Britain. The emphasis was on the individual well being.	The research did not examine children's attitudes

Table 2

Findings from previous research on how social environment influences children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

All the ideas and prejudices existing in the social environment where children grow and live, influence, according to the previously quoted researchers, children's attitudes.

One could argue that children develop behaviours analogous to the ones they are directly (family, peer group, school) or indirectly (films, television news) exposed to.

Enemy images are connected to attitudes and dispositions which influence people's actual behaviours. The limitations of this research did not allow further consideration on how enemy images can lead to the adoption of aggressive behaviour in a local, interpersonal level (such as exclusion from the in-group, bullying) or in a national, international level (such as racist actions, war).

### ***5.2 Research findings concerning age differences in children's attitudes towards "other" people***

Many researchers claimed that children's attitudes towards other people varied according to their age. Piaget, (1928, 1932, 1954; Piaget and Weil, 1951), developed the theory of cognitive development, where he suggested that children younger than the age of nine did not have a sense of country or borders. Other researchers (McKelvey, 1983; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995; Rohrer, 1996) claimed that young children were incapable of recognising time and space distance.

Many researchers claimed that Piaget's stages of children's development were not accurate and that children could acquire some knowledge about very complicated issues at an earlier age than Piaget had suggested (Connell, 1971; Stevens, 1982). There is, however, evidence that there are age differences in children's attitudes towards other people and international and interpersonal conflict.

Lambert and Klineberg, (1967), claimed that children of about six were much more hostile in their attitudes towards foreign people than the ten-year-old interviewees. Tolley, (1973), also claimed that younger children were more tolerant to the idea of war; while McKelvey, (1983), found that younger children gave emphasis to "concrete aspects of war" that is descriptions of armoury and battles. Both Tolley and McKelvey concluded that older children had developed a sense of morality and were interested in the consequences of military conflict on people's lives.

Differences have also been observed between younger and older children's responses towards interpersonal conflict. It has been argued that children start recognising bullying experiences as early as the age of five (Madsen and Smith, 1993; De Rosier et al, 1994; Smith and Levan, 1995; Almeida et al, 1996). Younger children seemed to be more involved in violent fighting than the older children, while older children seemed to be less aggressive (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994). It has also been observed that children at about the age of eight, were more likely to be involved in bullying situations both as victims or as aggressors (Rolland and Munthe, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Genta et al, 1996; Pereira et al, 1997).

The following table presents (ordered according to topics) findings from previous research on how age differences influence children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

**PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON HOW AGE DIFFERENCES INFLUENCE  
CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES ON "OTHERS"**

<b>RESEARCH</b>	<b>FINDINGS</b>	<b>LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH</b>
Piaget, 1928 Piaget, 1932 Piaget, 1954 Piaget & Weil, 1951	Children younger than 9 years had no sense of countries and borders. They were egocentric, explaining the world only in relation to themselves.	Studies conducted in Switzerland, where there was not a very strong sense of national identity. At the time of the research the borders were disputable.
McKelvey, 1983 Cullingford & Husemann, 1995 Rohrer, 1996	Younger children were incapable of recognising time and space distance.	
Lambert & Klineberg, 1967	Children of 6 were hostile towards foreign people.	Children were asked about specific nationalities and countries.
Tolley, 1973	Young children were more tolerant to the idea of war than older children.	Emphasis on children's attitudes about war. Research conducted during the Cold War period, after the war in Vietnam.
McKelvey, 1983	Young children emphasised on concrete aspects of the war conflict, i.e. the soldiers' armoury. Older children talked about the consequences of conflict.	Small scale research report about children's recollections of the Falklands war.
Kohlberg, 1964 Kohlberg, 1981 Blatt & Kohlberg, 1970	As children grow older they develop a sense of morality. At a young age the emphasis was on the avoidance of punishment.	The studies examined the moral thinking of humans.
Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist, Osterman & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist et al, 1994	Young children of 8 or 9 were more involved in violent fighting. Older children were less aggressive.	The studies were focused on bullying.
Rolland & Munthe, 1989 Whitney & Smith, 1993 Smith & Sharp, 1994 Genta et al, 1996 Pereira et al, 1997	Children of 8 were more likely to be involved in bullying situations both as victims and as aggressors.	The studies were focused on bullying.
Madsen & Smith, 1993 Smith & Levan, 1995 De Rosier et al, 1994 Almeida et al, 1996	Children started recognising bullying as young as the age of 5.	The studies were focused on bullying.

Table 3

Findings from previous research on how age differences influence children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

### ***5.3 Research findings concerning gender differences in children's attitudes towards "other" people***

Many researchers claimed that there were differences in the attitudes of boys and girls towards conflict. It has been widely argued that boys were in general more aggressive than girls, and felt more confident to face other children by employing physical power (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Ahmad and Smith, 1995; Campbell, 1996). Girls were found to be equally informed but less interested in war conflicts (Greenstein, 1969; Tolley, 1973; McKelvey, 1983; Hesse, 1992; Rohrer, 1996). Girls also seemed to emphasise on the impact of conflict on civilian population (Hesse, 1992; Hagglund, 1996). It has also been argued that girls tended to ignore the boys from the peer group who caused trouble, and that many girls felt guilty after having used violence (Maccoby 1988; Archer and Parker, 1994). Small scale research conducted with Greek nursery school children suggested that girls were less interested than boys in talking about "enemies" (Paida et al, 1996).

Some researchers claimed that girls employed indirect ways of expressing their aggression, through gossiping, or excluding from the group of peers (Smith and Sharp, 1994; Campbell, 1996). Nevertheless, a number of researchers claimed that they did not find as many differences in the attitudes of boys and girls as literature had suggested (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Feingold, 1988; Hyde et al, 1990; Cullingford, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995). The following table presents (ordered according to topics) findings from previous research on how gender influences children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON HOW GENDER INFLUENCES CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES TOWARDS "OTHERS"		
RESEARCH	FINDINGS	LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH
Greenstein, 1969 Tolley, 1973 McKelvey, 1983 Hesse, 1992 Rohrer, 1996	Boys and girls were equally informed about conflicts, but girls were less interested in them.	
Hesse, 1992 Hagglund, 1996	Girls emphasised on the impact of military conflict on the civilian population.	
Paida et al, 1996	Girls were less interested than boys about the issue of enemy.	Small scale research.
Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974 Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist, Osterman & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist et al, 1994 Smith & Sharp, 1994 Ahmad & Smith, 1995 Campbell, 1996	Boys were more aggressive than girls.	The studies were focused on bullying.
Maccoby, 1988	Girls ignored the boys who cause trouble.	
Archer & Parker, 1994	Girls felt guilty after they had used violence to resolve conflict.	The studies were focused on bullying.
Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist, Osterman & Kaukiainen, 1992 Bjorkquist et al, 1994 Crick & Grotpeter, 1995	Boys preferred direct ways of expressing aggression while girls indirect, such as gossip or spread of nasty rumours.	The studies were focused on bullying and its expression.
Lambert & Klineberg, 1967 Cullingford, 1992 Cullingford & Husemann, 1995 Feingold, 1988 Hyde et al, 1990	No evidence for differences in the responses of boys and girls. The studies indicated less differences than what previous research had suggested.	

Table 4  
Findings from previous research on how gender influences children's attitudes towards "other" people, social groups or countries.

#### **5.4 Limitations of previous research**

Research findings offer a theoretical background concerning the ways young children think and feel about other people and social or ethnic groups living in and out of their country. There are, however, some limitations in the previous research that should be taken into account. It was attempted to benefit from the experiences of previous research and investigate young children's images of enemies.

Piaget had claimed that young children did not have a clear idea of border and country and could not easily conceive the notion of being civilians in a country. Piaget's work was conducted many years ago in Geneva. At the time of Piaget's research, many of the areas that the research was conducted were inhabited by people who had national identity other than Swiss. The border in some of the areas that Piaget's early work was conducted changed after the World War II. It could therefore be argued that what Piaget had considered as children's inability to relate part (their region) to whole (the country), was actually a result of the fact that some of the children examined were members of ethnic groups other than Swiss. Another criticism of the Piagetian theory of cognitive development, is that it was constructed in respect to children's ability to conceive ideas of volume, number and space and did not take much into account the ways children thought about social events and their environment (Connell, 1971).

Some of the researchers examined children's attitudes towards specific countries (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Tajfel et al, 1970; Dyson, 1986; Barret and Short, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995). The research of Argiraki et al, 1994 and 1996, examined the children's attitudes towards children of different national background, attending their school. Some other researchers asked children to describe their problematic interpersonal relations and to talk about bullying (Roland and Munthe, 1989; Smith, 1991; La Fontaine, 1991; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and

Sharp, 1994; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Cullingford and Brown, 1995; Genta et al, 1996; Pereira et al, 1997).

The drawbacks of all the previously mentioned research projects congregate to the fact that the researchers themselves had decided beforehand that specific situations, events or people caused distress to children. So they gave their research subjects stimuli in which they should respond.

### ***5.5 How this research extends and complements previous work***

The importance of this work lies in the fact that it allowed young children to identify the problematic situations in their environment and to talk about what they themselves conceived as enemy. The researcher did not give children any explanation of what enemy is and children were encouraged to express their own views about "enemies". That was an opportunity to test whether the issues that previous researches had identified as problematic were also considered such by the children interviewed.

Another important advantage was that this study examined the images of children as young as the age of five. There has been almost no research conducted with children younger than the age of six or seven (Cullingford, 1992). So, this study offers some rare information on how very young children think about enemies.

Within the previously mentioned background literature, the idea of this study was developed. The study aimed at the exploration of enemy images among young children from two countries. Previous research had suggested differences in the attitudes of children who were of different age, sex and social background. According to these factors, the following research questions were formed:



- a. what are the children's images of enemies
- b. whom or what children conceive as a protector from the enemy
- c. where they have gained their information about the enemies from
- d. whether there were differences in the responses of children of different age
- e. whether there were differences in the responses of boys and girls
- f. whether there were any differences in the responses of children coming from different social environments.

To address these research questions, boys and girls of three age groups were interviewed. The research was conducted in two countries, Greece and Britain, so that the children's responses could be examined in relation to the social environment where they came from. The importance of comparative study for the better explanation of human attitudes has been stressed by many researchers (Keldorf, 1991; Bjerstedt et al, 1991). Comparative studies examining children's attitudes are widely used by international organisations such as UNICEF and UNESCO (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; UNICEF, 1990; UNICEF, 1996; UNICEF, 1997).

There are many issues concerning the methodology that had to be employed for the implementation of a research project that would investigate children's images on the rather sensitive topic of enemies. The methodological and ethical concerns as well as the practical issues of sampling will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Methodology**

In this chapter the methodology employed for the collection and analysis of data will be presented. Group, semi-structured interviews and children's drawings were used. The reasons for the selection of these methodological tools are explained. The problems and ethical issues associated with the research are also discussed.

The study was conducted with 171 children aged from five to nine, from Greece (Thessaloniki and Chios) and Britain (York). The difficulties of conducting the research fieldwork are described. The final sections reveal the process of data analysis and presentation.

## **6.1 Methodological issues**

The aim of this study was to explore the images young children had about enemies. It was an attempt to investigate whether young children had an idea of what an “enemy” was, and if they thought that somebody or something protected them from their enemies. The sources of their information about enemies were also examined. Additionally, it was examined whether descriptions of enemy images were different in children of different age and gender, coming from different areas in two countries.

This research is an attempt to address and answer these questions. Research, is a “systematic inquiry”, or to use a fuller definition

Research entails systematic, critical and self-critical inquiry which aims to contribute to the advancement of knowledge (Bassey, p. 35, 1990).

Research can be an attempt to illuminate what happens in a given situation or an effort aiming at the solution of a problem. In this research the inquiry is to find out the images of “enemy” in young children, in a given place and a social background. The research proceeded in a systematic way, by collecting and analysing data, the necessary information helping the researcher to reach to a provisional interpretation to the research questions. Apart from being systematic, the research should be also critical, in making sure that the collected data would be analysed in a precise way. At the same time the researcher should be very careful and self-critical of the decisions made about the methodology used for the collection of appropriate and sufficient data as well as for their analysis and presentation. The research should aim to contribute to the understanding of how and why the examined

phenomena were - at the time of the research - the way they appeared to be.

## **6.2 *Positivist and naturalistic approaches to social research***

Throughout the history of the social sciences two mainstream sets of theory and application of social research have been developed (Sarantakos, 1993). One is the positivist approach and the other is the naturalistic, or interpretative one. Each of these theories employs analogous methods and techniques serving the research purpose, which is the progress and advancement of knowledge in a systematic and critical way. The positivistic approach was the first one to be used in social sciences. Positivism has to do with measurement and numeration of the elements of the environment. Since the times of ancient Egypt, humans used quantification to make sense of and describe their environment. When the interest for systematic study of human behaviour was developed, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the same methods of quantification were employed (Preston, 1997). The main idea of positivism, is that social phenomena should be studied with scientific methods. According to the supporters of this approach, the researcher should be distant from the research subjects, in order to remain as objective as possible. The inquirer should aim to produce durable results that could be generalised and could have a catholic validity. The research should primarily focus on the display of the cause-effect relationship; therefore it should use objective methodology (Guba and Lincoln, 1987).

The theoretical, and ideological, starting point of the patrons of the naturalistic or interpretative approach is quite different. Naturalists viewed society as a complex field; they believed that there is not only one single reality that could be studied autonomously. On the contrary, they claimed that multiple realities coexisted, acted interdependently and influenced what could be perceived, and studied, as "human

behaviour” or “human attitude”. According to the advocates of naturalistic theory, the researcher and the respondent get inevitably involved with one another and they consequently influence each other’s behaviour.

Inquirers react to the mental images they have of respondents in developing the instrumentation; respondents answer or act in terms of what they perceive to be expectations held for their behaviour as they interpret the meaning of the items or tasks put before them; inquirers deal with responses in terms of their interpretations of response meaning and intent, and so on (Guba and Lincoln, 1987, p. 147).

The researchers’ - subjects’ influence was not conceived by the naturalist scientists, as a drawback, since they viewed this exchange as a human process that could not, and should not, be changed. The supporters of this theory considered that there was not only one truth generally applicable. Human behaviour is, according to them, a phenomenon which depended on the specific social context. Therefore, their aim was not to display the one relation between cause and effect, as they thought that the explanation given by each scientist is parallel and dependent on the explanatory theory they put into practice in order to approach the specific inquiry. Hence, they argued, research explanation was a product of the researcher’s own viewpoint of the research.

Positivists use quantitative methodology in order to collect their data and try to explain them by the implementation of quantitative analysis and measurement. The quantitative methods of analysis were usually transferred by the so called pure sciences (such as maths or physics). Many scientists, however, expressed their concern about the limitations and problems involved in the positivist model of social research.

...If there is a qualitative difference between the natural and the social world, it follows that the ways of investigating the social world must be very different from the ways of investigating the natural world (Hitchcock and Hugges, 1989, p. 28).

This new approach stressed the importance on how groups interpret their own social environment and situations. The researcher should be related to the research subjects and have personal knowledge of the empirical, social world being investigated.

The quantitative approach presupposes that the researcher has formed a research hypothesis in advance. Its measurement involves the construction of such instruments to study and classify the examined phenomena in the pre-decided hypothesis frameworks (Patton, 1989). Quantitative research employs techniques of data collection that produce numbers as data. Qualitative research on the contrary, uses techniques that produce words, images and more realistic life situations as data (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997). The collection of qualitative data involves detailed descriptions of situations, rather than an attempt to filter data in predetermined categories, as would be done in a survey with closed questionnaires or tests. The same way, positivists prefer the analysis and explanation of data with the use of statistical measurements hoping to make the cause-effect relation explicit. Interpretative scientists insist on analysing data by giving raw quotations of the respondents and detailed accounts of the situation examined. They argue that there is a reciprocal relation between humans and their environment, and that human beings respond to situations, rather than reacting to them (Hitchcock and Hugges, 1989).

In past decades, there was a polarisation between positivists and naturalists, who insisted on the use of either pure quantitative or qualitative methodology and analysis, respectively. According to Guba, (1990), different philosophies and theoretical frameworks are employed

by each of the approaches. Qualitative researchers viewed themselves as agents of reform against the traditional research of positivism and quantification. Guba and Lincoln, (1988), supported the idea that positivist approach was “totally unsuited” for the study of human behaviour. Other researchers such as Reichart and Cook, (1979), suggested that there were no essential differences in the use of quantitative and qualitative methods and that the techniques appropriate for each research should be used. According to Patton, (1988), and Harland, (1996), all research is a part of a continuum, a constant struggle by humans to make sense of their environment. If the aim of research is such, then the best possible and available methods of data collection, analysis and presentation should be involved to help both the researcher and the reader to make sense of the situation and improve their knowledge and understanding of the phenomena studied. Therefore, a piece of research in social sciences, such as education, had better involve methods of collection and analysis of data coming from both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The aim is to conduct a coherent, good quality study. This approach was followed in this study.

### ***6.3 Qualitative methodology***

This study employed qualitative methods of data collection. As there had not been previous research done on this field with children, the researcher had to map what was going on in the participants’ minds. There was not any sort of already expressed hypothesis to guide the research. Researchers who had been involved in projects occupied with the exploration of enemy images in university students, stressed the need for “non rigid data collection techniques”, hoping that such techniques, would reveal more realistic data (Keldorf, 1991; Bjerstedt, 1989, 1990; Melnikova and Shirkov, 1990). At the same time, some very young children, who could not respond to any sort of written task, test or questionnaire, were involved in the research project. The need for

careful, sensitive data collection from children in very young age has also been stressed by Telfer et al, (1995), who were occupied in obtaining information about feelings and abstract ideas from young children. Summarising, the very nature of the research problematic was what determined the use of qualitative methods of data collection.

According to Strauss and Corbin, (1990), any kind of research producing findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or any other form of quantification can be defined as qualitative. Qualitative measures permit the researcher to record and understand the people in their own terms. As Patton, put it,

Basically, qualitative data consists of quotations from people and descriptions of situations, events, interactions, and activities. The purpose of these data is to understand the point of view and experiences of other persons (Patton, 1989, p. 36).

#### ***6.4 Seeking the most appropriate methodological tools for this study***

A lot of thought was given to the design of a proper methodological structure and the identification of the appropriate tools for the exploration of the specific inquiries of this study. Questionnaires could definitely not be used with the youngest group of children involved in the research. Five-year-old children had not yet abilities to read or write. However, the idea of using questionnaire materials as an additional way of gathering information was actually tried out with a group of nine-year-old children as part of the pilot study that took place at the earliest stages of this research. It seemed, however, that the children who were asked to fill in the questionnaires did not feel very comfortable when doing so. They said that the whole procedure looked like an exam to them and they claimed that they preferred it when they were interviewed.



Another thought had been the use of projective techniques that would allow children to express their ideas and views of their social environment. Projective techniques allow researchers to study individuals when the subjects are given a stimulus and are asked to react according to the meaning they assign to the stimulus (Sarantakos, 1993). The fact that there should be a pre-agreed stimulus, symbolising the notion of “enemy” seemed inappropriate. It was a priority to avoid influencing children by imposing the researcher’s own views and possible biases of the topic, into the children’s minds and mouths. Therefore, as it was considered very important to give children the least direction possible, the idea of using projective exercises as a means of data collection, was rejected. After a lot of thought, a more appropriate technique of data collection was used. At the end of the interviews the researcher would ask the children to draw a picture of an enemy. This could still be considered as a projective technique, the only difference being that no further stimuli would be given. The hypothesis for the usefulness and value of this method is summarised in Sarantakos’, (1993), words,

... stories, associations, drawings and other personal expressions collected through these methods reflect aspects of the foundation of life of the respondent and “betray” his or her wishes and attitudes, and the respondent’s philosophy of life (Sarantakos, p. 217).

Another very popular method of collecting data in social research, (especially when young children are involved), is observation. In this particular study, observation might reveal the children’s relations with their peers and classmates and would actually offer very little information about their ideas and beliefs of anything else but their interactions in the very limited group of classmates. After all, this particular research was not concerned with the study of children’s

behaviours, that means their patterns of realistic and pragmatic action. It was exactly focused on examining the children's attitudes, beliefs and images about the notion of enemy as perceived from the social environment. The ways children have organised the environment in their minds -often because of these past experiences- can not be observed. Patton, (1989), said about interviews and observation,

We interview people to find out from them those things that we cannot directly observe. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions (Patton, p.196).

### ***6.5 Interviews in qualitative methodology***

The value of interviewing has also been noted by Cullingford, (1992), who stressed the fact that talking is one of the favourite activities of humans.

The spoken or written word is the only source of understanding what people think. Given the opportunity to expand and define, it is the only way fully to comprehend what is going on in the mind. It is therefore the true basis of scientific evidence, far more than questionnaires (Cullingford, p. 8).

In qualitative methodology, interviews are normally semi-structured and non-standardised. The role of the interviewer is to encourage respondents to talk, rather than leading the interview. That was also expressed by Patton,

The purpose of open-ended interviewing is not to put things in someone's mind (for example, the interviewer's preconceived categories for organising the world) but rather to access the perspective of the person being interviewed (Patton, 1989, p. 196).

With this ideas in mind, after reading books about different methods of data collection, and according to previous research experience (Paidá et al, 1996), the use of interviews as the main method of data collection was decided. Interviewing is considered to be one of the major tools of social research and has been used widely. Its major advantage is, as argued by Bell, (1993), its adaptability as it can investigate in depth motives and feelings.

The way in which a response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc.) can provide information that a written response would conceal (Bell, p. 91).

The type of interview chosen was the semi-structured one. The interview was focused on certain topics for discussion. A set of questions had been carefully prepared and arranged before the interview.

Semi-structured interview allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989, p. 83).

The sequence of the questions could be different in each interview, following the children's responses and according to the specific prevailing climate. It was, however, important that almost the same type of conversation would be initiated and the same series of topics would be discussed. This sort of interview is regarded as "open", as the respondents could direct the conversation however they felt like, rather than answering to questionnaire-like standardised interview questions. This technique of interviewing offers more freedom to the interviewer and the interviewees as they could have a more informal talk about specific topics. The reason for not having a completely unstructured

interview was to minimise the variation of the questions posed to children in each interview. As the same questions were asked, the same kind of data, could be classified. At the same time the possibility of the researchers transmitting their own biases would be reduced. In this way, systematic data could be gathered and analysed in a proper way. The interview schedule is given in appendix 1.

For this research group interviews were considered to be the best data collection tool. The researcher would go into the classroom and ask for children to volunteer to take part on this research project. The researcher had previous experience of interviewing five-year-old children individually. She had realised that several children did not feel very confident to talk and express themselves. Sometimes the one-to-one adult-child setting might make them feel uncomfortable. Therefore, the use of group-interviews seemed to be of great importance. There were many reasons leading to the decision to interview children in groups. First of all, there could be achieved a great depth and breadth of responses, as children would compare their answers to the ones of their fellow-interviewees. Children were interviewed in groups of two, three or sometimes four. The researcher tried to establish a friendly climate. Children were interviewed in their school, in a familiar environment. They were encouraged to talk a little bit about themselves and their families, before the interview. The researcher also tried to be friendly and reassuring having a cheerful disposition, offering them biscuits, and being as positive as possible. Even more important was the fact that children were interviewed with the classmates they themselves had picked, and had friendly relations with. Friendship groups were used for the interviews, following existing literature suggesting such a choice.

Hard and fast rules for interviewee groupings are probably impossible to determine, but research evidence suggests that friendship

groupings may be most important single criterion to use for selecting groups (Lewis, 1992, p. 418).

Lewis, (1992), claimed that when children were interviewed with their friends they felt safer. Being interviewed with friends helped children to feel free to express their opinion, without feeling threatened by the predominant presence of an adult. As they knew the people sitting next to them they felt confident to express themselves, give longer responses and sometimes argue and have a debate with, their peers. Lewis also argued that when interviewing children, they sometimes do not fully understand the nature of the question or the wording used. Being examined with friends gives the children confidence to ask for clarifications. Finally, Lewis observed that when children were interviewed in groups they would rarely not come up with an answer. They had more time to think when the other children took it in turns to answer. At the same time the interview was not drawn to a halt if one child could not, or did not want to, answer. The interviewer would go on with another child and would come back later to the child that had not responded.

Each child from the classroom involved in the research had an equal chance to be chosen to participate in the interviews, provided that they were willing to be interviewed. In that way, it was guaranteed that all the participants would respond, were not shy and, hence, data would be collected. The researcher would introduce herself to the children, explain that she had come to their school because she was conducting a research enquiry, and wanted to find out children's ideas about "enemies". Following, children were asked whether they would like to participate in the research and talk together with some of their friends to the researcher. Normally a large number of children would volunteer to participate and at times children who were not chosen to be

interviewed expressed their disappointment. It has been observed by other researchers that children were normally very happy to contribute to interviews, as "it is a rare opportunity for them to find a ready listener" (Cullingford, 1992, p. 10).

The interviews were normally conducted in the staff room during lesson time. None of the schools had a spare room for extra activities and sometimes special arrangements had to be made to find a quiet room for the interviews.

In order to maintain a balance the researcher tried to interview equal numbers of boys and girls. It was very important to create a setting as cosy and natural as possible. This sort of approach has been widely used in ethnographic research (Labov, 1972). Of course the children knew that they were being interviewed and this inevitably influenced their behaviour, but at least they were working in a friendly and reassuring environment.

In this research, children were initiated to express their opinion on the responses of one another. That should of course happen in a way that all the opinions expressed were very well received and respected, and every new contribution was accepted with interest. Throughout the whole process of interviewing children were encouraged to contribute and therefore provide their own opinions on the question posed.

At the end of the interview children were asked to do a projective exercise. They were given coloured pencils and paper and were asked to do a drawing of an enemy.

The whole procedure of interviewing would normally last twenty to forty minutes, according to the age group being interviewed. Older children needed more time as they were more likely to develop conversation and interact with the researcher and with each other about the topics proposed for discussion.

Permission was asked from the interviewees for the use of a tape recorder during the interviews. The children were very helpful, willing to contribute and kept on asking questions about the use of the interviews and the researcher's job. All the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. In the case of this research, however, the researcher had also to explain what that "small radio" was, and demonstrate its function to the children. Sometimes five-year-olds did not know what a tape recorder was. All the children were very happy with the use of tape recorder and some of them felt very important that their voice would be recorded, and they would be interviewed, "like on the telly". Careful records from the interviews have been kept, as well as all the transcriptions and raw data, so that what has really taken place during the time of data collection can be easily checked.

The respondents were encouraged to highlight different aspects of the topic. Sometimes they introduced themes that the researcher had not even considered. Rarely did children hesitate to express their opinion. They did not have any problems in admitting that they did not know something, or that they could not answer.

Children needed to feel comfortable and confident before they started talking. The interviewer should be patient, pleasant and reassuring. A pre-requisite for any researcher occupied with interviewing is good interactional skills (Strauss and Corbin, 1990) and to be an "animated conversationalist" (Wetherel and Potter, 1992). Every single response was accepted with comments of encouragement, the researcher needed to nod and express approval of what was said. It is understood, that in spite of the use of tape recorder, a researcher should listen very carefully to everything said. If there was some ambiguity and the researcher was not absolutely sure of what the child meant, she would stop and ask for more clarifications or for an example.

During the first stage of the data collection, in Thessaloniki, it seemed that the majority of children knew what the word “enemy” meant. Even in the rare case of one child not knowing the word the rest of the interviewees, would help him or her out, by offering an explanation of the word.

Since the first part of the study proceeded like that, the researcher did not think it would be necessary to prepare any kind of explanation of the word “enemy”. The first reason was that children already had a fairly good understanding of what the word “enemy” meant. Therefore any interference would be unnecessary. The second reason was that the researcher did not want to influence children by offering them a definition; on the contrary, she wished to hear any responses associated with the stimuli “enemy”.

### ***6.6 Problems of interviewing***

The study had ecological validity, in the sense that the setting used for the groupings was a natural one, composed of friends. Nevertheless, it was still an artificial situation, constructed to extract information from children, and the children were aware of that. The conversation developed between the children and the researcher would not reflect the conversations children normally have when they are alone with their friends. That was even more the case as the issue of the “enemy” is apparently something that children do not talk about regularly. Some children might have associated the researcher with their teacher, therefore, they felt as if there were specific, “proper” answers they should produce. Some tried to predict the “researcher’s desired answers” and fulfil her expectations. The researcher tried to make clear from the first minutes in every interview that this process was not connected to children’s school performances and that she was not going to reveal any of the answers to their classroom teacher.



Nevertheless, it was not possible to estimate whether children believed the researcher and responded freely.

Another problem of the use of interviews as a research tool is that they are time-consuming and require much effort from the interviewer in gaining access to schools and in conducting the interviews. In some of the schools involved in the research the head and the teachers were not prepared to accept the researcher in the school for any longer that would be absolutely necessary. This might be because schools had very tight timetables so that they could not possibly accommodate a researcher working in their school for very long. In spite of these access problems, which will be discussed further, group interviews are less time-consuming since three or even four children might be interviewed simultaneously. Another drawback of group interviews is that shy children simply tend to agree with their fellow interviewees, rather than expressing themselves. This was overcome by questioning the shy children first. No child was forced to speak. After all, the way the interviewees were selected guaranteed that they were talkative children who did not have any problems in chatting and discussing.

A further problem faced in the data collection process was that the researcher came as a complete stranger to the children. Ideally, the researcher would like to visit the children's school a few times before the interviews, so that she would be as familiar as possible with the kids. That was not possible in most of the cases. In many cases the researcher and children met each other for first time in the interviews.

The researcher was sometimes herself carried away from the interview and would contribute to the conversation. The idea that the interviewer inevitably contributes a lot during interviewing has been expressed by Wetherell and Potter, (1992). They claimed that the orthodox requirements for an interview are to produce steady, unambiguous and systematic responses that can be analysed. The ideal for an interview is

to have minimal social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees. The interviewer's role should be limited to the production of clear responses that could reveal the truth. Things, they claimed, are not like that in reality.

In fact interviewing is a very interesting piece of social interaction, where the interviewer contributes as much as the interviewee. Therefore the orthodox idea that the interviewers should be as neutral as possible, becomes highly problematic (Wetherell and Potter, 1992, p. 99).

In every interview, it was attempted to repeat the same set of questions, asked in the same manner. In fact that was extremely difficult, and this difficulty became obvious even from the first interviews. Sometimes the response of a child sounded very important and the researcher hoped that this could illuminate the topic discussed. Consequently, she would insist on clarifying what the child said and she would be tempted to ask questions that could be considered "leading", in the sense that the children interviewed could possibly detect her interest in a particular field and might try to produce a "suitable" answer towards that direction.

The researchers' own personality and interests can be expressed in the way they impose the questions. In other words, if other interviewers were occupied with the same piece of research, using the same research methodology, it is doubtful whether they would come up with exactly the same set of contributions in each interview. Wetherell and Potter, (1992), claimed that since interviews are a conversation with more than one contributors, each of whom was equally important, the entire interview should be transcribed, studied and analysed. In the case of this research things were not that different from one interview to the other, still one has to take these limitations into account. The fact that the

researcher herself had been even at the very beginning of the interviewing well aware of these limitations, had helped her to avoid serious flaws and directive questions as much as possible.

Another serious problem that had to be recognised, was the fact that one part of the research was conducted outside of the researcher's home country. That meant that she had to interview a number of children in English, which was not her native language. This has made the interviewing in Britain a lot more time-consuming, especially when it came to transcribing. Normally, transcribing is very time-consuming. It was estimated by the Minnesota Centre for Social Research, (Patton, 1989), that one needs four hours to transcribe one hour tape of interview. Transcribing from a language other than the researcher's first language was even more time-consuming. An additional drawback was that the researcher had, during the interview, to appreciate and evaluate every piece of information coming from children, so that she could ask for additional information and clarifications. That was not always easy when interviewing children in a social context other than her own. The problem was not that she was linguistically incompetent to accomplish that sort of task. It was rather lack of social understanding. She had lived in that country for the last few years but she could still not define herself as fully affiliated and integrated in the social environment. It might be the case that children were saying something that she could not understand, not because she would not recognise the vocabulary, but because she would lack the special emotional meaning behind what being said. Sometimes children would imply a lot more than what they had actually said. They would often use a phrase as used on television or in an advertisement. A typical example was a number of children in Greece who, when asked what an enemy was, simply mentioned the name of a killer who had been in the news shortly before the time of the interviewing. The researcher would not be able to understand similar

responses given by British children. What was even more complicated was that the interviewees were children, who most of the time could not appreciate this communication barrier between them and the researcher. This problem was overcome with the help of native speakers, who read the transcriptions and made the necessary clarifications, but there was always a fear that the researcher might miss some parts of information. Finally, it was decided that the amount of data gathered in Britain would be kept small, so there would be the comfort of spending more time trying to comprehend and analyse them, adequately. There is, however, another side to the researcher being a cultural stranger. Children feel more comfortable talking to somebody who is “exotic”, and does not know very well what goes on at school and their everyday lives (Davies, 1997). They felt free to talk about sensitive issues, like bullying. They also were more explicit in describing things that it would not be necessary to report to a local researcher.

### ***6.7 Transcribing and note keeping***

Notes were very rarely kept during the interviews. On the one hand the researcher wanted to initiate a friendly climate of discussion, and note-taking would put pressure on children. On the other hand, the researcher wanted to concentrate as much as possible on the exchange taking place. Notes were made after the interview. The interviews were transcribed the same day they were conducted. So the researcher would have in her mind all the background of the interview. Immediate transcribing was even more important since a whole group of children was interviewed, and there was a need to be accurate and not mix different children’s words. It was very easy to mix up which child was talking each time. That was the reason why the researcher would introduce a question and call each particular child to answer it, “So, this is Nikos’ opinion about enemies, what about you Eleni?” In this way each

child's contribution was recorded accurately (see also the transcribing conventions, appendix 2).

There are contradictory ideas expressed about whether interviews should be transcribed verbatim or in summary. Wetherel and Potter, (1992), suggested that since interviews are pieces of conversation, where both the researcher and the interviewee have equal roles, the whole interview should be transcribed word-by-word. Others like Strauss and Corbin, (1990), suggested that the main focus points of the interviewee's speech should be transcribed. In this study there had not been pre-decided categories in which the children's answers would fit. It was hoped that the pattern of children's images of the enemy would eventually come up from the data. So every piece of information that children gave was recorded and transcribed. Normally, the researcher's own contributions to the conversation were transcribed, in order to examine critically whether those contributions had determined the children's responses. Only things that were totally irrelevant to the research's aims (such as children describing their house) were omitted from the transcriptions.

### **6.8 Ethical issues**

Social research is a very sensitive area, since it involves the examination of phenomena and situations about people's lives. There are ethical issues and codes that must be followed when conducting a piece of research which concerns people's attitudes, beliefs and behaviours.

The researcher has particular responsibility towards the academic community and the people participating in the research. Researchers should avoid misinterpretations of the data and should avoid releasing data selectively concealing data that do not support the theory they put forward.

According to the British Educational Research Association ethical guidelines, (1992), researchers should report in detail their conceptions, the research processes the results and the ways in which they analysed their data and reached their conclusions. These detailed accounts are necessary so that the readers and other members of the academic community will be able to understand and interpret the research findings. Research is a continuous process and one of the research aims is to initiate future further investigation.

It is vitally important for researchers not to be carried away by the desirable results that they would ideally wish for. It is also very important to work freely without any constrain by their sponsors, and without being prisoners of their own biases.

Burgess, (1989), emphasised the dynamics in the relation between the researcher and the researched. It is true that researchers have responsibilities towards the research participants, whom they should respect throughout the process of data collection and analysis. This is even more so in research conducted with very young children, who could possibly be easily manipulated. Much consideration and attention was given so as not to put children in embarrassing or difficult situations, since the issue of enemies is a sensitive one. Children were informed of the aims and the purposes of the researcher, before their participation. They volunteered to be interviewed and were given the opportunity to withdraw from the research at any time.

Permission was not only asked from the children but also from their school. On request the teachers and head-teachers could have a copy of the interview schedule. In some schools in Yorkshire the head-teachers preferred not to accommodate the research, as they thought it would not be appropriate for their pupils to be interviewed about enemies.

It was made sure, both when collecting and using data from a person, that the person's dignity and privacy were fully protected. Children's names, where used, have been changed, so that their anonymity would be guaranteed. The names of the schools children were drawn from have been concealed.

The research followed the British Educational Research Association guidelines and was approved by the Institute of Educational Research of the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs.

### ***6.9 Describing the actual process of data collection***

Data were collected by conducting interviews with 171 children from Greece and Britain. The data were collected in 56 interviews, in three stages, from January 1996 to February 1997. In the first stage of the study the appropriateness of the methodology was tested. After the accomplishment of the initial stage it was verified that the tools of the research produced data that addressed the research questions. The second and the third stages of the research, then followed.

The reason for conducting the interviews in the school environment was primarily for the sake of expediency. This research is educational, exploring a specific situation related to children at school age and aiming to be used for the improvement of the educational practice. Additionally, the researcher is a teacher herself and school environment was a natural setting for her.

Three age groups of children were chosen to be studied, five-year-olds, seven and nine-year-olds. In Greece, compulsory education starts in primary school which children first attend at the age of six. Children can attend nursery classes at the ages between four and six. Therefore, five-year-old subjects were to be drawn from nursery schools.

The first stage of the research included interviews with 70 children from Thessaloniki. Data were gathered from January to March 1996. Children

in Thessaloniki were drawn from five nursery schools (25 children, aged 5 - 5 ½ years old); and five primary schools, from Year 2 (22 children, aged 7 - 7 ½) and Year 4 (23 children, aged 9 - 9 ½).

The second stage of data collection took place from September to December 1996. It involved interviews with 80 more children in the island of Chios. The children interviewed were drawn from five nursery schools, 27 children, and five primary schools, 27 seven-year-old children (Year 2) and 26 nine-year-old children (Year 4). Finally, 21, nine-year-old children were also interviewed in York in February 1997. They came from two primary schools of the city. As British children go to school at an earlier age, the nine-year-old interviewees were at Year 5 of primary school.

The schools were selected to provide contrasting social contexts, they were situated in different areas of the city, some traditionally well-off and others rather deprived, with high percentages of working class population. This choice of schools ensured that children from different social, economic and educational backgrounds would be examined. One of the schools in York was a Roman-Catholic one.

The numbers of children from each area and in each age group are given in the following table.

	FIVE-YEAR-OLDS	SEVEN-YEAR-OLDS	NINE-YEAR-OLDS	TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH AREA
STAGE 1 THESSALONIKI GREECE	25 (nursery)	22 (year two)	23 (year four)	70
STAGE 2 CHIOS GREECE	27 (nursery)	27 (year two)	26 (year four)	80
STAGE 3 YORK BRITAIN	—	—	21 (year five)	21
TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH AGE GROUP	52	49	70	

Table 5

The numbers of children interviewed in each age group and in each geographical area covered in this study.



The study was completed in two countries. It did not aim to discover cross-national, law-like patterns of human thinking. It was more an attempt to examine the same issues across countries and societies in order to better understand human attitudes and behaviours. The technique of cross-national comparisons is widely used in social sciences (Warwick and Osherson, 1973).

### ***6.10 The places where the research was conducted***

Thessaloniki is the second largest city of Greece. It is situated in the north of the country, in the region of Macedonia, close to the borders with former Yugoslavia. When this research project started, the war in former Yugoslavia was still going on. Thessaloniki has a population of about one million. Thessaloniki was until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the commercial and cultural centre of the Balkans. It is a very old city (it was established more than 2,300 years ago) and was always a cosmopolitan city, mainly due to its port. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Thessaloniki had numerous minorities and colourful Greek, Turkish, Slavic, and Jewish communities. After the population exchange with Turkey (1923) and the extermination of almost the entire Jewish community by the Nazis during the World War II, Thessaloniki was a predominantly mono-cultural city. Today, the city is regaining some of its old multinational character as its population has significantly changed during recent years. Many refugees from former Eastern Bloc Countries have arrived and settled in Thessaloniki and their families lived in the city and their children attend the normal school classes.

Chios, where the second stage of the study took place, is the fifth largest Greek island, situated in the north-east of the country, very close to the Turkish border. The nearest Turkish coast, which is about 30 minutes by boat, can be seen with the naked eye. Chios has a population of 50,000 people. In the island there is a small Gypsy population living in the

suburbs of the town. One of the primary schools involved in the study in Chios had received in the previous years children from Bosnia who lived with host-families in the island for several months. Children had the experience of socialising with children-victims of the war in former Yugoslavia.

Thessaloniki has the characteristics of a big, cosmopolitan city. Chios is an island, close to the Turkish border, like many other islands in Greece. The researcher had selected those places to conduct the research, also for reasons of expediency. She had access to both areas and she knew them quite well, because she had lived in them both.

Greece was under German occupation during World War II and faced immediately after that a civil war until the 1950s. Greece was under dictatorship from 1967 until 1974 and joined the European Union in 1981.

York is situated in the north of England. It has a population of about 150.000. During World War II it was bombed by the Germans. York was chosen primarily on the basis of easy access, as the researcher was based and studied there. The city of York has a predominantly white population and most of the small ethnic minorities living there are of European origin. The main characteristics of minorities in York is that they are small and diverse. In the distant past York had received lots of influences. It had been occupied by Romans, Saxons and Vikings. Today, a relatively small number of refugees from former Yugoslavia live in the area of North Yorkshire.

### ***6.11 In the meantime, during the data collection period...***

During the data collection period in Thessaloniki, (January 1996), an unexpected incident took place. A political and military conflict broke out between Greece and Turkey. Both claimed that they had territorial rights over some very small uninhabited islands, the Imia/Kardak, in the

Aegean Sea. For one night the situation was very unstable. Both the Turkish navy and the Greek navy were on red alert. All men in the islands near Turkey were recruited to the army for about a week. Fortunately, the incident was resolved in a non dramatic way. The recent conflict was given detailed media coverage which inevitably meant that the children were aware of what was going on. Some 'scenes' of the conflict appeared in the children's interviews and in children's drawings.

In the summer of 1996 some incidents took place in the island of Cyprus. Greek-Cypriots were shot dead when crossing the border between the southern Cyprus, which is inhabited by Greek-Cypriots, and northern Cyprus which is inhabited by Turkish-Cypriots. These incidents also had full media coverage and appeared together with the descriptions of the conflict over the Imia/Kardak islands, in the interviews of the children in the second stage of the research (September-December 1996).

### ***6.12 Difficulties in entering schools***

In Greece in order to conduct research at school environment, every researcher has to apply for official permission to the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs. The application had to be processed and examined by the Institute of Educational Research, which is in session three times a year. So, the researcher had to wait for about four months before she got the official permission from the Institute of Educational Research. That caused much frustration. It seems that many researchers face problems when trying to interview people, and eventually, they may feel disappointed at the beginning of the interviewing process.

There can also be some frustration engendered by the slow pace of getting started on one's research either because of delay in gaining

access to sources of data or obtaining necessary permission from a human-consent committee (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p. 28).

Eventually, a temporary permission from the Local Educational Authorities allowed the researcher to conduct interviews even before the gaining of the official permission. After the first approach, the teachers were normally quite friendly and supportive, and did their best to accommodate the researcher in a nice and quiet room.

Unlike the difficulties of access faced in the first stage of the study, approaching schools in Chios was a lot easier. The research was conducted there at the beginning of the academic year 1996-97, from September to December. The researcher had at the meantime received the official permission from the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs but none of the head-teachers asked to see this permission. The doors of the schools were open for the researcher. The reason is that Chios is a fairly small place, where people know each other and it was also the researcher's birthplace. Access was very easy, as some of the head-teachers were the researcher's old teachers or relations. This was reflected in the way most of the teachers would view the researcher. They normally treated her as their old pupil who had grown up, rather than a person doing academic work. The general climate was more informal and relaxed. Interviews, however, were still time consuming.

The third part of the research was conducted in Britain, in York. Access to schools in York was not easy at all. In the case of England, it was the head-teachers themselves who decided whether, or not, they would accept a researcher in their school. Most of the head-teachers approached, refused to accommodate the researcher. The main reason they gave for their refusal was that they had been under a lot of pressure in order to meet the National Curriculum targets. Another

reason was that they did not think it would be appropriate for the children to be questioned about enemies. Two schools did finally agree to have some of their children interviewed. The head-teachers of both schools had done their postgraduate studies in the same university as the researcher. Therefore, they were both orientated towards educational research and they could sympathise with the researcher's agony to find schools to accept her.

Twenty-one boys and girls, were interviewed in York. Only the nine-year-old group was involved in the research in York. The reasons were that the researcher had realised the difficulties involved in conducting interviews in a social context other than her own. Her experience with the interviews that had already been held in Greece, had also influenced her decision to limit the research on the older age group. The study of the results from the two previous stages of the research had shown that there had not been qualitative differences in the responses of the three age groups involved in the research. Both seven and five-year olds referred to the same categories of enemy images as the ones mentioned by the nine-year-olds. While the amount of information given by the youngest groups was very broad, the amount of information gained from each of the younger children, individually, was quite limited. In a few words, large numbers of interviews should be conducted with many five or seven-year old children, in order to collect the same amount of information that could be given by an individual nine-year-old. This was also argued by Connell, (1971). Since the focus of this research is Greece, the researcher decided to limit the sample in Britain, only to the group of nine-year-olds. This would save much time, given that English was not the researcher's mother tongue, which would inevitably hold up the research, both in transcribing and evaluation of data.

Some teachers from the schools in York insisted on choosing the interviewees themselves. They claimed that they would choose the more able children who could manage to catch up and they would not mind missing the lesson taught at the time of the interview. The researcher explained to the teachers that it was a pre-requisite that they formed the interview groups in terms of friendship of the interviewees; teachers agreed to choose children like that. Still in those cases it was the teachers who made the choice, thus, the researcher could not control the real criteria used in the selection.

It was attempted to gain access in primary schools in another city in Yorkshire, as well as in York, the period between February to June 1997. This plan was never to be accomplished. A number of head-teachers, were contacted, and the help of the Local Educational Authorities was asked. In return the researcher offered to give talks about her own country to the school pupils. The schools refused to accommodate the research, for the same reasons given by the head-teachers in York. One school accepted her and set an appointment well ahead for the next months. The day before the interviews, they told her that she could not visit the school and work there. The reasons for those refusals, might be the very tight school timetable, and the fact that research was not among the schools' priorities. It should be also taken into consideration that the researcher had been a complete stranger to the head-teacher and the staff, and nobody could guarantee on what sort of person she was and what kind of research questions she would ask children. It should be also taken into consideration that in Britain, a number of attacks by adults against school-children, -which sometimes caused deaths or serious injuries of children- had taken place. Teachers had been a lot more worried on who actually entered their school.

It became obvious, from the analysis of York data as well as from much literature on the topic, that bullying emerged as a major issue among

children. Therefore, head-teachers might be concerned on the way certain children might react when asked about the sensitive issues of the enemy.

Last but not least, comes the issue that has widely been discussed so far. The researcher was a foreigner, not familiar with the necessary manoeuvres she needed to do in order to achieve the necessary results. She managed to overcome the problems of bureaucracy (with the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs) in her own country, but she failed to persuade the gatekeepers of schools to allow her to work in their schools.

### **6.13 Data analysis**

After a sufficient number of interviews had been gathered, a first attempt of data analysis started. When it comes to data analysis, there are various ways of working with data, trying to make them meaningful. The method used here is what Strauss and Corbin, (1990) define as “building theory”. That means that there is an accurate presentation and description of the research data, combined with the use of many quotations from the children. The use of quotations was considered important in a study with children, as the realistic atmosphere should be transferred in the analysis. The need for the use of quotations to give the real flavour of what was said in the interviews, was noted in other empirical researches.

The quotations give typical examples of what children say, but also have the authenticity of individuality (Cullingford, 1992, p.10).

When analysing data researchers ought to be very careful not to bring in the analysis their own biases and assumptions formed by their experiences and background reading.

... researchers often fail to see much of what is there because they come to analytic sessions wearing blinders, composed of assumptions, experience, and immersion in the literature (Strauss, and Corbin, 1990, p. 74).

The researcher entered the analysis process without having pre-constructed ideas of what should be found in the data. Any pre-formed assumption or hypothesis could prevent the revelation of important findings into the data. The process of data analysis in this research started with the researcher reading the raw data many times, until she felt she had a good command of them. Then the process of coding started, when she searched through-out the material for a number of themes emerging from the research. Some of the themes had been old concerns that had stimulated the research in the first place (issues such as the opinions of children about national enemies). Other themes, such as children's problematic interpersonal relations, or bullying, emerged during the interviews.

After the recognition of the themes involved in the study, the researcher looked for the concepts, the common phenomena, attitudes, events or happenings that were found repeatedly in the data. After that, the first categories started emerging. Category is a classification, a grouping of concepts. The focus in analysis, was to discover the convergence, the things that fitted together. After identifying and proposing categories, the researcher reread the raw material of data checking whether these categories were really distinct.

The researcher when naming categories, tried, where possible, to use the actual wording of children, in order to make the categorisation more picturesque and realistic. The criteria for formation of a category are that, first, data belonging to one category should be relevant, and then



that there should be clear differences among the categories. According to Guba, (1978), categorisation systems should be tested for completeness, so that data would not be missed out. Therefore, the categories should have consistency, to include same type of data, and to be inclusive, in the sense that they will include all the information about a topic. Finally, categories ought to be so clearly defined, that different people should code the same data in the same categories.

#### ***6.14 Qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis***

There are different perspectives concerning the methods employed in data analysis so that accurate, trustworthy findings, leading to the advancement of human knowledge, will be produced. The analysis employed in this research is predominantly qualitative. The research focused on the recognition and demonstration of children's thoughts and attitudes. An effort was also made to offer an explanation of those attitudes, as well as to identify the sources of information of children. These inquiries were tested with a number of children in specific social backgrounds and at a particular time. The children's age, sex, and the place where they lived were also employed in the analysis.

When the researcher thought that data would make better sense if presented with quantitative methods, tables and histograms were employed. Quantitative methods of data presentation were used in a few cases, when numerical differences needed to be demonstrated. Nevertheless, most of the time qualitative methods were used for the presentation of data. The reader will find descriptions of data and some quotations as examples of those descriptions. Tables and figures were also used to give a better overall picture of the data.

Studies in which data have been collected, analysed and explained with the use of qualitative methods, should develop techniques to

establish their validity and reliability (Kyriacou, 1990). Reliability refers to whether the methodology used is consistently measuring the same thing. Reliability guarantees that there is stability of the results and that content classification will be invariant over time. Validity is concerned with whether the methodology is measuring what it is intended to measure (Weber, 1985; Mason, 1996).

In this study, the first part of the field work was also used as a pilot study. The researcher had the opportunity to judge whether the data collection materials were appropriate to serve the aims of the research and illuminate the research questions. It seemed that the material used was suitable for the researcher's aims, as children were able to contribute and give coherent answers to the research's questions. The difficulties faced during the data collection had nothing to do with the methods of data collection that were used, and were limited to problems of access. The same research methods (interviews and drawings) were tried out with different age groups in two countries in three different locations. These methods produced similar data with all the different groups of children involved in the study. According to Webb, (1994), this is an indication that the research tools were credible.

In quantitative analysis researchers use cross-checking of numerical data or statistical tests, to check validation. In qualitative research this is impossible as qualitative data, consist of words rather than numbers. Only a small amount of raw data will be presented to the reader in the form of quotations. Of course, that does not mean that qualitative data are less valuable or that quantitative data are always objective; as Patton put it, "numbers do not protect against bias, they simply disguise it" (1978, p. 336). It should also be taken into consideration that qualitative research in education has high ecological validity, since it is conducted in an environment, where children spend much of their time. Even more important is that qualitative methodology, uses data

collection techniques that involve natural settings of interviewees (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997).

There are two rather extreme positions in the ways qualitative studies should establish their reliability and validity. Researchers like Miles and Huberman, (1994), see very little difference between the techniques that should be used in both qualitative and quantitative research. They wrote about the need of more rigorous and systematic data collection techniques (Crossley and Vulliamy, 1997). Researchers like Guba and Lincoln, have been strongly involved with the issue and suggested the use of the term “trustworthiness” instead of validity and reliability (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Guba and Lincoln, 1987, 1988, 1989), thinking that qualitative research should have its own norms and formats. They have produced four criteria of trustworthiness,

- a. truth value, confidence in the truth of the findings
- b. applicability of data in other contexts or with other respondents,
- c. consistency of the findings when the inquiry is repeated to similar context and subjects
- d. and finally the neutrality of the researcher.

More practically, Guba and Lincoln have suggested the use of techniques, such as triangulation, the cross checking of the data with the employment either of other sources of information or other subjects. The use of diaries, reports and careful records would also be ways of strengthening trustworthiness. Finally, the use of research audit is also suggested by a number of researchers (Schwandt and Halpern, 1988).

These suggestions were considered very important and were taken into account. The same methodological tools were used with different groups of children. It was made clear that children from different social background and/or different age group had similar concerns, could respond to the research tools and had parallel thinking about the issues

examined in this research. Analytical records and a research diary were kept throughout the process of constructing the research methodology, data collection and analysis. So what has really taken place during the data collection and analysis process is recorded. A record of what was going on in the broader social environment at the time of the research was also kept. That was very important since the answers of the children could be examined along with what happened in the political arena in their country at the time of the research.

As it has been widely argued (Mason, 1996) no research will ever produce the one, definite, true answer. The results of each study are very much related to the explanatory theory that the researcher puts forward to approach the issues examined. The researcher has been very much aware of this limitation and tried to be as objective as possible, and conducted the research process (data collection, analysis and presentation) with honesty, and respect to the people involved, to the readers and the academic community.

The data gathered from this research are presented and analysed in the following four chapters.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Presentation of the findings in Greece and Britain**

In the previous chapter the methodology that was employed for this research was presented. The problems that the researcher faced while conducting the research were also discussed.

The data gathered from the field work will be presented and analysed in the four following chapters.

In the seventh chapter, the responses of the Greek and British children involved in the study are presented. A first attempt to make sense and explain the data is also made.

## **7.1 Presentation of the findings in Greece**

This section will present the responses of Greek children to the main questions of the research. There were 70 children examined in Thessaloniki and 80 in Chios. All the answers were grouped together regardless of the children's age, sex or area (city or island) where they lived.

This section is divided into sub-sections, each of them answering a specific question that children were asked, such as: what is an enemy?; are there any people different from you?; who protects you from the enemy?; how do you know these things about enemies?.

In the presentation of the findings a number of quotations from the children are used. In the brackets following the quotations the names of the children are given as well as their sex (boy or girl), their age (5, 7 or 9) and the initial letter of the place in which they were examined (Thessaloniki, Chios and York; see also appendix 2).

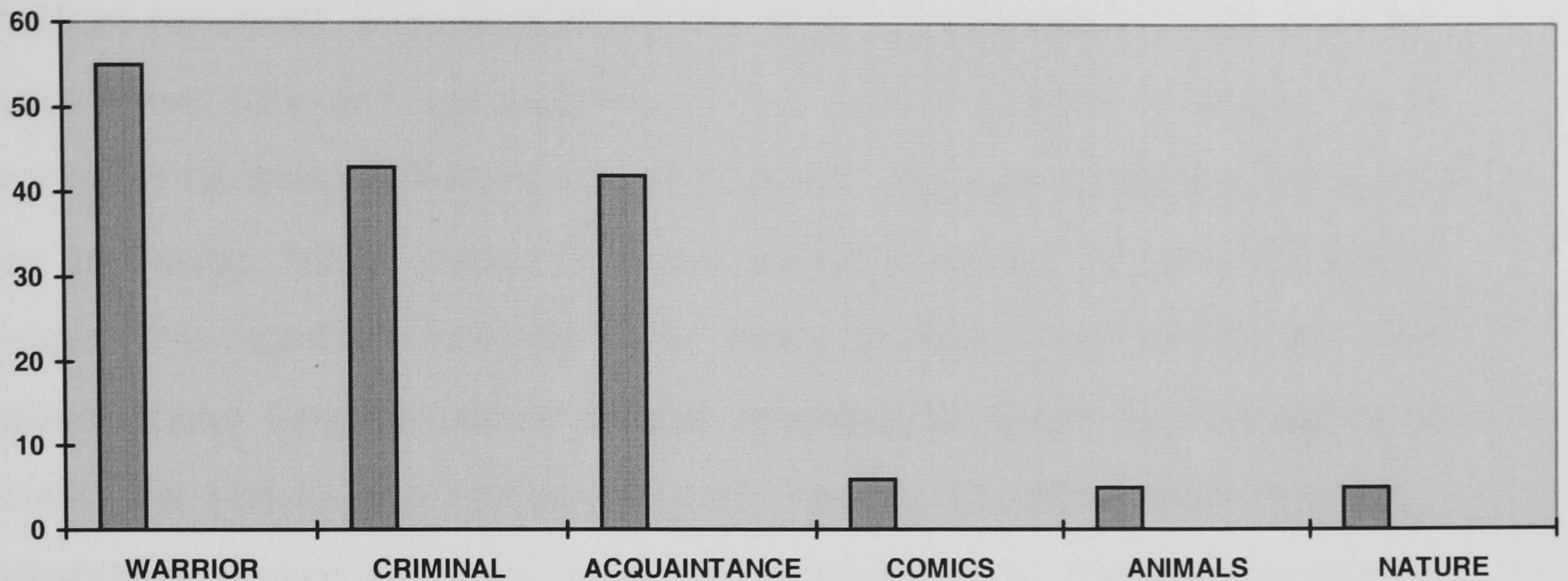
### **7.1.1 Enemy images**

The phrase "enemy images" is used throughout this thesis to refer to the ideas expressed by the children in response to the questions: "What is an enemy?" and "What does an enemy do?". Children's responses were distinguished into the following six categories:

1. The enemy-warrior image
2. The enemy-criminal image
3. The enemy-acquaintance image from a peer group or other group with whom the child associates (such as family, peers)
4. Enemies from comics
5. Enemies-animals

## 6. Enemies of nature

The following histogram presents the distribution of enemy images among the Greek children.



Histogram 1

Enemy images as described by the children in Greece. The number of children interviewed in Greece were 150.

### 7.1.1.1 The enemy-warrior image

The most popular enemy image among Greek children was the one of the warrior, as 81 out of the 150 children interviewed (54%), referred to it. The descriptions referred to a person belonging to a certain group of people. That person invaded into peoples' homes or countries by using violence. In most of the accounts the enemy-warrior was described as a male person. In his effort to take over peoples' home, land or country, this man and his group made war, destroyed, killed, and committed all sorts of atrocities.

The enemy-warrior refers to enemies at an international level. Children often described another country attacking theirs. Several children used the "we" pronoun in their speech. They identified themselves with their national in-group, their country and compatriots. The enemy was presented as being a threat against Greece, in general, not only against them personally. Not all children, however, had the same level of

identification with their national in-group. Some children named specific nations or countries that had attacked Greece in the past. Others simply associated the notion of enemy to the situation of being attacked without linking it to any historical events in their country. There were some children however, who described the Turks as enemies of their country. These three different approaches of the enemy-warrior category, were regarded as three different sub-categories and are presented as such. The following table presents these sub-categories of enemy-warrior image. The numbers indicate how many children, out of the 81 who talked about enemy-warrior image, referred to each sub-category. It should be noted that some children described more than one sub-categories, therefore there were 83 references to the enemy-warrior image.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENEMY-WARRIOR SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK CHILDREN	
SOLDIER	44 (55%)
NATIONAL	10 (13%)
TURKS	29 (36%)

Table 6

The sub-categories of the enemy-warrior category as described by the children examined in Greece. The numbers in the brackets present percentages. 81 Greek children referred to the enemy-warrior category.

#### 7.1.1.1a. The soldier image

Forty-four out of the 81 Greek children who referred to the category of enemy-warrior, gave responses fitting to that sub-category. The sub-category of enemy-soldier included descriptions of an enemy that belonged to an invasion force attacking another country. That country was mainly Greece, or in some cases, a third country. Some children tried to give a distant explanation of the word "enemy". The following quotation is an example of such definitions:



(The enemy is ) The opponent, there is a castle and they come and they lay siege to it with the ladders and the catapults and the woods that try to break the door. Like Richard the Lionhearted who was a king who had no brain, but he had a lion's heart... cause I've got it in a book.

(Dimitris, m,5,T, see appendix 2)

The five-year-old boy from Thessaloniki, simply explained the world. The warrior in which he referred to was not a threat to him. It was a mythical image of enemy-warrior, a book hero and not part of his reality. The majority of the children asked however, gave definition of an enemy who was a personal threat to them and their family or in-group.

(The enemy) "Dies" the people, and kills the Greeks.

(Andreas, m,5,C)

Enemies were often linked with the notion of war. Certain characteristics were attributed to war and to the enemies who were responsible for war. Enemies were bad and unjust. They had no respect for people's belongings, security and life. When offering definitions of enemies, children identified themselves with the victims of war.

(Enemy is) Something that is bad for us. Wants to make war.

(Nikos, m,9,C)

For all the children who referred to this category, the enemy was "bad" hurting the "good" people. The reason why the enemy would like to do something like that was also missing. In this sub-category, children did not specify neither who the enemies were, nor the enemies' motivation for their horrible actions.

Some of the accounts about enemies were emotionally loaded. Children expressed their disapproval for the enemies' actions. Some descriptions of war scenes were also presented.

(Enemies are) Those who go to a country and without a cause, they start war and those who... who make war ... and they damage the residences and all these so that the people will not have a house. While the ones who start the war are rich, have houses and things.

(Argiro, f,9,C)

All those actions were without any cost to the enemies, whose homes, property and families were safely kept away from the conflict zone. In Argiro's account, enemies were described as rich people who simply wanted to increase their wealth. A number of children did not hesitate to express their emotions about enemies. The following description was given by Alexandra, a seven-year-old girl from Thessaloniki, who claimed that she was scared even hearing of the stimulus "enemy":

I am afraid, this word (enemy) reminds me of war. If a war takes place, an enemy will come and will throw us out of our country or may kill us with his gun and take our home.

(Alexandra, f,7,T)

Alexandra seemed to be threaten by the idea that an enemy-force might attack her country. Not only did she connect the notions of enemy and war, but she also seemed fully aware of what happens to people during a war. Many children actually put themselves and their families in the place of people attacked by a foreign force. They presented specific events in details, of the actions of enemies. They thought that there was a high possibility of all these things to happen.

In the accounts given by Greek children about enemies-soldiers, it was obvious that most of them were afraid of a possible invasion by an enemy country. They were not just giving explanations of the term "enemy", but they also described atrocities, property losses, even homicides, in a rather realistic way. Almost always they identified themselves with the victims of the conflicts they described.

The majority of children described wars that were not taking place in a third country, but in their own. In children's accounts Greece had always been in the position of the country being attacked. Enemies were described to leave their land to go to Greece and attack families and children.

There might be an explanation for these descriptions. Children identified themselves with their national in-group, as they referred to their compatriots as "we" (Allport, 1958). As it was mentioned earlier (Hogg, 1992) one's in-group is sanctified, it is believed that it composes of good people who cannot hurt others. This good image of national self is also projected via schooling (Dragonas et al, 1996; Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997).

It should also be noted, however, that Greece was last invaded during the World War II, when German and Italian troops settled in the country for about four years. These memories still remained in people's consciousness and were often transmitted to the younger generations.

#### 7.1.1.1b. The national enemy image

In the second sub-category of enemy-warrior, countries that Greece was in conflict with in the past were defined as enemies. These countries were Italy and Germany (from World War II), Bulgaria (from the Balkan Wars, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) and Turkey. Turkey and Greece have had a long history of armed conflict and tensions. Ten children only out of the 81 who talked about warriors as being enemies, gave responses that fitted into the sub-category of national enemies. Children tended to describe the past war conflict between Greece and the aforementioned countries. Some children could recall specific events that took place during those war conflicts. They were however, not sure of whether these countries could be still regarded as a threat for Greece or not.

**Researcher:** Have you ever seen or met an enemy?

**Sideris (m,9,C):** Yes with Turkey and Germany that came to Greece then; and the Romans.

**Researcher:** Are there any enemies now?

**Sideris:** I don't know. There are but they are not in our country. They are far away. We don't have a war now. Some enemies make war in other countries.

According to that nine-year-old boy, all nations that invaded Greece, from the distant past until World War II, were regarded as enemies. Therefore, all these had taken place in the past and the enemies have gone out of Greece for good. Greece according to Sideris had no enemies as it was not currently involved in a war conflict. Some children expressed the idea that the countries that were involved in armed conflict with Greece in the past, were enemies. Many children focused on the Turks and referred to historic events.

**Martha (f,7,C):** The Turk (is an enemy), because in the olden times they were fighting over here and I've learnt that there was a massacre done by the Turks.

**Researcher:** Are the Turks enemies, today?

**Martha:** I don't know.

The incident described by Martha, took place in Chios at the time of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire. In 1822, the Ottoman navy deported in the island and started a massive killing of local people, as a revenge for them rebelling against the Empire. Only one fifth of the population remained in the island, the others were either executed or forced to leave Chios. Villages in the island have been uninhabited ever since. Children learn about these incidents at school and are taught about these atrocities in a detailed way. Apart from the information gathered from school books, there are in the island of Chios many signs of this catastrophe. This event was a focus point in the consciousness of people of Chios, even if they were as young as seven-year-old children.

In the two previous quotations, both Sideris and Martha, seemed well aware that the incidents they described had taken place many years ago. Nevertheless, when asked whether these nations were still enemies both children did not come up with a clear answer. They both said that they did not know, leaving open the possibility for a future military conflict with these nations.

In the following description, the boy expressed the idea that the nations that had attacked Greece in the past might also do so in the future.

**Researcher:** Have you ever seen an enemy?

**Vasilis(m,7,C):** I have seen a Turkish boat.

**Researcher:** Are the Turks enemies?

**Vasilis:** Yes. The Turks and the Germans.

**Researcher:** Why?

**Vasilis:** 'Cos they want to take Greece.

**Researcher:** Are they enemies today?

**Vasilis:** Not now. They may come another time. They used to come here in the past. They had come in 1940 in the World War.

According to Vassilis, Turks were the enemies of Greeks because of the Turks efforts to conquer Greece in the past. Vassilis claimed that he had seen a Turkish boat, which he characterised as an enemy. The boy seemed to think that the will to make war was a national characteristic of certain nations. So, once these nations (the enemies) had invaded Greece in the past, they may well do that again, in spite of the fact that there was not a war going on at the moment. The fear that children grow up thinking that wars happen because some countries are bad, was expressed by Frangoudaki, (1995), who believed that if children grow up like that, they have less chance to develop political awareness. Many of the children interviewed seemed to live in a state of a possible military conflict. The children however, who really seemed to live within a potential conflict were the ones who gave descriptions fitting to the third sub-category.

#### 7.1.1.1c. The Turks

In the last sub-category of enemy-warriors, the enemy was synonymous with Turkey and Turks. Twenty-nine answers were coded under that sub-category.

**Researcher:** Will you please draw an enemy Yiorgos?

**Yiorgos (m,5,C):** Do you mean a Turk?

As it has already been stated, Greece and Turkey have had a long history of centuries of conflict, going back to the times of Byzantine and Ottoman Empire and reaching today (see also endnote i, chapter 4). This climate of tensions and hostility was reflected in many children's answers.

**Anthi (f,5,C):** He (the enemy) kills the Greeks.... The Turks.

(Anthi, f,5,C)

Some children could also explain why their country had been such a popular target for the Turks to conquer. The reason was that Greece was both a beautiful and small country. Turks had proved, according to these children, their purposes since they had caused war in the past and would certainly do so in the future. Children seemed to have very strong stereotypes for the Turks and for their national self and their country. Greece was characterised as a beautiful, desirable place. Turks were described warlike and unjust since they chose to attack smaller and weaker countries, where they would have more chances to win. The prejudices children held about their country and Turkey, led children to the expression of some ideas on how Greece should act towards the Turks. Greeks should be always prepared for a war as they have less soldiers. These ideas as expressed by children come along with the ideas expressed by psychologists such as Bjerstedt, (1989, 1990); and

Wahlstrom, (1987, 1989) who claimed that the existence of enemy images makes people more ready to go into war, or at least to be prepared for one.

Turkey will come and make war on us. "It's better living a free life for one hour than living under slavery for forty years". .... Turkey will make war on us because we are a small country and beautiful.

(Spiros, m,9,C)

In the previous account given by Spiros, there was a very strong sense of in-group belonging. The in-group, in the case of Spiros, was the Greeks as opposed to the out-group, the Turks. The quotation he used is a verse from a national poem written in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, aiming to persuade the Balkan people to rebel against the Ottoman Empire. According to Spiros, the Greek nation had a continuation. There had always been the same enemy threatening Greeks and forcing for national cohesion. Spiros sounded as if he had no sense of the time that had passed since the time in the folk song. He had the feeling of uninterrupted continuation of the Greek nation which is promoted (according to Avdela, 1997) via schooling. There was also continuation and durability in the causes of war, that had, according to the child, been the natural beauty of Greece and the natural malevolence of the Turks.

Some of the children's answers were related to Greek-Turkish relations in Cyprus. Turks and Greeks last fought each other in the island of Cyprus in 1974. The issue of Cyprus is still a major political problem in the relations of the two countries.

**Researcher:** What is an enemy?

**Vasilis (m,9,C):** ...Turkey. They are our enemies, major enemies. They want to conquer the whole of Greece... they have conquered some places from Greece.

**Researcher:** Which places?

**Vasilis:** Well... Izmir and Upper Cyprus and they want war. In olden times, all of Turkey was ours. But from the church in Istanbul they started fighting and took it from us. And now they have conquered and they want to conquer the whole of Greece... Because we've beaten them and they want to start a new war with us for revenge and have us as their slaves.

**Researcher:** When did the Greeks win?

**Vasilis:** In Chios and Greece and then we were free.

The Turks were, according to this boy, a present threat. His words presented the history of Greek-Turkish relations and conflict, seen from a rather nationalist Greek viewpoint. There is an antithesis in Vasilis's words; at first he claimed that Turks had won the war and got the Greek land, and just after that, he stated that Greeks had won the war. In fact Vasilis referred to different wars. The first one "from the church in Istanbul they started fighting", was the "Fall of Istanbul" in 1453, when the Ottomans conquered Istanbul. The big church he referred to was St. Sofia, that had been the symbol of Christian Orthodox religion in Byzantine Empire. The second war, "In Chios and Greece and then we got free" is the revolution against the Ottoman Empire in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. That revolution started in 1821 and finished with the establishment of the Greek state in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. At the time the Greek state did not include places like Thessaloniki or Chios. The Northern part of Greece as well as most of the Greek islands became part of the Greek state in 1912. Vassilis also mentioned the war in Asia Minor in 1922 (see also endnote i, chapter 4), which led to Laussane treaty (1923), when Izmir became part of the Modern Turkish country, as well as the 1974 Turkish intervention in Cyprus. Cyprus issue is a very sensitive one for Greeks, as according to Kassimeris, (1997), "the Greek psyche has not recovered the events of 1974". Greece has always been very close to the Greek-Cypriots. Greece has also strengthened its military links with the Greek Cypriots by recently creating a common defence agreement.

Many children tended to consider and to talk about Cyprus as if it was a part of the Greek country. One of the reasons might be because



children until the age of 9 (the oldest group of interviewees) do not study modern history at school. Therefore, their knowledge about other countries is based on information gathered through their everyday experiences and mainly from television as argued by Cullingford, (1992). Media in Greece, however, tend to present Cyprus as a part of Greece, rather as a separate country.

For a number of children interviewed in this research, the relations of Greece and Turkey were nothing but a constant conflict, the continuation of the same silent war.

**Researcher:** What is an enemy?

**Tassos (m,9,C):** Kill.

**Researcher:** Have you got an enemy?

**Tassos:** In my dreams, sometimes I see snakes ... And the Turks! They started a war with Greeks.

**Researcher:** Yes...

**Tassos:** And we beat them.

**Researcher:** Are the Turks enemies today as well?

**Tassos:** Our priest had gone to Turkey, but they didn't hurt him. He wanted us and them to be friends but they didn't want it. That's what the Father said.

**Researcher:** How do you know about enemies?

**Tassos:** Over there... the Turks... not many days ago, in winter when we were at school, they started a war and finally if we bomb them over there in Turkey, all the country will explode. They will die. They also believe that Greeks are bad, that's what they say. But they learn all their lessons in Turkish and when they come here they won't speak any Greek at all...

In all the enemy descriptions, Turks were always the ones who had started wars. Greeks, on the other hand, were simply fighting back, defending their country and were finally winning the war. According to Tassos, the parish priest offered him information, as he had been the only trustworthy person who had seen the enemy. Surprisingly enough, the priest was not hurt by the Turks. At the same time Tassos claimed that the priest wanted to make peace with the Turks but they refused. This is according to Avdela, (1997), quite a common idea among children, as

Greek textbooks present the Greeks initiating every peace approach that had been attempted in the past. In Tassos' story, the Turks acted according to their stereotypic role, rejecting the peace initiative. The child claimed that he had known things about the Turks from the recent history. He referred to the conflict between Greece and Turkey in Aegean Sea over Imia/Kardak islets, in January 1996 (see also chapter 6.11). Then he expressed his hopes and ideas of what would have happen had the Turks really invaded Greece. Tassos could imagine Turkey exploding and falling apart. If the Turks ever tried to invade Greece, they would have had very hard time. However, even if the Turks managed to invade Greece, they would not be able to communicate with the local people, as they study all their lessons in Turkish!!! Tassos used imaginary stories to support his arguments. This was quite common in the children who participated in this research. Many researchers (Tajfel, 1973; Cochrane and Billig, 1984; Van Dijk, 1986) claimed that many of their research subjects were using imaginary stories to back their stereotypical attitudes and beliefs up.

**Researcher:** What is an enemy?

**Mary (f,7,C):** We watch the news and listen. So we, if the enemies come, will fight with the Turks.

**Researcher:** What does an enemy do?

**Mary:** Like the Turk, comes and wants to get our country.

**Researcher:** Have you got an enemy?

**Mary:** Turkey.

**Researcher:** How do you imagine the enemies?

**Mary:** Bad, they want to skin us and kill us... And when the Turks come, the whole of Greece will stand up and fight. We must get arms and fight.

Turks were presented as a present threat. They seemed to be ready to attack at any minute. There was also a dramatic account given of what the Turks wanted to do to Greeks. The Turks were, according to Mary, going to commit all sorts of atrocities and brutalities. Actions that no

humans could ever do. The fact that Turks were reported to do such awful things, was a good reason to keep Greeks alert and ready to fight. It seemed that this idea of the presentation of the enemy as non-human is rather common. Walhstrom, (1987), in her definition of enemy images, had stated that enemies are presented as monsters causing pain and disaster, therefore any action against them is fully justified. Mary did not hesitate at all to admit that the Turks were enemies of her country. She had adopted the rational that Greeks should be constantly ready for war. Every Greek reaction would be justified, as it would be nothing but a response to a possible evil attack. Mary suggested that Greeks should be alert and watch the news so if they are attacked they would be ready to fight back. The seven-year-old girl sounded as if the main source of information about the actions and the ill intentions of the Turks, was media. In fact media gave a full coverage of the Greek-Turkish conflict in the Aegean Sea in 1996. During the last decades media have broadcast military conflict from all over the world and children had the chance to experience combats like the Vietnam war, the Gulf war, or the war in Bosnia and Rwanda via their television screens. The following quotation comes from an interview with seven-year-old children.

If the Turks want to take Greece and make war on us... They want to make war in order to take Greece, Cyprus I mean, because it's a beautiful island. In Imia the Turks had gone there, taken down the Greek flag and raised the Turkish one. But later on they put the Greek flag.

(Yiorgos, m,7,C)

The same argument common in many children's responses was used in this interview. The Turks wanted to invade Cyprus because of its natural beauty. Greece and Cyprus were described as beautiful places that the Turks wanted to invade. Children did not say anything about whether Turkey was a beautiful place or not, but since the natural beauties of Greece were so important, it sounded as if Turkey was an ugly country.

The flag had also an important role in Yiorgos' account. The flag is the national symbol and the whole nation was insulted, as it was hauled down. The importance of the sanctified symbols of the in-group has been stressed (Durkheim, 1915; Allport, 1950). Apart from that, the changing of the flags was an incident that was easy for young children to grasp, understand and remember. Yiorgos's account of the conflict in Aegean Sea finished with the statement that the Greek flag had been returned to its original position, stating that the islands were Greek. In fact, nowadays, there is no flag on these islands so that any potential conflict would be avoided.

Some children expressed their aspirations for the actions that civilians should take in case of a war with Turkey.

**Vagelia(f,7,T):** When we are here and then someone comes, the Turks and they want war.... Turks are real enemies. The Turks always wanted to take things from the Greeks, our countries. They want to take the island (referring to Imia/Kardak conflict in 1996) and we almost had war.

**Maria (f,7,T):** If there is a war, then we will have to go away.

**Vagelia:** What you say is not right!

**Maria:** What do you want us to do then? They will fight us.

**Vagelia:** We have very brave men and we will not....

**Maria:** Yes, but mum says that we are such a small country compared to Turkey.

The exchange between those two seven-year-old girls from Thessaloniki, was so intense that the researcher did not need to intervene and facilitate the conversation. The girls argued with each other as if they had forgotten that they were interviewed. Maria was reticent in saying that in case of being attacked by the Turks the Greeks should abandon their country and try to escape from the war zone. Vagelia on the contrary was very determined that Greeks should stay and defend their country. The argument was on what was safer for people to do. Vagelia claimed that Turks might have a bigger country with more soldiers but Greeks were braver, therefore they had better chances of winning.

Ideas of how Greeks should act in the political arena, were also expressed by some children.

If we give the island to the Turks, then, after a couple of weeks they will ask us, they will tell us “You will give us this island here and that island there”... The Turks will get the whole of the Aegean Sea.

(Yiannis, m,9,T)

Yiannis expressed his fear that the Turks would not be satisfied unless they get the entire Aegean sea. The nine-year-old boy explained why the Greeks should not compromise and should not give away to the Turks any part of Greek territory, no matter how small or unimportant that might be. Yiannis' fear was based on a prejudice, a pre-judgement on how the Turks would react had there been an agreement between Greeks and Turks over those Aegean Sea islets. Turks as has been stated in chapter 4, are presented as a diachronical threat for the Greeks. The only times Turks were presented in Greek textbooks is when they were involved in a war with the Greeks (Milas, 1991). Yiannis blamed the Turks that they had a continuation in their actions, a well designed plan to conquer the Aegean Sea. These ideas are common in Greek nationalist groups where there is a wide-spread fear that the Muslims in the Balkans have expansionist aspirations against the Orthodox populations in the area.

**Researcher:** Have you ever seen an enemy?

**Michalis (m,7,C):** I saw it on TV, when a lad went to get the Turkish flag down and they shot him. He wanted to take down the Turkish flag...

**Stamatia(f,7,C):** In order to raise ours.

**Michalis:** Yeah!

**Stamatia:** And he died.

**Michalis:** Yeah!

**Stamatia:** But then another lad took it down. But they put theirs up again.

**Michalis:** Which one?

**Stamatia:** The Turkish one.

**Michalis:** (astonished) Who?

**Stamatia:** The Turks.

**Michalis:** When?...The lad should go back...

**Researcher:** Do you think that the Turks are still enemies?

**Michalis:** Yeah.

Michalis seemed quite worried about his country's national pride. It was too difficult for him to accept that any other nation might insult Greek integrity by insulting the national flag. The importance of the flag was also stressed here from both the children interviewed. The events described happened during the summer of 1996, when some Greek Cypriots tried to cross the Green Line that divides Northern Cyprus from Southern Cyprus. A young Greek-Cypriot climbed up the flag pole to pull the Turkish flag down and was shot dead. That was the most violent period on the island since 1974 (The Independent, 23 January 1997). The incidents of 1996 in Cyprus had full media coverage and that was the second conflict in the same year in which Greece and Turkey were involved. An important element in both conflicts had been the violation of each other's flag. Michalis could not believe that the Greek flag did not remain on the pole. He seemed really astonished and suggested that "the lad", in spite of the fact that he had been shot dead, should go back and put the Greek flag up again.

**Dimitris (m,5,C):** The bad, the Turks,... Bad people and we'll kill them. They kill many people because they want to take our city... they want to kill us.

**Researcher:** Could you tell us a bit more?

**Dimitris:** ... the Turks, they are very much our enemies. They may break the door and kill our child. Kill our parents, take Greece, and we will have nothing and we will be their slaves.

The above quotation is part of an interview with five-year-olds. Once again, the expansionist aspirations of the Turks were stressed. The child felt threatened for his own life "they may kill our child" and of his parents' life. The image of "the Turks" was really horrid and the boy

seemed to feel insecure. Dimitris gave many details of the potential fate of people whose country had been invaded. The lack of goods described by Dimitris, sounds like the starvation that Greeks suffered during the German occupation. Furthermore, it is common in Greece to say that Greeks were the slaves of the Turks for four hundred years when Greece was part of the Ottoman Empire. Dimitris was possibly repeating the words of adults in his environment. He had, however, synthesised them together in a gloomy picture that included Turks as invaders and his family in the position of the victims.

The first words of Dimitris should be noted, "the Turks...bad people and we will kill them". Many children seemed to have the same fantasies, that if the Turks attacked, the Greeks would manage to kill them first. The same idea had been expressed by Tassos (in a previous quotation) and could be also seen in many of the children's drawings (see appendix 3, drawing 1).

In spite of the fact that the interviewees were not asked to talk directly about the Turks, many did so. A number of children also talked about their nation and their compatriots. These children made some sort of comparison between themselves and the Turks. These comparisons revealed the prejudices that young children hold about their in-group and the "others", "the enemies", the Turks. Greeks were presented as nice, peace-like people, civilised and religious who were pushed into wars by brutal monsters, the Turks. In children's consciousness, their in-group was always gratifying. This is according to the ideas expressed by Augoustinos and Walker, (1995), about the symbolic function of stereotypes. The authors claimed that stereotypes are mental constructions leading to the assumption that one's in-group is better than the other groups.

The following table presents the way Greek children described the Turks and the Greeks in their interviews. They were not asked directly to talk

about the Turks or about their compatriots, but they did so especially when defining the Turks as enemies.

<p>“THEY”</p> <p>OUT-GROUP</p> <p>TURKS</p>	<p>“WE”</p> <p>IN-GROUP</p> <p>GREEKS</p>
<p>Speak Turkish</p>	<p>Speak Greek</p>
<p>Have an expansionist policy against us</p> <p>Took their land with war</p>	<p>Used to own their land</p>
<p>Cause war and fight</p>	<p>Fight back</p>
<p>Want to get our home / Greece</p>	<p>Have a beautiful country</p>
<p>Have a big country</p>	<p>Have a small country</p>
<p>Don't want to be our friends</p> <p>Want to enslave us</p> <p>Want to make us poor</p>	<p>Love freedom</p>
<p>Kill</p> <p>Massacre</p>	<p>Defend</p>
<p>Destroy our churches</p>	<p>Are religious</p>
<p>Lose the wars</p>	<p>Win the wars</p>
<p>Are unfair</p>	<p>Have brave men / soldiers</p>
<p>Are bad</p>	<p>Are good</p>
<p>Want revenge</p> <p>May come back</p> <p>May cause war</p>	<p>Are alert and ready to fight back.</p>

Table 7  
 “Them” and “us”. The image of the Turks as enemies  
 as opposed to the traits of the national in-group.



The enemy-warrior category refers to enemies in the international arena. Enemies of this category were nations or countries that made war to other countries. The victims of those war activities were either third countries or the interviewees' own country. A closer look at the data, reveals the existence of a time perspective in children's images of enemy-warriors.

In some descriptions of enemies, children referred to war conflicts that had taken place a long time ago, in the distant past, and were, therefore, no longer a threat for them.

The children, however, who claimed that Turks were their enemies, also expressed their fear for a possible military conflict between their country and Turkey. Some could also recall scenes from the recent conflict in 1996 in the Aegean Sea. Almost one in every five children that were interviewed in Greece, was afraid that they would possibly face a war during their adult life.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, recently there has been much interest developed on the ways young children view their future (Hicks, 1994; Hicks and Holden, 1995; Hutchinson, 1996a, and 1996b; Hicks, 1997). It is believed that the way young people think about their future, influences very much their decisions as citizens and the formation of tomorrow's society. In this research, it seemed that a rather large number of children were afraid of a possible war conflict in which their country would be involved. On the other hand, these children were afraid of the fact that their country was small with a small army. Therefore, some children suggested that Greeks should always be prepared to face the Turkish threat, by being constantly prepared to go to war. For these children the militarisation of their society seemed a priority. The following figure presents the time perspective of threat that derives from enemy-warriors. Some of the Greek children believed that enemies were nations that had fought against their own country in the

past. Other children could recall present conflict in which their country was involved. A number of interviewees thought that there might be a possibility to face a war with Turkey in the future.

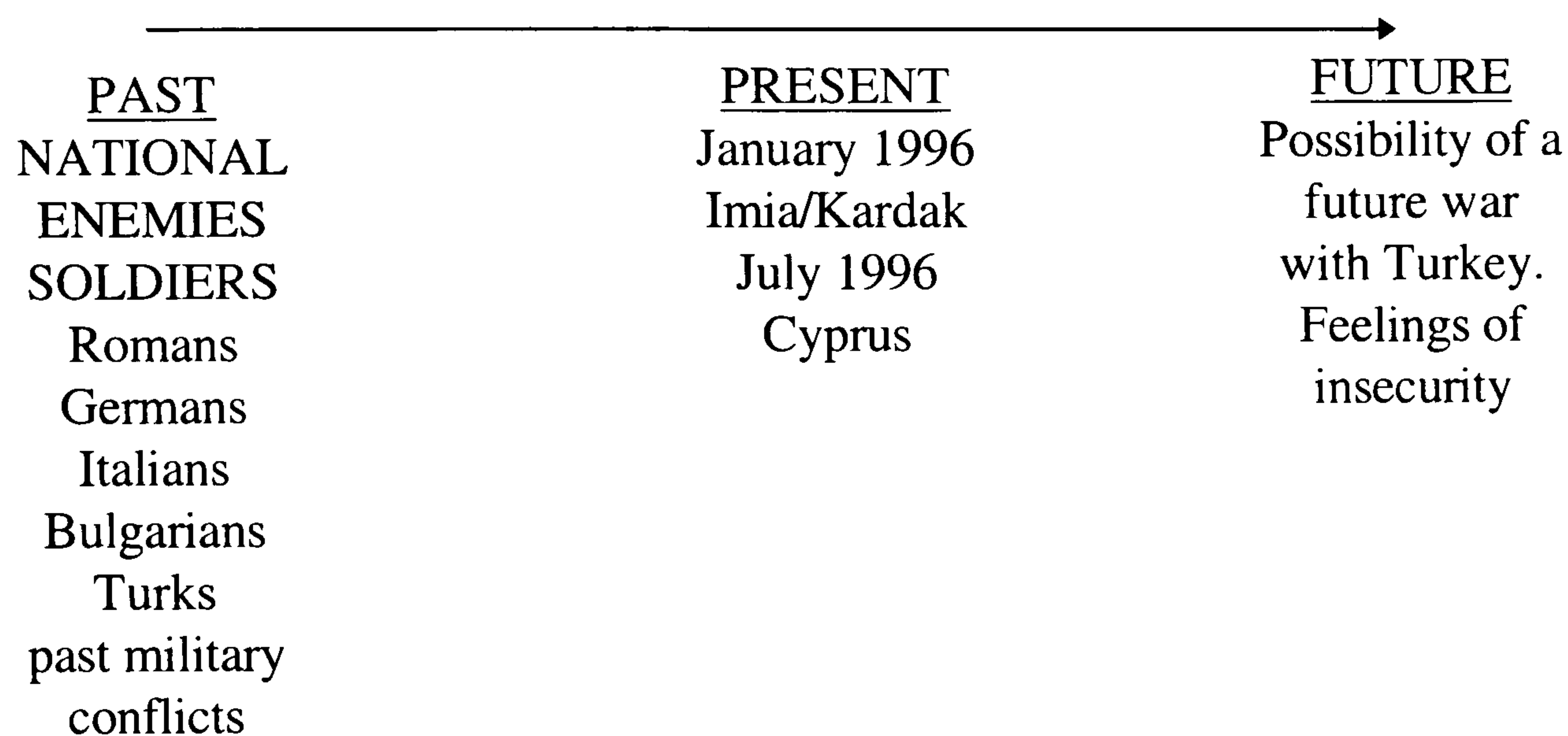


Figure 1  
Threat from enemy-warriors in respect to time dimension.  
The responses of the Greek children.

### **7.1.1.2. The enemy-criminal image**

Another category that has appeared in children's interviews was the one of the enemy-criminal. Sixty-four children claimed that criminals were their enemies. That category was mostly preferred by seven and nine-year-old children. The enemy-criminal image described a person who was bad and did evil things, such as stealing, committing armed robbery, killing people and kidnapping children. The criminal was described as a man with a gun, who disguised himself so as not to be recognised. Some children mentioned the names of famous Greek criminals who had been in the news at the time of the research.

A number of children focused on the idea of the enemies as strangers approaching children and pretending that they wanted to offer sweets or gifts, in order to kidnap or abuse them. A few children had also talked about drug dealers and repeated violent scenes that they had witnessed on films or television news.

(An enemy) Steals things and money. He comes into our houses ...in our rooms and steals them.

(Elias, m,5,T)

Some children had also described the enemy criminal as a person who broke into houses and killed people in armed robberies. Some children expressed their own experiences from criminal actions, like Nikos, a seven-year-old boy from Chios, whose bicycle was stolen.

I was in the village once and when I came back, my bicycle had been stolen.

(Nikos, m,7,C)

Older children focused on different aspects of crime in modern Greek society, they mentioned names of famous criminals who were in the

news at the time. They showed that they were very well informed about what was going on in the broader social environment.

They kill and torture people. They get a knife and kill them. ... I've seen it on TV, the police found a body....

(Stavroula, f,9,T)

The killer. Because on TV I saw a person who had killed five members of his family.

(Martha, f,7,C)

A number of children had tried to explain the criminals' actions, attributing them to the bad financial situation of the criminals and their passion for money. Oliveira, Wahlstrom and De Oliveira, (1993), also found that people tended to associate poverty with criminality and claimed that in some cases poor people were considered as enemies.

The enemy wants to get things, because he is poor and takes the things to be richer and to be able to live.

(Vagelis, m,7,C)

According to Vagelis the bad financial status of people turned them into criminals. Not only that, but a number of children named specific minority groups that lived in Greece, as being their enemies. They referred to those groups characterising them as criminals. These groups were some of the out-groups of the modern Greek society, mainly "the Albanian immigrants" and "the Gypsies". The fact that some people who belonged to specific groups and had less money, had made them suspects of crimes. The statistical records of criminality show that a relatively small number only of the immigrant population in Greece has been involved in some kind of offence. People, therefore, tended to think stereotypically, made deductive inferences and held prejudices

attributing those negative qualities to the entire group of economical refugees who have arrived to Greece (Zoumboulakis, 1994; Frangoudaki, 1997; and Vima, 22 March 1998).

In the next quotation, Dimitris, a nine-year-old boy referred to an incident when a group of Albanian people beat a girl. Dimitris expressed his doubts whether this incident was true "they said that...". After the researcher's provocative question asking him to define if "the Albanians" were enemies, Dimitris admitted that some people did consider them as enemies. He explained that "the Albanians" were sometimes obliged to steal as they could not support themselves otherwise.

**Dimitris (m,9,T):** ...They say that once out here, outside our school some Albanians beat a girl.

**Researcher:** Are the Albanians enemies?

**Dimitris:** Many people consider them as enemies. They do things that the enemies do, but most of the times they do it for living. Of course I don't say that they kill for a living but let's say they have to steal for a living.

Dimitris sounded rather hesitant in calling "the Albanians" criminals. In the next quotation, another nine-year-old boy made an open statement, associating "people from Albania" with drug dealing.

There are people who come from Albania and bring things that are bad for your health, drugs, and they sell them to children and children get sick and die.

(Vassilis, m,9,C)

Despina, a seven-year-old girl claimed that "the Gypsies" were her enemies. She came up with a number of stereotypes about Gypsies, that they are bad, they steal, quarrel, murder and torture animals.

**Despina (f,7,C):** When mum and dad go away, a Gypsy may see me, may come and grab me and that means that he's my enemy.

**Researcher:** Have you ever seen an enemy?

**Despina:** Yes, on TV. Some Gypsies.

**Researcher:** Are Gypsies your enemies?

**Despina:** Some are bad. They steal, they quarrel, get the rich people's money. He will murder you to get your purse. They may kill the animals and prison them in cages.

In the previous quotations, the children made inductive inferences, they attributed the negative qualities of some people belonging to a certain group to the whole group. In the next quotation an example of deductive inference will be given. The two interviewees held stereotypes against "the whole lot" of Albanian people and assumed that every Albanian would have the same negative qualities.

**Athina (f,9,C):** One day we... there were some Albanians and they came under our house.

**Researcher:** Were you scared?

**Athina:** We hid. Nikos (the boy interviewed with her) was with me.

**Researcher:** Were the Albanians enemies?

**Athina:** Yes. Because he had a weapon.

**Nikos (m,9,C):** No. Not a weapon. He held a piece of wood and a bag like this. But we were very young then. That's why we got scared.

**Researcher:** Wouldn't you be scared today?

**Nikos:** Less scared.

**Researcher:** Did the Albanian do something bad?

**Athina:** No. He did nothing. But he obviously wanted something, then he got bored and left.

**Researcher:** How do you know all these?

**Nikos:** A whole lot of Albanians has come... they live in a small little house, I hear things.

In spite of the fact that the so called "Albanian" person did nothing to harm or scare the children, they were persuaded that he "obviously" wanted to do something bad, but at the last minute he changed his mind.

A number of children defined as enemies people committing sexual crimes. The victims of those crimes were women and girls.

(An enemy) Rapes!

(Eleftheria, f,9,C)

Last year in a school trip, a man had kidnapped a girl. He took the girl and fetched her in his house.

(Yiorgos, m,7,C)

He (mentions the name of a Greek serial killer) got a woman and cut her head.

(Yiorgis, m,9,T)

Violence against women was also portrayed in some of the children's drawings, where women were shown to be attacked by armed men (see appendix 3, drawing 2).

A small number of children used the technique of imaginary stories about them or their friends that had to face criminals. Such stories were probably used as means to make the narration more colourful and interesting.

When we did that trip to Alexandroupoli (town in Greece)... Then there he was in the hotel, the murderer with the axe. A friend had heard the footsteps in the night, opened the door and saw one person holding an axe.

(Spiros, m,9,C)

### **7.1.1.3. The enemy-acquaintance image**

Another popular enemy image had been the one of a person from a peer group or the family environment. Sixty-three children out of the 150 interviewed in Greece, gave responses fitting to the category of enemy-acquaintance. These children claimed that they had direct acquaintance with their enemy. The enemy was a person from the peer group, normally a child living next door, or a classmate who did not like

them, who caused trouble and with whom the interviewees were fighting.

The same way as in the enemy-warrior category, children's answers could be distinguished in four sub-categories. The separation into those sub-categories became on the basis of the quality of interpersonal conflict described by interviewees, whether this conflict was long-lasting, whether it included the use of violence, whether it was "teasing" or subtle conflict. The four sub-categories of enemy-acquaintance image were the following:

- a. the best friend as enemy, playful accounts of conflict
- b. enemies who use physical aggression
- c. enemies who use direct verbal aggression
- d. enemies who use indirect aggression

The following table presents the distribution of the four sub-categories of enemy-acquaintance image among the 63 children who talked about enemies from their environment.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENEMY-ACQUAINTANCE SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK CHILDREN	
PLAYFUL ACCOUNTS	17 (27%)
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	29 (46%)
DIRECT VERBAL AGGRESSION	9 (14%)
INDIRECT AGGRESSION	12 (19%)

Table 8

The four sub-categories of enemy-acquaintance image as described by the children interviewed in Greece. The numbers in the brackets present percentages. 63 Greek children referred to the enemy-acquaintance image.

#### 7.1.1.3a. The best friend as enemy

Seventeen children referred to that sub-category. They claimed that they and their best friends sometimes quarrelled and occasionally considered each other as enemies. They made clear, however, that



those quarrels occurred over the game and were ephemeral. Children became friends again, soon after they had fallen out.

I have only one enemy (smiling). Olga is (pointing to the girl interviewed with him). When she beats me I just put my hands in my face. I get mad but I don't fight back because she will beat me more.

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

Apostolos' account involved the use of physical violence. The two children, Apostolos and Olga, had named each other as best friends and asked to be interviewed together. While Apostolos was saying that Olga beat him, both children were smiling.

Me and Ioanna fight with each other very often, but we are friends. We mainly quarrel during play-time... We often quarrel in one break and then in the next we're friends again.

(Argiro, f,9,C)

I have no enemy, really. Sometimes we may argue with some children. I consider them my enemies but they are not. After that we become friends again ... then the next day all of us play together.

(Katerina, f,9,T)

There were no hard feelings for the children defined as enemies. The quarrels described occurred in playtime, were short and children used to overcome them quickly and easily (see appendix 3, drawing 3).

A number of these short-lasting quarrels seemed to occur as some children did not obey the rules of the games. These disagreements and quarrels could be considered as a normal stage of children's development, as they get to socialise with other children and learn how to communicate with their friends. The idea that fightings are just part of the socialisation process was expressed by Jenkins, 1997.

They (other children at school) do something that they are not supposed to do. We do not cheat at games. We play hide and seek, and he, the enemy, should not see where the children are hiding, but he watches them and cheats. He is our enemy.

(Fotini, f,7,T)

Apart from talking about their best friend that could at times be seen as enemy, some children talked about other children who used violence against them and were causing them many trouble. Researchers (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; and Ahmad and Smith, 1995), claimed that there were three types of expression of aggression in children. Physical aggression which includes hitting and use of physical violence. Direct verbal aggression, that includes teasing and name-calling. And indirect aggression which involves the spread of bad stories about others, giving other people's secrets away and gossiping. The children interviewed, gave similar accounts on how their acquaintances expressed their aggression against them. The division of aggressive behaviour by Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, (1992), was used here for the description of the three following sub-categories.

#### 7.1.1.3b. Physical aggression

Under this sub-category all the children's accounts about other children that used direct violence, were coded. There were 29 answers describing actions like, beating, kicking, pushing, tripping down, hitting, tearing hair, running after, teasing, that were put under that sub-category. Children claimed that they were continuously hurt by these children. Some of the children in this sub-category claimed that they were bullied. There is not an exact equivalent of the word "bullying" in Greek; some of the accounts however, described actions of bullying as this has been defined in previous chapters (aggressive, repeated action

from an individual or a group against a weaker person who has not provoked such an action).

Nikos (is my enemy) who beats and teases me. I am very sad because they threw my bag and stained it, and they threw my snack away, and I started beating Nikos.  
(Thodoris, m,9,C)

(The enemy) Tears our hair and jumpers. We've one (enemy) named Akis in our class, who always runs after us.

(Aggeliki, f,7,C)

My friend's brother who is one year older than me. He started teasing me and hitting me...

(Katerina, f,9,T)

The next quotation is from an interview with nursery school children in Thessaloniki. The five-year-old boy, talked about his worst enemy, a girl in the same class, and referred to an ally between a strong boy and himself. The use of physical violence was an important element in this sub-category of enemy-acquaintance image, as opposed to the previous sub-category, where conflict was mainly verbal.

That silly Maria (is my enemy), she always beats me.... She is my worst enemy. Nikos is my strongest friend. But this year I've got very strong arms myself ...  
(Dimitris, m,5,T)

Some of the children in this sub-category, explained how they reacted when being picked on or bullied. A number of children showed signs of withdrawal and preferred going away and avoiding conflict or made efforts to calm down the aggressors. It has been widely argued, (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and

Kaukiainen, 1992) that girls show more often signs of withdrawal from conflict.

I will manage to calm Nikos down and tell him that he must not hit children. (I'll tell them) "Excuse me, mates but I've done nothing to you".

(Kyriaki, f,9,C)

Some of the boys who were interviewed also described an alternative behaviour toward conflict situations that might sound compliant. Sex differences will be discussed in chapter 9 in more detail.

I protect myself. I try not to be beaten up. (I try) to be nice to them.

(Dimitris, m,9,C)

#### 7.1.1.3c. Direct verbal aggression

This sub-category included all the answers referring to teasing and name calling. Only nine children stated that their enemies used direct verbal aggression to hurt them. The process of name calling did not seem to bother children very much. Some of the children described cases that after they had been teased, they would answer back in a more violent way. These children claimed that name-calling was used as a challenge for a more serious fight.

No (I have no enemy). But sometimes somebody sometimes teases me.

(Spiros, m,9,C)

In the following quotation the nine-year-old boy from Thessaloniki gave accounts of how his classmates used to make word jokes with his surname.

**Thodoris (m,9,T):** I've got some (enemies) here at school, a couple of children who annoy me all the time.

**Researcher:** Are they in your class?

**Thodoris:** In my class ... generally in all the classes... they call me with my surname that is Lazaridis and then they call me Patzaridis (Beetroot) and Katsaridis (Cockroach) and things like that ... At first I don't pay attention to them, they go on and on. What should I do then? Let them tease me and do things?

#### 7.1.1.3d. Indirect aggression

Twelve children claimed that their enemies used indirect aggression to hurt them. The use of indirect aggression seemed to worry a lot some of the nine-year-old children. In this sub-category all the responses referring to the spread of vicious rumours or gossiping as a seek of revenge, were coded.

I know a girl... she is not my friend, only because she gives our secrets away, always... when for example we shake the desk, just a bit, she goes and tell it to the head-teacher at once, her name is Vicky.

(Vassilis, m,9,T)

**Marina (f,9,C):** They come to hurt us. They betray us to other children, now that we're young and they hit us, and laugh at us.

**Researcher:** Yeah...

**Marina:** They tease me sometimes. I ignore them cause I know that if you ignore them they will be bored and won't tease you any more.

This form of expressing aggression is supposed to be used by older children and to be preferred more by girls than by boys. Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; and Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992, theorised that older children had realised that physical aggression was undesirable in the society and used concealed ways to disguise their aggressive behaviour. The authors hypothesised that under the pressure of social norms, older children adopt indirect ways of expressing violence. Younger children on the contrary, they claimed, have not developed the necessary social skills and that is the reason

why they prefer violent means of articulating aggression. They even theorised the difference between the sexes; they stated that boys are physically stronger and therefore more successful in resolving conflicts aggressively. Consequently, they adopt physical aggression to a greater extent than girls do.

Some children, mainly girls, gave a different enemy acquaintance image. They talked about their parents as being an opponent to them.

My mum when she beats me...

(Olga, f,7,T)

My mum. She was angry all day yesterday.

(Aria, f,5,T-K6)

#### **7.1.1.4. Enemies from comics**

Six percent of the children examined, identified comic images as their enemies.

**Georgia (f,5,C):** An enemy beats you and you die.

**Researcher:** Have you got an enemy?

**Georgia:** Only on Power Rangers on TV.

Enemy like Scar, he's Lion King's enemy, Siba's enemy.

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

The children who referred to this enemy-image mentioned specific characters from comics that were presented on television. They talked about Power Rangers, Lion King, Superman and claimed that the enemies of those heroes were their enemies as well. Many children presented those comic images in their drawings (see appendix 3,

drawing 4). That category was mostly preferred by five-year-old boys, while none of the nine-year-old children in Greece talked about comic enemy-images.

#### **7.1.1.5. Enemies of nature**

Some children named as enemies, people who “destroyed the planet”. Only very few children referred to that category (five percent of the children). Nevertheless, that showed that even at the very young age of about five some children were aware of some of the environmental problems of the planet.

Enemies are the ones who kill animals and that is not right because it is bad for the whole world to kill something beautiful... the beauty of the world. They kill seals. Today it was on the news that they killed a dolphin.

(Vassilis, m,9,C)

(An enemy) tries to burn the forest.

(Damianos, m,5,T)

(I will draw) A woman dumping her rubbish in the forest.

(Gogo, f,7,C)

The themes that children focused on, were the disposal of rubbish in the sea and forests, the burning of forests and the killing of “beautiful” wild animals and rare species (see appendix 3, drawings 5 and 6). Fire on forests is a quite common phenomenon in Greece, during summer. There are campaigns to make the people conscious of the dangers of fire in a forest and get them involved in forest protection.

#### **7.1.1.6. Animals**

A small number of children (five percent) claimed that they were afraid of animals and considered them as enemies. It is worth mentioning that children in Thessaloniki talked about lions as being their enemies.

A lion is a real enemy cause it attacks people...

(Olga, f,7,T)

Children in Chios island, on the contrary, expressed their fear for animals that they knew from their everyday lives, like snakes and bulls.

Sometimes in the summer my enemies are snakes.

(Costas, m,9,C)

Children from a big city like Thessaloniki did not really have the chance to see many animals in their everyday life, their image about them was possibly influenced by books, stories or television programs. The children in the island talked about more realistic animal-enemies (see appendix 3, drawing 7).



### **7.1.2 The notion of “different” people**

Children were also asked to identify other people or children that were in any sense different from them. Many five-year-old children did not answer that question, while some of the older interviewees hesitated while answering. Children’s difficulty to answer the question might be because it was often one of the first questions to be asked (see appendix 1- interview schedule). It might also be too complicated for young children to answer. From the answers given, however, two main categories of “different people” could be distinguished; people living in Greece and people living in other countries. These two categories could again be distinguished into sub-categories:

#### 1. Different people living in Greece

- a. Immigrant children
- b. The “Gypsy children”
- c. Children with special needs

#### 2. Different people living out of Greece

- a. Children from developing countries
- b. Children from western and developed societies

#### **7.1.2.1 Different people living in Greece**

The following sections will present the responses of children concerning different people living in their country.

##### 7.1.2.1a. Immigrant children

A number of children from Thessaloniki, referred to some of their classmates who had been born in other countries like Serbia, Albania, Russia and Georgia. A large number of people from these countries had recently immigrated to Greece, especially to the big cities, Athens and

Thessaloniki. The population in Thessaloniki had changed significantly since the beginning of this decade, when people from the nearby Balkan countries moved into the city. Children from Thessaloniki had the chance to get to know immigrants and go to school with children who had just moved to Greece (Gianguinis, 1995).

**Yiorgos (m,9,T):** Different are the ones who come from the war.

**Researcher:** Who are these people?

**Yiorgos:** The Turks, Serbia.

**Researcher:** How do you know?

**Yiorgos:** They come here. Not only in Greece, they go to other countries as well. Immigrants.

People from Russia and Georgia, like Maria. (Maria was a girl interviewed with Popi, they had nominated each other as friends).

(Popi, f,9,T)

It seemed that many children were well aware of the conditions which their classmates' families left back in their home countries. They knew that some children had experienced war and poverty. Some of the interviewees, thought that school life was not fair for the children who had recently moved to Greece.

(First, he mentioned the names of four classmates who came from Georgia and Russia, and then went on). There was an incident. A girl that has been in Greece only for four years, she was in a Greek school and she was the best (top) pupil there; however, she could not hold the flag at the parade, because she had not acquired the Greek citizenship.

(Dimitris, m,9,T)

Dimitris, expressed his disapproval about that discrimination against the girl, who could not receive what is considered a great honour for the top pupil in each school.

None of the references to classmates from immigrant background conveyed any sort of negative comments against those children. On the contrary, in some cases children born in and out of Greece nominated each other as friends and were asked to be interviewed together. However, some element of mercy and pity for the children who were obliged to leave their country because of the problems they faced there, could be identified.

According to previous research conducted by Argiraki et al, (1994, 1996), immigrant children were discriminated against by their Greek classmates. Children in this research however, did not seem to hold negative stereotypes against their classmates of immigrant background. It should be noted that most of the immigrant children studying in schools of Thessaloniki come from the Balkans. So, they do not look different from the majority of the children and in some cases they had a Greek Orthodox background. The children that had just moved to Greece were “different” in the sense that they had not been born in Greece and that their Greek was not very good. Another reason for children in this research not discriminating against their immigrant classmates, is that children might have somehow overcome their stereotypes, after having been in the same school with the immigrant children for a number of years (Argiraki’s et al, research was conducted almost four years before this study). It might be that shared experiences with “different” children helped them to break their stereotypes. It should be also noted that some children blamed immigrants for causing trouble. It seemed that it was easier for children to know and accept minority children in their school community than accepting adult minority groups in the society. In the first case they had personal acquaintance with children while in the second case they were afraid of unknown adults belonging to negatively stigmatised groups.

#### 7.1.2.1b. The “Gypsy children”

Some interviewees from Chios sounded intolerant and negative against “the Gypsy children”. They defined their difference from these children in terms of physical appearance.

The black, poor, skinny children (are different) and the Gypsies who are a bit brown and have no clothes.

(Martha, f,7,C)

**Tassos (m,9,C):** The Gypsies.

**Researcher:** Tell us a bit more. Why are they different?

**Tassos:** Because they are black... (laughter).

There were also some references to the negative qualities and actions of Gypsy people, like in Despina’s quotation about criminals that was used earlier.

Some Gypsies are bad. They steal, they quarrel, get the rich people’s money. He will murder you to get your purse. They may kill the animals and prison them in cages.

(Despina, f,7,C)

According to the previously mentioned research (Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996) primary school children in the area of Athens, rejected Albanian and Gypsy children in their school. In this research, some of the interviewees recognised as different children from immigrant and Gypsy background. They gave, however, a lot more negative descriptions of Gypsy children. Most of the Gypsy population in Greece live in tents and small huts, in rather poor conditions. Not many Gypsy children attend school. They usually start working from an early age, with their families. Gypsy people live in the suburbs of the main town of Chios, fairly close to some of the interviewees. However, in the schools involved in this study there were no Gypsy pupils. So, the interviewees had no direct

acquaintance of the children they held negative stereotypes about. The negatively predisposed environment against the Gypsies should be taken into account, when discussing children's responses. A few months after the interviews were taken, it was attempted to force out some Gypsy families from a settlement in Chios (see endnote ii, chapter 4).

#### 7.1.2.1c. Children with special needs

Some of the interviewees referred to children with learning difficulties and who were attending the same school with them. Most of the interviewees talked about children who were not "as clever as" them and were therefore attending special classes for slower pupils.

There might be children who... they've got problems maybe they are not so clever, but I believe that our soul, our heart is all the same, we are all children.

(Peny, f,9,T)

Children that have different mind from us. They don't understand as many things as we do. For example a child in our class, goes to another teacher and learns things... and they don't understand very well.

(Vagelis, m,7,C)

#### **7.1.2.2 Different people living out of Greece**

In this section the children's responses about different people living out of their country are presented.

##### 7.1.2.2a. Children living in developing countries

Some children defined as different, poor, sick and unhappy children. All these children were reported to live in "other", distant countries. Their misfortune was attributed to war and poverty. The interviewees talked about children that had lost their parents in war, were homeless and led a "miserable life". Some children talked about Africa. They made some very negative comments about that continent and claimed that people there, were leading very hard lives. Children seemed to have very

limited knowledge about Africa, they believed that it was a uniform country rather than a voluminous continent. Their information was “one-sided” as they had associated Africa with pain and misery. Children were aware of the fact that there was much poverty in Africa, failing however to understand that not everybody was suffering. All the children who referred to this category of different people sounded like attributing poverty to endogenous characteristics of African people.

Black children. They have nothing to eat. Just rice and bread, and greens and meat of elephant.

(Dimitris, m,5,T)

Children’s main source of information about developing countries had been television news and international organisation advertisements. That was also found by Cullingford, (1990, 1992). The news that were actually reaching children were limited to all the bad things that were happening to Africa (Graham and Lynn, 1989). Some of the accounts about Africa included catastrophes, such as floods, earthquakes, wars and starvation.

Children tended to stress the differences rather than the similarities between the African people and themselves. So Africans were reported, to have no food, water, shelter, school, money or any form of social structure resembling the one of western society.

In Africa there are some children who are hungry and have war. I’ve seen them in advertisements.

(Ermioni, f,7,C)

In Africa there was an earthquake and they have nowhere to sleep. They sleep in tents.

(Yiorgos, m,9,T)

Children also stressed the space distance between them and the children facing these problems, saying that these children lived “in other” faraway countries.

Children of Africa and Albania. They have nothing to eat and they can't go to school. They are not in Chios, I've seen them on TV.

(Mary, f,7,C)

Most of the times children's information was inaccurate and over-simplistic. They were not in a position to specify any particular countries in which all these were taking place.

Sometimes, older children talked about the moral obligation of people in richer countries, to help and support people in need. The help would be given through international organisations such as UNICEF that offered their services in those countries.

... There are children in other places and they have no blankets, food and things like that and we must send them some things.

(Alexandra, f,7,T)

The children in UNICEF are different. Because there were some wars out there and these children now are in great need, as they have not even one house, not something to eat. That's why we do what we can, so we send some things, whatever we can.

(Vaggelis, m,9,C)

Some children expressed their feelings about the people in need and were very emotional in their descriptions. In the following quotation the nine-year-old girl referred to an advertisement from a fund raising campaign of UNICEF.

I feel sad for the people who have war and they have nothing to eat or water to drink...and...and but some people go and protect them and give them food. I saw that on TV and there is a girl who works in a village, she works there all day, but she would like to go to school, like we do.

(Stavroula, f,9,T)

Children had the information that people in other parts of the world, were poor, had no house to live and their lives were in danger. They expressed their sympathy and pity for those children. They did not, however, show any interest to understand why these people lived under such conditions. They seemed very keen on the idea of helping people in developing countries by raising money, and were willing to support the international organisations for the protection of children.

Of course it would be unrealistic to expect 5 to 9 year-old-children to show empathy or understanding of international politics. It would, however, be interesting to stress that young children were very willing to help the poorer children. On the other hand, they did not seem persuaded that the situation would ever change in developing countries. These findings come along with the findings of Dyson, (1986); she claimed that children in early adolescent had charitable instincts for poor people in developing countries, rather than an awareness why those people were poor. It seemed that children had formed the stereotype that poverty was a national characteristic of African people.

#### 7.1.2.2b. Children from western and developed societies

A number of children described as different, children and adults from Western European and Asian countries. They talked about the Irish, the English and the Japanese. In all these accounts children sounded rather positive. They defined difference in terms of these people being "more interesting" or having some "exotic" characteristic, like the use of chopsticks or the ability to speak English.



They are different, because they have black colour. The Chinese eat with chopsticks and the Irish have fair hair.

(Michalis, m,7,C)

A Japanese has visited our home. He's different in the eyes... He doesn't talk the way we do...

(Elli, f,7,T)

Some are English and speak another language...

(Argiro, f,9,C)

These findings accord with the ones of Argiraki et al, (1994, 1996). In their research it was claimed that children from West European and Asian societies were preferred by Greek primary school children, as they were considered more civilised and technologically developed. The same was argued by Avdela, (1997), who claimed that there is a hierarchy of cultures promoted by schooling, where West European civilisation is highly estimated while the "primitive societies" are classified last.

A number of children defined as different children that were older or younger than them or had "other" likes and dislikes. These children claimed that everybody was special and that all people differ in things like the hair style or their tastes.

There are people who have different taste from us and different customs...

(Ladicos, m,7,T)

A rather large number of children, however, had the opposite opinion they claimed that all people were equal all had the "same soul".

No (there are no different people). We are all humans.

(Stratis, m,9,C)

### 7.1.3 Protection from the enemy.

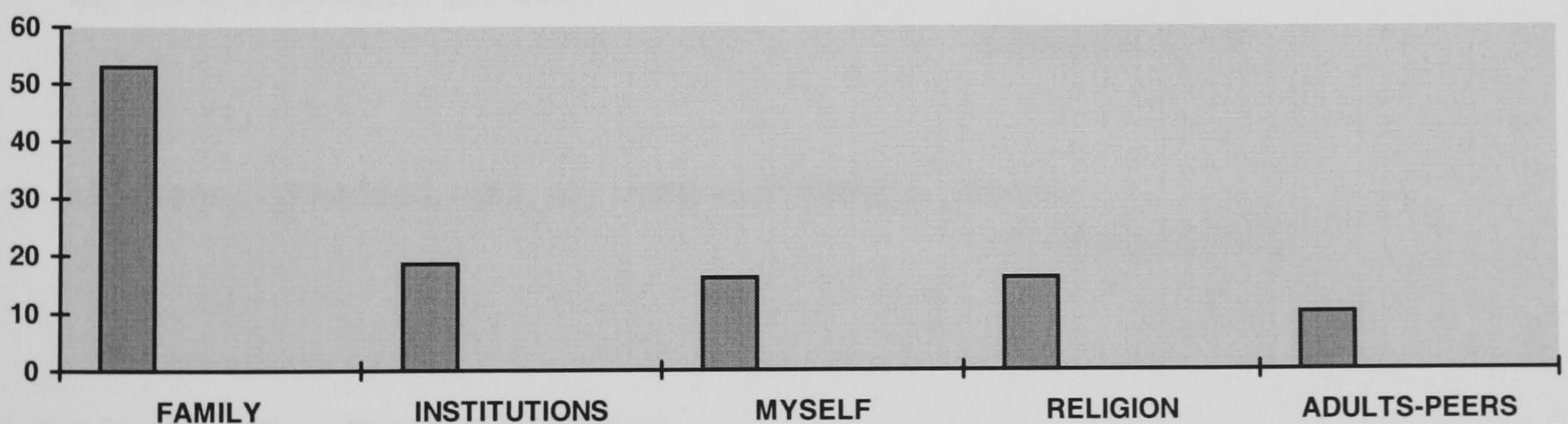
Apart from defining "the enemy", children were also asked to talk about their protectors from the enemy. Children's answers could be divided into categories.

The main categories were:

1. Family-oriented protection
2. Institutionalised protection
3. Self-protection
4. Religion-based protection
5. Protection offered by adults and peers

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK CHILDREN	
FAMILY	80 (53%)
INSTITUTIONS	28 (19%)
MYSELF	25 (16%)
RELIGION	24 (16%)
ADULTS-PEERS	15 (10%)

Table 9  
Means of protection from the enemy, given by the children in Greece.  
150 children were examined in Greece.



Histogram 2  
Means of protection as described by the children in Greece.  
150 children were examined in Greece.

### **7.1.3.1. Family-oriented protection**

Family was presented as the dominant source of protection from the enemies. More than half of the children claimed that their families protected them from their enemies.

**Researcher:** Is there anything or anyone that protects you from the enemy?

**Ermioni (f,7,C):** Our parents and the teachers.

Most of the children referred to an extended type of family, including, parents, siblings, grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles. A cross-national research held throughout European Union, (as presented by Dama, Eleftherotypia, 30 August 1997) showed that Greece had the second largest percentage (after Italy) of grandmothers looking after their grandchildren and couples looking after their elderly parents. This traditional way of family structure appeared in the responses of the Greek children. Children claimed that their relatives offered them protection from all the enemies. Families offered a safe and secure environment for their younger members.

My mum, my parents, my family.

(Aggeliki, f,9,T)

My granny, granddad, aunt, my sister and brothers, parents.

(Thodoris, m,9,T)

### **7.1.3.2. Institutionalised protection**

Almost one fifth of the children claimed that their protection came from institutions such as police, the army and school. The number of children who referred to that category was far beyond the one of the children who talked about their families as offering them protection. The people protecting children (policemen and policewomen, soldiers and

teachers), did so as part of their duty, through their social roles and not as individuals. Clearly, the children that claimed that were protected by the army had referred to the category of enemy-warrior and especially to the sub-category “Turks”.

A friend of mum’s has a son, who is in the army. So when the Turks come he will fight them.

(Vagelia, f,7,T)

The Greeks (protect me). They make war and killing.

(Porfirios, m,5,C)

My dad is an army officer and he guards... because if some bad people come, he can go quickly to his job and kill them.

(Martha, f,7,C)

Similarly, children who had reported criminals as being their enemies, stated that police protected them.

Police should do something about these people (criminals), our parents, ourselves, we must be careful to protect ourselves. God also protects us, the good people; he kills the bad people, makes them give themselves in to the police. Or gives the police ideas that they are thieves and rapists to arrest them.

(Vasilis, m,9,C)

Teachers merely offered protection from other children at school, as they were reported to intervene and stop bullying and conflict between children.

### **7.1.3.3. Self-protection**

Another popular source of protection was self-protection. Sixteen percent (16%) of the interviewees claimed that they could protect

themselves adequately. They claimed that they were mature enough to distinguish criminals or people who wanted to hurt them. They also talked about previous personal experience that had helped them interpret the world.

I protect myself a bit and sometimes mum and dad do. I am careful about certain things, mum says: “When somebody asks to give something to you do not accept it”.

(Panagiota, f,7,T)

We ought to understand who is our enemy and who’s not; we understand that when playing together and being friends. Our enemy, for example, we tell him “let’s study together” and he, instead of studying, he smuts our notebook.

(Fotini, f,7,T)

Some children, especially boys, expressed the idea that not only could they avoid the danger but were also capable of defending themselves by using violence. These accounts concerned enemies that children were confident to hit back.

My parents protect me. And when they are not around and some child starts hitting me, then I hit him back... with my power!

(Kosmas, m,9,T)

#### **7.1.3.4. Religion-based protection**

One sixth of the children (16%), claimed that God was keeping their enemies away. Children talked about the Virgin Mary, Jesus, God and Angels as offering them protection. Some of the five-year-old interviewees gave descriptive and somehow naïve accounts of the religious elements protecting them.

The angel. Is something that has wings and wears a white jumper.  
(Zaharias, m,5,T)

God. In the olden years, he threw thunders when they killed Jesus and the bad people died and he took them and put them in hell.  
(Themistoklis, m,5,T)

Other children claimed that God or Jesus could interfere in human conditions and keep their criminals away.

In Russia when we went to school, I was very afraid because .... over there they were killing and they were doing many things.... and mum says "Ask Jesus to keep you safe" ...  
(Maria, f,9,T, family just immigrated to Greece)

God protects us from the Turks.  
(Mary, f,7,C)

God protects us, the good people, he kills the bad people and makes them surrender. He shows the police that the thieves and rapists are there and helps the police catch them.  
(Vassilis, m,9,C)

Finally, a number of children claimed that God protected them from the Turks. This is a common image of the Christian Orthodox God protecting his subjects from the "faithless" Turks.

#### **7.1.3.5. Protection offered by adults and peers**

A smaller number of children, (10%) referred to friends and adults offering them protection.

My friends protect me and when... somebody that I can't face tries to harm me, then I call somebody to protect me, if I can't face him. Anyone I find I just call "Help!".  
(Stamatis, m,9,T)

It should be noted that some nine-year-old girls talked about moral characteristics and the existence of specific personality traits, such as kindness, generosity and understanding as offering them protection from the enemy. That was an interesting alternative approach to protection from the enemy.

...Our love towards him (protects us). Because... he may tease us but we may still love him.

(Anna, f,9,T)

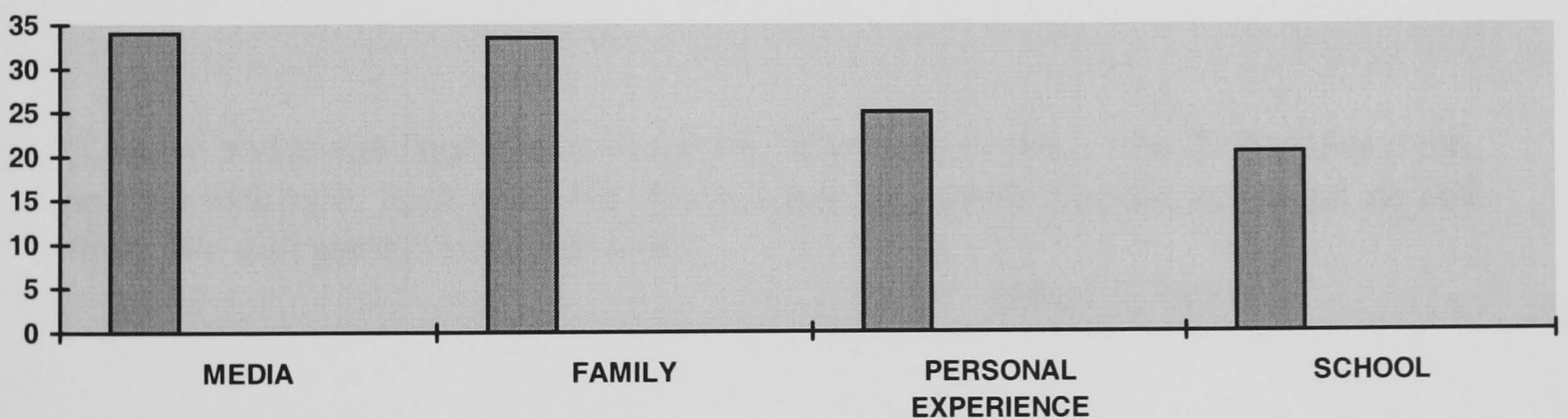
### 7.1.4 Information

It appeared that children's knowledge about the enemy derived from four main sources of information:

1. Media
2. Family members
3. Social interaction, personal experience
4. School

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE GREEK CHILDREN	
MEDIA	51 (34%)
FAMILY	50 (34%)
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	38 (25%)
SCHOOL	31 (21%)

Table 10  
Sources of information about enemies as described by the children in Greece.  
150 children were examined in Greece.



Histogram 3  
Sources of information about enemies, as mentioned by the children in Greece.  
150 children were examined in Greece.

#### 7.1.4.1. Media

Most of the children claimed that their information about enemies came from media. Children talked about television news, radio and children's television programs and films. Younger children talked about children's programs.



I've learned about batman on TV. Batman killed an enemy.

(Zaharias, m,5,T)

Seven and nine-year-old children seemed to be more influenced by television than the five-year-olds. Media were very important in offering them information about criminals.

TV and radio. They say "Be careful, because in Athens there are many rapists, killers etc."

(Vasilis, m,9,C)

Media were the main source of information about enemy-warriors. Children referred to war films about World War II. They also emphasised on the information they had from television news, especially about the Greek-Turkish conflict over Aegean Sea, in January 1996. At the time media offered detail accounts of that conflict.

(I know about enemies) From the news. They tell us that... the Turks may come and we will fight. And when the Turks come, the whole Greece will stand up and fight. We will get the arms and fight.

(Mary, f,7,C)

My granny told me ... mum told me ... First I saw it on TV, I asked them and they told me.

(Eliana, f,7,T)

Detailed accounts of conflict seemed to cause stress to the children. The media coverage of the latest war conflicts is instant and continuous but not necessarily of a good quality, as it is focused on the quick broadcast of news rather than its analysis. It seemed that older children watched television programs and asked the adults in their environment for clarifications about the enemies.

Personally I watch the news regularly, so I know what is going on.

(Kostas, m,9,T)

#### **7.1.4.2. Family**

One third of the children (34%) claimed that their families offered them information about enemies. Again the Greek children referred to the extended type of family. In Greece grandparents, aunts and uncles, also have a significant role in children's up-bringing. It was common among Greek families that well-respected grandparents looked after the children, and communicated their experiences to them.

**Researcher:** How do you know about the enemy?

**Vagelia (f,7,T):** My granny knows about these, because she is from Turkey and she knows how bad the Turks can be.

Many elderly people living in Greece today, were forced to leave their homeland in Turkey and move to Greece. Those activities were parts of international conventions which included massive population exchange between Greece and Turkey, for the sake of national clearance (1923). These traumatic memories were transmitted from grandparents to children.

**Stamatis (m,7,C):** And my granny and granddad told me.

**Researcher:** What did they tell you?

**Stamatis:** That the Turks wanted to kill Greeks. And wanted to get the houses over here. They took a church in Athens.

My mum told me, who knows that from the neighbour.

(Theodora, f,9,C)

That category was very popular among younger children. Nine-year-old children on the contrary, presented other sources of information, like social interaction.

#### **7.1.4.3. Information based on social interaction and personal experience**

Twenty-five percent of the children interviewed claimed that they had gathered their information about the enemy from their social interaction and their personal experiences.

You can learn things on your own, even as a child you learn.

(Thodoris, m,9,T)

Children who gave responses in this category claimed that they gradually got their information about enemies as they grew older. They referred to experiences of life that had taught them that certain people did nasty things such as stealing or teasing. Children who claimed that their experiences had led them recognise enemies, talked about enemy-acquaintances.

You find out about enemies from the people out. You are out with your friends for example, you talk, you do things.

(Thanasis, m,7,T)

I've seen them and things have happened to me. That's why I do not play with enemies any longer. He's not my friend anymore. Enough.

(Vasilis, m,9,T)

I used to go in my granny's. They teased me and stole things.

(Paris, m,7,C)

I've seen a child stealing.

(Gogo, f,7,C)

From television, school, my granddad. And then, as I grow up... you know.  
(Nikos, m,9,C)

A small number of children in Chios, claimed that they had witnessed the war preparations of the Turks to attack the island. Imaginary stories like these were used by a number of children to strengthen their arguments that the Turks were enemies.

I've seen them. I see them with my binoculars and I can also see a Turkish boat.  
(Vasilis, m,7,C)

#### **7.1.4.4. School**

Children claimed that they had found out about enemies at school. Twenty-one percent of the children referred to school-based information deriving from textbooks, teacher deliveries and national anniversaries. Some children claimed that teachers gave them information about criminals, told them that they should not talk to strangers and to be careful when they were on their own.

Our teacher tells us to be careful 'cause somebody may abuse us.  
(Popi, f,9,T)

Other children claimed that some of their information about enemy-warriors derived from school books. That was stressed by Avdela, (1997), who found that certain countries appear in Greek school books only as "enemies" who had conducted war against Greece in the past.

...from school; in history what we've learnt about enemies.  
(Zanina, f,9,T)

Not only from the book. We also talk about things with the teacher and with the rest of the children.

(Antonis, m,9,T)

In the book of Year 2.

(Manolis, m,7,C)

Some children claimed that their information about enemy-warriors was based on school national anniversaries and celebrations.

I've read all these in our textbook in the lesson we had about the 25 of March. Then in another small text that we read... saying that they fought the Italians and Mussolini. Their leader said to our leader "Unless you give Greece to us we will have a war."

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

The 25 of March is the national anniversary (bank holiday) of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire. On this day there are celebrations in the schools and military marches. Pantoleon, (1994), had claimed that school anniversaries intensify fanatical attitudes and project stereotypical images of specific nations. In this research there were indications, that the negative ideas some children had about other countries, were reinforced by school anniversaries, marches and celebrations.

Another interesting point was made by two children from a nursery school in Thessaloniki, who claimed that they had found out about the enemies after a school visit to the Museum of Macedonian Struggle. That museum describes the struggle of Greek people at the beginning of the century to attach the district of Macedonia in the Greek state. At that time Macedonia was part of the Ottoman Empire and was also claimed by the Bulgarians and the Turks.

You know how I found out about the enemies? Because we went (with the school) at the Macedonian Museum and we saw uniforms from the bad people, the Turks and the others.

(Damianos, m,5,T)

Schools seemed to offer information and project the image of other countries and nations as being enemies. Those information were either included in the textbooks or transmitted to children through school assemblies, national anniversaries, school visits and so on.

It is worth noting that school was one of the last mentioned sources of information about enemies. One out of three children claimed that they had gathered information about enemies from media. Only one out of five Greek children however, attributed their knowledge about enemies to school based information.

## **7.2 Presentation of the findings in York**

In the previous section the findings of the research conducted in Greece were presented. This section presents the findings from the research conducted in York.

### **7.2.1 Enemy images**

Twenty-one children were interviewed in Britain, they were drawn from two schools in the city of York. York children also claimed that they had enemies. Their images could be distinguished in categories and sub-categories, the same way with the responses of Greek interviewees. The York children's responses were distinguished into the following three categories:

1. The enemy-acquaintance image
2. The enemy-warrior image
3. The enemy-criminal image

These three categories had also been described by the Greek interviewees. The interviews in York were conducted after the interviews with the Greek children. A few children only were interviewed in York, therefore their responses will not be presented statistically; only the numbers of children who referred to each category will be presented.

<b>ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE YORK CHILDREN</b>	
<b>ACQUAINTANCE</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>WARRIOR</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>CRIMINAL</b>	<b>6</b>

Table 11  
Enemy images as described by the children in York.  
21 children were examined in York.

A few children had also mentioned other enemy-images but they were isolated cases that could not really form a separate category. A number of York children presented drawings from enemy-images coming from films and computer-games. These are discussed in the end of this section.

#### **7.2.1.1. The enemy-acquaintance image**

Enemy-acquaintances were persons familiar to the children interviewed and whom for some reason, the interviewees did not like. Every single child asked in York, referred to the category of enemy-acquaintance. Children talked about people from their peer group who used to do unacceptable things, and caused them feelings of antipathy and strong disapproval. The interviewees claimed that they preferred to keep their distance from these children.

(Enemy is a) Person who you don't like and keep away from them.  
(Sally, f,9,Y)

Somebody who doesn't agree with you, doesn't want to do the same as you and wants to be against you.  
(Verity, f,9,Y)

The same distinction into categories (following the models offered by Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Campbell and Muncher, 1994; and Ahmad and Smith, 1995) used in the analysis of Greek data, was also employed here. The four sub-categories of enemy-acquaintance image were the following:

- a. the best friend as enemy, playful accounts of conflict
- b. enemies who use physical aggression
- c. enemies who use direct verbal aggression
- d. enemies who use indirect aggression



THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENEMY-ACQUAINTANCE SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE YORK CHILDREN	
PLAYFUL ACCOUNTS	7
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	11
DIRECT VERBAL AGGRESSION	9
INDIRECT AGGRESSION	4

Table 12

The four sub-categories of the enemy-acquaintance image as given by the children interviewed in York. 21 children were examined in York, and they all referred to the enemy-acquaintance category.

#### 7.2.1.1a. The best friend as enemy

Seven interviewees talked about temporary conflicts they had with their friends or siblings during playtime, and claimed that these children were their enemies. It was made clear however, that these playful conflicts between friends did not have a long duration and were rather unimportant. While interviewed together, Laura and Lisa, admitted that they had considered at times each other as enemies.

**Lisa (f,9,Y):** Me and my friend Laura used to get along and then next minute we fell out and we...

**Laura (f,9,Y):** Then we're back together, then we fell out... we always do.

It has been argued (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; and Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Jenkins, 1997) that conflict is an essential part of children's socialisation. This sort of conflict diminishes as children get older and understand social norms and develop other means of expression and fully adjust to their rights and obligations in the society.

### 7.2.1.1b. Physical aggression

More than half of the children interviewed, defined as enemies people who were familiar to them and were using violence and physical aggression. Children talked about being bullied at school by classmates or other children (see appendix 3, drawing 8). This was presented as a major issue and it seemed as if the majority of the children asked, had at some point been bullied. In the next quotation, the girls talked about their experiences on bullying and they suggested that the best way to cope with it is ignoring their aggressors and avoiding further conflict. These findings accord to the ones of Maccoby, (1988), who claimed that girls tended to ignore the boys who caused trouble.

**Lisa (f,9,Y):** They can pick on you. They do things like that really. And they pick on you and they start fights and tease you around. If you defend yourself and hit them back and you get hitten back.

**Daniella (f,9,Y):** If you hit them back anyway they'll start on you again. You just want to like to work it out and don't hit them back you just say... ignore them and walk off.

Daniel, a nine-year-old boy from the same school, admitted that in the past he himself used to cause trouble to other pupils at school.

**Daniel (m,9,Y):** I've been. I've hurt people and all that.

**Researcher:** Can you tell us a bit more about it? What happened?

**Daniel:** I stopped doing it, so I didn't get told off all the time.

The boy claimed that he stopped making other children's life difficult in order to avoid punishment. Many researchers (Roland and Munthe, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Genta et al, 1996; Almeida et al, 1996; and Pereira et al, 1997) claimed that direct bullying reaches its peak when children are at the age of about eight. After that stage, they claimed, children start gradually using less physical violence.

Children spoke of the need to have friends to protect them from bullying. Bullies acted, according to the children, in groups or gangs. When somebody did not have friends to stand up for him or her then this person was prone to be bullied.

Sometimes two people are enemies and they get more people and gang up on someone. And if they don't have any friends then quite a few people are their enemies.

(Jennifer, f,9,Y)

Quotations like the previous one reflect one of the basic definitions of bullying, that it is violence addressed by a group of people towards weaker individuals who had not been provocative (Roland and Munthe, 1989; Smith and Sharp, 1994).

A few children tried to explain and justify the actions of the bullies, saying that bullies were not aware of what they did.

**Myles (m,9,Y):** They can't realise what they're doing sometimes and ... but if they actually knew what they're actually doing they would stop it.

**Alex (m,9,Y):** Enemies are big bullies because they hate people and they don't know what they're doing sometimes.

It was rather typical for the children of this age to try to explain other people's actions and doings. This was also the case for Greek children who were making efforts to elucidate the criminals' actions. It seemed that children had some fixed mental norms about people's standard behaviour and were seeking to explain the attitudes not fitting into that model.

Another interesting theme came up from two girls who claimed that a child in their classroom was bullied and isolated because she was different in religion and colour from the majority of her classmates.

**Sally (f,9,Y):** A lot of people ...pick up somebody because they have different colour of skin or something...

**Jennifer (f,9,Y):** A girl in our classroom gets picked on a lot. She's of different religion. She doesn't play many games but... she played with us before and she quite liked it but... never plays with them.

It seemed as if religious and ethnic differences were the causes of exclusion and bullying. Previous research has shown that victims of bullying are often "different" children (Cullingford and Brown, 1995). These differences are commonly recognised and accepted by all the group members. Bullying on the basis of physical differences seemed to be an important issue (La Fonatine, 1991; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Cullingford and Brown, 1995). Xenophobic bullying did not however appear in Dutch schools (Roland and Munthe, 1989), where there was much attention given to multicultural education and education for accommodating differences. In the previous quotation, the two interviewees, in spite of the fact that they did not exclude their classmate themselves, they could recognise her as "different". And to these differences they attributed her exclusion from the peer group.

One should keep in mind that these interviews were held in York, where not many minority groups live. It was attempted to conduct interviews in schools out of York, with significant minority population, but that was not possible (see chapter 6, on methodological issues).

#### 7.2.1.1c. Direct verbal aggression

Nine children argued that some of their peers called them names and teased them. They claimed that those peers, the enemies, expressed their aggression towards them, verbally.

**Hannah (f,9,Y):** Well... I think 'cause today we fell out and we kept on calling each other names... there's these three girls keep on being nasty to us.

**Katie (f,9,Y):** We will be nasty to them as well. They will think that we are the baddies and they are the goodies.

**Hannah:** We think we are the goodies and they are the baddies, which we are. We are right, because they start. They start calling us names first.

Previous research suggested that physical violence and direct verbal aggression are preferred by boys more than girls (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Campbell and Muncer, 1994; Ahmad and Smith, 1995; Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; and Campbell, 1996). In this research, however, both boys and girls seemed to use those two ways of expression of aggression.

#### 7.2.1.1d. Indirect aggression

Four out of the 21 interviewees blamed their enemies for giving their secrets away and spreading nasty rumours about them. They stated that their peers wanted to hurt them in an indirect, concealed way. Those enemy actions (such as gossip) affected the interviewees emotionally. This kind of indirect aggression is mainly considered as the way women use to express their aggression. Most women are not physically as strong as men to attack others. If they did that they would put themselves and their children in serious danger. Therefore, they should, over the centuries and under the prism of evolution, develop another way of externalising their aggression (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994, see also table 1, chapter 2). That is the reason why women preferred forming small

coherent in-groups and considered the exclusion from the in-group as the worse punishment (Campbell and Muncer, 1994; Ahmad and Smith, 1995; Crick and Grotpeter, 1995; and Campbell, 1996).

...she (the enemy) spreads rumours about me and the other, she says, she just lies...  
(Lisa, f,9,Y)

Indeed in their accounts the four children described certain girls who used indirect aggression against them. The sample, however, is too small and no sufficient conclusions can be reached.

Two boys claimed that their sisters were their enemies as they were “bossy” and told their parents when they misbehaved at school.

My sister. She goes and tells our mum.

(Daniel, m,9,Y)

### **7.2.1.2 The enemy-warrior image**

Children also described enemy as a warrior. Almost half (10 out of 21) of the children interviewed referred to that category, as opposed to the whole population of the interviewees who referred to the category of enemy-acquaintance.

Children described the enemy-warriors as soldiers who fought in order to overtake a place and have benefits from exploiting it. In that category two sub-categories could be distinguished. The first one concerned soldiers fighting in different places, far away from where the interviewees lived. The second sub-category was the one of national enemies who were involved in military conflict with England in the past. Some children gave responses covering both the sub-categories of enemy-soldier and national-enemy. The following table presents the two sub-categories of

enemy-warrior image and the numbers of children that referred to each sub-category. The same sub-categories were also mentioned by the Greek children.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ENEMY-WARRIOR SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE YORK CHILDREN			
	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
SOLDIER	4	2	6
NATIONAL	5	2	7

Table 13

The sub-categories of enemy-warrior category as described by the children interviewed in York. 21 children were examined in York, and 10 of them referred to the enemy-warrior category.

#### 7.2.1.2a. The soldier image

Children who gave answers fitting into that sub-category, claimed that the enemies were soldiers fighting in countries other than Britain. These soldiers bombed and destroyed. The enemy-soldiers fought "somewhere else" and their actions did not affect life in Britain. Children claimed that all these things were actually taking place at present time but in places very far away from their homeland. Their information about all these events and war conflicts came through television.

The enemies do nasty things to people, say try to kill them. Well say, different countries aren't very fond of other countries.

(Lawrence, m,9,Y)

Children reported war conflicts that had taken place in the recent past. They referred to the Gulf war, the war in Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

The following quotation is from an interview with two boys. They both agreed that wars were not something of particular concern to their country.

**Daniel (m,9,Y):** Enemy is a country who can fight your country. They come here...

**Tom (m,9,Y):** Not necessarily here. In other countries. Bosnia.

**Daniel :** In Kuwait or something.

#### 7.2.1.2b. The national enemy image

In that sub-category, children referred to nations that had in the past been involved in armed conflict with their country or even had invaded it. When referring to their country, York children were both calling it England and Britain interchangeably. They mentioned a number of national enemies ranging from the Romans and the Saxons, to the Vikings, the Spanish and the Germans. One child also talked about the conflict between Britain and its colonies in Africa.

**Daniel (m,9,Y):** The Vikings once had landed on our land and the Saxons. Cause they thought it was rich land.

**Tom (m,9,Y):** Very good for the crops.

**Daniel:** They were quite good fighters. First the Saxons and then the Vikings.

**Tom:** No, first the Vikings.

**Daniel:** I don't know.

**Andrew(m,9,Y):** And the Spanish.

**Tom:** They didn't try to attack us. We tried to attack on them.

**Daniel:** No they were all around England, and we forced them away.

**Researcher:** Are they enemies now?

**Daniel:** Died.

**Tom:** Yes they've all died.

Another account about the old enemies, Romans and Vikings, comes from a girl.



In school we learn things about the Romans and the Vikings. Well they're not really enemies but they were. The Vikings took over a lot of land and things.

(Jennifer, f,9Y)

Children identified themselves with the inhabitants of York who were invaded by the Romans, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century, (71 AD), the Saxons in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and the Vikings in the 9<sup>th</sup>. Children did not have a clear idea of when exactly all these nations had tried to take over their country, but they knew exactly who had in the past been in armed conflict with England. British children claimed that Romans, Saxons and Vikings were their enemies. What actually happened, however, is that Saxons and Vikings stayed in Britain and today's British people are also their offspring.

Children claimed that all these nations had shown interest in invading England, because its land was very good and rich. Parallel ideas had been expressed by the Greek interviewees who supported the idea that other nations had always tried to attack their country, because it was beautiful and small, therefore an easy target. York children did not have any feelings of being threatened and did not seem to dislike the nations they mentioned. They claimed that they had learnt about all these wars at school, but these stories sounded like legends rather than reality (see appendix 3, drawing 9).

The accounts of York children about World War II and Germans were quite different.

**Daniel (m,9,Y):** (Enemy is) Germany they fought us once. They tried to get our country. We won the war. We got much help from America.

**Researcher:** Are the Germans enemies now?

**Daniel:** No, not really. Not in this country.

**Toby (m,9,Y):** You don't like them (enemies) and you try to fight against them or something, like in a war, like Germany vs England, Hitler. He was an enemy to England.

**Researcher:** Could you tell us more Toby? Are the Germans enemies now? .

**Toby:** Yeah. Because they fought against us but we didn't like it and we wanted to make friends of them but they wouldn't. So we had to keep on fighting. But they're dead now.

Toby expressed the same idea with Tassos, a nine-year-old boy from Chios, who claimed that Greeks wanted to have peace with the Turks but the latter had rejected that proposal. When Toby was asked to draw an enemy he drew Hitler. Then he and another boy interviewed with him made the following comments:

**Toby:** It's Hitler. Because he fought us in the war. Winston Churchill was good 'cos Britain supported him. 'Cos Winston Churchill is from Britain actually.

**Aaron (m,9,Y):** The Germans think that Hitler was a good man.

**Toby:** No... Yeah!

**Researcher:** Is Hitler your enemy?

**Toby:** Yeah, I hate him.

**Researcher:** Do you know anything else about him?

**Toby:** He was from Germany. He was born in Austria.

There were no references about the regime of Germany during World War II. It seemed that children were not aware of fascism as the regime of the enemy countries. They focused on Hitler but had no idea of the differences of democratic and fascist regimes. The way British children talked about Germany and Britain, was parallel to the way Greek children presented Greece and Turkey. Children presented their national in-groups (Greeks and Britons) as peace-loving who were forced into wars. People tend to think positively of the group they belong to. According to Hogg, (1992), love and loyalty to one's own country -which at times might reach ethnocentrism- are significant characteristics of inter-group relations. As children compared their in-group with "the others", the enemies, they projected onto the "out-group", many undesirable characteristics. Britons wanted, according to the children, to be friends with Germans. It was the Germans who denied it and caused

the war. In addition, Britons were led by a “good” man, Churchill. The Germans, though, had a hateful leader, Hitler, whom they still conceived as “good”.

Therefore, the Germans were not at all presented as a present threat. The nine-year-old interviewees were aware that all these happened during World War II which had taken place a long time ago. The fact that “they are all dead now” was a relief for children who did not feel in danger by the conflicts of the past.

It should be noted that Britain had not recently been occupied and therefore there were no memories of oppression and mistreatment by the enemy in people’s consciousness. That was a substantial difference to Greece, that was occupied during World War II.

Boys referred to the enemy-warrior category a lot more than girls. It is worth mentioning a comment by a girl in York. She did not identify herself with the national in-group, but gave a much more mature account of the fighting over the colonies.

**Jennifer (f,9,Y):** A lady came to school and she talked us about Africa and from Britain they went to Africa and pushed everyone out, all the African people.

**Researcher:** Who was the enemy?

**Jennifer:** The British people took over their land.

### **7.2.1.3. The enemy-criminal image**

Some children defined as enemies, criminals, people who stole things, did armed robberies or murders. Not many children referred to that category. Out of the twenty-one children asked, there were only five responses fitting into this category.

Murderers are enemies and the strangers (strangers).

(Daniel, m,9,Y)

Some children attempted to give an explanation of how and why people did criminal actions. The same had been attempted by Greek children who had attributed the actions of criminals into people's poverty or passion for money.

According to York interviewees certain children started from an early age to commit minor offences and then they gradually moved into more serious crime. So, for these children the potential for crime was something that could be found in their own social group. This accords with Sir William Utting's, (1995), chairman of the Commission on children and violence, claims that "there is violence in children but much more horrifying is the increase of violence by children".

**Myles (m,9,Y):** When children are playing they think it's funny to smash windows or something.

**Researcher:** Are they enemies?

**Myles:** Not exactly enemies but say like they smash the window and they like carry on. They think it was like funny and they get away with it. They start like robbing cars or something and they get into bigger things.

It starts by little and gets bigger and bigger and then leads to crime.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

Some children claimed that they had experience of criminal actions taking place in their neighbourhood.

... this police car came down our street and it was going to this shop because this person robbed it with a knife.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

For York children crime was not something distant from their own lives, or social environment. Many Greek children on the contrary, thought that

crimes were something that adults commit. Some children also claimed that crime was committed by foreigners, who immigrated to Greece and imported crime.

There were some York children who described enemies as scary images from computer games and television programs. These were interesting responses, referring to a virtual reality enemy. Only a limited number of children gave such answers, so they could not be grouped into a separate category.

(Enemy is an) Alien. A mad man. Cause he's mad. Cause he looks scary.

Aaron (m,9,Y)

Monster from X-files.

Katie (f,9,Y)

There was one child who defined as enemies people who destroy the planet.

It's got like only a little bit of earth left because people have been smashing it all and stuff and there's only a little bit of earth left. Like bad people (do it) who are not bothered about earth. And they think it's really funny and they're nor really bothered. They like smash it up and damage it. I know that they won't be able to smash it the whole earth but it's just like showing what they're doing.

Myles (m,9,Y, describing his drawing)

### 7.2.2 The notion of different people

The York interviewees identified different people living in and out their country; this was the basic differentiation used by the Greek children as well. York children described many groups of different people in their society, living in the same city or going to the same school with them.

Some children talked about children from immigrant background, living in their country. These children were different in religion and skin colour. The interviewees could recognise these differences and admitted that in some cases they could be grounds for exclusion and bullying.

One called Leila in our class. She has different religion from us. Has different colour as well.

(Sally, f,9,Y)

(Some children) have different hair and things like that and come from different places, have different colour and things like that.

(Daniella, f,9,Y)

Some of the responses referred to other children who had special needs or had some kind of disability.

There's Helen and she's in a wheel chair and she can't speak and she uses that thing and she presses the buttons and speaks for her.

(Laura, f,9,Y)

I've got asthma and I have to go out of classroom sometimes. That's a bit different. Or people like dyslexic they're a bit different as well.

(Sam, m,9,Y)

These accounts about children with special needs were rather positive. In one of the schools involved in the study, there were some children with serious mobility problems. Therefore, the pupils were familiar with

these children's difficulties or specialities, and seemed to have accepted them.

Children could also tell the difference between themselves and the poor, homeless people in their society. They could see those people on a daily basis, but they could still feel that there were different.

There are some people who are quite poor and live on the streets. They're like playing guitar or things to get money. And I often see them when I go to town.

(Laurence, m,9,Y)

The only "different" people living out of Britain, were according to the York interviewees, ex-patriots, living in former colonies and other countries around the world. Children could detect the differences of those people to the fact that they spoke English in a distinctive accent.

I've got a nephew in South Africa. They talk different.

(Tom, m,9,Y)

The sample of British children was too small and generalisations cannot be easily made; it is however worth mentioning that British children did not talk about other countries and cultures as the Greek interviewees had done. Cullingford, (1990), claimed that British children were rather ignorant about the rest of the world and attributed that to the one-dimensional, British-centred curriculum, which gave too little attention to issues not directly connected to Britain.

### **7.2.3 Protection from the enemy**

York children described as a main enemy-image, acquaintances. Bullying seemed to be a worrying feature for some of the interviewees. Therefore, their main concern was to be protected by other children

attacking them or causing trouble. The main sources of protection were the following:

1. Protection offered by adults and peers
2. Family-oriented protection
3. Institutionalised protection
4. Self-protection

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE YORK CHILDREN			
	Boys	Girls	Total
PEERS-ADULTS	6	7	13
FAMILY	3	4	7
INSTITUTIONS	5	2	7
MYSELF	4	2	6

Table 14  
Means of protection from the enemy, as described by the children in York.  
21 children were examined in York.

### 7.2.3.1 Protection offered by adults and peers

Most of the children asked (13 out of 21), seemed to consider that their friends protected them. They said that their friends could stand up for them and defend them when being bullied or teased at school.

If someone is picking on Lisa then I go over and then if someone is picking on me she comes over. So we protect each other from our worst enemies.  
(Laura, f,9,Y)

Like today when we fell out and then... Kate started crying 'cos all the girls had been nasty to her. Kate started crying, so I stood by and ...  
(Hannah, f,9,Y)



Friends and adults could interfere and stop violent fighting that could be dangerous.

Other children (protect me). Some people come to stop you fighting.  
(Daniel, m,9,Y)

Friends come to the person who was kicking you that he should not do things like that. All different people can protect you from the enemy. Adults can as well.  
(Alex, m,9,Y)

Adults could also offer protection by giving children advice or intervening to prevent violent fighting.

#### **7.2.3.2. Family-oriented protection**

Children also referred to their families as giving them protection and making sure that they were safe. One third of the interviewees reported that when they felt threatened by classmates and bullies at school or in their neighbour, they would tell their parents and then parents would take action to protect them. York children referred to their parents as the only family members offering them protection.

Dad. Stops my sister from being nasty to me. Or when they get really nasty to you at school and keep on pushing and things, your dad comes and sorts it out with the school.  
(Jennifer, f,9,Y)

The Greek interviewees normally talked about an extended family, (including grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins) as offering them protection.

### **7.2.3.3. Institutionalised protection**

One third of the children interviewed in York claimed that their teachers protected them from their enemies. They claimed that school teachers were in a position to put things in an order when some other children at school caused problems. Children who wanted to avoid direct confrontation with their enemies at school, asked the support of parents and teachers.

We leave them alone when they call us names and go and tell the teacher or something.

(Katie, f,9,Y)

I just push them back and go and tell the teacher.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

### **7.2.3.4. Self-protection**

Six children claimed that they could cope with their enemies and protect themselves quite effectively. They described different patterns of behaviour they employed in order to resolve their conflicts. Some children said that they gave violent responses to their enemies.

None protects me. I protect myself. I just kick them all in.

(Toby ,m,9,Y)

Other children preferred to ignore their aggressors. They thought that any other action or response would provoke further teasing or bullying.

My own voice (protects me). If they say something to me, I'll just ignore them. I'll say something back.

(Emily, f,9,Y)

If you have got an enemy just leave them. They start fighting and they may come up and start fighting you again.

(Daniel, m,9.Y)

The children that were interviewed in York claimed that they had four sources of protection from their enemies. All the people they could refer to for help, peers, family, teachers, and the different techniques they themselves had developed, offered them protection from enemy-acquaintances. They did not seem to need protection from other enemies. Enemy-warriors were not a major issue for York children. They felt that they could cope with their enemies personally or with the help of their friends. For more complicated problems with enemies, they would ask for the help of their parents or teachers. They did not feel, however, the need to be protected by highly organised and impersonalised institutions, such as the police or the army.

Many Greek children claimed that the whole society needed protection from enemy-countries or from criminals and described police and the army as main protecting figures. Grove-White argued in 1994, that British society gives emphasis on the individual welfare rather than the social one; this is reflected in the responses of the York children who identified as protectors people who would take care of them personally.

## 7.2.4 Information

Children in York claimed that they had gained their information about enemies from:

1. Social Interaction, personal experience
2. Media
3. School
4. Family members

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE YORK CHILDREN			
	Boys	Girls	Total
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	4	7	11
MEDIA	5	1	6
SCHOOL	2	4	6
FAMILY	2	4	6

Table 15  
Sources of information about enemies as described by the children in York.  
21 children were examined in York.

The children that were interviewed in York, and the Greek interviewees, referred to the same sources of information about enemies. What differed was the percentage of children mentioning each of the sources of information.

### 7.2.4.1. Information based on social interaction and personal experience

This category was mentioned by half of the children interviewed in York. They claimed that all they knew about enemies were a result of their interaction with their peers. They met people, experienced various situations and formed their own views about the world. Additionally, they themselves had experienced bullying and had some strong feelings about it.

Then sometimes you get picked on and then you just find out.

(Sam, m,9,Y)

Other children claimed that crimes like robberies had taken place near where they lived, so they had direct knowledge of them.

Like on Sunday when I was watching the telly this police car came down our street and it was going to this shop 'cos this person robbed it with a knife.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

Children's personal experiences had primarily helped them realise who their enemy was in a personal level, the level of the enemy-acquaintance. As regards enemies from a non personal level, children claimed that their information merely came from other sources, like media.

#### **7.2.4.2. Media**

Six children claimed that television and radio offered them information to understand what enemies were and what they could do. Children talked about television news and films. Television offered knowledge for more distant enemy-images (such as criminals and warriors).

A bit about enemies, in say, about World War II and ... on programs really.

(Laurence, m,9,Y)

I've heard about it (criminals) on the telly and on the radio and I sometimes see it on the news.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

Previous research (Cullingford, 1984), suggested that young children examined in Britain, were not fond of the news. According to that research, children only watched the news only by chance. Children in York seemed to do the same.

When you see the news and stuff there are so many people who are bad and like... you see bombs going of and that's how you mostly hear about it, but something people mostly see it on films and stuff like that. But kids do not really watch the news and just get off TV.

(Myles, m,9,Y)

Sometimes I hear them on the radio or TV when I'm a bit early for something I'm watching until it comes on and I hear something about it.

(Alex, m,9,Y)

#### **7.2.4.3. School**

Six children claimed that they had gained their information about the enemies from school. Their knowledge came from a number of school activities, such as teachers' deliveries, visiting speakers, discussion with their classmates and textbooks.

If you are at school and something happens you know about it. In school you learn things about the Romans and the Vikings.... And a lady came to our school and talked us about Africa and from Britain they went to Africa.

(Jennifer, f,9,Y)

We had people coming to school and they told us.

(Thomas, m,9,Y)

York children did not attribute their knowledge about enemies to any sort of national anniversaries celebrated at school.

#### **7.2.4.4. Family**

Six children claimed that their parents had expanded their information about enemies. They did so either by communicating their experiences to them,

My dad was actually in World War II.

(Sam, m,9,Y)

or were simply using the word “enemy” in various contexts.

When my mum was on the phone and she didn't like somebody she used to say “She is my worst enemy”. I used to copy it from my mum.

(Laura, f,9,Y)

In this chapter the children's answers were presented; a first attempt of their explanation through literature was also made. Chapter eight presents the children's responses in relation to their age.

## Chapter 8

### Responses of the three age groups

Previous research presented in the third chapter indicated that age might relate to the way children think about social environment, other people and other groups. For this reason, children from three age groups were examined in Greece. As only one researcher conducted the research in limited time and with limited resources, only a limited number of nine-year-old children were examined in Britain.

The first three sections of this chapter will present the responses of the three age groups that were examined in Greece. The way children think about enemies can also be examined from a developmental perspective, according to which children of different age view other people and various groups in a different way. The fourth section of this chapter critically compares and examines the developmental stages perspective in the responses of all the interviewees, from Greece and Britain.

The responses given by the members of the three age groups did not differ dramatically. All children referred to the same enemy images, to similar sources of information and categories of protectors from their enemies. A thorough examination, however, reveals some important differences. First in the percentages that each age group referred to each enemy image, sources of information and protectors. Even more important, there were qualitative differences in the ways children from different age groups approached the issue of enemies.



## 8.1 Responses of the five-year-old interviewees

### 8.1.1 Enemy images

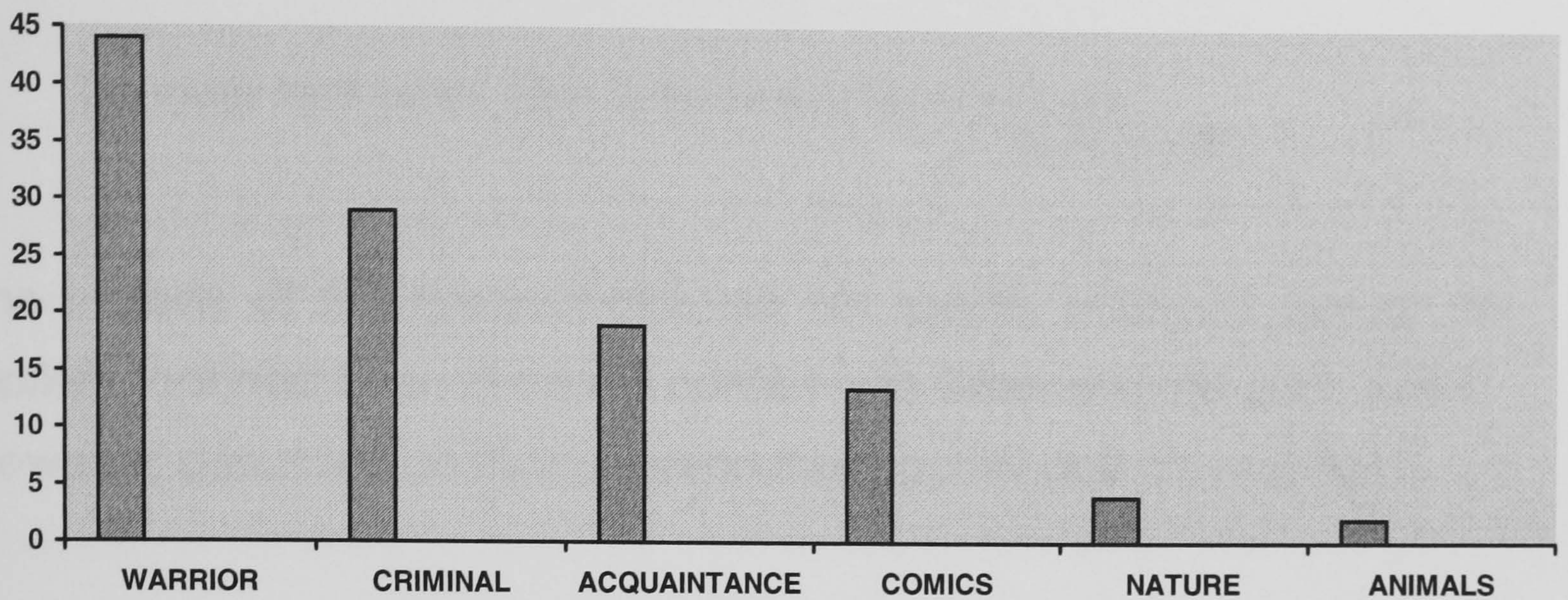
The youngest group of children examined was five-year-olds (nursery school children in Greece). Fifty-two five-year-olds were examined. They were drawn from ten nursery schools, five in Thessaloniki and five in Chios. Almost equal numbers of boys (28) and girls (24) were examined. The following table presents the enemy warrior descriptions as made by the five-year-old children.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=52)	
WARRIOR	23 (44%)
CRIMINAL	15 (29%)
ACQUAINTANCE	10 (19%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	7 (14%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	2 (4%)
ANIMALS	1 (2%)
NO ANSWER	16 (30%)

Table 16  
Enemy images, as described by the five-year-olds. 52 five-year-old children were examined in Greece.

Almost three out of ten of the five-year-old interviewees did not manage to give a definition of the word "enemy". They claimed that they had never heard that word. The interview sometimes drew to a halt. Some other five-year-old interviewees, however, had a great deal to say about enemies in both cognitive and emotional terms. It seemed that the age of five was the appropriate age to start examining issues like the images of the "enemy". As 30% of the five-year-old children did not know what the term "enemy" was, it is possible that this age is a threshold above which children started forming ideas and attitudes about their social environment.

The following histogram presents the enemy images as described by the five-year-old interviewees.



Histogram 4  
 Enemy images, as described by the five-year-old children. 52 five-year-old children were examined in Greece.

Some general observations can be made on the way five-year-old children described enemies and the way they talked about their interpersonal relations, the relations in their community and the history of their country.

### 8.1.1a. Enemy-warrior image

The five-year-old children's major enemy image was the one of the warrior. Warriors were connected to armed conflict, war and killing.

Fights. ... (An enemy) Kills the people.

(Virginia, f,5,C)

Many children focused on the enemy-warrior's appearance and described the soldier's weapons in detail. This was in accordance with previous research (Hesse, 1992). Very young children focused on the external features and failed to define the inner relations and the motivations of the actors. Most of the five-year-olds produced drawings of a soldier, a man with armour and weapons, who was "bad" and

“angry”. The emphasis was always on the armour and facial expression of the enemies (see appendix 3, drawing 10).

The enemy has a sword, a gun. A man with a horse and a gun.

Morfula (f,5,T)

The majority of the five-year-olds did not specify particular groups or nations that had been in armed conflict with Greece in the past. Some, however, described conflict between their country and other nations.

**Dimitris (m,5,C):** Bad, the Turks are the enemies.

**Researcher:** Why is that?

**Dimitris:** Because they're other people. I will draw an angry Turk. He's angry because he's bad.

Some children also produced drawings of conflict with other nations. These drawings were patriotic and some presented a very negative image of the Turks. None of the drawings or the verbal accounts presented Greek-Turkish conflict in a realistic way. In a few drawings Greek flags appeared, and in many cases children stated clearly the national group they belonged to (see appendix 3, drawing 11). Piaget and Weil, (1951), claimed, that children as young as the age of five were not in a position to relate to their national in-group and to define themselves as members of a particular country. That was not the case for a number of Greek children, who could define themselves as members of the Greek national in-group and could relate to their country's history (they referred for instance to the people living in Greece and being invaded by the foreign forces in the past as “we”, or could repeat folk stories from the time of the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire).

Hesse, (1992), observed that normally children of about five tended to think about monsters and evil people as being their enemies. They thought of enemies as absolutely bad people. During the Gulf War, in 1991, she claimed, that the picture changed, and young American children became more concerned about war. Hesse, (1992), claimed that once their country was involved in a military conflict and the social environment was more sensitive in issues concerning nation and country, children were more able to identify with their national in-group and conceive as enemies nations threatening it. It can be argued that because of the specific social context in which Greek children lived they had strong feelings of threat by "other" enemy countries.

The five-year-old children claimed that it was always other nations causing trouble and forcing their country in military friction. They were not, however, in a position to explain why other nations caused such problems. They just attributed to the enemies negative characteristics and explained their actions by the fact that "the others" were totally bad.

The good people fight the Turks... Because the Turks want to take Greece from us.

(Dimitris, m,5,C)

Turks...they are from another country and we don't know them and they will attack Greece and they will take Greece and will fight us ...Enemies are these who wanted to steal Greece and Macedonia and other lands just to make their country bigger.

(Tassoulis, m,5,T)

### **8.1.1b. Enemy-criminal image**

The second most described enemy image was the one of enemy-criminal. The interviewees tended to present criminals as “bad” people. Not many of the five-year-old children made an effort to explain the motives leading people to crime. It seemed that the distinction between “bad” and “good” was an adequate explanation for them. Their responses were often limited to one-word statements. They normally tended to define as criminal a person who was bad and hurt them personally.

(An enemy is) a bad person.

(Yiorgos, m,5,C)

A bad (person), kills people.

(Stamatis, m,5,C)

Some children managed to give a cause-consequence relation explaining criminals’ actions as a result of their passion for money.

He is bad...He steals children and sells them to get money.

(Haido, f,5,C)

### **8.1.1c. Enemy-acquaintance image**

The third category that children described was the one of enemy-acquaintance. This category was not very frequent among young children. One fifth of the five-year-olds described a person from their family or peer group as being their enemy.

Some children described organised conflict aiming against other children that were commonly disliked by their peer-group. Previous research had also indicated that even at an early age some type of

“scapegoating” could be identified in the form of exclusion of specific children from the peer group. Previous studies (Madsen and Smith, 1993; De Rosier et al, 1994; Smith and Levan, 1995; and Almeida et al, 1996) indicated that bullying experiences start to be recognised as early as the age of five. Some of the interviewees used the “we” pattern to report conflict between their peer-group and children, who were not particularly popular among their peers.

**Nikos (m,5,C):** My enemy is Yiannis, because he fights us and hits us.

**Dimos (m,5,C):** We beat Yianni and we trip him up.

In all those accounts, five-year-old children claimed that the enemies were “bad” children, who used violence against the other children in the group. So the whole group had to take action against those children by answering back violently.

An important cause of conflict for the youngest group of interviewees, was their difficulty to share toys or objects with other children. This difficulty is a usual source of instrumental aggression, which is very common in early childhood, and occurs over gain of access to privilege, space or resources (Papadopoloulos, 1996).

My sister always wants to play with her new piano, and she doesn't want us to press the keys.

(Theodora, f,5,T)

### 8.1.2 Means of protection from the enemies

The following table presents the main sources of protection, as mentioned by the five-year-old children.

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=52)	
FAMILY	22
RELIGION	9
INSTITUTIONS	6
ADULTS-PEERS	1
MYSELF	0

Table 17

Means of protection mentioned by the five-year-old children. 52 five-year-old children were examined in Greece.

None of the five-year-old children felt able to protect him or herself. They could not rely on their friends or other adults either. They were, on the contrary, very much family oriented. That was not surprising, given that most of the children had only recently started school and the only environment they were familiar with was that of their families.

Half of the five-year-old interviewees referred to their families as the major source of protection from the enemy. They tended to think that their families were able of keeping all the "bad people" away. Their answers were sometimes very simple,

Dad, mum and my sister (protect me).

(Theodora, f,5,T)

In some cases, young children made a clear distinction between the role of their mother and father in protecting them. They claimed that when in danger, the older male members of their family (such as fathers, grandfathers, male cousins) would use violence against the enemy. Mothers would stay close to children, at home, offering them affection.

Those statements were reflective of the organisation and role distinction in modern Greek society.

My parents. My dad has some big swords in his shop, and I am not afraid because he kills them.

(Morfoula, f,5,T)

Mum and dad. Dad is a soldier anyway, so he will take his uniform and fight. Mum will stay with me at home.

(Yiouli, m,5,C)

Dad, my grandfather takes his rifle and wherever the bad people are, he kills them with his rifle .

(Nikos, m,5,C)

My dad. He was in the army before, but now he'll use boxing. Our mum raises us.

(Dimitris, m,5,C)

The male members of families were supposed to offer protection during war, as they would join the army. Females were responsible to protect children on a daily basis and also offered emotional support comforting children.

Far fewer children referred to the other two sources of protection, religion and institutions. God and various religious settings were mentioned as the second source of protection for the five-year-olds.

God protects us from war!

(Maria, f,5,T)

An even smaller number of young children talked about getting protection from institutions like the police and the army.



Some soldiers protect us...

(Tassoulis, m,5,T)

The police and my mum.

(Natalia, f,5,T)

### 8.1.3 Sources of information about enemies

The sources of information about enemies as mentioned by the five-year-olds, are presented in the next table.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE FIVE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=52)	
FAMILY	18
SCHOOL	7
MEDIA	6
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	1

Table 18

Sources of information, as mentioned by the five-year-old children. 52 five-year-old children were examined in Greece.

When asked how they had found out about enemies, five-year-old children said that they had mainly heard about enemies from their families.

Mum and dad told me.

(Nikos, m,5,T)

They did not, however, specify how and under which circumstances their parents had told them about enemies. The second source of information for the five-year-olds had been school.

From the Miss.

(Maria, f,5,T)

Information from school was given to five-year-olds mainly by the teacher. Greek five-year-olds attend nursery school classes where they learn some basic skills, without using a textbook. Therefore, their information came directly from the teacher. Again they did not mention the context in which the teachers offered them information about enemies or what exactly they said about enemies.

Only some children from one school in Thessaloniki claimed that they found out after a school visit to a museum, where they learnt about Balkan Wars that had taken place in their district. Some five-year-old children claimed that they had found out about Turks as being enemies, from the media.

I've seen them (the Turks) on TV and I've heard them (information about the Greek-Turkish conflict) in the news.

(Yiouli, f,5,C)

I've known it (that the Turks are enemies) since I was young. It comes to my mind. When I am ready to go to bed, I hear it on the news and it comes to my mind.

(Porfirios, m,5,C)

Many five-year-old children claimed that a great deal of television news had to do with Greek-Turkish conflict and consequently they had been informed about it. That does not necessarily mean that five-year-olds were in a position to understand television news and the Greek-Turkish conflict. Television had offered dramatic accounts and children completed their knowledge and information by asking adults in their environment for clarification.

In the news (I learnt about the Turks), then I asked my dad and he told me.

(Dimitris, m,5,C)

There was a local-personal dimension in the descriptions of many five-year-olds about enemies. They tended to talk about horrible people hurting them personally or their families directly. These findings can also be explained by the cognitive development theory of Piaget, (1928, 1932, 1975), according to which, children of five are egocentric, in the sense that they estimate very highly their own situation as the only point of reference in interpreting the world. Five-year-olds described personal enemy-images not only when they referred to enemy-acquaintances but also when they talked about warriors and criminals.

The Turks are very much our enemies. They may break the door.... and kill our child

(Dimitris, m,5,C)

An enemy kills the good people and the bad people if they are not his friends. An enemy may enter a shoe shop and kill them with a gun...break the shop window and steal the shoes.

(Themistoklis,m,5,T)

Themistoklis' parents run a shoe shop and that was probably the reason for him giving that kind of description. For this five-year-old boy, the enemy-criminals were bad people that might hurt his family.

Among the responses of the five-year-old interviewees, there were a number of naïve statements that were results of confusion and misunderstandings.

He (criminal) comes into our houses, takes our keys, goes out and when we wake up in the morning we can't open the door...

Christ protects me. He looks, to make sure that no bad people get into the house. He says: "You won't get into people's houses" and he will shout "People! Save yourselves."

(Efthimia, f,5,T)

According to Piaget's, (1928, 1932, 1975) theory, children's development takes place through a continuous process of adaptation with the environment. During that process children interpret their new knowledge by incorporating it into their existing structures. This is the reason why in many cases children sound very naïve, attributing, like in the previous quotation, human characteristics and activities to God.

## 8.2 Responses of the seven-year-old interviewees

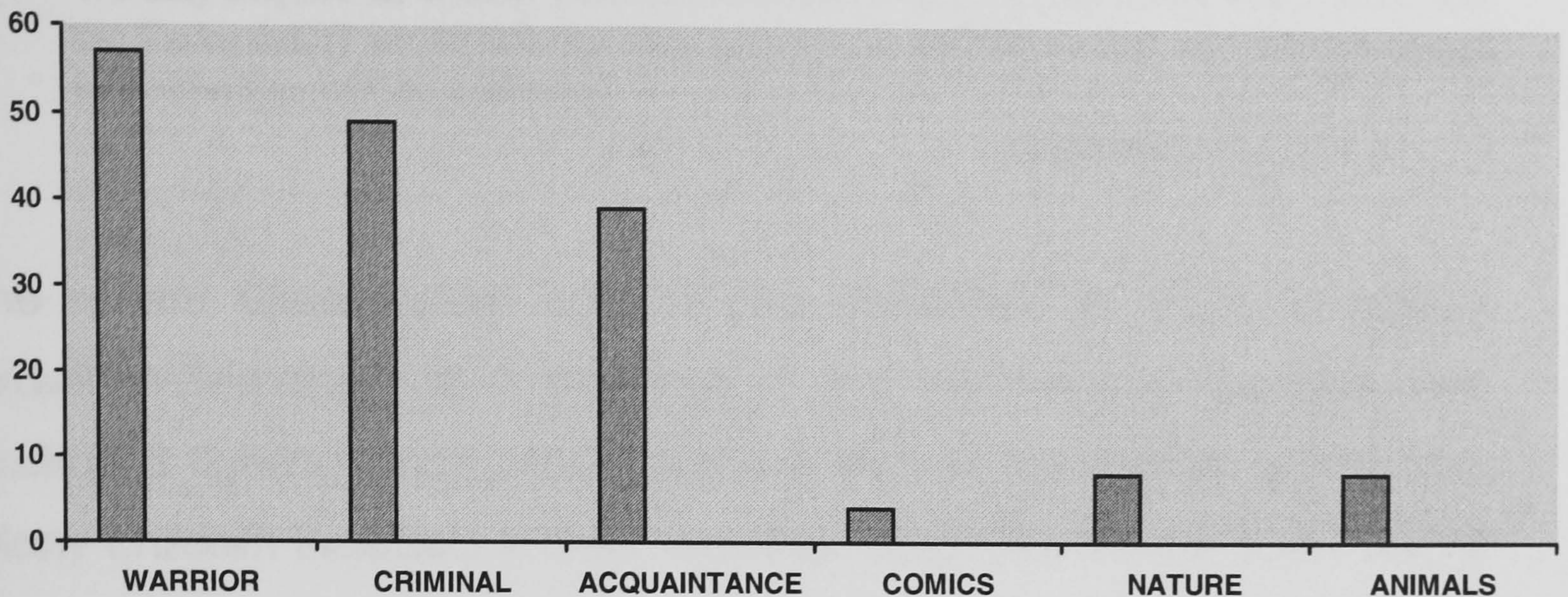
### 8.2.1 Enemy images

Forty-nine seven-year-old children, 25 boys and 24 girls were also interviewed in Greece. They were drawn from ten primary schools in Greece, five in Thessaloniki and five in Chios. Seven-year-olds referred to the same enemy-images as the five-year-olds. There were also some differences in the responses of the children from the two age groups. The older children gave for instance more descriptions of enemies. The 49 seven-year-old interviewees gave 71 responses about enemies, as opposed to 58 descriptions given by 52 five-year-olds. The responses of the seven-year-olds are presented in the following table and histogram:

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE SEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=49)	
WARRIOR	28 (57%)
CRIMINAL	24 (49%)
ACQUAINTANCE	19 (39%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	2 (4%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	4 (8%)
ANIMALS	4 (8%)

Table 19

Enemy images as described by the seven-year-old children. The numbers in the brackets indicate percentages. 49 seven-year-old children were examined in Greece.



Histogram 5  
 Enemy images, as described by the seven-year-old children. 49 seven-year-old children were examined in Greece.

### 8.2.1.1 Enemy-warrior image

The dominant enemy image was the same as the one presented by the five-year-olds: the warrior.

What can I say about enemies? War. Is there anything else? I am afraid when war comes.

(Kirillos, m,7,T)

Many seven-year-old children clearly claimed that Turks were a major threat for their country. Some children had a great deal of information about the Greek-Turkish conflict which had taken place in the Aegean Sea some time before the interviews in Greece. Seven-year-old children had a lot of information about the actual conflict which had occurred in January 1996. Some other children claimed that the Turks had been a constant cause of trouble and could also recite different conflict situations that had occurred in the past between the two countries.

The Turks want to take Greece and make a war on us.

(Yiorgos, m,7,C)

We may acquire an enemy. I am afraid about what they say about that island, that the Turks did, (I am afraid) that they may attack and then a war will take place and lots of houses will be destroyed.

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

The recent Greek-Turkish conflict also appeared in many children's drawings (see appendix 3, drawings 12 and 13). The two countries were illustrated fighting each other over the islets in the middle of the sea. Many children included in their drawings and talked extensively about the national flag of their country. They both declared their own nationality and stated their identification and belonging to an in-group. They also managed to picture the Greek-Turkish conflict over Aegean Sea by narrating the double replacement of the Greek and Turkish flags on the islets, which caused the 1996 hot incident.

They wanted to take the flag down, the Turks, and put their flag up and make war on us.

(Ermioni, f,7,C)

Some children gave some imaginary accounts of Greek-Turkish conflict. That was mainly the case for children from Chios. They described a military conflict taking place near their island, so they themselves could witness it. In that fantasy conflict, the Turks always attacked first. Greeks, however, always answered back, beating them in a triumphal way (see appendix 3, drawing 14).

Once I went to the seaside and I saw one of these... submarine and a Greek ... navy and as the Turkish submarine passed by, it threw torpedoes but the Greek ship was not hit. Then the Greek battle ship fired on the Turkish (submarine) and I saw it sinking.

(Stamatis, m,7,C)

**Manolis (m,7,C):** I see the Turks with the binoculars. I watch them, because they may get a cannon and fire at Chios.

**Researcher:** Are the Turks your enemies?

**Manolis:** They are enemies to all the Greeks.

**Researcher:** Why?

**Manolis:** Because they do not like us and they want to take Greece.

One should also study the children's drawings illustrating the enemy-warrior. There were some very interesting drawings showing an imaginary armed conflict between Greeks and Turks. Many dramatic war scenes were presented, with lots of modern battle ships and aeroplanes. Sometimes children drew "the Turks". They were dressed in traditional clothes of the Ottoman period. These drawings might indicate that children referred to the Turks who were "the enemies" during the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire at the beginnings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The drawings might also indicate that children thought that Turks looked like that today as well (see appendix 3, drawing 15). Children presented a stereotypical image of the Turks coming from history books and films. It was obvious that children did not have any sort of current information about the people they had most described as their enemies.

### **8.2.1.2 Enemy-criminal image**

Seven-year-olds, the same way with five-year-olds, insisted on the distinction between "good" people (their in-group) and "bad" people (their enemies). That was not only the case for enemy-warriors. Children used this kind of distinction for the second most popular enemy image, the one of the criminal. Half of the interviewees, gave responses fitting into the enemy-criminal category. Children talked about thieves, who were "bad people".



The enemy is a bad person and when we sleep at night, he enters our houses and robs us.

(Euripides, m,7,C)

The enemies are people. They simply wear hoods in their head so as not to be seen, because some enemies do not want the people to see them and wear the hoods so that the police will not recognise them. And they have knives with them, to kill people.

(Fotini, f,7,C)

The division between “bad” people and “good” people was still applicable for many children in that age group.

Bad and steals many (things), wants lots of money, steals, does nasty things, is not good.

(Haido, f,7,T)

Some other children referred to certain people that had been arrested at the time of the research for their criminal actions. Other gave hints about the possible danger of sexual assaults against girls and women. Seven-year-old children talked about enemies by presenting facts and referring to real incidents. That was a common characteristic for most of the interviewees in this age group. This was also one of the major differences between seven and five-year-old children, the group of the youngest children did not systematically refer to pragmatic situations to support their beliefs.

Some seven-year-old children tried to explain the enemies' behaviour. Most of the seven-year-olds interpreted the criminals' actions as a result of their love for money that drove them to stealing and doing nasty things. Sometimes criminals were described as poor people who lived on other people's money.

(The enemy) Is a little poor and wants to steal more things to be very rich.  
(Sideris, m,7,C)

Sometimes the thieves pretend that they are poor and people have to give them money.

(Ageliki, f,7,C)

In some of the children's responses poverty and criminality were very much connected. Some of those descriptions of the poor people being involved in criminal activities could be regarded as a form of negative discrimination against poor people in a society. In the next account Vagelis claimed that:

The enemy wants to take things because he is poor and takes the things to be richer and to be able to live.

(Vagelis, m,7,T)

Gypsies (are enemies)...They steal...get the rich people's money.

(Despina, f,7,C)

Children who made such statements, were not racists or elitists. They gave such explanations in order to answer to the crucial questions, first appearing in this age, of why people had antisocial patterns of behaviour.

In seven-year-old children's drawings of the enemies, there were a lot of details given about the enemy's appearance and features. The most common drawing of an enemy was the one of the criminal. Criminals were normally presented with a big sack where they would put all the stolen goods, and wearing masks or hoods so as to act secretly without being recognised (see appendix 3, drawings 16 and 17).

### 8.2.1.3 Enemy-acquaintance image

Almost one third of the seven-year-old interviewees in Chios and Thessaloniki, referred to the category of enemy-acquaintance. Children talked about other children at school who teased or annoyed them. These accounts sometimes referred to minor problems and discomforts.

I do not have a real enemy. Only one, Stamatis, who calls me “My daughter” (old fashioned way of calling women in the villages in the island).

(Stamatia, f,7,C)

Enemy is when somebody is not our friend, he is our enemy. Not our friend. We do not play with the one who is our enemy.

(Thanasis, m,7,T)

It seemed that seven-year-old children described as enemy-acquaintances, children with whom they were not getting along during playtime. They sometimes described more serious violent incidents, but did not give many accounts of more systematic use of violence or bullying.

I’ve got an enemy from our school. He’s in year 6. He throws me down on the floor and hits me.

(Mihalis, m,7,C)

### 8.2.2 Means of protection from the enemies

The same way as with five-year-old children, the seven-year-olds referred to their families as a primary source of protection.

My mum, my dad and my relatives.

(Maria, f,7,T)

Granny and granddad, dad and mum.

(Kirilos, m,7,T)

Table 20 presents the main sources of protection as described by the seven-year-old children.

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE SEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=49)	
FAMILY	28
INSTITUTIONS	13
MYSELF	11
RELIGION	4
ADULTS-PEERS	3

Table 20

Sources of protection as mentioned by the seven-year-old children. 49 seven-year-old children were examined in Greece.

A greater number of seven-year-olds than five-year-olds, claimed that they were protected by institutions like the police and the army.

The police protects us.

(Despina, f,7,C)

The soldier and the policeman.

(Yiorgos, m,7,C)

There are not many baddies, because they are put into prison.

(Maria, f,7,T)

Many children claimed that they could protect themselves adequately. This was the third most cited source of protection. None of the five-year-old children felt able to protect themselves from their enemies. Some of the seven-year-old interviewees, however, claimed that they could distinguish at an interpersonal level the good from the bad people, and would not play with naughty children. They also claimed that they were old enough to do things on their own without the need of adults to

watch over them. A number of children also quoted tips and words of advice on how to ensure safety.

I don't talk to strangers, people I don't know.

(Haido, f,7,T)

From the enemy we are protected by ourselves, to know who is our enemy, and who are our friends. We should know that. You can find this out because you say once to somebody "let's play" and if he is naughty, you look at him and you know... you know he is a bad person, you will not play with him. You see another, we say "let's play", he is not naughty. He is a good person, we know then. Nothing else protects us from the enemy, only ourselves.

(Thanassis, m,7,T)

Nobody protects us. We play alone. When they throw me down, I just go and put this in my leg (plaster) so that it wont get infected.

(Dimitris, m,7,C)

It seemed that the seven-year-old children interviewed had started to realise that protection could come from other sources apart from family. Family, however, remained the main protector. A few children (less than the five-year-old interviewees) claimed that they were protected by God and religion.

God. He protects us from the Turks.

(Mary, f,7,T)

The number of children that referred to peers and acquaintances as offering them protection remained very small.

### 8.2.3 Sources of information about enemies

The main source of information for the seven-year-olds, had been family. That was the same for the five-year-old interviewees. Parents were reported to give children advice about how to protect themselves from strangers. The seven-year-old children gave a lot more answers, and referred to more sources of information as compared with their younger fellow interviewees. Media also had a key role to the information of seven-year-olds about enemy-images.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE SEVEN-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN (N=49)	
MEDIA	19
FAMILY	17
SCHOOL	13
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	13

Table 21

Sources of information about enemies, as mentioned by the seven-year-old children. 49 seven-year-old children were examined in Greece.

More than one third of the seven-year-old children claimed that their information came from media. They especially referred to films, television news and children's programs.

I see some on the telly. In different channels and I see lots of films, like Batman.  
(Euripides, m,7,T)

I sometimes watch the news and I see what happens, but my granny has also told me.  
(Alexandra, f,7,T)

My granny told me... I heard it from my mum, from TV and I asked her and she told me.  
(Elianna, f,7,T)

It was on the television. They tell us that... the Turks may come back and we will fight.

(Mary, f,7,C)

The information seemed to be gained from television and reinforced by the adults in children's environment.

My mum told me...I also listen to the news, about people who kill others...

(Maria, f,7,T)

These findings did not coincide with the findings of Cullingford, (1984), who found that the children in his research were not very keen on watching television news. The children interviewed in this research, however, seemed to have very strong interest in television news. They could quote many headlines and narrate things that had recently been the focus of attention for media. Cullingford, nevertheless, had also observed that children showed much more interest in television news when these news presented a direct threat to them. The seven-year-olds stressed - as their younger fellow interviewees - the co-operative relation of television and adults in offering information about enemy-warriors. Seven-year-old children gained information from media a lot more than the five-year-olds.

One quarter of the children claimed that their information about enemies was gained at school. Some children claimed that the teachers had talked to them about enemies.

I've read all these in our textbook in the lesson we had about the 25 of March. Then in another small text that we read... saying that they fought the Italians and Mussolini. Their leader said to our leader "Unless you give Greece to us we will have a war."

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

A rather large number of children (13) claimed what their knowledge about enemies was a result of their own interest about things and their interaction with other people. This source of information had been mentioned only by a very small number of five-year-old children.

There are enemies that do not talk to you... children. They are your opponents, your enemies.

(Ladicos, m,7,T)

On my own I see them.

(Vagelis, m,7,T)

The most important difference between the accounts of the five and the seven-year-olds was that the older children claimed that their information came from mixing with other people, from school and from television. Seven-year-olds seemed to be more interested in their social environment and on incidents in the wider society. Family was one of the dominant sources of protection and information but it was not solely responsible for the seven-year-old children's ideas about enemies.



### 8.3 Responses of the nine-year-old interviewees

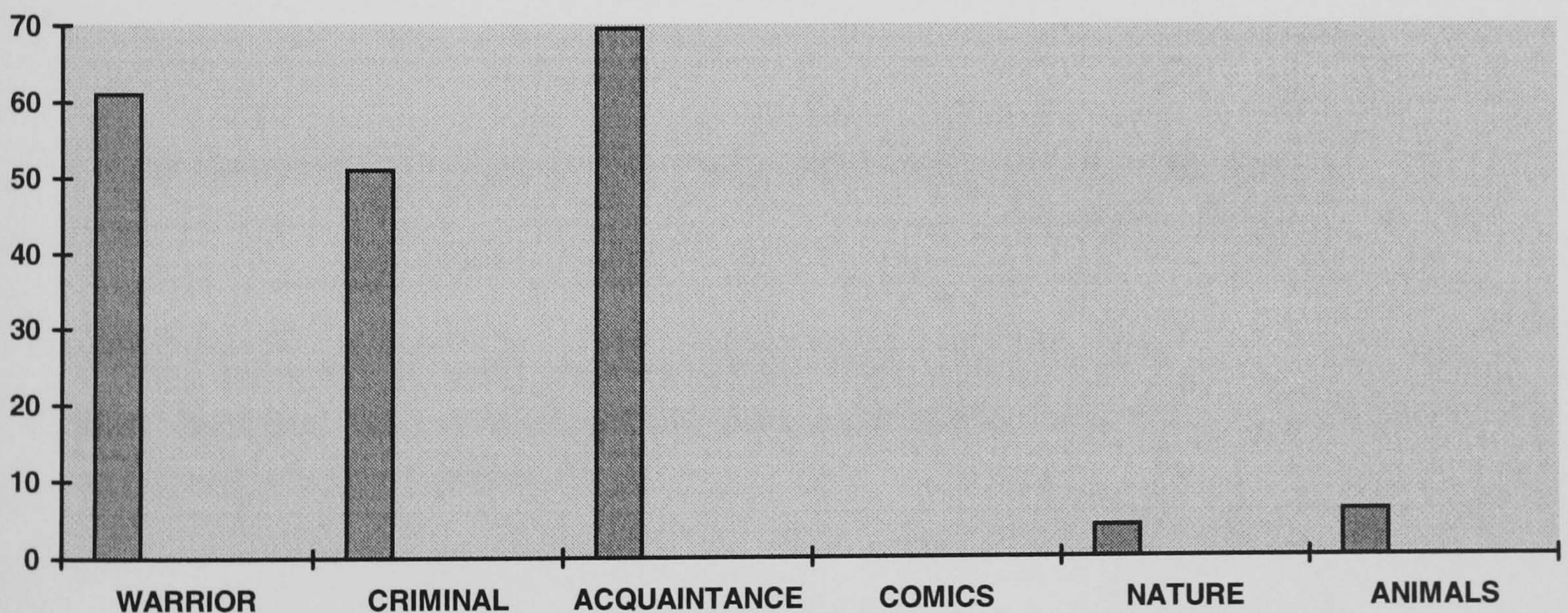
#### 8.3.1 Enemy images

Forty-nine nine-year-old children were also interviewed in Greece. They were 25 boys and 24 girls drawn from ten schools, five in Thessaloniki and five in Chios. The following table and histogram present the enemy images as described by the nine-year-old interviewees in Greece.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN GREECE(N=49)	
ACQUAINTANCE	34 (70%)
WARRIOR	30 (61%)
CRIMINAL	25(51%)
ANIMALS	3 (6%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	2 (4%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	0

Table 22

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children in Greece. The numbers in the brackets indicate percentages. 49 nine-year-old children were examined in Greece.



Histogram 6

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children in Greece. 49 nine-year-old children were examined in Greece.

### **8.3.1.1 Enemy-acquaintance image**

The enemy images described by the nine-year-old interviewees in Greece were the same with the ones given by the younger interviewees. Their dominant enemy image was the enemy-acquaintance. Seven out of ten children referred to that category. Nine-year-olds talked about other children in their social environment as being their enemies. They mostly talked about some of their classmates who caused trouble and behaved in an annoying fashion. Children's accounts of enemy-acquaintances varied from descriptions of temporary disagreement and clashes with their pals, to persistent teasing and annoying.

An enemy is when I had a fight with somebody.... and there is a misunderstanding for unimportant things. We understand it and we become friends.

(Ioanna, f,9,C)

Sometimes children talked about being bullied by other children in the school.

I think that enemy is the one who always teases us... hits us, or pushes.

(Yiorgos, m,9,T)

When I have fought with some children. They tease me, throw me down to the floor, beat me. I don't want that. I want to be friends with them, not enemies, (I want) to have peace where I live.

(Marcella, f,9,C)

They did not give adequate explanations of why all these conflicts occurred and what was the reason for the bullies to attack them. Some did, however, admit that they had sometimes used violence themselves. A number of children complained that other children used verbal violence against them.

They tease.

(Heraclis, m,9,C)

Other children claimed that their enemies expressed their aggression indirectly. They defined enemies as children in their peer group who used subtle ways to harm them. Under this category responses like “they betray us”, “blames” or “spreads rumours” were classified.

Enemy is when somebody blames you. He makes your friend at the beginning and then lets you down.

(Yiorgos, m,9,C)

They betray the other children.

(Heraclis, m,9,C)

My enemy are my friends. They are sometimes jealous and then I think that they fight me somehow.

(Natasa, f,9,T)

For the group of the Greek nine-year-old interviewees their peer group was very important. Children were a lot more affected by the group of friends and they seemed to get feedback from other children in the group more than from their families. This has to be examined in accordance with the rest of their answers about enemies. A number of researchers claimed that by the age of about eight, children were a lot more inclined to be involved in conflict situations and bullying, both as aggressors or as victims (Rolland and Munthe, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Genta et al, 1996; Almeida et al, 1996; Pereira et al, 1997). Other researchers argued that young children of that age had positive attitudes to aggressive behaviour (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994). This also seemed to be the case for the nine-year-olds involved in this study.

A number of children, mostly girls, preferred to negotiate with their personal enemy-acquaintances rather than getting into conflict with them.

Enemy is the one who does something bad, or is jealous for something. For example in the break, if a child comes and hits us. But I do not think he is an enemy. If he tells a nasty word, for example, then he will simply not be our friend.

(Zanina, f,9,T)

### 8.3.1.2 Enemy-warrior image

The second most preferred enemy image for the nine-year-olds in Greece, was the one of the warrior. 60% of the children examined talked about that type of enemy. The majority of the children described the image of the enemy-soldier. They described the actions of soldiers who invaded a country, were violent and caused mischief and pain. Most of the children who referred to that sub-category associated "enemy" with "war".

**Marcella (f,9,C):** Somebody who is against us. War. But this is not right. We must have peace.

**Researcher:** What does an enemy do?

**Marcella:** They take our money and have us as slaves. That is not good. This happens in other countries today.

The majority of the children who referred to enemy-warriors did not specify any particular nation or country as being a threat to Greece. Children were aware of the possible actions of a foreign army invading, but they did not feel personally threatened. The use, however, of "us" and "ours" suggests that many children put themselves in the position of innocent people attacked by a foreign enemy.

Fourteen children out of 30 who referred to the category of enemy-warrior defined as enemies specific nations that Greece had been in

conflict with in the past. Some of the nine-year-olds' accounts were very emotional as children could relate themselves to the children who had been affected by the war in Bosnia. The children from this age group that were examined in Greece seemed to have much knowledge about past events, such as the war in Bosnia and previous military conflict with Turkey. They were in a position to draw conclusions based on their knowledge about the past.

Nine children defined the Turks as being their enemies. They claimed that the Turks were a present threat and talked about the Greek-Turkish conflict and its possible future output.

During the fighting over Imia (the name of the islands) all the men were recruited in the army, to send them to war ... when I heard about that I was shocked because my dad was recruited as well. Then I remembered my mum saying "Vagelis don't be greedy because if a war takes place you will be like the UNICEF children, or like the children in Serbia". And at the time of the conflict... for the very first time in my life I thought what war really is and I was shocked, I was so sad....

(Vagelis, m,9,C)

Well (the Turks invaded) ... Izmir and Upper Cyprus and they want war. In olden times, all of Turkey was ours. But from the church in Istanbul they started fighting and took it from us. And now they have conquered and they want to conquer the whole of Greece... Because we've beaten them and they want to start a new war with us for revenge and have us as their slaves.

(Vasilis, m,9,C)

Children in Chios talked about the Turkish intervention in Cyprus in 1974 as well as about some violent incidents that took place during the summer of 1996. As Cyprus and Chios are both islands close to the Turkish border, the residents of Chios may identify themselves with the Cypriots and may be concerned with what might happen to them in the case of military conflict between the two countries.

Furthermore, in the summer of 1996, there was tension in the island of Cyprus. Two Greek-Cypriots were shot dead while trying to cross the

border between Southern and Northern Cyprus. Greek public opinion considers the Cyprus issue as a “national issue” and usually what happens in Cyprus is presented as if it happened in Greece. So, children’s opinions and images were influenced by the incidents that had taken place shortly before the interviews and were important issues in their social environment.

It seems that those incidents added up to the already existing ideas that the expansionist aspirations of Turkey are a source of threat for Greece (Volkan and Itzkowitz, 1994).

There were also some nine-year-old children who thought that the Turks might have the same feelings about the Greeks.

They also believe that Greeks are bad, that’s what they say. But they learn all their lessons in Turkish and when they come here they won’t speak any Greek at all...  
(Tassos, m,9,C)

Such responses indicate that children managed “to see beyond their own in-group”. The fact that other people might conceive reality in a different way, is an ability that none of the younger interviewees exhibited.

### **8.3.1.3 Enemy-criminal image**

The third most popular enemy-image was the one of criminal. Many children referred to what they had heard on television news and claimed that those people were their enemies.

I learn... I watch the people. On the news they always show things, thieves.  
(Yiorgos, m,9,T)

Greek television presents crimes with many details and explicit accounts on the criminal's profiles are often offered. So Thodoris found a humorous way of putting it.

It seems that the thieves and rapists will eventually become TV stars. They will get money. They will be stars.

(Thodoris, m,9,T)

Nine-year-old children seemed to be aware of different crimes that had taken place and mentioned names of people who had been arrested at the time. Some children made an effort to give the reasons why criminals did such things and tried to explain adults' behaviour according to their own feelings and emotions.

Adults also may feel jealous and kill somebody.

(Marina, f,9,C)

Some nine-year-old children (the same way with a number of seven-year-olds) specified some groups in Greek society, and associated them to criminal actions. These groups were "the Albanians" and "the Gypsies". They were blamed for selling drugs, for stealing and causing trouble. None of the children had a direct acquaintance with people belonging to these groups, in spite of the fact that people from these social groups often lived fairly close to some of the interviewees. Children, relying on rumours, sometimes expressed their fear that "the Albanians" or "the Gypsies" living at the same neighbourhood, might hurt them. The number of children who supported these ideas was not large. Only four out of the 49 nine-year-old children interviewed referred to specific groups as enemies. Therefore, this is a prejudiced disposition that concerned educators should seriously take into account.

### 8.3.2 Means of protection from the enemies

The following table presents the sources of protection as described by nine-year-old children.

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN GREECE (N=49)	
FAMILY	30
RELIGION	13
ADULTS-PEERS	11
INSTITUTIONS	11
MYSELF	10

Table 23

Sources of protection from the enemy as given by nine-year-old children in Greece. The total number of nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece was 49.

Nine-year-old children referred to the same sources of protection as their younger fellow interviewees. Family was the dominant source of protection. Thirty of the 49 interviewees talked about it.

When we quarrel with another child,... for example I fought with somebody and my dad fought with that child's dad... because we were fighting and we couldn't stop, they separated us. So our dads protect us, our parents.

(Kostas, m,9,T)

Many nine-year-old children, constructed their arguments using examples from their own experiences to make their arguments stronger. Other children claimed that they protected themselves.

I protect myself. I'm not like those kids who say "I'll tell my mum and you'll be in trouble". My parents are not there anyway. My dad is a sailor and my mum has a job and I would tell my sister only if it was something very important, something bad.

(Ioanna, f,9,C)

Others, talked about a more superstitious source of protection, claiming that talismans, sanctified religious objects and other elements protected



them. This dimension was found in Greek children in all age groups. Such a means of protection was not mentioned by the children interviewed in York. These findings should be connected with the social context of Greece, where there is only one dominant religion, the Christian Orthodox one. Religious Education and Christian Orthodoxy are a part of the Greek National Curriculum.

I've got these crosses and those icons that protect me.

(Tassos, m,9,C)

The police and the army, were very popular sources of protection among Chios children. They protected the whole society. The existence and maintenance of such institutions was considered very important by the children as they discouraged criminals and foreign enemy countries from acting against their society.

From enemies like the Turks, the thieves etc., our protector is the army or the police. Mum and dad love and look after the child. The army and the police do not protect just me or Yiorgos and Maria. They protect the whole island, the whole of Greece. They protect us from the people who sell drugs and from the Turks.

(Vagelis, m,9,C)

One out of four children claimed that they were protected by other children in their group or even by adults.

Our friends. When two children fight each other that child goes between them and stops them. Stops them from hitting each other and that is very good because that child protects them, protects both of them.

(Vassilis, m,9,T)

Children at this age group seemed to be a lot more dependent on their peers and to count on their help in order to face their enemies. Only five

percent of the seven-year-olds referred to their peers as offering them protection while twenty-five percent of the nine-year-olds did this.

### 8.3.3 Sources of information about enemies

More than half of the nine-year-olds claimed that they had found out about enemies from the media. An important shift can be observed in the sources of information as reported from the group of older children that were examined in Greece. The family was not projected as the major source of information, while personal experience and the media were mentioned as the most common sources of information.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN GREECE (N=49)	
MEDIA	26
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	24
FAMILY	15
SCHOOL	11

Table 24

Sources of information about the enemy as described by the nine-year-old children in Greece. 49 nine-year-old children were examined in Greece.

We see it in the news, we see all these people, the baddies, who do all these things...We listen to the TV news.

(Katerina, f,9,T)

I found out, about the army that protects us, at school. About the other things (Turks and the possibility of a war in the Aegean Sea), I found out from the news.

(Christina, f,9,T)

I know it from television, from the news. There may be a war.

(Kyriaki, f,9,C)

It seemed that the nine-year-old interviewees, gathered information about criminals and the Greek-Turkish conflict mainly from television news. The older children seemed to watch television news even more

than their younger fellow interviewees. Half of the nine-year-old children claimed that they had acquired knowledge, through their own experiences. Children who referred to that source of information, referred mainly to the enemy-acquaintances.

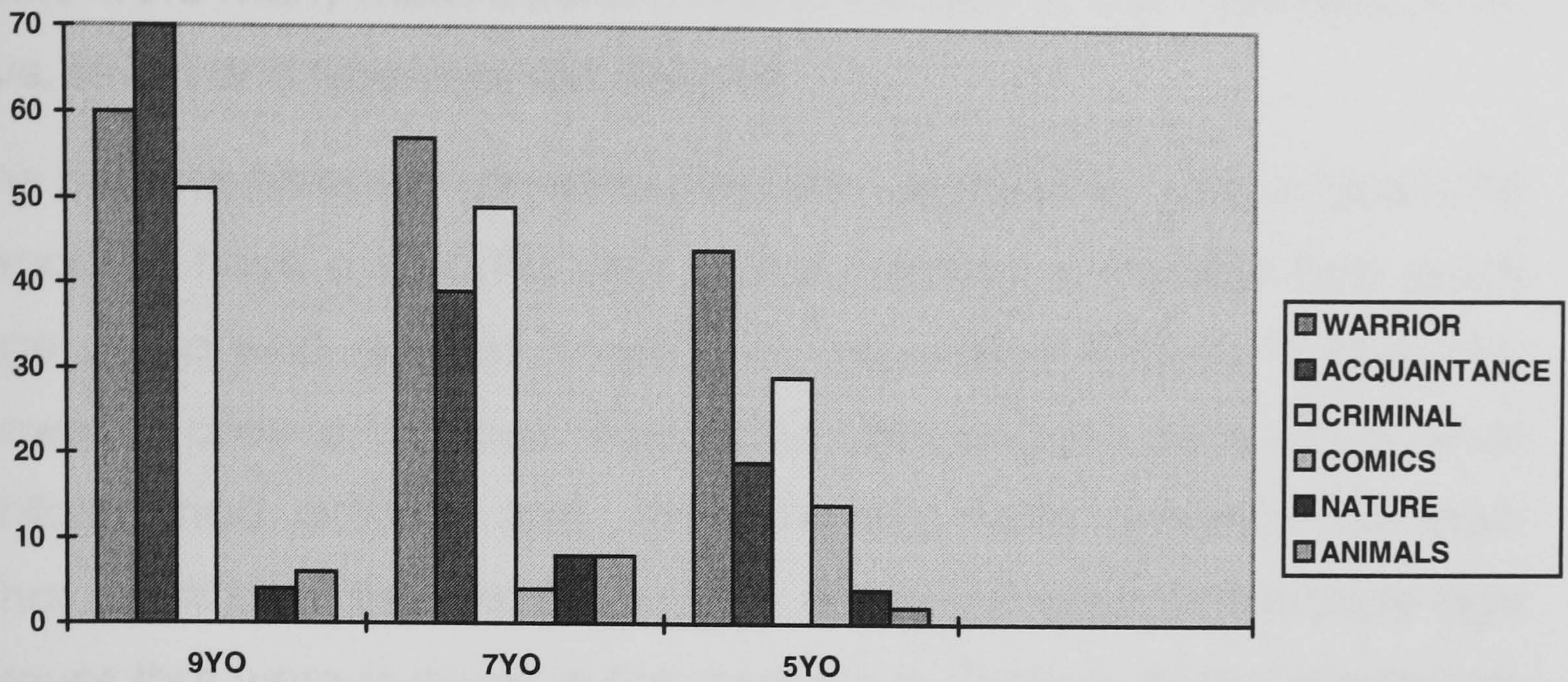
I quarrel (with my friends). In the next break we are friends again.  
(Argiro, f,9,C)

Some of these things I know, because they happened to me: I just feel that these children are not my friends... I don't want them near me.  
(Katerina, f,9,T)

Families were reported to give information about enemies to their younger members. This category was relatively less common among nine-year-olds. School was also mentioned as a source of information. It seemed that nine-year-olds gathered information not only from their books and teachers but also from group discussion at school.

We talk about things with the teacher and with the rest of the children.  
(Antonis, m,9,T)

The following histogram and table present the most frequent enemy images among the three age groups of children that were interviewed in Greece. The differences that were observed between the responses of the three age groups will be illustrated in a more explicit way.



Histogram 7

Enemy images as described by the three age groups of children that were interviewed in Greece. 49 nine-year-olds, 49 seven-year-olds and 52 five-year-olds were examined in Greece.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE THREE AGE GROUPS IN GREECE			
	9-YEAR-OLDS N=49	7-YEAR-OLDS N=49	5-YEAR-OLDS N=52
WARRIORS	30 (60%)	28 (57%)	23 (44%)
ACQUAINTANCE	34 (70%)	19 (39%)	10 (19%)
CRIMINAL	25 (51%)	24 (49%)	15 (29%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	0	2 (4%)	7 (14%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	2 (4%)	4 (8%)	2 (4%)
ANIMALS	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	1 (2%)

Table 25

Enemy images as described by the three age groups of children that were interviewed in Greece. 49 nine-year-olds, 49 seven-year-olds and 52 five-year-olds were examined in Greece.

From the histogram and the table, it is obvious that the enemy-warrior category was very high in the responses of the Greek children. The warrior category was disproportionately high (as compared to the other responses) among the five-year-old children. The histograms presenting the responses of five and seven-year-old children look very much alike.

One difference that can be easily spotted from the histogram was that nine-year-olds gave more descriptions in each category. Of course,

there were many more differences in the quality of the responses of the five, seven and nine-year-old children.

The previous histogram presents data in a quantitative way. It allows the reader to have a synoptic view of the numbers of children from each age group who referred to each of the enemy images. It does not, however, allow a “deeper” view of the data and the discovery of what children had actually said. The following table presents the main characteristics of the responses of the children in each of the three age groups that were involved in the research in Greece. All the statements that were commonly mentioned by children belonging in a group and were not commonly mentioned by children in other age groups were considered as characteristics of the responses of children belonging to a specific age group.

FIVE-YEAR-OLDS	SEVEN-YEAR-OLDS	NINE-YEAR-OLDS
Emphasis on enemy-warrior, identification with national in-group.	Emphasis on enemy-warrior, identification with national in-group.	Emphasis on interpersonal relations and enemy-acquaintance image.
Good vs. bad distinction.	Good vs. bad distinction.	
Confusion-ignorance of facts.	Partial knowledge of facts (international conflicts/crimes).	More information. Knowledge of facts.
One-word description of "enemies".	Extensive use of flags in drawings and interviews.	More accurate accounts of conflict.
	Use of imaginary stories to strengthen argument.	
Enemy hurts children personally.	Tried to find reasons for crime. Association of crime with specific social groups.	More detailed accounts about crime in society and war in other countries.
Wrong information and misconceptions about the Turks.	Traditional images of the Turks/ not updated information.	
Emphasis on enemies' appearance.	Emphasis on enemies' appearance.	More descriptions of the enemies' mentality descriptions of conflict in relation to people's fate.
Instrumental aggression.		
Information coming from family, school, media.	Information coming from films, television news and personal experience.	Information coming from television news and personal experience.
Protection offered mainly from family.	Self-protection.	Self-protection.

Table 26

Main characteristics of the responses of the children in each of the three age groups that were involved in the research.

The youngest group of children involved in the research, described enemies as people who would harm them or their families. This can be explained through the theory of Piaget, (1932, 1954), that young children were egocentric, in the sense that they tended to see the world phenomena only in accordance to themselves and their experiences. Piaget also claimed (1928, 1932, 1954, 1975; Piaget and Weil, 1951), that young children have no sense of their nationality and of their country's borders. The findings of this research however, do not confirm such a claim. In this research the majority of the children identified themselves with their national in-group (Greeks). Some five-year-olds drew flags of their country, while some seven and nine-year-olds drew maps of their country and its national enemy (Turkey).

It seemed that for the 5 and 7-year-old children the relation with the national group was particularly strong, and they thought that the enemies of their country were the main threat for them personally. This coincides with the findings of Barrett and Short, (1992), who claimed that younger children had strong feelings of belonging to their national group.

Previous research indicated that young children at about the age of 6 held more stereotypes about other countries and nationals (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967). It was also found that younger children were a lot more hostile against foreign countries and were much more favour of the idea of war (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; and Tolley, 1973). It has also been claimed that as children grow older they develop a sense of morality, start giving more friendly accounts about other nationalities, are less tolerant toward war and take into account the consequences of violent conflict into people's lives (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Tolley, 1973; McKelvey, 1983; and Rohrer, 1996).

As regards interpersonal aggression, the research findings also accord with previous research that children as young as the age of 5 had

bullying experiences (Madsen and Smith, 1993; De Rosier et al, 1994; Smith and Levan, 1995). Many research projects concluded that children at about the age of 8, were more prone to be involved in bullying (Rolland and Munthe, 1989; Whitney and Smith, 1993; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Genta et al, 1996; Almeida et al, 1996; and Pereira et al, 1997). The nine-year-olds that were examined in this research, considered their interpersonal relations very important and identified their enemies among their peer group.

This research also suggested that five, seven and nine-year-olds referred to the same enemy images. There were, however, differences in the emphasis that children from each age group placed on each of those enemy images.



#### **8.4 The responses across the three age groups**

Some characteristics of the responses of children in each age group have been recognised. One should, however, be very careful in claiming that children's attitudes towards enemies are a product of their age. In this section some common traits of the responses of children, coming from each of the age groups that were involved in the study, are presented. Some of those statements could be explained under the prism of stages of cognitive or moral development as expressed by Piaget, (1928, 1932, 1954, 1975), and Kohlberg, (Blatt and Kohlberg, 1970; Kohlberg, 1964, 1981), respectively. Those statements were about the way children perceived themselves, other people, their interpersonal relations, as well as the international relations of their country. Children's statements could be placed into two broad categories: naïve statements often made by younger children and more advanced, mature statements that could be related to higher levels of cognitive or moral development. Both mature and naïve statements were made by children from every age group. Age was not the only factor influencing children's attitudes towards enemies. Nor were there any unchangeable or generally applicable stage-like differences between the responses of five, seven and nine-year-olds. The responses of the nine-year-old children that were examined in York were also included in this section's analysis.

When talking about enemies, children often made comparisons between their in-group and other groups. In most of these comparisons the children's in-group was presented as possessing more positive qualities. The national in-group was the "correct" group, and all the other nations and countries existed only in relation to it.

He (the priest) wanted us (Greeks) and them (Turks) to be friends but they didn't want it.

(Tassos, m,9,C)

Several children identified with their group and appeared to have a very strong sense of belonging to either their national group or their peer group. They started with the axiom that they and the people consisting their in-group were the "normal" ones, the ones with the right attitude.

Another commonly expressed concern of children was the avoidance of punishment. When describing their interpersonal relations with their peers, many of the interviewees stressed the importance of behaving well or otherwise they would have to face the consequences.

The maintenance of imposed rules seemed to be important in children's interpersonal relations. Children breaking the rules of a game were considered to be creating serious trouble. The interviewees claimed that they avoided socialising with children who created trouble. According to Kohlberg's theory (Duska and Whelan, 1977; Kohlberg, 1964, 1981), children in the first stages of their moral development believe that there is a pre-fixed set of rules determining people's social activities. The breaking of the social rules caused distress to many young interviewees who evaluated people's actions on whether they went along with the rules. People who did not comply with the mainstream rules were considered "enemies" and could receive punishment.

I've been (an enemy). I've hurt people and all that. Then I've stopped doing it, so I didn't get told off all the time.

(Daniel, m,9,Y)

The boy, admitted that he had in the past done nasty things and that others considered him as an enemy. He stopped being naughty so as

not to have trouble with adults. Some children believed that there was a set of rules applicable for the society in general.

I can't understand why people rape, steal, kill...I can't understand. Why have trouble with prison when you can have a nice, free life. But they go to prison and kill people.

(Vassilis, m,9,C)

According to Vassilis, people should avoid committing crimes since crimes would lead them into the ultimate punishment of prison. Therefore, everyone wishing for a quiet life should refrain from crime and avoid punishment. Justice, loyalty or the other people's feelings did not influence the decisions of children who gave such responses.

The moral obligations and the duty people had towards their country were also mentioned. Some children seemed to be determined to defend their country from national enemies.

When the Turks come ... we must get arms and fight.

(Mary, f,7,C)

Some children also were misinformed or confused about historical facts. Some children's accounts were giving information that was inaccurate and presented twisted images of reality.

In environmental education we studied about some Askimos (Eskimos; but the word "askimo" means "ugly" in Greek), Chinese, many different people. The teacher explained us how it happens. I don't remember. (The teacher told us) that in order not their skin die and it becomes white, they blacken and get black.

(Antonis, m,7,C)

(The enemies) will take the city and place it in another country.

(Katerina, f,5,T)

The Germans think that Hitler was a good man.

(Aaron, m,9,Y)

They (the Turks) learn all their lessons in Turkish and they won't speak any Greek when they come here.

(Tassos, m,9,C)

Statements like the two last ones showed a lack of current information about the "national enemies" of Britain and Greece (the Germans and the Turks, respectively). It seemed that children's information about these countries was limited to knowledge about past war conflicts. This was also argued by Frangudaki, (1995), and Cullingford and Husemann, (1995).

Some children admitted that their own in-group (nation or peers) had at times been an enemy to other people or countries.

Somebody that we pick on we want to hurt him....

(Manolis, m,7,C)

Manolis seemed to accept that enemies were sometimes the victims of his peer-group aggressiveness. He willingly accepted his own and his friends responsibility for some of the conflict in their interpersonal relations, in everyday situations.

No matter whether children offered right or wrong information about the historical facts, some managed to look at their country through the eyes of other people. They managed to see beyond the group they belonged to and they tried to understand the way other people thought of them.

They (the Turks) also think that Greeks are bad. That's what they say.

(Tassos, m,9,C)

They (the Spanish) didn't try to attack us. We tried to attack them.  
(Tom, m,9,Y)

Many children identified themselves with their national groups, and used the term "we" to describe the actions of their compatriots. Others were a lot more distant, and did not identify themselves with their ancestors. They gave a far more objective account of history.

From Britain they went to Africa and pushed everyone out, all the African people. The British people took over their land.  
(Jennifer, f,9,Y)

One should consider the role of educators and schools in presenting the past. It seemed that school sometimes offered children the opportunity to develop their curiosity about the past and their critical thinking. Nevertheless, most of the children seemed to have negative stereotypes about other countries and people. They had, in contrast, a prettified image of their own country and held positive feelings about it. It seemed that children had information only about those conflicts in which their country was the victim of the imperialistic tendencies of other countries. The reverse situation, where one's own country had attacked another, was missing. Both English and Greek children did not talk about wars that their country had started. Children expressed their beliefs that their country was fair and inhabited by peaceful and nice citizens. Generally, in children's accounts country and nation were presented as a high value, an ideal that everybody should respect and defend or even die for.

Some children seemed to be in a stage of transition, moving towards the development of more advanced social skills. They criticised the use of direct aggression as a way of resolving conflict and some proposed

alternative, non-violent ways of dealing with conflict. Many of the children interviewed seemed to have internalised the dictated social norms that reject aggressive behaviour and the use of violence. They did, however, claim that they were obliged at times to respond violently to their aggressors.

I've hit people ... because, of course, they were teasing me. I did not beat them because I liked beating them.

(Thodoris, m,9,T)

I don't want to fight. All right, I do as well fight, but I don't hurt people in their bellies or genitals, but I can call in my mother to do something about it. OK, I sometimes fight, but I do afterwards apologise, if I am wrong.

(Stamatis, m,9,T)

Children felt the need to excuse themselves, by claiming that they were not the ones to start the fighting. Previous research has produced results that coincide with these children's attitude who verbally rejected violence but still used it (Campbell, 1996). Campbell's research showed that boys were more willing to justify the use of violence, considering it unavoidable and thinking that it was the only way of working out their differences with other children.

A number of children gave accounts that could be considered characteristics of the most advanced level of moral development. Children in those cases appealed to humanistic ideals and to the intrinsic value of the environment.

Enemies are the ones who kill animals; this is not right because they... it is no right for the whole world because they kill something beautiful... they kill the beauty of the world. They kill the seals. I watched on the news today that they killed a dolphin. It was an advertisement showing people with tools killing a seal, hitting it... That was not right. I do not understand why they kill them. They kill many animals. They kill animals of the sea and of the forest, foxes to make furs for the

rich ladies. They do not need the furs to keep them warm, but to show off, to say “I’m rich, I don’t care. I have a fur, you have not”. They also kill bears.  
(Vassilis, m,9,C)

Some children recognised the individual responsibility people had to develop their interpersonal relations. They did not take human relations for granted and seemed to realise that in a case of conflict both sides were to be blamed. Some children had a very optimistic view that once people meet each other personally, they may realise that they do not have many differences. So, two enemies may turn to be friends.

At any time two enemies can become friends... if they get to know each other better. The opposite could also happen. Two friends may for some minor incident, separate ... not to see each other again, not to care for each other,... to be enemies.  
(Peny, f,9,T)

Generally I could have all the children on earth as my friends, provided that they would have me as their friend, not considering me as an enemy.  
(Zanina, f,9,T)

Zanina was very positive about other people, provided that there was a reciprocity in the attitudes and behaviour of other people. When asked whether there was anything or anyone to protect her from the enemy, she answered:

Our heart, our soul should help me; what I feel for the others. For example, if we have a teddy bear and some other child wants to play with it, we could give it for some time and then we could take it back “the teddy bear belongs to me”. We should have some kindness, to be able to give some things to our friends.  
(Zanina, f,9,T)

Our friend's love (protects us), and our love towards him. Because... because he (the enemy) may tease us and we may still love him.

(Anna, f,9,T)

Some children obviously gave a different quality of responses, as they sounded more prepared to share things. Instrumental aggression, the type of aggression which was very common in earlier ages, did not seem to occur in those accounts (Papadopoulos, 1996). Aggression was characterised by some children as an unacceptable behaviour that should be avoided. Generally, a number of children proposed an alternative approach to the resolution of conflict at an interpersonal level.

Some children commented on international conflict as well. They claimed that it was mainly the adults who had enemies and referred to military conflicts as a business of the grown-ups.

**Christina (f,9,T):** (I could have a Turkish child as a friend.) Why not? The child did not do anything wrong. The innocent child did nothing wrong. The grown ups do.

**Researcher:** The child will grow up though...

**Christina:** We will try to persuade it to grow up in a different way, having friends from other countries, not (to grow up) the same way with his parents or relatives.

Christina thought that children were born naturally good and it is the way in which they are brought up that determines their character. She emphasised the importance of education in the personal growth of people and as a guarantee for a better and safer future. Christina stressed that people who socialise with people "from all around the world" have a better chance to be open minded and peaceful. Statements like this sound very sophisticated. Nevertheless, Christina seemed to believe that her own in-group could teach others to respect different people and cultures. She held a very positive opinion of the education and the upbringing of her compatriots and suggested that



the potential enemies would be better people if they grew up in the "right", Greek way. It seemed that there was a kind of inconsistency in the way she articulated her arguments. Some of her ideas demonstrated a great deal of moral maturation, while others illustrated an inability to decentre and realise that her point of view was one out of a number of possible views. This was quite a common phenomenon. Many nine-year-old children gave statements which projected international ideals and were at the same time egocentric. It was not this research's aim, however, to judge children or to classify them in terms of cognitive and/or moral development according to their statements. This extended consideration of cognitive and moral stages of children's development is attempted in order to have a clearer picture of what was going on in children's minds about enemies.

The way the research was conducted did not allow the verification of whether children really believed and practised what they stood for. This research focused on the discovery of children's beliefs. Talking to children could illuminate their attitudes towards the issues of enemies and the ways one should behave towards "others". Children might have simply repeated what they had heard from teachers or other adults in their environment about the "proper ways of behaving". Even if children were genuine in presenting their beliefs about war and peace and about their interpersonal relations, their actual behaviour could still not be examined. The children's interpersonal relations could not be adequately examined without observation.

There was a whole range of responses varying from very sophisticated answers, indicating deep emotional involvement, advanced thinking and advanced language abilities, critical and comparative thinking. These answers were mostly given by older children. However, there were some exceptionally mature responses given by five-year-olds. There had also been some naïve responses given mainly, but not only, by five-year-

olds. Developmental stages and examination of children's responses in respect to their age offered a framework of interpretation of children's attitudes towards "others". This framework may not be generally applicable and the children's responses will be examined in the following chapters using other parameters, such as gender and geographic area where children lived.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Piagetian theory of children's development children have no inborn knowledge about reality, but they actively construct their understanding about the world, based upon their experiences. At the early stages of their life, children lack organised patterns of thought and action to help them organise and understand their experiences. This development procedure takes place throughout the continuous process of interaction with the environment and is called "adaptation". Adaptation takes two forms, assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is the process by which children interpret their new experiences by incorporating them into their existing structures. Accommodation is a more advanced process of modification of existing structures, the schemes, in order to adapt to new experiences.

## Chapter 9

### **Gender differences in the descriptions of enemy images**

In the previous chapter the responses of children in respect to their age group were discussed. The answers of the three age groups that were involved in the study were compared and contrasted and seen through previous research and theories on how children perceive the social environment. There were certain characteristics that could be detected in the answers of the three age groups (five, seven and nine-year-olds) involved in the research. However, the children's responses did not differ dramatically in each of those age groups. Age offered a framework of dealing with children's responses. It does not, however, seem to be the only parameter determining children's enemy-images and their attitudes towards other people and groups.

Data analysis suggested that there were some differences between the answers of boys and girls. Previous research has also suggested the existence of specific differences in the ways boys and girls express their aggression (Maccoby and Jacklin, 1974; Maccoby, 1988; Hesse, 1992; Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994, Archer and Parker, 1994; Crick and Grotpeter 1995; Campbell, 1996; and Hagglund, 1996). In this chapter the responses of children about enemies are analysed in respect to their gender.

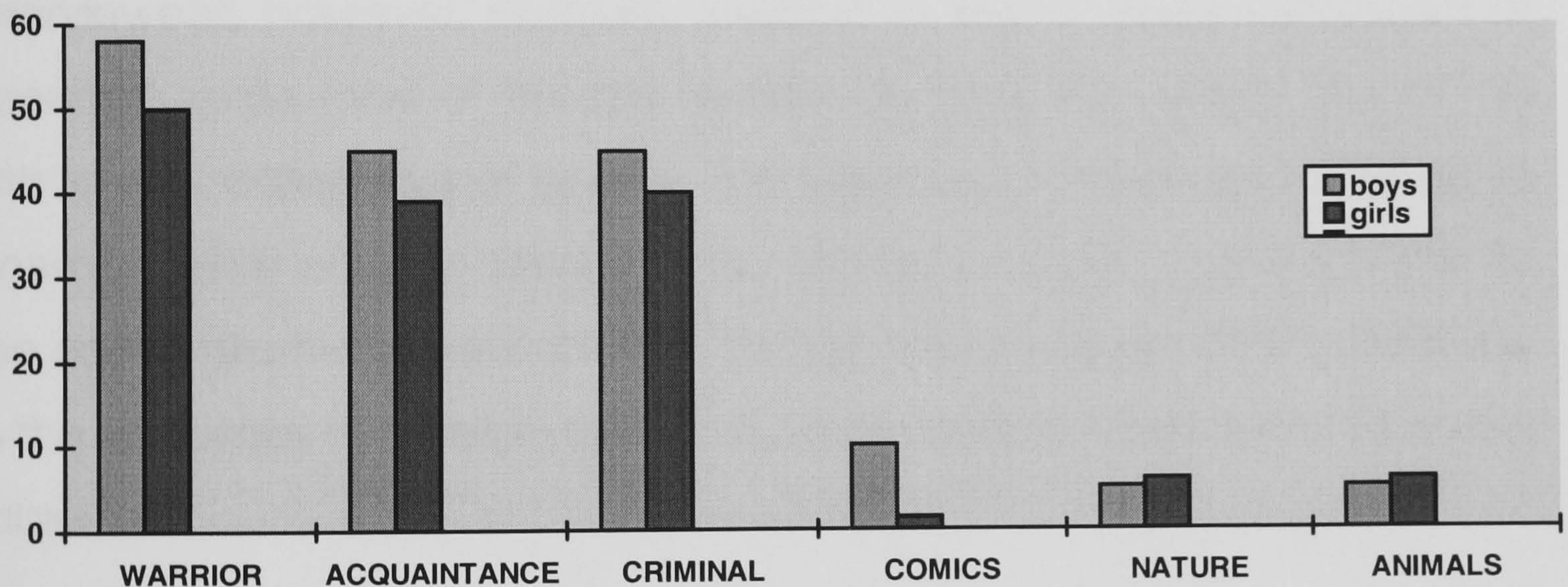
Both boys and girls described the same images. They focused, however, on different aspects of what it is to have enemies and suggested different ways of dealing with conflict. The girls that were interviewed in this research seemed to believe that they and their enemies could avoid direct, violent clashes and that they could possibly negotiate and reach an agreement. Boys, on the contrary, gave a lot more dramatic accounts of enemies, describing real events, historic facts and imaginary conflicts.

### 9.1 Gender differences in enemy images

In this chapter the responses of boys and girls from Greece (Thessaloniki and Chios) and England (York) will be presented and compared.

Almost the same numbers of boys and girls were involved in this research. Seventy-eight boys and seventy-two girls were interviewed in Greece. The number of York children interviewed was a lot smaller. Twenty-one children, 10 boys and 11 girls were involved in the study.

The ratio of the female subjects of the research in Greece to the males, was 9:10. That means that there were nine girls interviewed for every ten boys interviewed. The histogram and the table that follow, present the enemy images as described by the Greek boys and girls.



Histogram 8  
Enemy images as described by the boys and girls in Greece. 78 boys and 72 girls were examined in Greece.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN GREECE		
	BOYS (N=78)	GIRLS (N=72)
WARRIOR	45 (58%)	36 (50%)
ACQUAINTANCE	35 (45%)	28 (39%)
CRIMINAL	35 (45%)	29 (40%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	8 (10%)	1 (1.5%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	4 (5%)	4 (6%)
ANIMALS	4 (5%)	4 (6%)

Table 27  
Enemy images as described by the boys and girls in Greece.  
78 boys and 72 girls were examined in Greece.

Boys, as can be seen in the histogram and the table, gave more enemy descriptions (133) than girls (97). The histogram of the girls is similar to the one of the boys. That means that both boys and girls gave emphasis to the same categories of enemy-images. The majority of the boy interviewees, however, normally referred to two or three categories of "enemy", while most of the girls referred to only one, and a few of the girls to two, categories of enemy. The enemies of nature and animals as enemies, were equally cited by boys and girls. Almost no girls referred to the enemy-from-comics category. Similar differences could be observed in the responses of children from York, that are presented in the following table.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN YORK		
	BOYS (N=10)	GIRLS (N=11)
WARRIOR	7 (70%)	3 (27%)
ACQUAINTANCE	10 (100%)	11 (100%)
CRIMINAL	5 (50%)	1 (9%)

Table 28  
Enemy images as described by the boys and girls in York.  
10 boys and 11 girls were examined in York.

It seemed that English girls were even less concerned about enemies

than the Greek girls. Boys gave 22 responses about enemies, while girls only 15. The only enemy-image in which York boys and girls equally referred to was the one of enemy-acquaintance. The fact that girls and boys gave similar responses about enemies but that girls were less opinionated about them was among the findings of previous research in Greece (Païda et al, 1996).

### 9.1.1 Enemy-warrior image

Other research (Greenstein, 1969; Tolley, 1973; McKelvey, 1983; Hesse, 1992) indicated that girls were less interested than boys in war. When boys were asked about war, they gave visual images of armed conflict (Hesse, 1992; and Hagglund, 1996). Similar responses were given by the boys involved in this research. When describing the warrior-image, boys tended to concentrate on battles, to talk about the soldiers' armoury, their weapons and the aeroplanes and boats that were involved in the war (see appendix 3, drawings 18, 19 and 20).

The Turk (holds) a gun. To kill. Because he is bad.

(Yiorgos, m,5,C)

I drew war. I don't like war. It kills. The enemies are in the planes. This is Greek, and this one is Turkish... (I've made) the rocks and weapons. (The weapons of ) the Greeks. A boat... The bombs go on the Turkish (plane) and knock it down."

(Porfirios, m,5,C)

The Greek boat bombs the Turkish to kill them. The aeroplane shoots missiles and sets it into fire. (Who is the enemy?) The Turks."

(Manolis, m,7,C)

(Enemies are in a) Fortress. Sometimes they left this place to go and attack.

(Andy, m,9,Y)

There's two tanks and one of the tanks is firing at the other tank. And there's two boats and one of the boats is firing the other boat.

(Lawrence, m,9,Y)

A few girls gave similar descriptions.

A Turk who has a sword, a gun and he is up in the mountains.

(Vaggelia, f,7,T)

There are two cliffs. There is a person over each cliff. One of the persons got an arrow. He shoots with an arrow. And the other person's got a gun. He's shooting with a gun. And at the other side of the cliff where the person with the arrow is there's this big explosion where the bullets hit the ground. It's war.

(Jennifer, f,9,Y, describing her drawing)

Most of the girls, however, did not present the enemy-warrior in the battlefield. They talked about soldiers attacking villages, invading land and hurting and upsetting ordinary people's life (see appendix 3, drawing 21). The main interest of the girls was in the fate of the families and children when their country was attacked. They described the impact of war conflicts and stressed the people's feelings and emotions. Many girls talked about unfair wars, where the victims were poor people who were unable to defend themselves. These findings coincide with those of Hagglund, (1996), that girls described war and peace in terms of human relations.

An enemy is fighting against a poor city.

(Natassa, f,9,T)

An aeroplane throws a bomb. The aeroplane bombed a house and the people scream "Help!!!" Nobody likes war.

(Ioanna, f,9,C)

Girls also stressed the fact that war is a bad thing that should not

occur. The next quotation illustrates a child's effort to persuade that wars should be avoided. She also gave a "heretical" approach to the Greek-Turkish conflict in the small uninhabited islets in the Aegean Sea (January 1996). She drew a map of the area and hoped that both the Greek and Turkish army should respect the animals and stop any war enterprise in the area (see appendix 3, drawing 22).

The yellow is the island, the army of Turkey and the Greek army and I would like to make a few animals to stop this army... to stop the war. Some animals that we know and I hope we will sympathise with them, and the war will stop. It can't be otherwise.

(Zanina, f,9,T)

Many girls had a very emotional approach towards the actions of enemy-warriors. For most of the female interviewees wars were not exciting and glamorous. Wars concerned people, affecting and upsetting their lives directly and unpleasantly. Hesse, (1992), and Hagglund, (1996), also reported girls showing a lot more interest in the victims of wars than in the description of expensive weapons and armoury.

The following table presents the numbers of the responses of the Greek children in each of the enemy-warrior sub-categories. A lot more boys than girls named specific countries that Greece was in the past in war conflict with, as being their enemies.



ENEMY-WARRIOR SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN GREECE		
	BOYS (N=45)	GIRLS (N=36)
SOLDIER	21 (47%)	23 (64%)
NATIONAL ENEMY	6 (14%)	4 (11%)
TURKS	19 (42%)	10 (28%)

Table 29

Enemy-warrior sub-categories as described by the boys and girls in Greece. The percentages are shown in the brackets. Some children referred to two sub-categories (e.g. Germans- national enemy of Greece in the past-, and Turks - as a possible future threat). 45 boys and 36 girls referred to the enemy-warrior category in Greece.

A number of children referred to more than one sub-categories of enemy-warrior. Some children talked, for instance, about the Germans as a national enemy that had been in war conflict with Greece in the past, and about the Turks, as a possible future threat. Boys referred a lot more than girls to a possible war conflict with the Turks. Several boys spoke of the possibility of facing a war during their adult lives.

They (the Turks) may make war on us.

(Spiros, m,9,C)

The Turks are bad, because they constantly fight us.

(Stratis, m,9,C)

Girls, on the contrary, tended to describe warriors as soldiers fighting either in some distant country, or who fought in the past. They seemed to know what enemies were, but placed a distance, either time or space between themselves and the enemies. In a few words, most of the girls interviewed, did not seem to think that enemies were an important issue to them. They thought that wars would not affect them.

(Enemy is) basically war... when I think... somebody has differences with somebody else and they attack each other... .

(Natassa, f,9,T)

### 9.1.2 Enemy-acquaintance image

When it came to interpersonal conflict, and the description of enemy-acquaintance image, some differences in the responses of boys and girls could also be observed. Boys seemed to accept the use of violence in their every day relations. They referred to every day direct clash with their peers as a common means of conflict resolution. Even when they admitted that hitting and fighting was not a nice thing to do, some boys claimed that at times the use of violence was inevitable. These boys claimed that they were obliged to respond violently when teased by their peers at school or in the neighbourhood.

I've hit people... because, of course, they were teasing me. I did not beat them because I liked beating them.

(Thodoris, m,9,T)

The fact that boys considered violence necessary to resolve interpersonal conflict was one of the findings of the research of Archer and Parker, 1994.

Thirty-five of the Greek boys and 28 of the Greek girls that were interviewed referred to the category of enemy-acquaintance. Most of the girls associated enemies with playful situations. They described their disagreements with their best friends during playtime. Most of the conflicts described by girls were not long lasting. Girls tended to believe that quarrels derived from misunderstandings and that if people got to know each other better they would probably avoid fighting.

The two tables that follow, present the frequencies that boys and girls from Greece and Britain referred to each of the enemy-acquaintance sub-categories.

ENEMY-ACQUAINTANCE SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN GREECE		
	BOYS (N=35)	GIRLS (N=28)
PLAYFUL	5 (14%)	13 (46%)
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	22 (63%)	7 (25%)
VERBAL AGGRESSION	7 (20%)	2 (7%)
INDIRECT AGGRESSION	6 (17%)	6 (22%)

Table 30

Enemy-acquaintance sub-categories as described by the boys and girls in Greece. The percentages are shown in the brackets. Some children referred to more than one sub-categories. 35 boys and 28 girls referred to the enemy-acquaintance in Greece.

As seen in the previous table, boys claimed that their enemies used direct violence (physical aggression) against them. The same situation was found in the responses of the boys that were interviewed in York.

ENEMY-ACQUAINTANCE SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE BOYS AND GIRLS IN YORK		
	BOYS (N=10)	GIRLS (N=11)
PLAYFUL	2	5
PHYSICAL AGGRESSION	6	5
VERBAL AGGRESSION	2	7
INDIRECT AGGRESSION	2	2

Table 31

Enemy-acquaintance sub-categories as described by the boys and girls in York. Some children referred to more than one sub-categories. All the children interviewed in York referred to the enemy-acquaintance category.

Findings of previous research (Almeida et al, 1996) indicated that even at an early age girls adopted a less assertive way of expressing their aggression, while boys seemed to be "tougher" in dealing with conflict. In this research the findings were similar. The girls that were interviewed in both countries seemed to associate enemy-acquaintances with

playful situations .

We may have a big quarrel and sometimes we may have a misunderstanding, and we may then characterise him like that (enemy).

(Sandra, f,7,T)

I have an enemy due to a misunderstanding about unimportant things. Then we understand it and become friends again.

(Ioanna, f,9,C)

Girls not always refrained from direct conflict. In some cases girls claimed that they had themselves been involved in violent clashes.

When I have fought with some children. They tease me, throw me down to the floor, hit me. I don't want that. I want to be friends with them, not enemies, (I want) to have peace where I live.

(Marcella, f,9,C)

Even in the cases of description of violent clashes, however, girls exhibited a different approach to conflict situations than the one of the boys. Existing literature indicated that girls preferred to compromise with their aggressors, to ignore them and to avoid being involved in violent conflict (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). Indeed, the findings of this research suggested that many girls from Greece and Britain seemed very sad, even guilty, when involved in a fight.

I simply sometimes fight with some children, but I do not feel nice after I fight.

(Maria, f,9,C)

I feel like asking him (the enemy) to be my friend.

(Stamatia , f,7,C)

A nine-year-old girl made the following statement as a caption to her drawing. She illustrated her feelings when fighting.

The red squiggle lines are red because people are angry and the black is sadness because everybody is sad because they're falling out with their friends."

(Verity, f,9,Y)

The fact that many girls felt uncomfortably and guilty when using violence was also a finding of the research of Archer and Parker, 1994. A rather large number of girls also suggested that children should ignore their aggressors in order to resolve conflict in a quiet way. Their main concern was to stop conflict and prevent it happening again. These girls hoped that if they did not provoke their enemies, then the enemies would stop teasing and annoying them. One of the girls' main fears had been that they might get picked on repeatedly.

I try to ignore them so that they will not go on. I try to calm Alexis (her "enemy") down, to tell him that he should not hit me. I say to them "Excuse me mates I've done nothing to you".

(Kyriaki, f,9,C)

I ignore them because if you ignore them they'll get bored and will not tease you.

(Marina, f,9,C)

Not all the boys interviewed considered violence as the best way of conflict resolution. Some boys talked about their efforts to negotiate with their enemies.

I try not to be beaten up. I try to be nice to them.

(Dimitris, m,9,C)

I want to be quiet and not fight.

(Vassilis, m,9,C)

Some other boys seemed to adopt an acquiescent behaviour.

.... When she (his “enemy”) beats me I put my hands in my face, I get mad but I don’t fight back because she will beat me more.

(Apostolos, m,7,T)

The cases where boys exhibited a tendency to negotiate with their enemies were rather rare. The majority of the boys that were examined in both Greece and England gave a more dramatic enemy image. They described an enemy as a serious military threat, in the case of Greece a possible future one, or a bully at school, who repeatedly hit people and caused trouble.

Most of the girls, especially from the group of nine-year-olds, seemed willing to perform acts of compliance in the ways they manipulated interpersonal conflict.

Previous research (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994; and Crick and Grotpeter, 1995) suggested that girls and women preferred to express their aggression in indirect ways (such as spreading of rumours and gossip). This difference in the expression of aggression was attributed to the fact that females did not feel very confident about using physical force against their enemies. So, it was claimed that, over the centuries women developed an alternative way of hurting their enemies, avoiding direct confrontation (Bjorkquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorkquist et al, 1994;

and Crick and Grotpeter, 1995).

In this research both boys and girls argued that some of their enemies employed indirect aggression against them. The enemies who were supposed to employ such techniques were mainly other girls in the peer group of the interviewees. This, however, was not always the case. As the numbers of children, who claimed that their enemies used indirect aggression, were relatively small, it would not be wise to generalise about this. It was, though, an indication that girls, even as young as the age of nine, were more confident to be involved in indirect conflict than direct. This finding comes along with previous research. The reasons for the girls' preference to express their aggression indirectly could not be examined. It might be connected to the ways children grow up and the different expectations the society has from boys and girls.

### 9.1.3 Enemy-criminal image

Boys and girls seemed to give similar answers regarding the category of enemy-criminal. Some of the children, however, presented criminals attacking women, probably considering that women were more likely to be victims of crime.

(I know of) a person who went to kill a woman to get her money.

(Stavroula, f,9,T)

### 9.1.4 Girls' drawings

Many girls produced drawings presenting things other than enemies. These pictures were more detailed and included birds, flowers, butterflies, elements of the natural environment that had very little to do

with enemies and situations of threat and misfortune. Even in the cases where enemy relations were illustrated (such as two friends fighting each other or representation of Greek-Turkish conflict) some girls' drawings presented a complete image of the surroundings (see appendix 3, drawings 23, 24 and 25). Most of the boys, on the other hand, tended to be more economical and austere in their drawings, presenting only what was important (see appendix 3, drawing 26). Some girls commented about their drawings:

(I've made) a house, little flowers and trees. I did not make an enemy.  
(Aggeliki, f,5,C)

(I drew) two suns. I don't know where the enemy is. The little child is happy because there isn't a war.  
(Virginia, f,5,C).

Most of the responses of girls exhibiting alternative ways of dealing with conflict were given from nine-year-old girls. This might be a developmental change. Nevertheless, boys of the same age group did not exhibit similar attitudes. It could be argued that this was a developmental as well as gender difference in the children's attitudes towards enemies. Additionally, it has been argued that the social context in which children grow up reinforces gender differences (Abrams, 1989; Hyde et al, 1990; Schaffer, 1996). The next chapter deals with differences in the responses of children from different areas.



## Chapter 10

### Comparing the responses of children from different areas<sup>i</sup>

One-hundred and seventy-one children were involved in this research. They were boys and girls from three age groups, who were drawn from Thessaloniki and Chios in Greece, and York in England. There were some differences in the responses of the children from the three different age groups. These differences were discussed in chapter eight. Some differences regarding the way boys and girls thought about enemies and their suggestions for conflict resolution, were discussed in the ninth chapter of this study.

It was also considered important to examine the answers of children from varied social environments. That was the reason why it was decided to conduct research in two countries, Greece and Britain, and in three areas in those two countries.

The three areas where children were drawn from, offered contrastive environments. Thessaloniki is the second largest city of Greece, situated in the north of the country. Thessaloniki used to be, until the beginning of the century, a multicultural city, a major trading centre of the Balkans. During the 1990s the population of the city changed rapidly, as many people from neighbouring Balkan countries immigrated to Greece.

Chios is an island in the north-east Aegean Sea. It is situated near the border with Turkey. It offers a different environment to the one of Thessaloniki as it is a smaller place, self-contained as an island, far away from any big city, and on the border. At the same time Chios offers a typical environment of Greek Aegean islands. These islands are the main area of military exercises in times of tension with Turkey. Both Thessaloniki and Chios became parts of the Greek state in 1912.

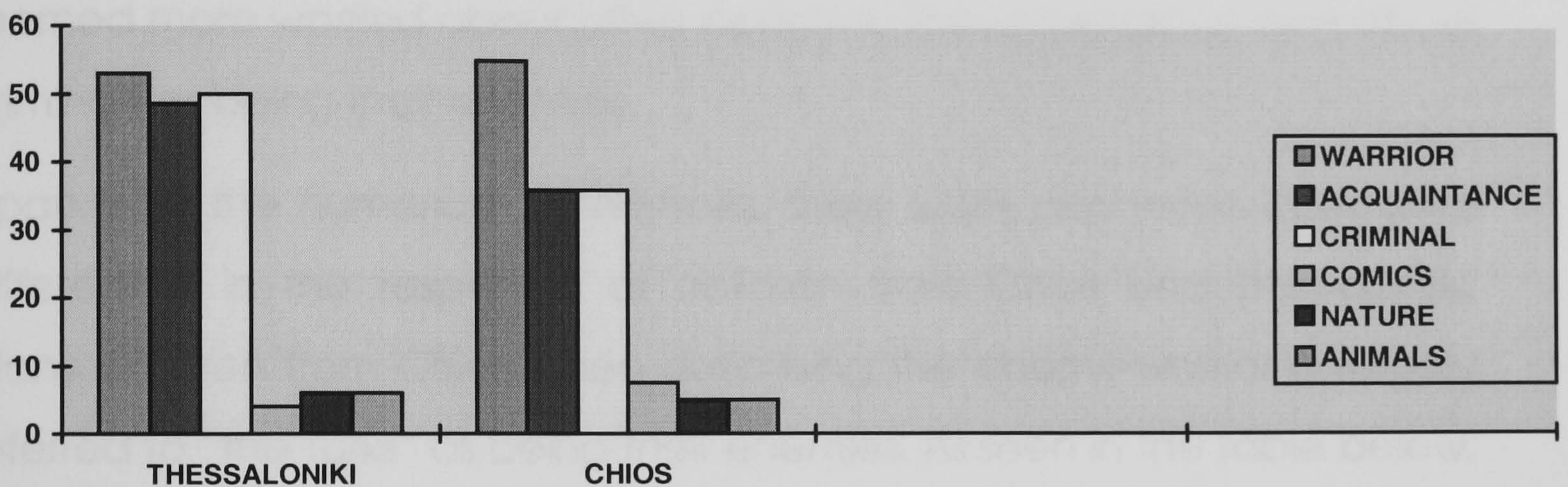
York, situated in the north of England, is a place with very long history. It was conquered by the Romans, the Vikings and the Normans and was bombed by the Germans during World War II. Britain was not invaded in the recent past, while Greece was invaded by the Italians and the Germans during World War II.

Apart from these differences there can be found more differences regarding the social background in the locations where the research took place. Chios is a more traditional area, where the extended family is common. Christian Orthodox religion plays an important role in the education of Greek children, as religious education is taught from primary school. The Greek-Orthodox identity is often promoted and projected as compared to the “national” enemy, Muslim Turkey.

In the following chapter the responses of the children are examined in regard to the area where they were interviewed.

### 10.1 The responses of children from Thessaloniki and Chios

Seventy children were interviewed in Thessaloniki. They were drawn from five nursery and five primary schools of the city. Eighty children were also interviewed in Chios, drawn from five primary and five nursery schools. Five of the schools were situated in the main town of the island (Chora) while the others were situated in the suburbs of the town. The following histogram and table present the enemy images as described by the children in Thessaloniki and Chios.



Histogram 9

Enemy images as given by the children interviewed in Thessaloniki and Chios, in Greece. 70 children were interviewed in Thessaloniki and 80 in Chios.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN IN THESSALONIKI AND CHIOS		
ENEMY IMAGES	THESSALONIKI (N=70)	CHIOS (N=80)
WARRIOR	37 (53%)	44 (55%)
ACQUAINTANCE	34 (49%)	29 (36%)
CRIMINAL	35 (50%)	29 (36%)
ENEMIES FROM COMICS	3 (4%)	6 (8%)
ENEMIES OF NATURE	4 (6%)	4 (5%)
ANIMALS	4 (6%)	4 (5%)

Table 32

Enemy images, as described by the children in Thessaloniki (N= 70) and Chios (N=80).

The above histogram and table show that the children interviewed in Thessaloniki and Chios said that they had enemies and referred to the same enemy-images. What was different were the frequencies in which each of the two groups referred to each enemy-image. The 70 children that were interviewed in Thessaloniki gave 114 responses about enemies, while the 80 interviewees from Chios gave 119 responses. Thessaloniki children gave more responses for each enemy-image apart from enemy-warriors and enemies from comics. The children from Chios referred more to those two enemy images than their fellow interviewees in Thessaloniki. On the contrary, the interviewees from Thessaloniki seemed more worried about other people in their peer group and about criminals as being their enemies.

Apart from the numerical differences, there were also some qualitative differences in the responses of children from Chios and Thessaloniki. Many children from Chios when describing the enemy-warrior category referred to "the Turks" as being their enemies. As seen in the table below, 20 children from Chios (out of the 80 examined) talked about "the Turks" as being a present and future threat for them and their country. The following table presents the responses of the Thessaloniki and Chios children in each of the enemy-warrior sub-categories.

ENEMY-WARRIOR SUB-CATEGORIES AS DESCRIBED BY THE CHILDREN IN THESSALONIKI AND CHIOS		
	THESSALONIKI (N=70)	CHIOS (N=80)
SOLDIER	27	17
NATIONAL	5	5
TURKS	9	20

Table 33

Enemy-warrior sub-categories as described by the children in Thessaloniki and Chios. 70 children were examined in Thessaloniki, and 80 in Chios.

Chios children focused on the warrior image description and insisted that the Turks were their enemies. Most of the children from Thessaloniki, however, when describing the enemy-warrior image, referred to the general image of a soldier. The children from Chios justified their fears for a possible future conflict on the basis of their previous immediate experiences of tensions between the two countries.

(After having drawn the map of Chios and a part of the Turkish coast) Turkey is opposite to Chios. Turkey is the enemy. Because now with the island. And in the olden times also we had lots of wars. We made a war.

(Nikos, m, 9,C)

(Enemy is) a person with a machine gun and a tank that kills many children. Children fall and there is lots of blood. They cannot live free. It happened in the past but it may also happen in the future. The man in the tank is a Turk who went there via Alexandroupoli (city in the north-east of Greece, near the border with Turkey) and there are some people who live in this remote village and he kills and starts killing from that village.

(Vassilis, m,9, C)

Overall, it seemed that boys in Chios gave accounts of violent Greek-Turkish conflicts, which were sometimes inaccurate. Their descriptions resembled war films or games and they all shared the common belief

that Greeks were innocent and would finally beat the Turks. Mock war combats are quite a common phenomenon in the area of the Aegean Sea. Children from Chios talked about these battle exercises.

**Porfirios (m,5,C):** (An enemy fights in a) war. Tries to get you.

**Researcher:** What does an enemy do?

**Porfirios:** Kills people, with dynamite and bombs.

**Researcher:** Have you ever seen an enemy?

**Porfirios:** Yeah, I can sometimes see Mirage (an aircraft used by the Greek air-force) flying over the sea. They were Greek, looking for Turks...

During the Greek-Turkish conflict in the Aegean Sea (January 1996) civilians from Chios and other islands in the area were temporarily recruited to the army. So, many children from Chios had their family lives upset for some days. Some children recalled their fear during that period when they were afraid that they would have the same fate as the children of Bosnia. These findings accord with the findings of previous research that the social environment in which children grow influences the ways they think about other countries and military conflict (Jahoda, 1963, 1964; Tajfel and Jahoda, 1966; Connell, 1971; Tajfel, 1973; Coles, 1986; and Rohrer, 1996).

Some children from Thessaloniki talked about nations that were in conflict with Greece in the past and mentioned Bulgaria from the Balkan wars. The area of Macedonia was very much involved in these wars, as many of the countries in the area had claims on it.

Coming from a certain part of Greece influenced the children's thinking. The historical and social background as well as school activities (such as school visits and school anniversaries) could be detected in children's words. That was also argued by Vygotski, (1962); Tolley, (1973); Piaget, (1975); Carbarino et al, (1989).

Some interviewees from Thessaloniki focused on the “Macedonian issue”. Greece had strongly opposed to the designation of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as such. The reason for that had been that the north-west region of Greece (where Thessaloniki is) is also called Macedonia. It was believed that if a neighbouring country had the same name as a Greek region, it would imply that the country would have expansionist aspirations over that region. So, some of the children talked about the wishes of enemies to invade and “steal” Macedonia.

(The enemy) kills us and wants to take Macedonia.

(Penelope, f,5,T)

No children from Chios mentioned the intention of enemies to invade Macedonia. Neither did they mention any of the countries in the north of Greece (Albania, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Bulgaria) as being a possible threat to them. There were no memories from family members about the Balkan Wars and they had not yet been taught about them at school. Neither could they recall any relevant news headlines. For children from Chios, Turks were the only national enemy. They described “the Turks” as a constant threat for them and their families.

Thessaloniki children talked more about enemy-acquaintances and enemy-criminals than their fellow interviewees from Chios. No further variations were observed in the responses of Chios and Thessaloniki children about enemy-acquaintances and enemy-criminals. Children described as enemies peers who used different ways of expressing their aggression towards them. A number of children also mentioned that they and their best friends could clash at times and would temporarily consider each other as enemies. There were no references of use of

extensive bullying in or out of school from other children ganging against the interviewees.

Enemy-criminals were described as bad people doing evil things. Criminals were somewhere beyond the children's immediate environment. Maybe that was the reason why some of the Greek interviewees associated criminals with specific social groups living in Greece (such as "the Gypsies" and "the Albanian immigrants"). The fact that children often carry the prejudices dominant in their environment, was also observed in the research enquires of Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996; and Giangunidis, 1995.

## ***10.2 The responses of the children from Greece and Britain***

There were some similarities in the ways children from Chios and Thessaloniki talked about enemies. So, it was considered helpful to group the answers of the nine-year-old children that were interviewed in both locations in Greece. Forty-nine nine-year-old children were interviewed in Greece and their answers were compared and contrasted to the answers of the 21 British interviewees from York. The ratio of English children to Greek was 4:10; that means that for every ten Greek children four English children were also examined.

### **10.2.1 Enemy images**

The table and histogram that follow, present the frequencies in which nine-year-olds from Greece and Britain referred to the three most frequently mentioned enemy-images.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK AND BRITISH NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN		
	GREEK THESSALONIKI & CHIOS (N=49)	BRITISH YORK (N=21)
WARRIOR	30 (60%)	10 (48%)
ACQUAINTANCE	34 (70%)	21 (100%)
CRIMINAL	25 (51%)	7 (33%)

Table 34

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds interviewed in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds interviewed in York were 21.



Histogram 10

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds examined in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds examined in York were 21.

British children seemed to hold negative images of the Germans. This has been widely argued by previous research (Barrett and Short, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995; Bennett, 1996; The Independent, 25 June 1996; Hunt, 1996). The York children, however, did not think of the Germans as a present and future military threat.



Children in England talked less than Greek children about enemy-criminals. Some York children attributed similar motives to the criminals as those attributed by the children that were examined in Greece - poverty and lust for money. Some of the children who were interviewed in York claimed that they had direct experience of crime. They were aware of young children who committed minor offences and who might move on to more serious kinds of crime. Some other children said that they had experiences of crime taking place in their neighbourhood. It seemed that for some York children crime was not viewed as something remote from their lives and reality. They saw crime as something in which children and adults were involved and as something which happened where they lived. In contrast, many Greek children claimed that crime was something that did not affect them personally, and was carried out by adult men (Lister and Paidá, 1997, 1998). Some Greek children had claimed that crime was brought to Greece by foreigners. That was a belief reflecting the prevailing prejudices in the children's environment (Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996; Zoumboulakis, 1994; Vima, 12 January 1997; Vima, 22 March 1998).

York children seemed to give more importance to their peer group. They could identify their enemies and protectors in their peer group. The Greek nine-year-olds had also exhibited an increased interest for their peer group in relation to the younger interviewees (see also chapter eight).

Some of the children interviewed in York claimed that children of different racial and religious background were victims of exclusion and bullying. Cases of xenophobic bullying were also found in previous research (La Fontaine, 1991; Smith and Sharp, 1994; Cullingford and Brown, 1995).

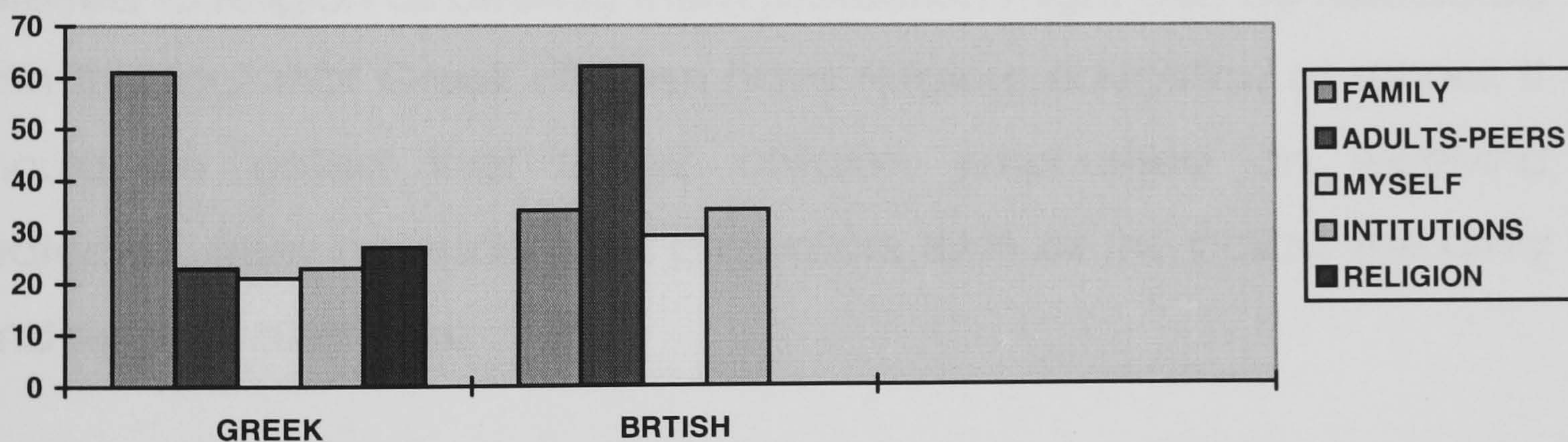
### 10.2.2 Means of protection from the enemies

The main sources of protection that the nine-year-old interviewees from Greece and Britain referred to, are presented in the following table.

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE GREEK AND BRITISH NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN		
	GREEK THESSALONIKI & CHIOS (N=49)	BRITISH YORK (N=21)
FAMILY	30 (61%)	7 (34%)
ADULTS-PEERS	11 (23%)	13 (62%)
MYSELF	10 (21%)	6 (29%)
INSTITUTIONS	11 (23%)	7 (34%)
RELIGION	13 (27%)	0

Table 35

Means of protection as described by the nine-year-old children in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds examined in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds examined in York were 21.



Histogram 11

Means of protection as described by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds examined in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds examined in York were 21.

Family had a key role in offering to the Greek children protection from the enemy. In the category of protection offered by institutions, children from York talked about their teachers intervening in their conflicts with their peers and protecting them from being bullied. Adults and peers

seemed to offer much protection to the British interviewees. For many of the York interviewees their belonging to a group of friends was a guarantee that they would have support in case of being teased or bullied. So some children claimed that they acted as group rather than individuals and they were, as a group, having likes and dislikes.

If your friends fell out with somebody they tell you how they fell out and they sort of drag you along with them... so like you're mean to their enemy as well.

(Verity, f,9,Y)

Almost the same percentage of Greek and British children claimed that they could protect themselves adequately. None of the York children referred to any religious elements as offering them protection, even though half of the children interviewed came from a religious school. Grove-White had supported (1994), that over the years, fewer people in Britain believed in institutions such as church. The fact that Greek children referred to religion as offering them protection might also be associated with the fact that Greek children have religious education at school. It should be noted that Greek children emphasised on receiving protection from impersonalised protectors, such as the police, the army and religious elements.

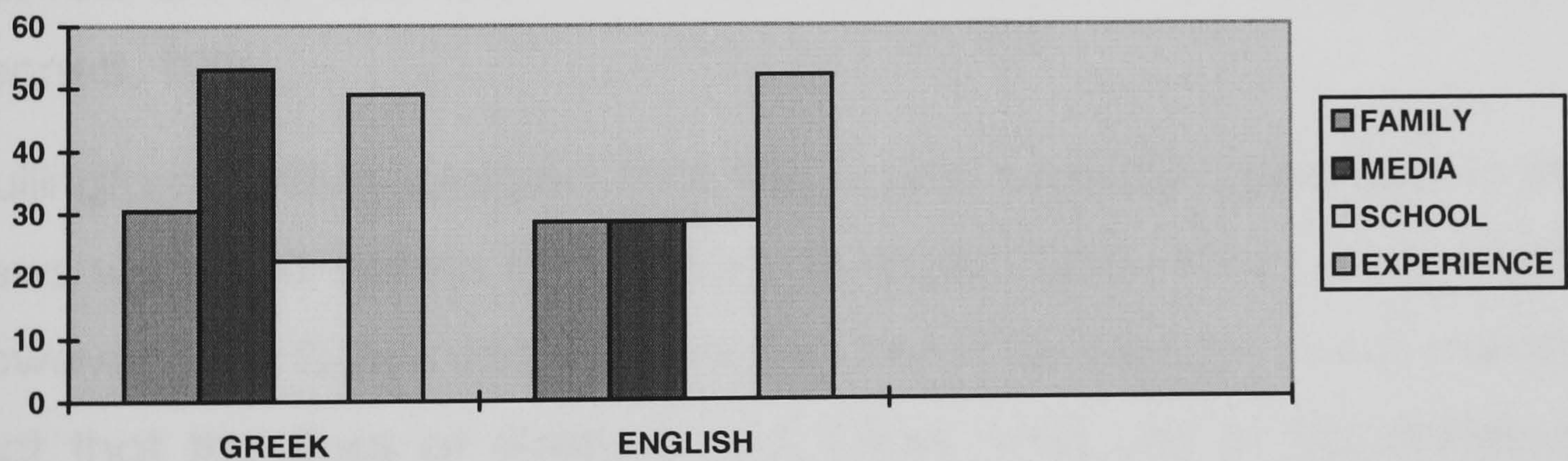
### 10.2.3 Sources of information about enemies

The following table and histogram illustrate the sources of information about enemies for the Greek and British interviewees.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE GREEK AND BRITISH NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN		
	GREEK THESSALONIKI & CHIOS (N=49)	BRITISH YORK (N=21)
FAMILY	15 (30%)	6 (29%)
MEDIA	26 (53%)	6 (29%)
SCHOOL	11 (23%)	6 (29%)
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	24 (49%)	11 (52%)

Table 36

Sources of information as mentioned by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds examined in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds examined in York were 21.



Histogram 12

Sources of information as mentioned by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Greece and Britain. The Greek nine-year-olds examined in Thessaloniki and Chios were 49. The British nine-year-olds examined in York were 21.

The percentages of Greek and British children who claimed that they received information about the enemies from their families, school and from to their own experiences were almost the same. A lot more Greek children referred to media as giving them information about the enemies than their York fellow interviewees.

Cullingford, (1984), conducted a research with British children examining their attitudes towards television. The findings of that research showed that children were not very keen on watching television news. In fact they thought that television news was rather boring and they avoided watching it. However Cullingford also found that children were interested in television news when the topics presented were of particular interest to them (such as criminal actions against other children, or crime committed in the children's region).

Children in Greece seemed to gain much of their information about enemies from television news. This was mainly when news was about the Greek-Turkish conflict in the Aegean Sea (January 1996) and the incidents in Cyprus (summer 1996). In all these news stories the children's country was involved in international conflict. The adults in the children's environment had also shown strong interest, influencing them to watch television news and explaining them what it was all about. The idea that television influenced children's attitudes towards other countries was also put forward by Connell, 1971; Tolley, 1973; Barrett and Short, 1992 and Bennett, 1996.

Cullingford, (1984), claimed that the topics normally presented in the news were too verbal for children to grasp. One of the main topics, however, that Greek children recalled from the television news was the fact that the flags of Greece and Turkey were put in the islands of Imia/Kardak and that flags had a major role in the conflict over Cyprus. The conflict was visualised in television news via the conflict over the flags. That was something that children could understand a lot better than the differences the two countries have over the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea. It seemed, however, that children paid much more attention to television when the broadcast topics represented a direct threat to them or their families.

### ***10.3 Comparing the responses of the nine-year-old children in the three stages of the research***

Finally it was decided to contrast the responses of the nine-year-old interviewees from the three locations involved in the research. That was an attempt to examine more carefully and in more details the responses of nine-year-old children from Thessaloniki, Chios and York. There were 70 nine-year-old children involved in the research. Twenty-three children were interviewed in Thessaloniki and they were the 33% of the total number of the nine-year-olds. Twenty-six nine-year-old children were interviewed in Chios, which was the 37% of the total. The York interviewees were 21, which gave the final 30% of the nine-year-old research subjects.

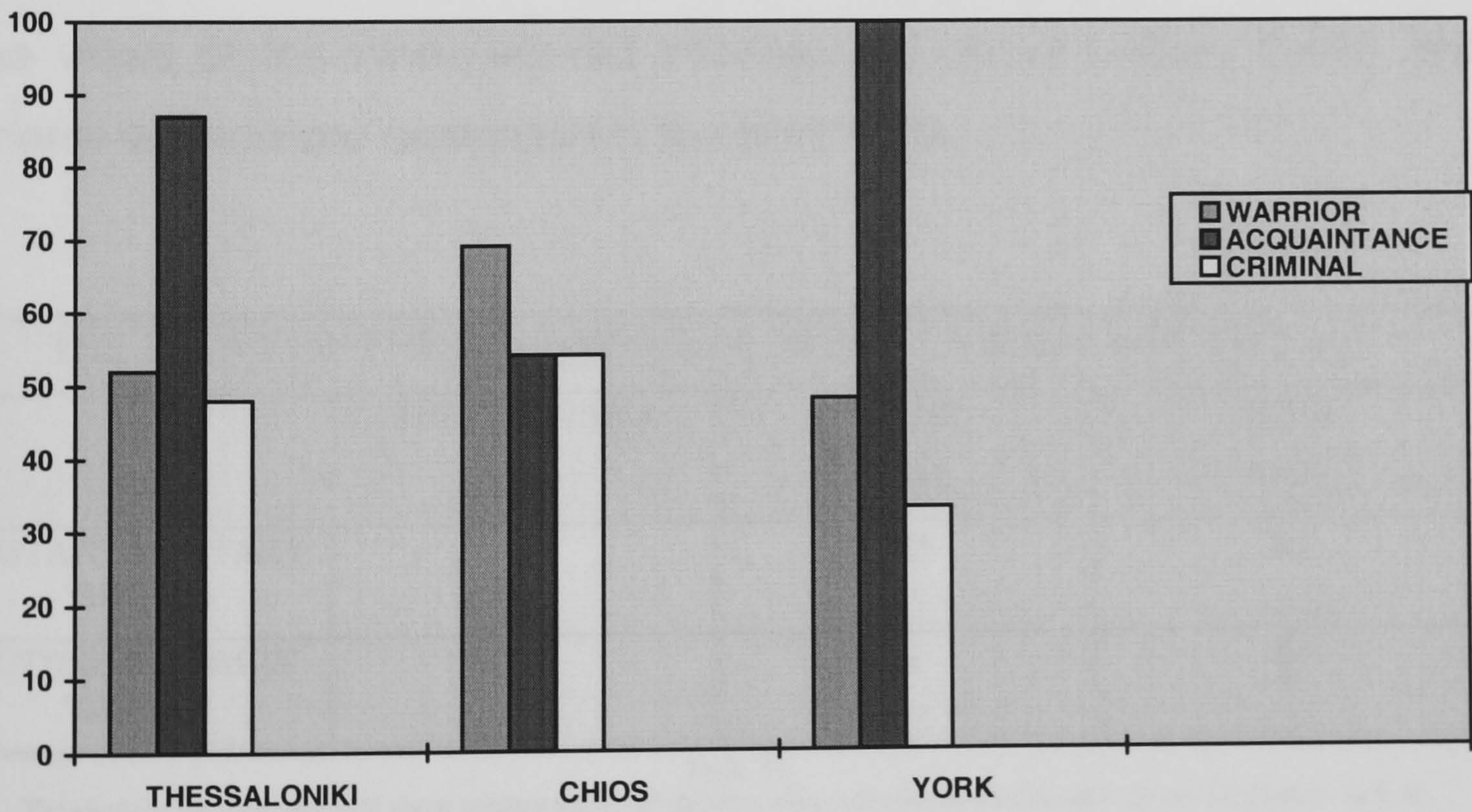
#### **10.3.1 Enemy images**

The following table and the histogram present the most mentioned enemy images given by the nine-year-old children that were examined in the three locations where the research took place.

ENEMY IMAGES AS DESCRIBED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN THESSALONIKI, CHIOS AND YORK			
	THESSALONIKI (N=23)	CHIOS (N=26)	YORK (N=21)
WARRIOR	12 (52%)	18 (69%)	10 (48%)
ACQUAINTANCE	20 (87%)	14 (54%)	21 (100%)
CRIMINAL	11 (48%)	14 (54%)	7 (33%)

Table 37

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children interviewed in Thessaloniki, Chios and York. 23 children were examined in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.



Histogram 13

Enemy images as described by the nine-year-old children in Thessaloniki, Chios and York. 23 children were examined in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.

The histogram presenting the enemy images as described by the children interviewed in Thessaloniki had similar shape to the one presenting the responses of the children that were interviewed in York. For both the groups of children interviewed in Thessaloniki and York, the main enemy-image was other children in the peer-group. Enemy-warrior and enemy-criminal images were less frequent for these two groups of nine-year-olds. Chios nine-year-olds, however, claimed that enemies were people or groups from foreign countries threatening to invade Greece. Chios children did not seem to worry, as much as the children examined in the two other cities, about enemy-acquaintances.

Some of the children that were interviewed in York claimed that they had personally witnessed criminal activities and they knew of children committing minor offences. They did not, however, talk much about enemy-criminal category as compared to the two other groups of nine-year-olds involved in the research.

The views of the nine-year-old interviewees about military threat and enemy-warriors are presented in the next table.

THE VIEWS OF THE NINE-YEAR-OLDS ABOUT MILITARY THREAT			
	THESSALONIKI N=23	CHIOS N=26	YORK N=21
DISTANT MILITARY THREAT	9	10	10
FUTURE MILITARY THREAT	3	8	0

Table 38

The views of the nine-year-olds about military threat. 23 children were examined in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.

In the above table as "distant threat" all the responses were coded that referred to enemies who fought in "other countries" (such as Rwanda or Bosnia) or that they used to fight against the children's home country in the past but they were no longer a threat (such as enemy countries



during World War II). The “future military threat” included the responses of the children who claimed that there was a present and a possible future threat for them and their countries which could upset their personal and family lives and security. Children from Chios, were quite concerned about the possibility of a war conflict that might happen in the future between their country and Turkey.

For York children the main concern was the enemy-acquaintance image, and many children (11 out of 20) expressed their fear for children from their peer-group that used direct physical violence against them.

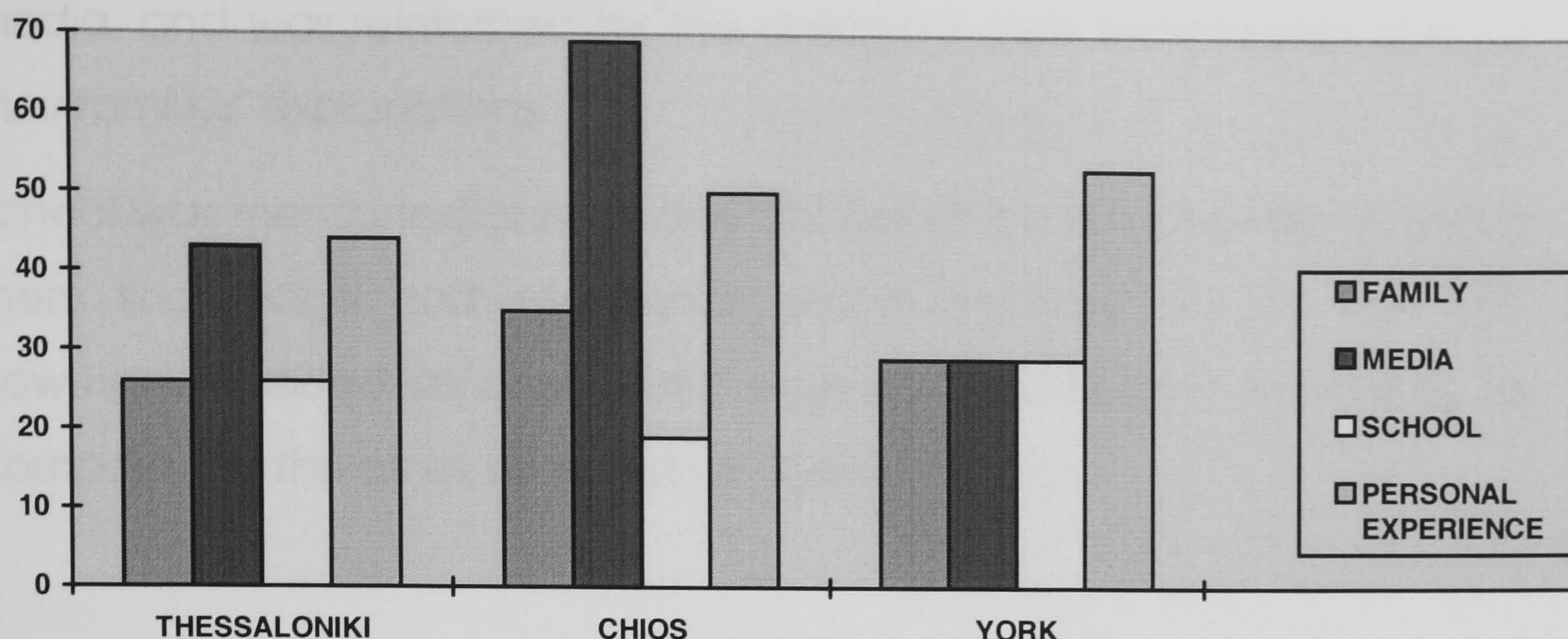
### 10.3.2 Sources of information about enemies

The following table and histogram present the sources of information about enemies that the nine-year-olds from Thessaloniki, Chios and York referred to.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE ENEMY AS MENTIONED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN THESSALONIKI, CHIOS AND YORK			
	THESSALONIKI N=23	CHIOS N=26	YORK N=21
FAMILY	6 (26%)	9 (35%)	6 (29%)
MEDIA	9 (43%)	18 (69%)	6 (29%)
SCHOOL	6 (26%)	5 (19%)	6 (29%)
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE	10 (44%)	13 (50%)	11 (53%)

Table 39

Sources of information about enemies as described by the nine-year-old children in Thessaloniki, Chios and York. 23 children were interviewed in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.



Histogram 14

Sources of information about enemies as described by the nine-year-old children in Thessaloniki, Chios and York. 23 children were examined in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.

Personal experiences had for the nine-year-old interviewees been very important in their information about enemies. Nine-year-old children from Thessaloniki, Chios and York claimed that they themselves had experiences of enemies. They mainly talked about enemy-acquaintances, about other children who misbehaved. Some of the Chios interviewees said that they had direct experience of the enemy-warriors. They claimed they had witnessed military exercises and could recall the times when their parents were called in the army (January 1996).

Family was an important source of information, especially for the children from Chios. This is probably associated with the fact that Chios is a small island and the traditional forms of families are still very powerful (Dama, *Eleftherotypia*, 30 August 1997).

Media (mainly television and radio) had been an important source of information for the children in Greece, especially in Chios. Children claimed that the media offered them information mainly about the enemy-warriors. Since Chios children were more concerned about enemy-warriors, they would be more interested in collecting as much information about them as possible. Information was offered by the

media, and was reinforced by the children's own experiences and by their families' explanations.

School was mentioned only by one quarter of the interviewees as giving them knowledge and information about enemies. School was not, however, reported as a powerful source of information, especially as compared to the other socialisation agents.

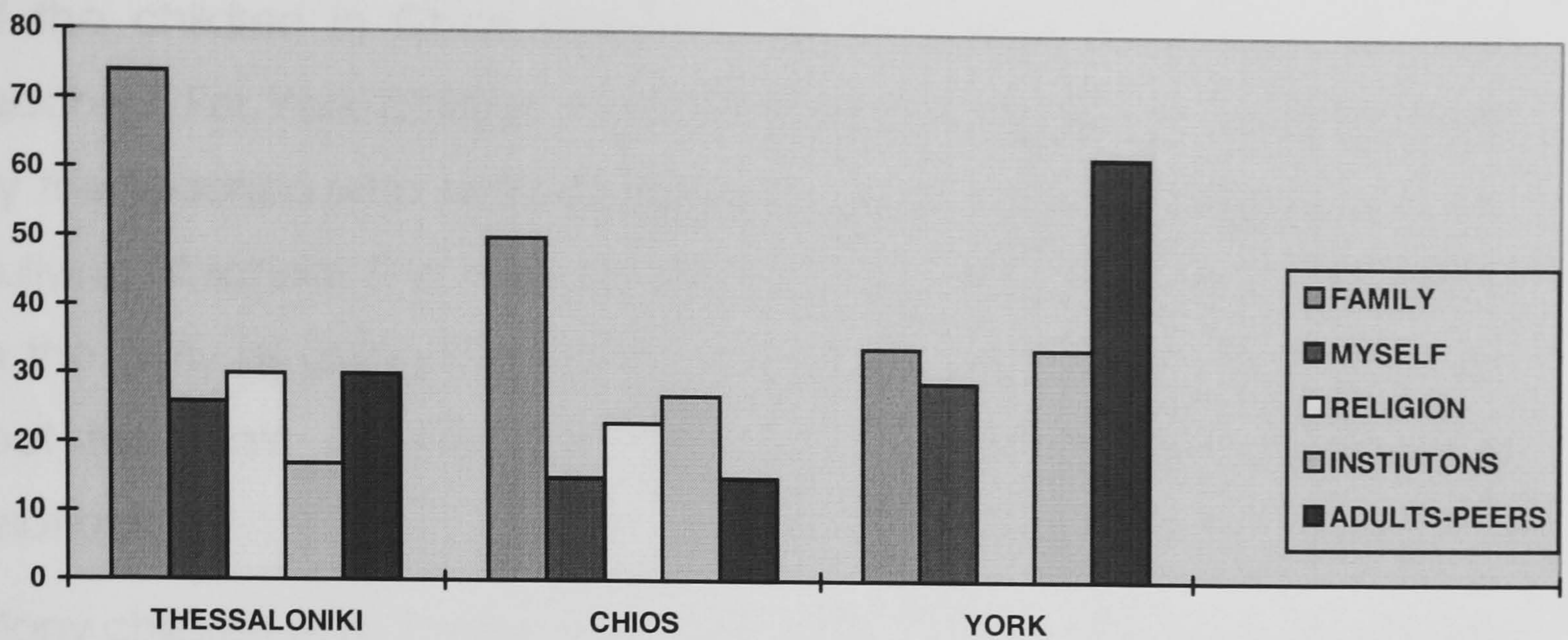
### 10.3.3 Means of protection from the enemies

The following table and histogram present the main means of protection as mentioned by the nine-year-old interviewees in Thessaloniki, Chios and York.

MEANS OF PROTECTION AS DESCRIBED BY THE NINE-YEAR-OLD CHILDREN IN THESSALONIKI, CHIOS AND YORK			
	THESSALONIKI N=23	CHIOS N=26	YORK N=21
FAMILY	17 (74%)	13 (50%)	7 (34%)
MYSELF	6 (26%)	4 (15%)	6 (29%)
RELIGION	7 (30%)	6 (23%)	0
INSTITUTIONS	4 (17%)	7 (27%)	7 (34%)
ADULTS-PEERS	7 (30%)	4 (15%)	13 (62%)

Table 40

Means of protection as described by the nine-year-old children in Thessaloniki, Chios and York. 23 children were examined in Thessaloniki, 26 in Chios and 21 in York.



Histogram 15  
Means of protection as described by the nine-year-old children in Thessaloniki, Chios and York.

The number of Thessaloniki and York children who claimed that they were able to protect themselves was a lot larger than the one of Chios children. This might be because Chios children grow up in a strongly family-oriented environment. Even at the age of nine children are not expected to spend time on their own but with some adult from the wider family environment looking after them. This is not the same in the cases of larger cities in Greece or for Britain, where the most common type of family structure is the nuclear one.

Children in Chios and Thessaloniki emphasised on getting protection from their families. In Greece the institution of the family is strong and children feel that their families will offer them protection from all their enemies (Dama, *Eleftherotypia*, 30 August 1997). The York children who referred to their families claimed that their parents protected them from enemy-acquaintances as they would intervene to facilitate children's interpersonal relations.

Children from Chios claimed that they received protection from institutions like the army. This is probably a result of the fact that Chios children were afraid of the Turks invading. A strong military force is situated on Chios. Children are aware of the fact that there are a lot of military personnel in their island and often witness military exercises. Some

of the children in Chios claimed that they were protected by their teachers. For York children institutionalised protection was offered only by the teachers who settled children's differences and tried to prevent bullying at school. The interviewees from York did not mention the police or the army as giving them protection. This has to be related to the fact that the main concern for children in York was their interpersonal relations.

Many children from Thessaloniki mentioned religion and family as offering them protection. Children from Chios, in contrast, seemed to trust the police and the army more. The main fear for children in Chios was the possible invasion by a foreign army. Therefore, they felt protected by the Greek defence forces.

Children from different social backgrounds, reflected varied needs for protection. They exhibited different levels of trusting themselves, their peers and their families and teachers or specific social institutions as offering them protection.

This chapter was the last one of data presentation and analysis. In the following chapter the conclusions of this thesis are presented.

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<sup>i</sup> When the research was planned, it was considered important to take into account the different socio-economic background of the participants. For this reason it was decided to chose schools from areas of different socio-economic background. That was the case for all the cities in which the research took place. It seemed, however, that there were no differences in the responses of the children in respect to either the area where their school was situated or the economic background of their parents (there was information about the occupation of the children's parents). Therefore, such an analysis was not included in the presentation and discussion of the findings.

## Chapter 11

### Conclusions

This research was based on the personal and professional interests of the researcher. The researcher was born and raised on the Greek island of Chios, where part of the research was conducted. Her first public memory as a child was the intervention of Turkey in Cyprus in 1974 and the recruitment of the male members of her family into the Greek army. Later, as a teacher, she aimed to educate young children in a manner that challenged prejudices. She was very interested in promoting intercultural understanding and respect for human beings for every social, ethnic and national group. She was also concerned with preventing the uncritical acceptance of negative images about other countries. Her concern was based on her experiences as a teacher. She realised that young children had ideas and beliefs, could make judgements and had certain expectations about specific nations and groups. With these motivations in mind, the researcher decided to undertake exploratory research to see what was in children's minds.

The aim of this study was to examine young children's images of "the enemy". The sources of information about enemies were also explored. It was examined whom or what children conceived as protector from the enemies. Additionally, it was investigated whether children's enemy images were different according to their age, gender and the social environment in which they were raised.

Once the children's enemy images have been adequately explored and examined, educational innovations and implications can be initiated, so that stereotypes will be challenged and children will be liberated from irrational fears of the "different".

Children aged five to nine were involved in the research. They were drawn from contrasting social environments: from a big city and an island in Greece, and from a small English city. The results were compared and contrasted.

The main aim of this chapter is to discuss the conclusions gathered from this research. The first section will review the findings. A graphic representation that offers an explanation of how enemy images are created is presented in the second section. This representation is based on both data collected from the research and on the existing literature. Based on experiences gathered from this study, some comments and remarks for researchers are made in the third section. Some ideas for further research in the field are offered in the fourth section. In the final section some potential educational implications are discussed.

## **11.1 Reviewing the findings**

### 11.1.1 Enemy images as described by the Greek and the British children

The main findings of the research can be summarised in the following eight points (Paidá, 1997):

1. The vast majority of the children who were interviewed in this research had an idea of what enemies were and could describe the enemies' actions and the impact of these actions on the enemies' victims. Most children claimed that they had enemies both personally, and/or as members of a specific in-group.

Based on the children's answers, the following characterisation of enemies can be given:

Enemies are fearsome persons or groups of people, who use direct or more rarely indirect violence against their victims. Enemy images are commonly shared among children. Enemies typically belong to a different group (religious, ethnic, national, social or peer group) than that of the children. They prompt fear because they threaten people's life, security, property and/or self-esteem. Many negative traits and characteristics are attributed to the enemies; and in many cases people themselves or as a group have to take action against them in order to defend themselves. Groups characterised as enemies are generally thought of as evil, and only malicious things are expected from them. The formation of enemy images is generally characterised by a tendency to conceive "right" and "wrong", "good" and "bad". Children's in-group is always in "the right side".

The main enemy images described by the children involved in the research are presented in the following figure.

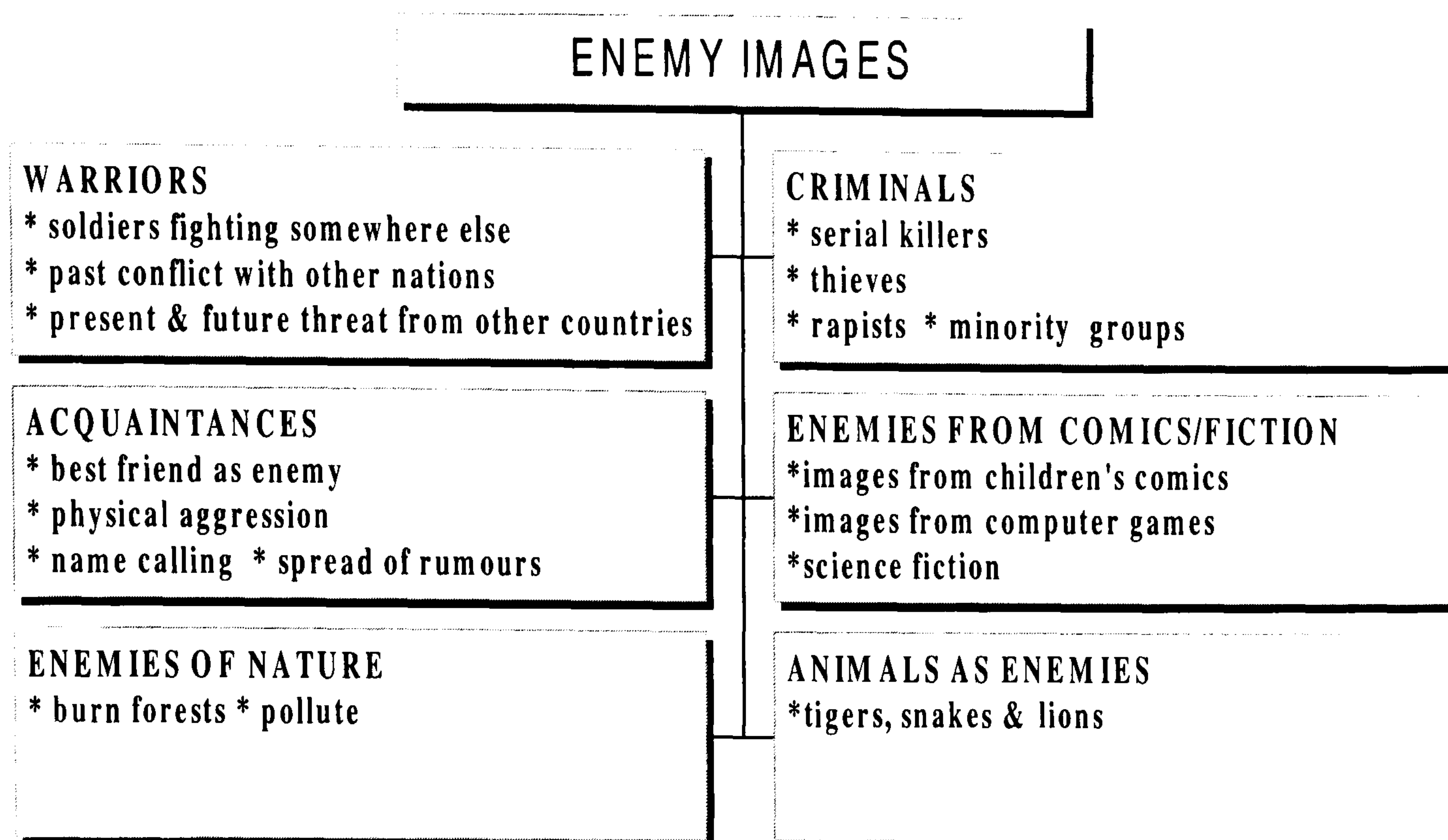


Figure 2  
 Enemy images as described by the interviewees in Greece and Britain.

Both the Greek and the British children claimed that enemies could be found at: (a) an international level (other countries hostile to their own), (b) a national level (criminals or minority sub-groups, people who destroy nature) and (c) at an interpersonal level (acquaintances, other children who cause trouble).

2. When children talked about enemies from an international level, they identified themselves with their national in-group that had in the past been attacked by enemy countries. Children had knowledge of the past conflicts that had taken place at the same geographical area where they lived. They presented the enemy-warriors as evil people who were uncivilised and brutal, and who destroyed and killed in order to benefit from the new territory they wanted to conquer. Greek children, however, seemed to lack information about the civil war (1945-1949) and the dictatorship (1967-1974) that were important, and relatively recent events that had taken place in their country. Children knew about the times when Greeks were attacked by other countries but not when different political groups in the country fought against each other.



Similarly, there was no reference from the York children to the conflict in Northern Ireland. This might be because York is far away from the conflict zone. Still, it seemed as if young children lacked information about divisive issues concerning enemies within their own country. According to Luostarinen, (1989), the existence of external enemy images serves the maintenance of in-group cohesion.

3. Children often had some misunderstandings and wrong information about the nations they described as enemies. So, some British children for instance, claimed that the Germans still liked Hitler, while some Greek children described "the Turks" dressed as people of the Ottoman times. Children seemed to lack current information about the countries commonly thought of as enemies. They also made negative judgements about the culture, the religion or the customs of national-enemies. Some of the Greek children for instance, claimed that the Turks were "infidel", not taking into account that the Turks are simply of a different religion. The information children had about the people and countries they characterised as enemies, were limited to the bad activities of these countries against their own.

4. There were some similarities in the ways both the Greek and the British children viewed their national in-group and their country. History was viewed as a series of brutal, bloody events, as a series of war conflicts with other countries.

The nation was presented as having a continuous existence, temporarily interrupted by enemies such as the Saxons, the Normans or the Germans for the British and mainly the Turks for the Greek children. Children claimed that enemy countries liked fighting in order to become richer and did not want peace. They always blamed the other nations for causing war. They explained the involvement of their country on the

basis that their compatriots had no option other than repelling back the evil enemies.

Children did not seem to have an idea that their country and the nations they described as enemies had for long periods of time coexisted peacefully. People of different national and religious backgrounds coexisted for ages in the areas of Balkans. The same way the Vikings and the Normans were not always the fearsome conquerors but settled in the area and are parts of the British ancestry.

5. Children in England considered that warrior-enemies only existed in the past, and they did not feel threatened by war. Some children in Greece, on the contrary, thought that a war between their country and Turkey could be possible in the future. They were also able to recall scenes from the latest conflict between the two countries that almost led them to war. In a few words, the “enemy-warrior” had for the English children been an image coming from the past, while for several Greek children it was a present image and in some cases the way they viewed their future. One fifth of the Greek children that participated in the research expressed their fear that their country might be invaded by the Turks. Some Greek children were afraid that there might be a war between their country and Turkey during their adulthood. The children who gave such responses, had a very strong sense of belonging to their national in-group. Some of the children thought that the Turks had for centuries acted towards the extermination of the Greeks. The only way the Greeks could defend their land and freedom was to be prepared for a war and be always ready to fight back.

6. Many children often ordered cultures and civilisations placing their own culture at the top of the hierarchy. Children talked negatively about developing countries and thought of poverty as a national

characteristic of the people living in these countries. The only information children had about poor countries was from television and international organisation campaigns. That was also claimed by Hicks, 1980; Dyson, 1986; and Cullingford, 1990.

Some of the Greek children interviewed, seemed to admire western European civilisation and to evaluate it highly. The research of Argiraki et al, (1994, 1996), indicated similar findings.

7. Some of the Greek children came up with stereotypical comments and prejudices against specific social groups in their country (especially "the Albanian immigrants" and "the Gypsies"). They attributed the poverty of these groups to the people's laziness and reluctance to improve their situation. In some cases children associated poverty with criminality. It seemed that the only information they could get about the poor people living in their own country was the prejudiced comments that they uncritically repeated.

When talking about enemy-criminals, children gave the image of a person who broke into houses, stole things and upset people's lives. Greek children tended to think that crime was committed by out-groups. British children on the contrary, thought that crime could be found in their society and was sometimes committed by young people.

8. Some York children stated that difference in skin colour could be a source of school bullying. Children in Greece did not say something like that but one should keep in mind that most of the immigrant children who attend the normal school classes in Greece do not look different from the other children, since they came from nearby countries.

Some of the interviewees reported that children of different ethnic and religious backgrounds were the victims of exclusion and bullying from the peer-group. Children were aware of the fact that some people were

different from them and they thought that these differences could lead to exclusion. Previous research indicated that children of different ethnic or religious background were at times victims of “xenophobic bullying” in British schools (La Fontaine, 1991; Smith and Levan, 1995; Cullingford and Brown, 1995).

### 11.1.2 Enemy images across age, gender and social environment

According to previous research, the way children think about other countries and social groups in their society and generally, the way they view their environment, is influenced by their age, their gender and by the ideas prevalent in the social environment where they live.

The research findings coincide with some of the findings from previous research, but not with others.

According to Piaget, (1928, 1932, 1954; Piaget and Weil, 1951), children younger than the age of nine do not have a clear idea of countries and borders. Many children in this study, even as young as the age of five, identified themselves with their national in-group. The research suggested that young children aged from five to nine were able to cope with complicated issues like nationality, and group relations in a more mature way than what Piaget had suggested.

Some of the children interviewed, however, had difficulties in realising time distance between the present and the past war conflicts with “the national enemies”. That was also found by McKelvey, (1983); Cullingford and Husemann, (1995); and Rohrer, (1996).

Younger children, five and seven-year-olds, described the enemy-warrior image much more than their older fellow interviewees. They also seemed more tolerant to the idea of war and violent military conflict. This was also indicated in the researches of Lambert and Klineberg, (1967); Tolley, (1973); and McKelvey, (1983).

A gradually stronger interest for the peer group could be detected in the responses of the older children. The nine-year-old children knew more historic facts and were more able to recall the news headlines about what was going on in their non-immediate environment. Most of the nine-year-old interviewees, however, considered as enemies children from their direct environment, their peer group.

Findings from previous research indicated that eight and nine-year-old children are much more likely to be involved in bullying situations (Rolland and Munthe, 1989; Bjorquist, Lagerspetz and Kaukiainen, 1992; Bjorquist, Osterman and Kaukiainen, 1992, Whitney and Smith, 1993; Bjorquist et al, 1994; Smith and Sharp, 1994; and Genta et al, 1996). It seems that in this age, children evaluate highly their relations with their peers. Most of the nine-year-olds in this study identified their enemies and protectors among their peers and claimed that much of their information derived from their interaction with their friends.

Some researchers claimed that there was not sufficient evidence that there were differences in the attitudes of boys and girls about their environment (Lambert and Klineberg, 1967; Cullingford, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995).

In this research, however, some differences in the responses of boys and girls could be detected. Current literature indicated that boys had more positive attitudes towards violence (Campbell, 1996), while girls preferred to use indirect ways of expressing their aggression at an interpersonal level (Crick and Grotpeter, 1995). Other researchers observed differences in the attitudes of boys and girls to war and the expression of various kinds of aggressive behaviour (Greenstein, 1969; Tolley, 1973; McKelvey, 1983; Hesse, 1992; Hagglund, 1996; and Rohrer, 1996).

In this research boys gave more descriptions about enemies. They talked about wars and battles, armoury and weapons. They named specific national groups that had in the past fought against their country. And

they also claimed that they often used violence to fight back against their enemy-acquaintances. Girls often talked about the impact of the actions of the enemies into their victims. Some of the girls' accounts were very emotional. At an interpersonal level, girls sounded a lot more willing to co-operate and reach to an agreement with their enemies. Many times girls seemed ready to negotiate with their aggressors, to ignore them or to suggest actions of compliance. Generally, it seemed that boys were more concerned about enemies than girls and that girls tended to avoid violent direct conflict.

Still, the differences in the responses of children of the same sex and age in Thessaloniki, Chios and York indicated that age and gender did not solely determine the way children perceived threat, fear and enemies.

The differences in the responses of children from Thessaloniki, Chios and York, can be better explained through the different social context.

Children from Chios were a lot more frightened of the possibility of an attack from the Turks. They seemed to feel a lot more threatened as:

(a) They "knew" more facts about the past conflicts between their country and the Turks (massacre of Chios 1822, war between Greece and Turkey at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the conflicts over the Aegean Sea, the incident in Cyprus, 1974). The emphasis in the narration of all these facts was in the atrocities committed by the Turks. (b) Children from Chios had witnessed the incidents of 1996 over the islands in the Aegean Sea. They also had the experiences of extended military exercises with the involvement of civilian population, which are common in the area. (c) Some Chios children could guess that in their future there was a possibility of a war with Turkey and suggested that they should defend their country. There was also a general fear of what would happen to them and their families in case of a war.

Because they lived under this stress, children from Chios seemed to pay more attention to television news and had, at an even earlier age, than

their fellow interviewees, more detailed information about past conflicts between their country and Turkey. Chios children did feel relatively incapable of protecting themselves on their own. They tended to accept military preparations and possibly a war as the only way to stand up for the threat of national enemies. They thought that the situation was far too complicated for civilians to solve and they thought that only powers beyond them, like the police, the army or God could protect them. Children from Thessaloniki also emphasised the enemy-warrior image, nevertheless, they did not talk as much as the children from Chios about the threat from Turkey.

Some children from both Chios and Thessaloniki associated specific minority groups in their country with crime. This might be a result of the negative ideas against these groups, prevalent in the children's environment (Argiaki et al, 1994, 1996).

Greek children seemed to have a very positive image of their national group. They sometimes made negative comments about developing countries, other social groups or neighbouring countries. This might be associated to the fact that Greek curriculum is ethnocentric, evaluating Greek civilisation very highly and projecting rather poor images of specific other countries (Milas, 1991; Frangoudaki, 1995; and Frangoudaki and Dragonas, 1997).

For York children enemy-warriors were images of the past and not a future threat. Some of the York interviewees had negative images of Germany, coming from television and films. The fact that British children had negative attitudes towards Germany, was also suggested by Barrett and Short, 1992; Cullingford and Husemann, 1995; and Bennett, 1996.

The main concern for York children was bullying and they gave some very strong descriptions of violent aggressive events taking place in their school or neighbourhood. They also thought of crime as a part of their

society, sometimes committed in their neighbourhood or by young delinquents.

Children from York did not consider as protectors impersonalised institutions such as the police and the army. They thought that they could solve their problems on their own or with the help of their parents and teachers.

As suggested by previous research the social environment in which children live, the schooling they receive and the social experiences in which they are exposed, influence their attitudes and the ways they think and view their environment.

**11.2 A graphic representation that offers an explanation of how children’s enemy images are formed**

The findings of this research suggested that the ideas prevalent in the interviewees’ environment as well as their age and gender influenced their enemy images. The fact that social environment, age and gender are factors shaping the attitudes of children towards their environment, was also suggested by previous research.

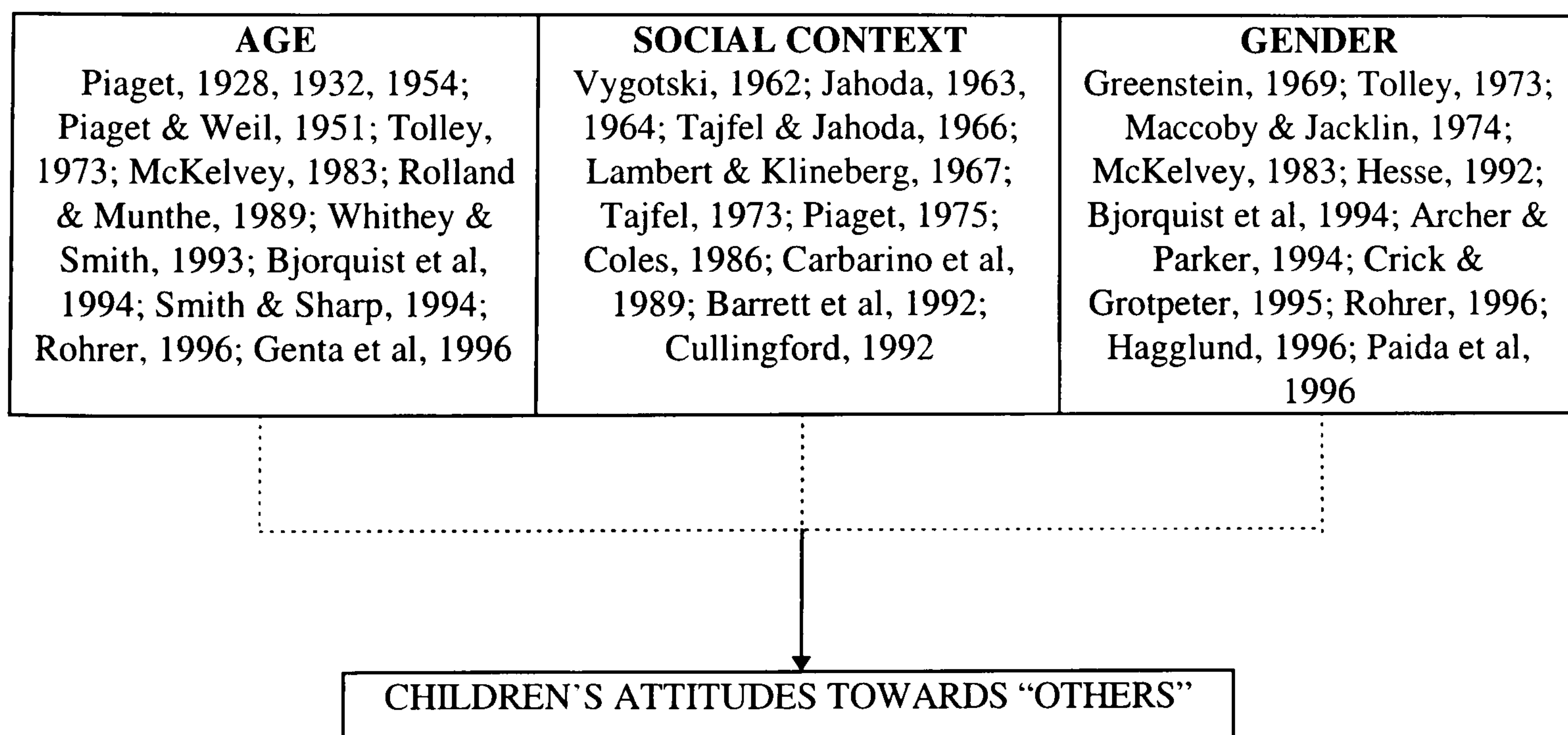


Figure 3  
 Literature suggestions on how children’s attitudes towards “other” people, social groups and countries, are formed.



Figure 3 provides a list of relevant literature reviewed earlier (chapters 2-5). It is reminded that some of the researchers claimed that a combination of two or three of those factors shown in the figure (i.e. age, social context, gender) co-operate for the formation of children's attitudes towards other people.

The information gained from the present research is that the enemy images children hold are related to the social context in which they live (see figure 4). Children's enemy images seemed also to be influenced without being directed, by their age and gender. The following figure is a graphic representation which offers an explanation of how children's enemy images are formed.

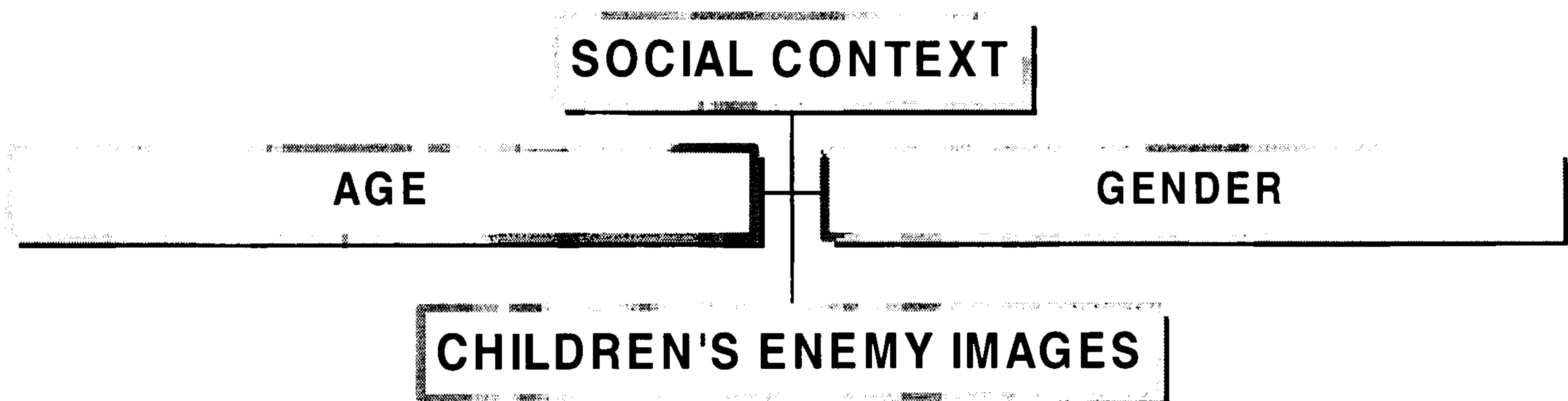


Figure 4  
Graphic representation that offers an explanation of how children's enemy images are formed.

Gender has been considered by some psychologists as socially determined. Others, think of gender and sex in terms of biology (Shaffer, 1996; Schaffer, 1996). It was not among the aims of the study to suggest whether the observed differences in the responses of boys and girls interviewed, were due to biological or social reasons. The research, however, indicated that boys and girls had somehow different images of enemies and it can be argued that gender influenced the children's responses about enemies.

### **11.3 Reflecting on the work**

This research examined children's images of enemies. It was also attempted to discover the children's sources of information as well as their means of protection from enemies. Additionally, It was explored whether enemy images were different according to the social context children live in, their age and gender.

The methods used, produced data that addressed the research aims and questions. An explanation of what children thought about enemies and how they had formed their enemy images was also suggested.

The processes of planning, organising and conducting the research as well as analysing the data and writing the thesis, offered many experiences to the researcher. At this stage, it is considered important to make some comments and remarks that might be useful for other researchers conducting mentality research with young children.

An important factor to be taken into consideration is that access in schools was not easy. When planning this research, the problems of access were underestimated and not much time and thought were given on how to persuade the gate-keepers to allow the researcher to interview pupils. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the researcher was denied access in some schools in Britain. It is true that during recent years there have been a number of attacks against school-children in Britain. As a result teachers are very concerned about who enters their schools. Additionally, the exploration of young children's images of the "enemy" was considered a sensitive issue and a number of head-teachers thought it would not be appropriate for their pupils to be interviewed about such a topic. Whatever the reasons for the difficulties in access might be, researchers wishing to conduct similar research should be aware of the problems of approaching and entering schools.

A large number of children were involved in this research. This was time consuming as it required much time in arranging and conducting the interviews and analysing the data. At the early stages of this exploratory research it was considered very important to interview large numbers of children in order to back the research findings up. It seemed, however, that after a certain number of children was examined, the responses given were very much alike. Further research could be easily conducted with smaller numbers of children, which would be less time consuming and would allow more time for the in depth analysis of data.

A final remark is about interviewing as a data collection method. It was made sure that the children would feel comfortable when interviewed. The researcher tried to be very friendly, to look as familiar and to be as approachable as possible. Still, the process of interviewing was an artificial situation, where children had to produce answers for a stranger adult, the researcher. The importance of talking to children was stressed in the methodology chapter (Hitchcock and Hughes, 1989; Cullingford, 1992; Lewis, 1992; and Bell, 1993). Nevertheless, it has to be taken into account that very young children might not feel at ease knowing that they are to be interviewed. It would be a very good idea for research investigating young children's attitudes, to employ alternative data collection techniques. Playful tasks and activities could be used, so children would feel they were playing rather than being examined.

#### **11.4 Some ideas for further research**

Research has been defined as a systematic inquiry which aims to the advancement of knowledge. Research is also a continuous process and one of the values of research is to identify issues and address questions for further investigation, that would initiate new research. The basic research questions have been addressed. The scene of how young children perceive “enemies” has now been set. In this section some thoughts about possible further research will be given.

An idea would be to research deeper on these enemy images, to investigate whether there are some prototypes of enemy images or whether there are children who do not think that there are enemies. Such a deeper analysis of the children’s ideas of enemies, should rather focus on small numbers of children.

Once the main patterns of young children’ enemy-images are defined, it would be worth discussing with children further about those images. Projective exercises, with visual stimuli such as pictures or videos, could be used to initiate discussion with children about issues of how to handle various forms of conflict.

This research revealed children’s enemy images and the children’s attitudes towards enemies. Children’s actual responses towards enemies still remain unexplored. Of course it is not easy to discover how children would react towards for instance, national enemies. Some children described, however, certain enemies that they face in their everyday lives. It would be interesting if further research focused on the exploration of children’s behaviours towards the people and children they had identified as enemies. Such research could employ observations of children’s reactions towards enemy-acquaintances and would investigate children’s dealing with interpersonal conflict. This would also reveal how consistent their actions are to their attitudes.

### ***11.5 Educational implications. Some suggestions for action.***

One of the roles of educational research is to explore a specific situation related to school or children at school age. The findings of the research have then to be used, for the improvement of the educational practice. This research has primarily a moral purpose. It is conducted under the perspective of “free-of-stereotypes and prejudices education”.

The findings of this research indicated that children, even as young as the age of five, held negative stereotypes about specific countries, social groups and other children. Most of the children interviewed in Greece and Britain thought that violent conflict was the only way one could use to solve disputes.

At the same time, there is an increasing need for children not to be educated in an ethnocentric system. Socially there is the need for people to live in a more extended environment than the one of their country. Children from both Greece and Britain face the challenge of living in the European Union where European citizens will have to take common decisions along with people from other countries and cultures. In a few words, there is a need for children to learn to cope with a more cosmopolitan environment. So, beyond any moral aim, schools need to educate the future citizens of the European Union to respect and coexist with different people and cultures.

What school should challenge and should try to change are children’s wrong information, beliefs that are not based on evidence, pre-dispositions that are due to prejudices. Schools should encourage children to develop their critical thinking, help them to analyse the information that reaches them. Of course, one should not expect five-year-olds to think critically and analytically. This is, nevertheless, a slowly and gradually developed ability that ought to start from early childhood. Following, some suggestions, based on the findings of this research and on experiences of previous studies, are given. These suggestions are

about how schooling could make a difference challenging the stereotypes and prejudices held by young children.

1. As seen from this research, a rather large number of children referred to the enemy-warrior image and described nations and countries, that had in the past been involved in war with their own country, as enemies. It also seemed that children had very negative images about those countries. Children should be given more information about the countries traditionally thought of as enemies. They should be taught that every country has its culture and civilisation which is not better or worse, right or wrong, but simply different from their own. Greek children should be taught about the periods when they and their neighbouring countries coexisted peacefully, sharing the same villages and respecting each other's traditions. The same way British children should be taught that some of the national groups they defined as invaders and enemies were actually settled in Britain and are part of their ancestors.

2. The knowledge currently given to children about the "national enemies" is often limited to the bad actions they did during wars. It should be specified that during wartime both sides commit atrocities and that violence and aggression are not national characteristics.

3. Children should be encouraged to learn some current information about the countries they consider as enemies and find out about other people's lives, what children of their age like to do and so on. So children will feel that enemies are not dehumanised devils but people with normal lives with whom they have very much in common.

4. It seemed that a number of children had based their information about enemy-warriors on school activities, like school visits and the

celebration of national anniversaries. Schools should avoid activities that project negative images for other countries. National anniversaries, for instance, can serve as celebrations of peace rather than promotion of national fanaticism.

5. As regards enemy-criminal image, many children associated crime to specific sub-groups. The stereotypes and prejudices children might hold about minority groups in their own country should also be challenged. Children should be explained why people immigrate and that their ancestors might have also done so in the past. They should also be explained that poverty is not due to people's fault. It is also very important to dissociate crime to specific social groups. Children have to be told that criminality is not a trait of poorer people, that criminality always existed and it was not imported by "foreigners".

6. Some of the children's descriptions referred to enemies from the peer group and about various kinds of bullying. It was suggested that children of different ethnic background were sometimes subjects of exclusion from the peer group. Schools should therefore teach and encourage children to be more tolerant towards difference. It should be made explicit that differences are welcomed and accommodated and that they are not reasons for exclusion or discrimination. The teachers' position is crucial as they often serve as role models for their pupils; they should be therefore very careful in dealing with children from different backgrounds (Giangounidis, 1995).

7. At an interpersonal level, children should be encouraged to solve their problems with their peers through negotiation. They should respect themselves and others and realise that they have to coexist in the school playground and latter in the society, and that they have to share space

and resources with other people. So, they should be taught the social skills of discussion and negotiation, and they should be discouraged to use violent means of conflict resolution.

8. Children should also be introduced to alternative ways of coping with conflict, both at an international and at an interpersonal level. At an international level, children should be informed that wars are not the only way of solving problems with other countries. They should be told about diplomacy and international organisations that work towards problem solving between countries. If children think that international disputes are only solved through military conflict, then there are increased possibilities for future wars, as the public will press towards the direction of a violent conflict resolution (Hicks, 1994, 1997; Hicks and Holden, 1995; Hutchinson, 1996a, and 1996b). Children should also be informed about the non-violent conflict resolution techniques and be taught about non-violent struggles, like the ones of Gandhi or Martin Luther King (Sharp, 1973).

9. It is also very important for children to develop empathy, to approach the issues of discrimination and exclusion in an experiential way. There are games and stimulation techniques that help children understand in a direct way what it is to be "different" and therefore excluded from the in-group and denied access to resources (see for instance the work of Pike and Selby, 1988).

10. Education should help children develop conflict resolution skills. Peace educators have proposed ways of teaching these skills even from nursery classes (Chetkow-Yanoov, 1996). The research findings stress both the need that very young children should be taught conflict resolution skills and that schools can successfully address such issues.



Because what children learn influences the ways they think, the formation of their personality and identity, early education is very important. Children's attitudes influence their behaviours and have the potential to influence their adult thinking and actions (Chetkow-Yanoov, 1996; and Hagglund, 1996).

It seemed, that children normally did not have naïve ideas about enemies. They knew perfectly well what enemies were and at times their responses sounded like responses of adults. Some children could also cope with more complicated issues like the one of colonisation or of environmental degradation. They claimed that discussion initiated at school had given them information and had helped them think more about these issues and have a more mature opinion. The belief that schools can develop children's abilities of coping with more advanced issues at an earlier age was common among many researchers (Piaget, 1954, 1975; Vygotski, 1962; Argiraki et al, 1994, 1996; and Giangunidis, 1995).

Early learning is very important, as at this age children acquire and establish the first, basic skills and attitudes, that will often accompany them for the rest of their lives.

## Appendix 1

### ***INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (English)***

DATE:

SCHOOL:

#### PERSONAL DATA

AGE:

NAME:

PARENTS' OCCUPATION:

#### QUESTIONS

1. Are there any people or children different from you?
2. What is an enemy?
3. What does an enemy do?
4. Have you got an enemy?
5. Is there anyone or anything that protects you from the enemy?
6. How do you know all these things about the enemy?

## ***INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Greek)***

ΗΜΕΡΟΜΗΝΙΑ:

ΣΧΟΛΕΙΟ:

ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ

ΗΛΙΚΙΑ:

ΟΝΟΜΑ:

ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑ ΓΟΝΕΩΝ:

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1. Υπάρχουν άνθρωποι ή παιδιά διαφορετικά από σένα;
2. Τι είναι εχθρός;
3. Τι κάνει ένας εχθρός;
4. Εσύ έχεις εχθρό;
5. Υπάρχει κάποιος ή κάτι που να σε προστατεύει από τον εχθρό;
6. Πως ξέρεις όλα αυτά για τους εχθρούς;

## Appendix 2

### **TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS**

Throughout the thesis, quotations from the children's responses are often used. Following, the transcription and presentation conventions are presented.

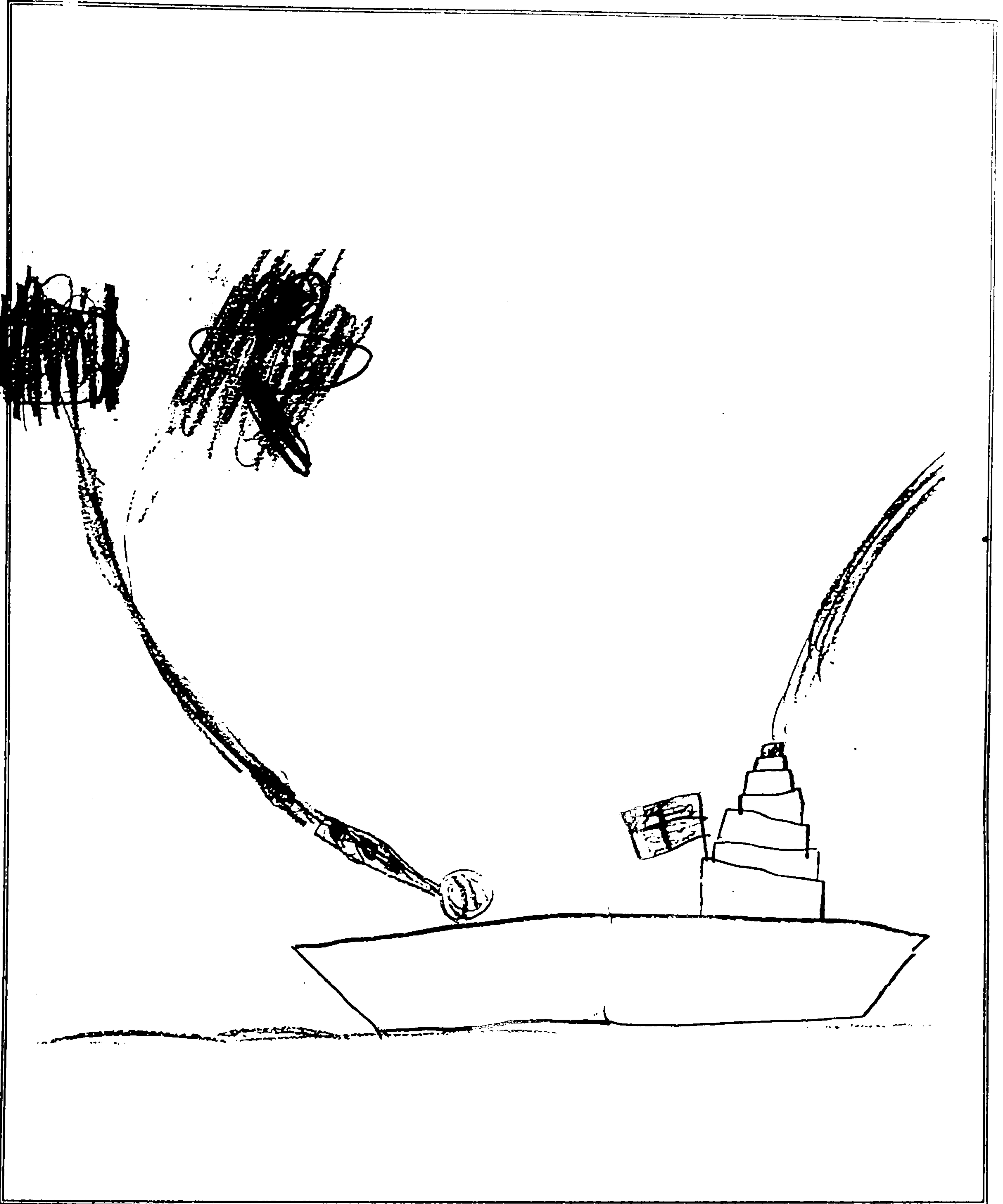
1. The children's names, as well as the names of other children that they referred to, have been changed, for the sake of anonymity and confidentiality.
2. In the quotations given in the thesis, there is a bracket next to each child's name, indicating sex (m or f), age (5, 7 or 9) and where the interview took place (T for Thessaloniki, C for Chios and Y for York).
3. The Greek schoolchildren's responses were translated into English. That was done both with accuracy and with a feel for what words and phrases their English peers might have used (English native speakers were asked to help). Mistakes that young Greek children made in the speech were also transferred into English.
4. Commas, full-stops and question marks have been added, to improve the readability of the extracts. Much attention was paid to present the quotations as close as possible to the conversation heard. What was missing and which could be guessed by the context has been included in brackets.
5. The researcher's questions and contributions are normally included, in order to give the reader a more complete picture of the situation.
6. Where parts of the interview are omitted from the quotations, four dots are used, ....
7. The pauses were not timed. They have been presented by three dots ....

## Appendix 3

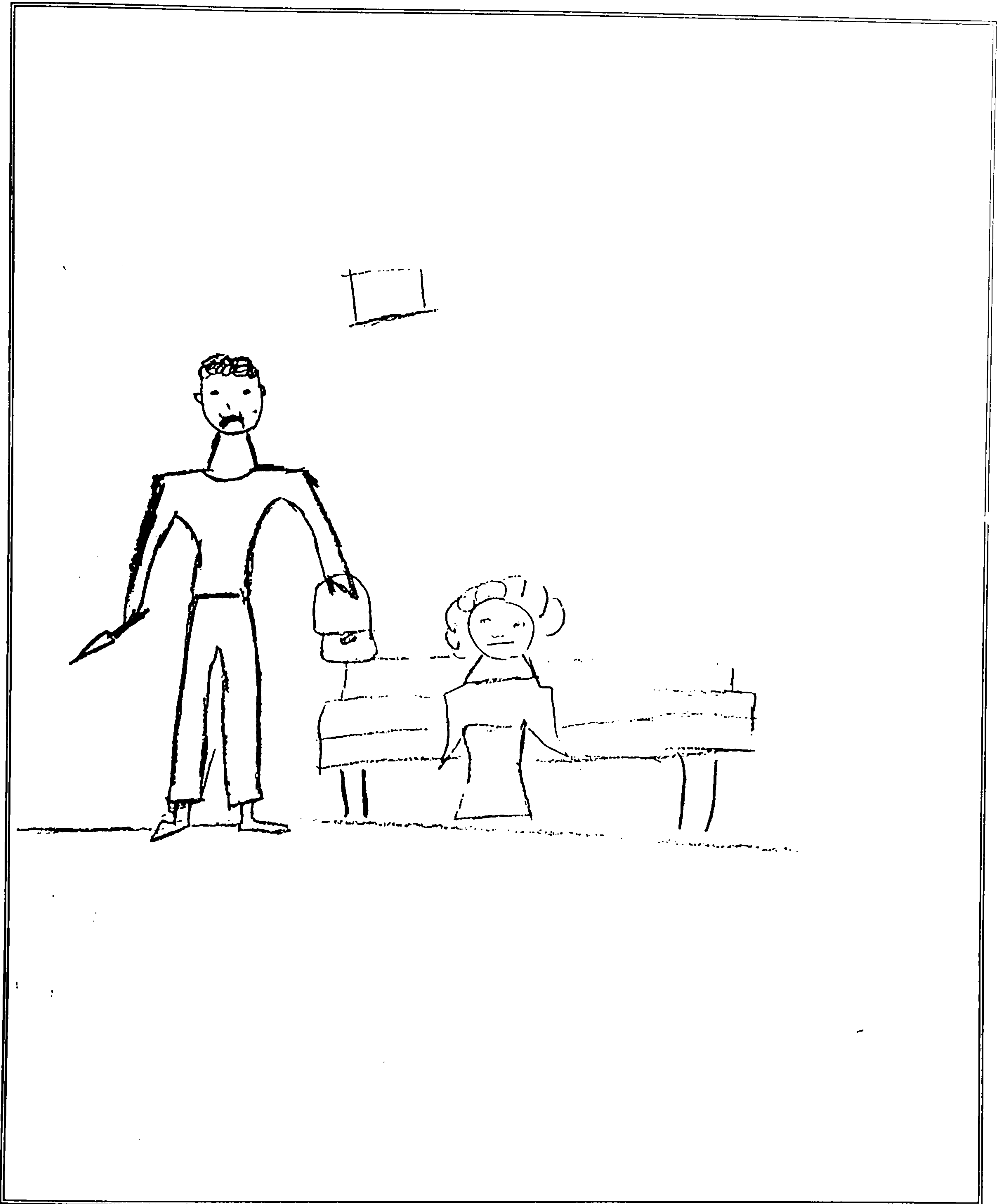
### ***CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS***

Following twenty-six of the children's drawings that were gathered during the data collection are presented. The children were asked to make a drawing of "an enemy".

In the data presentation and analysis chapters there are references to the children's drawings that are presented here.



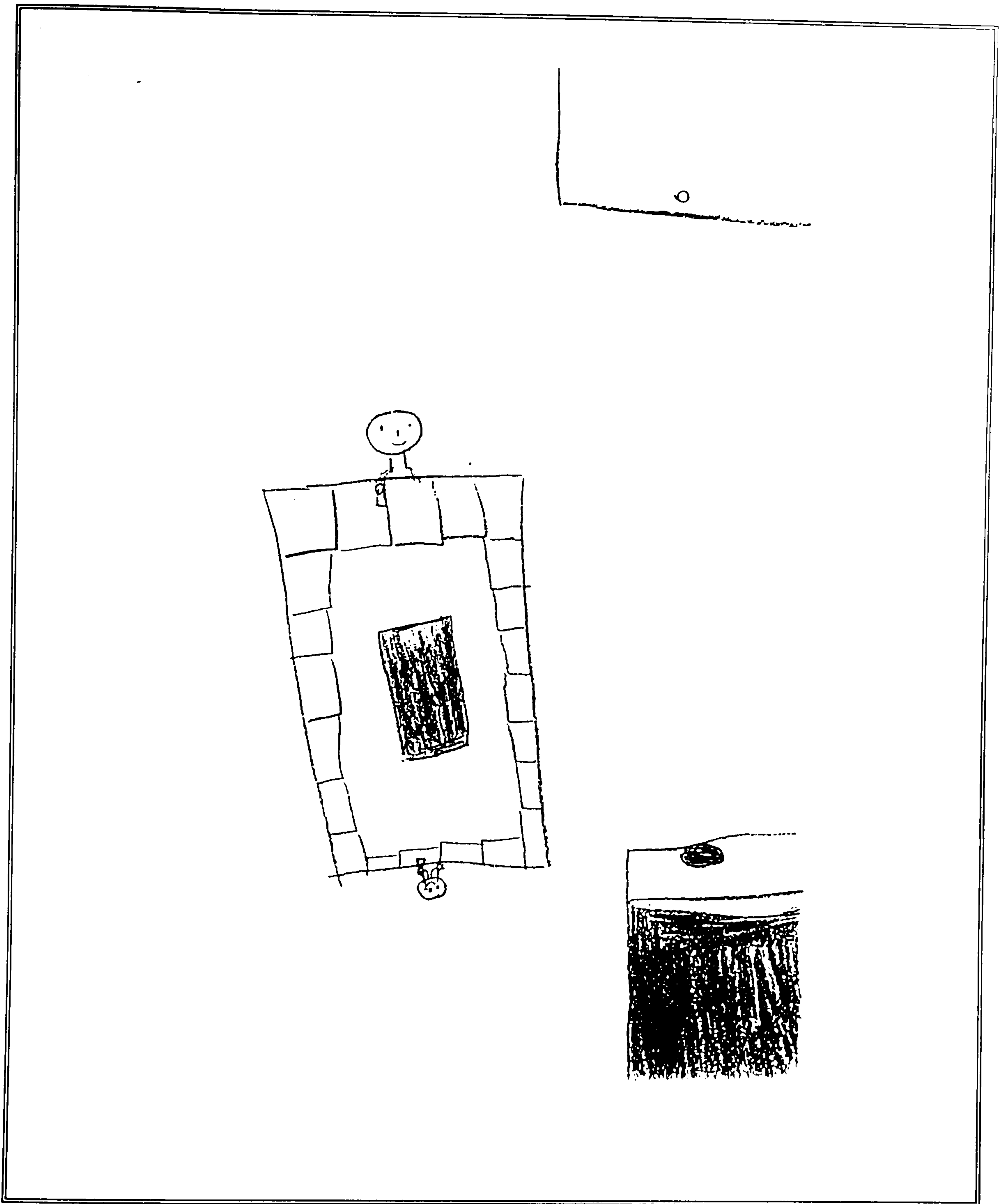
Drawing 1  
A Greek military boat bombing Turkish war planes  
(Yiorgos, m,7,C)



Drawing 2

A man attacking a woman and stealing her handbag.

(Maria, f,9,T)

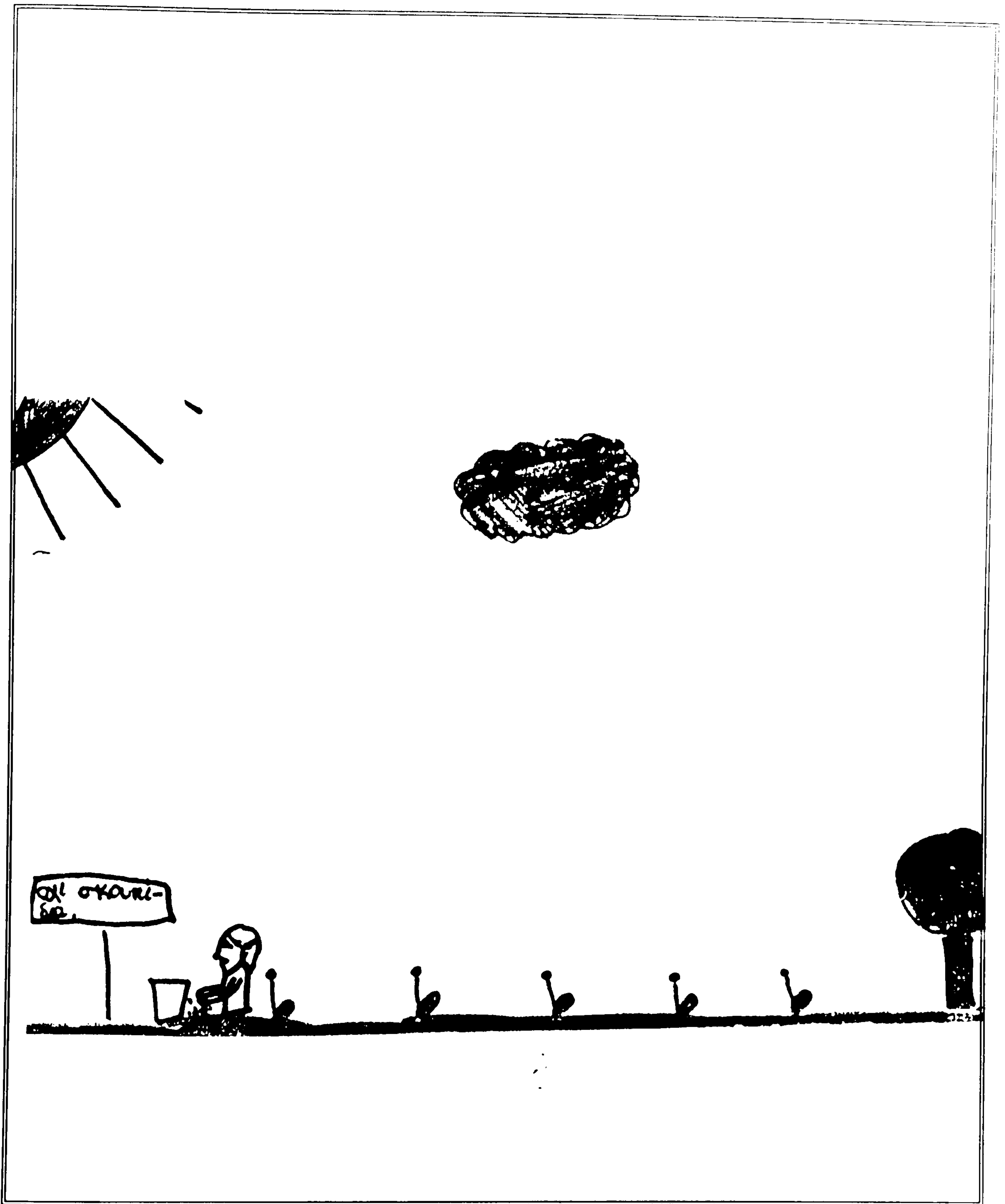


Drawing 3  
Quarrelling with the best friend.  
(Aggeliki, f,9,T)

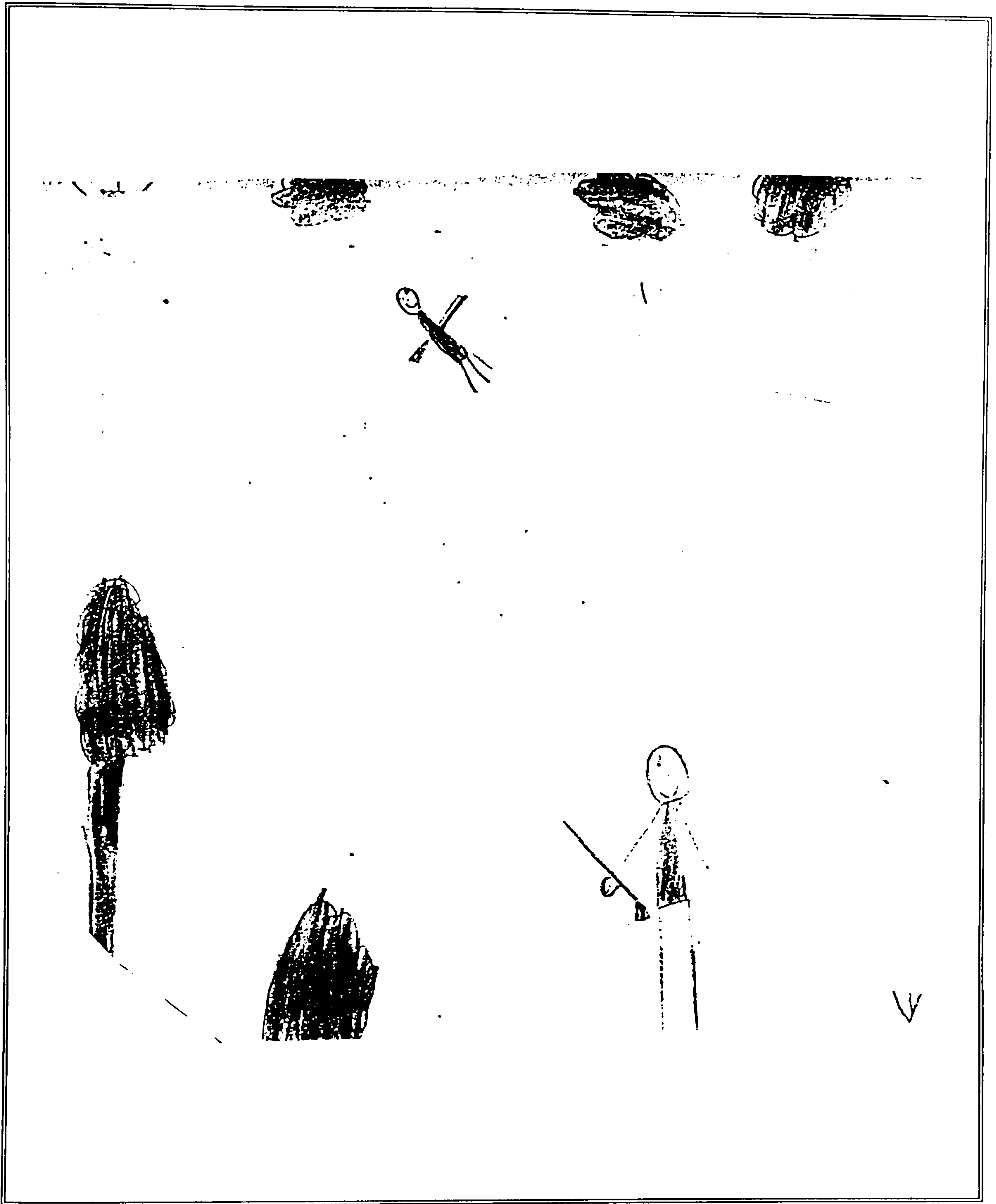




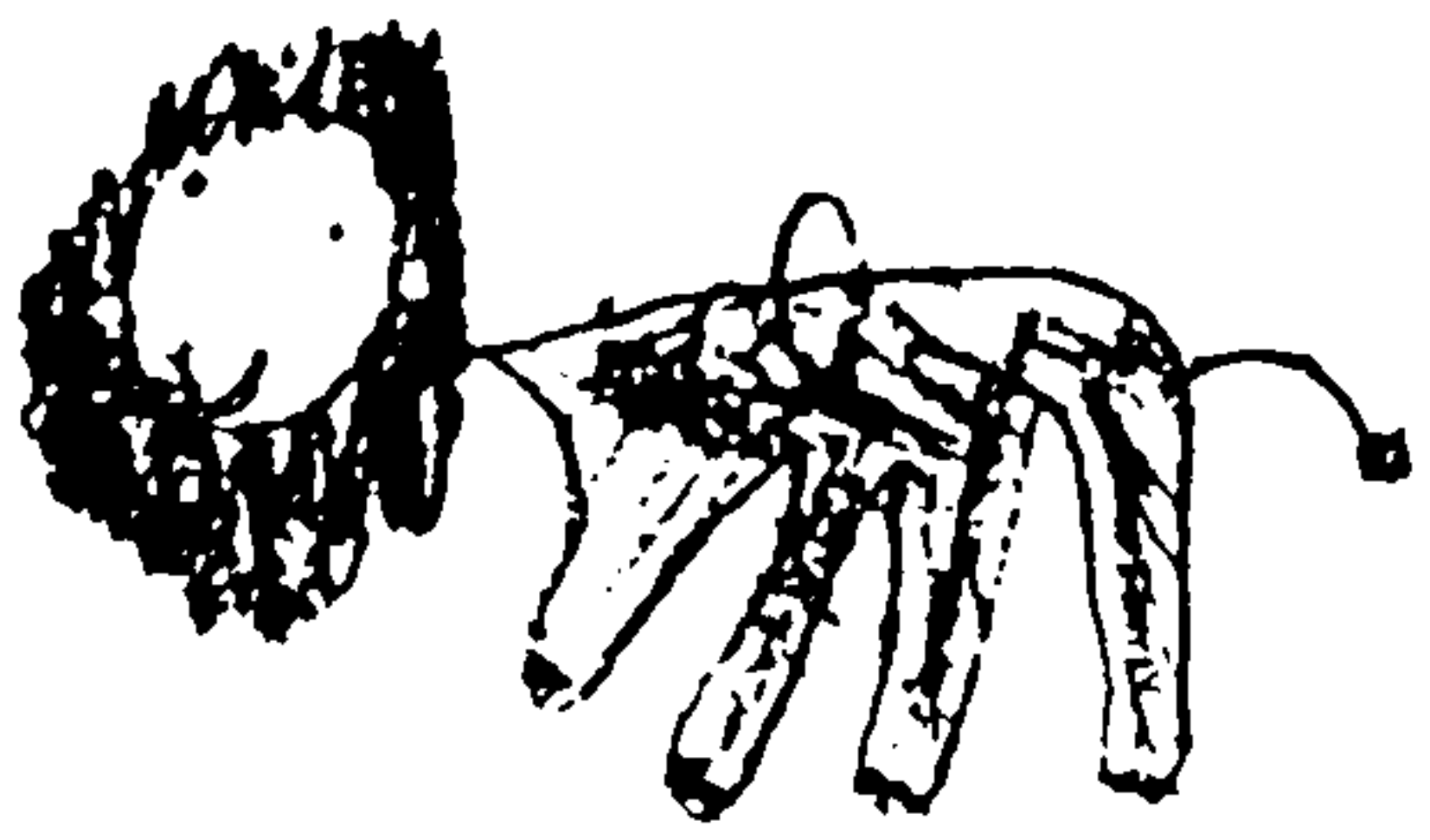
Drawing 4  
Batman  
(Zaharias, m,5,T)



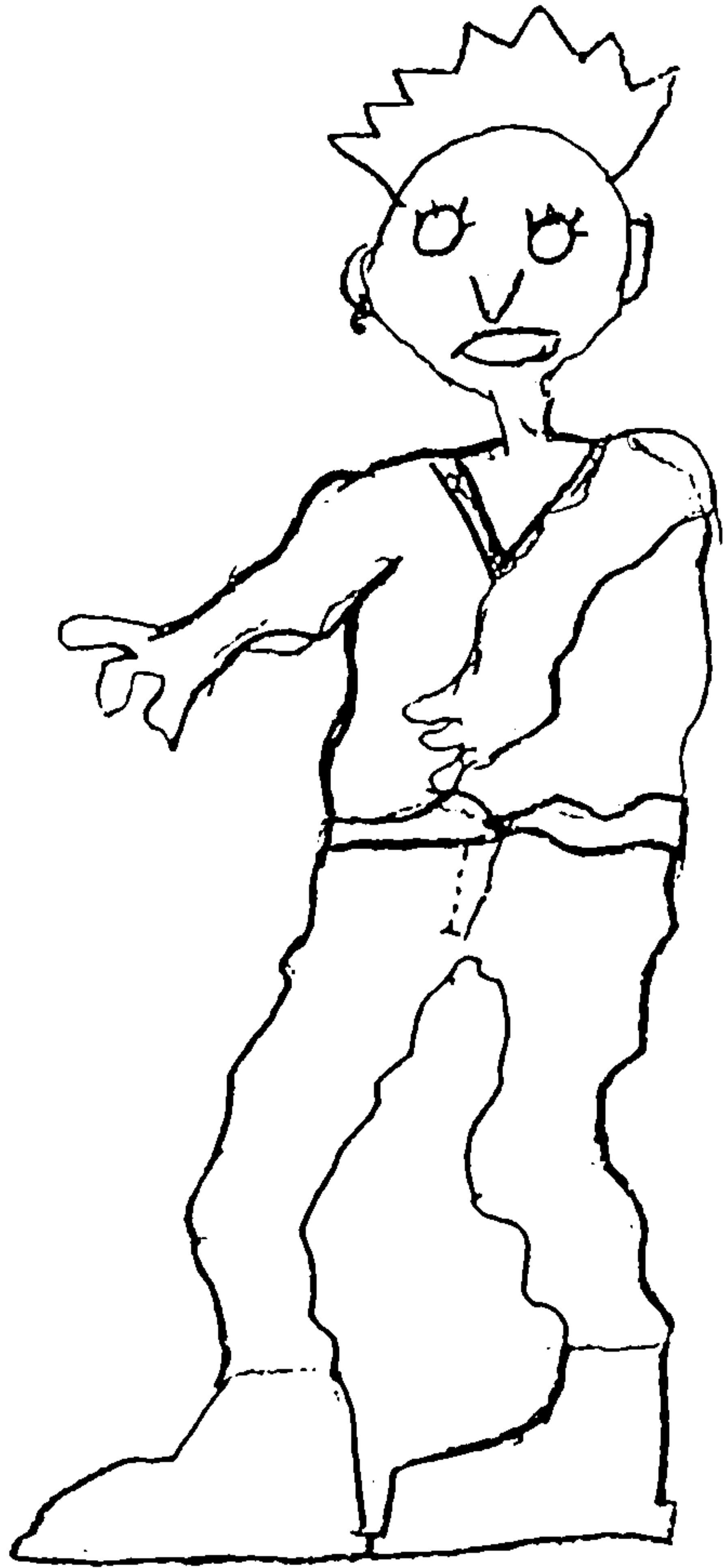
Drawing 5  
A lady dumping her garbage in the forest.  
(Gogo, f,9,C)



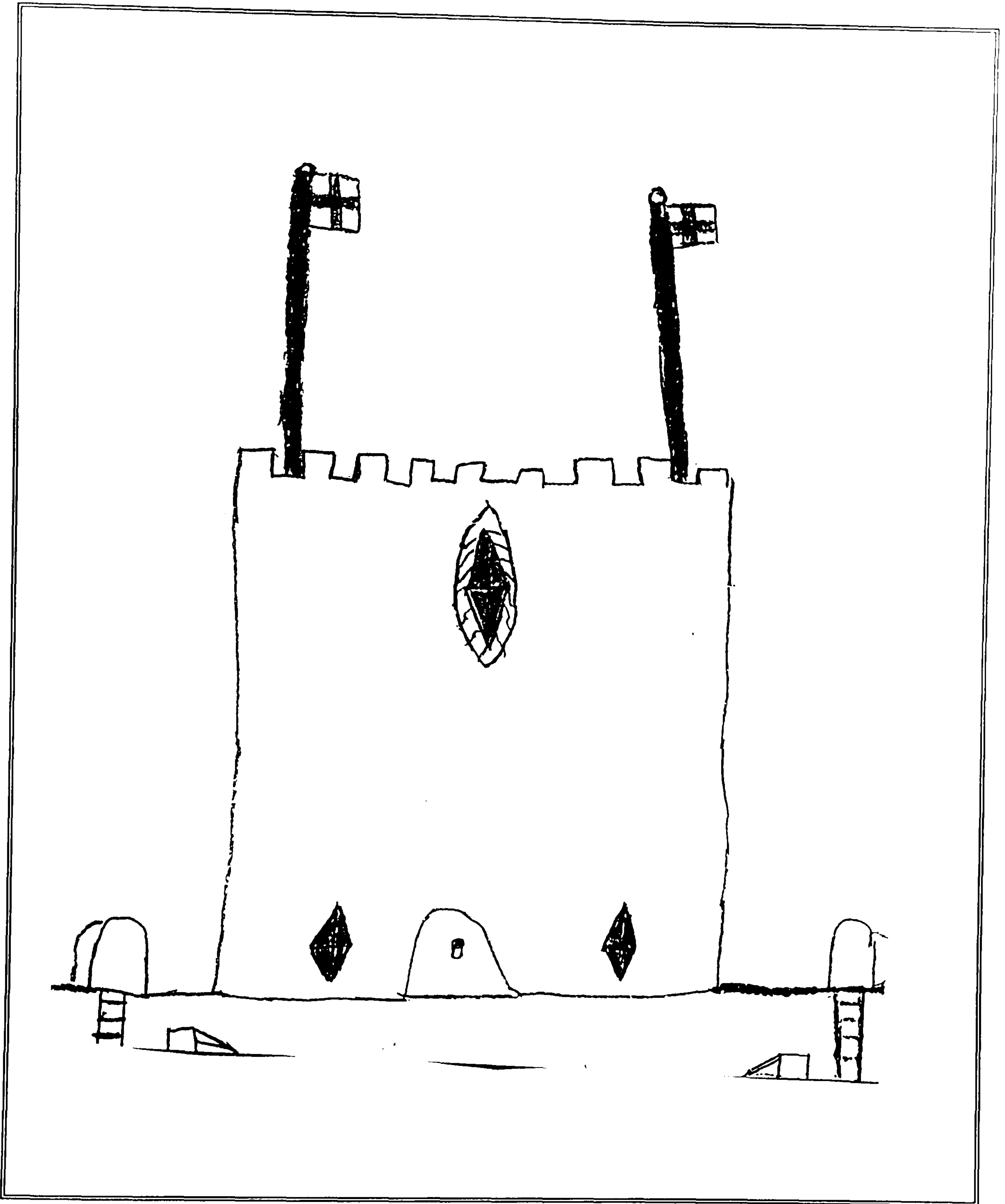
Drawing 6  
The hunter.  
(Antonis, m,7,C)



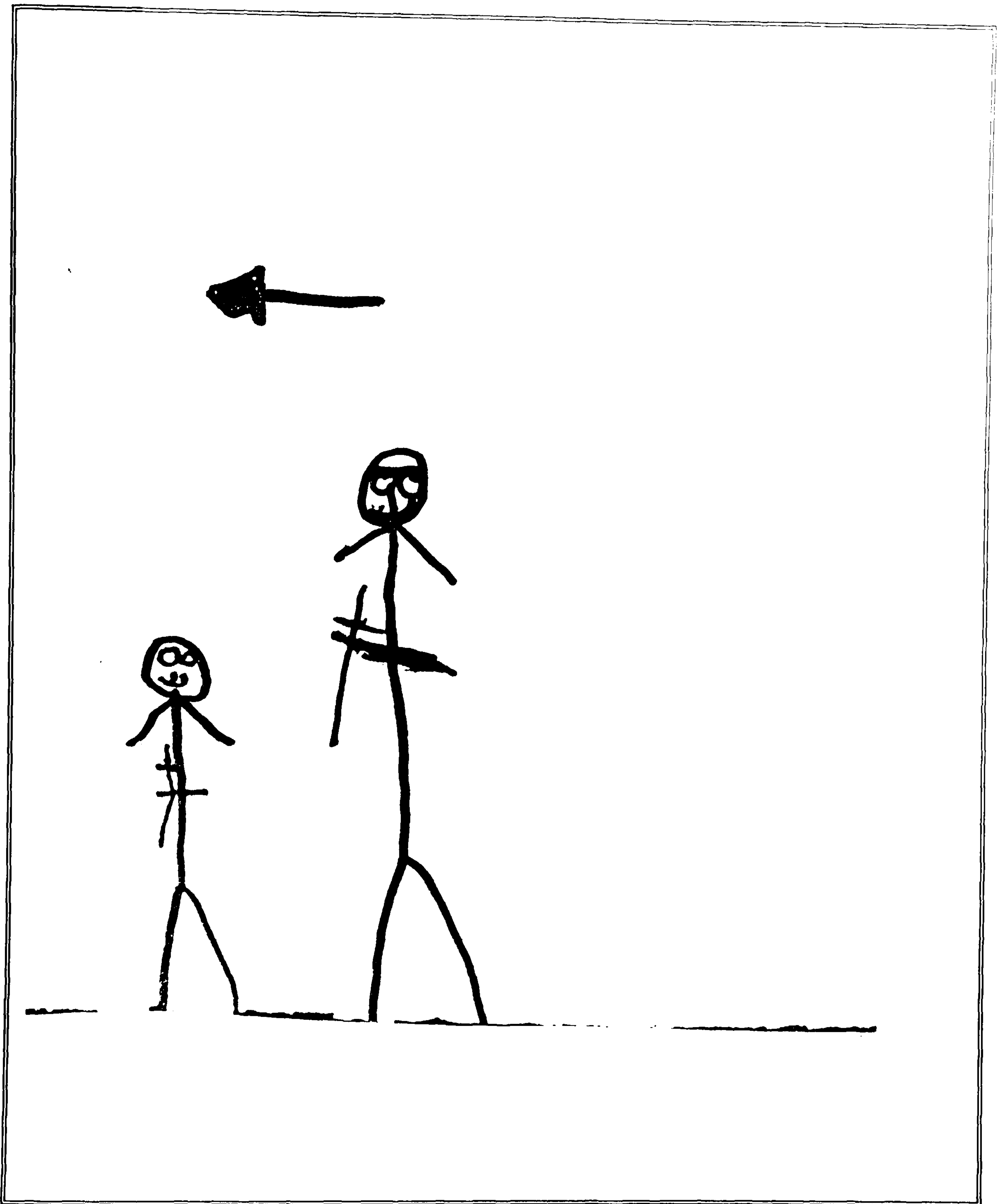
Drawing 7  
Lions  
(Elli, f,7,T)



Drawing 8  
A big bully.  
(Laura, f,9,Y)



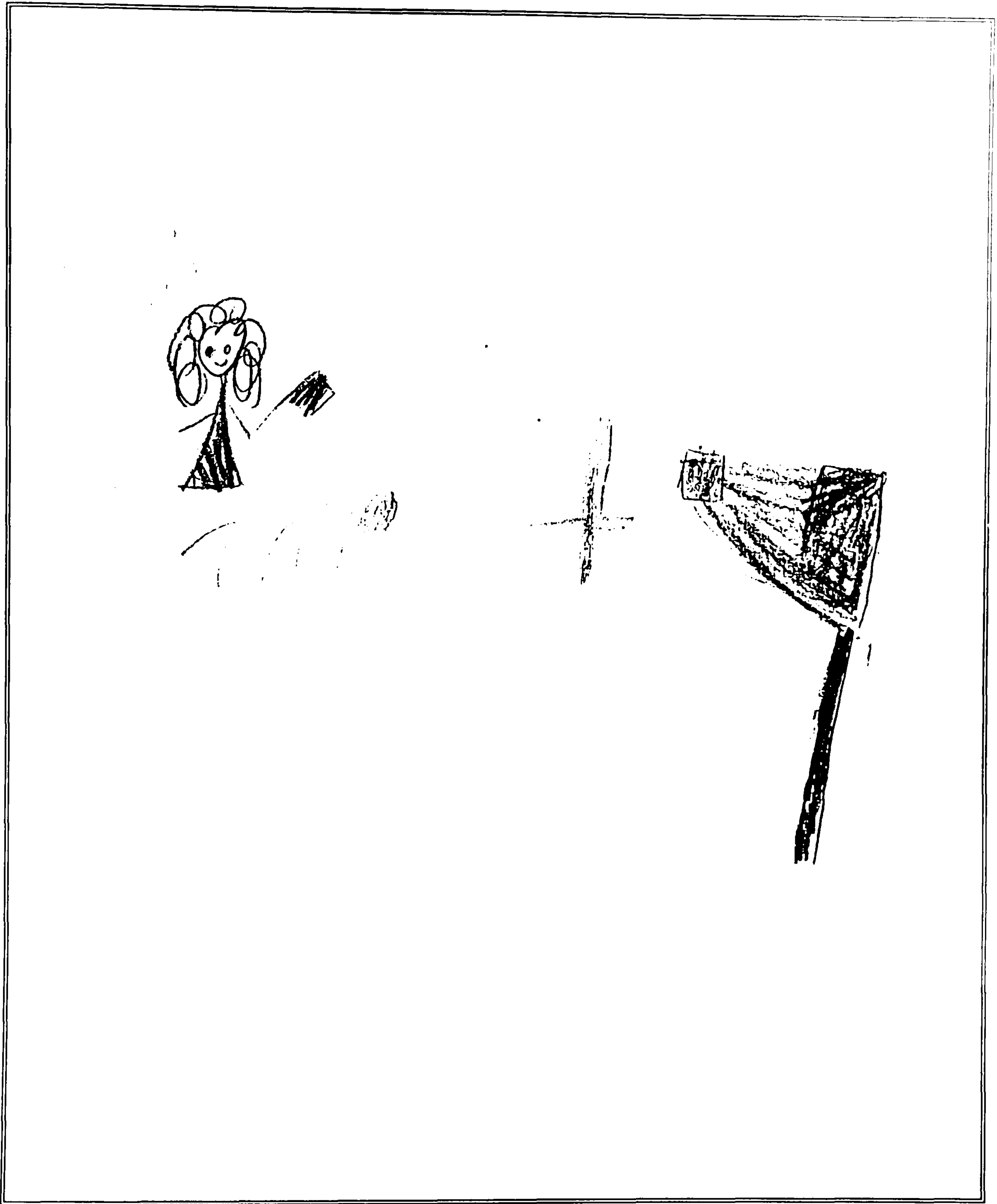
Drawing 9  
"The enemies are in a fortress".  
(Andy, m,9,Y)



Drawing 10

Many five-year-old children focused on the enemy-warrior's appearance and described the soldiers' weapons in detail.

(Kostis, m,5,C)

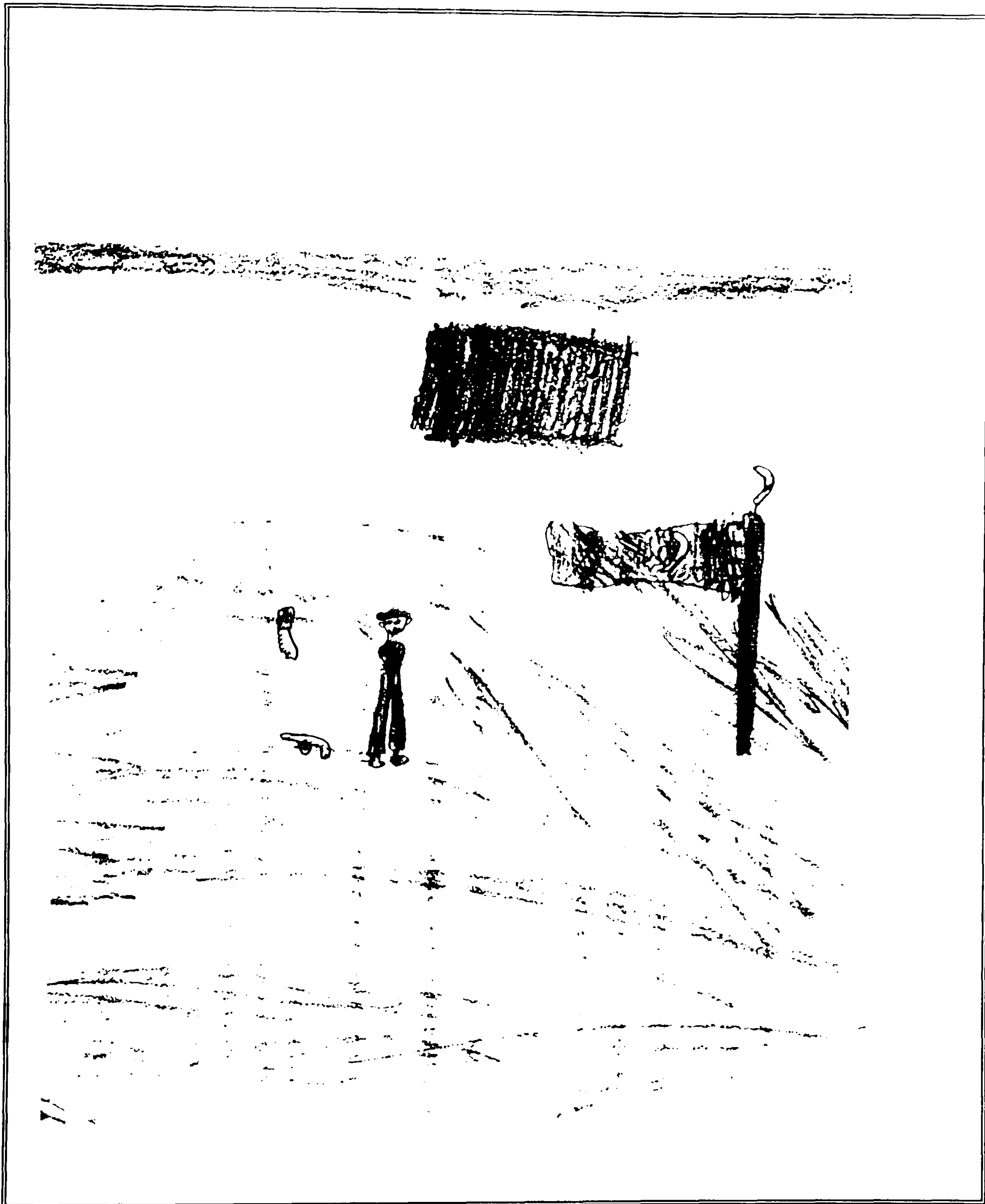


Drawing 11

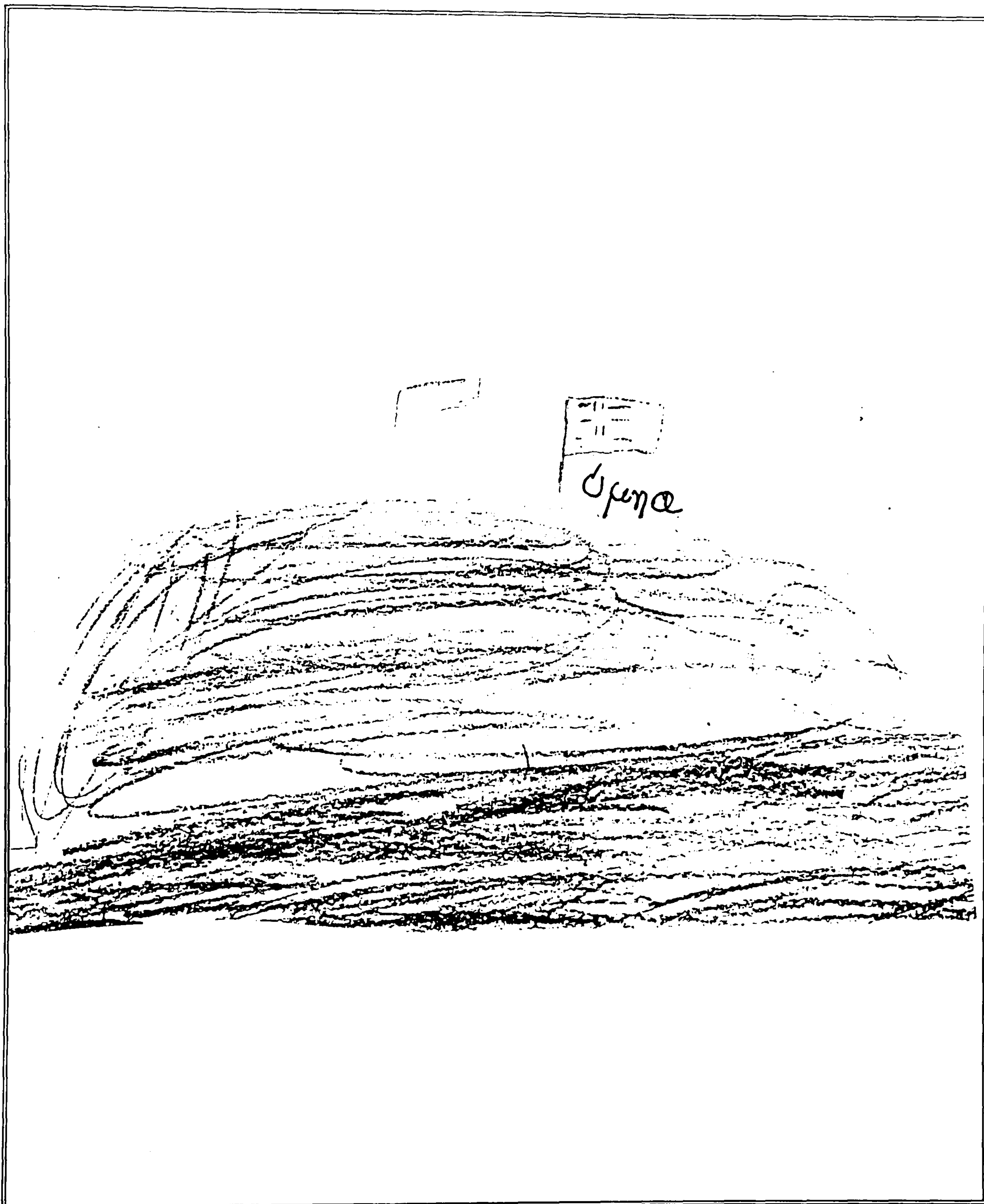
Some five-year-olds made drawings of their national flags.

(Morfula, f,5,T)





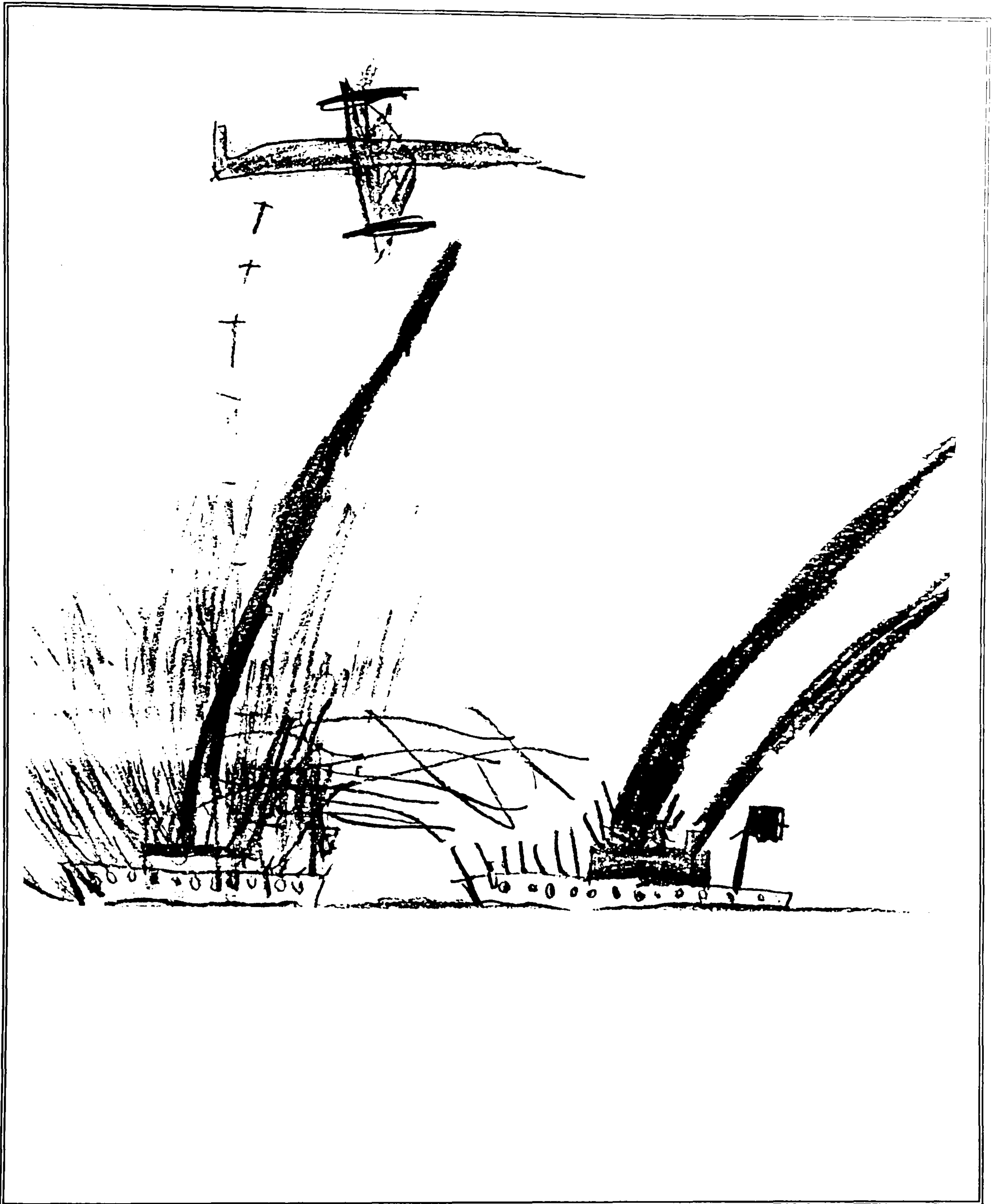
Drawing 12  
The Turkish flag, the Turk and his weapons.  
(Vagelia, f,7,T)



Drawing 13

The recent Greek-Turkish conflict appeared in the drawings of many seven-year-old children.

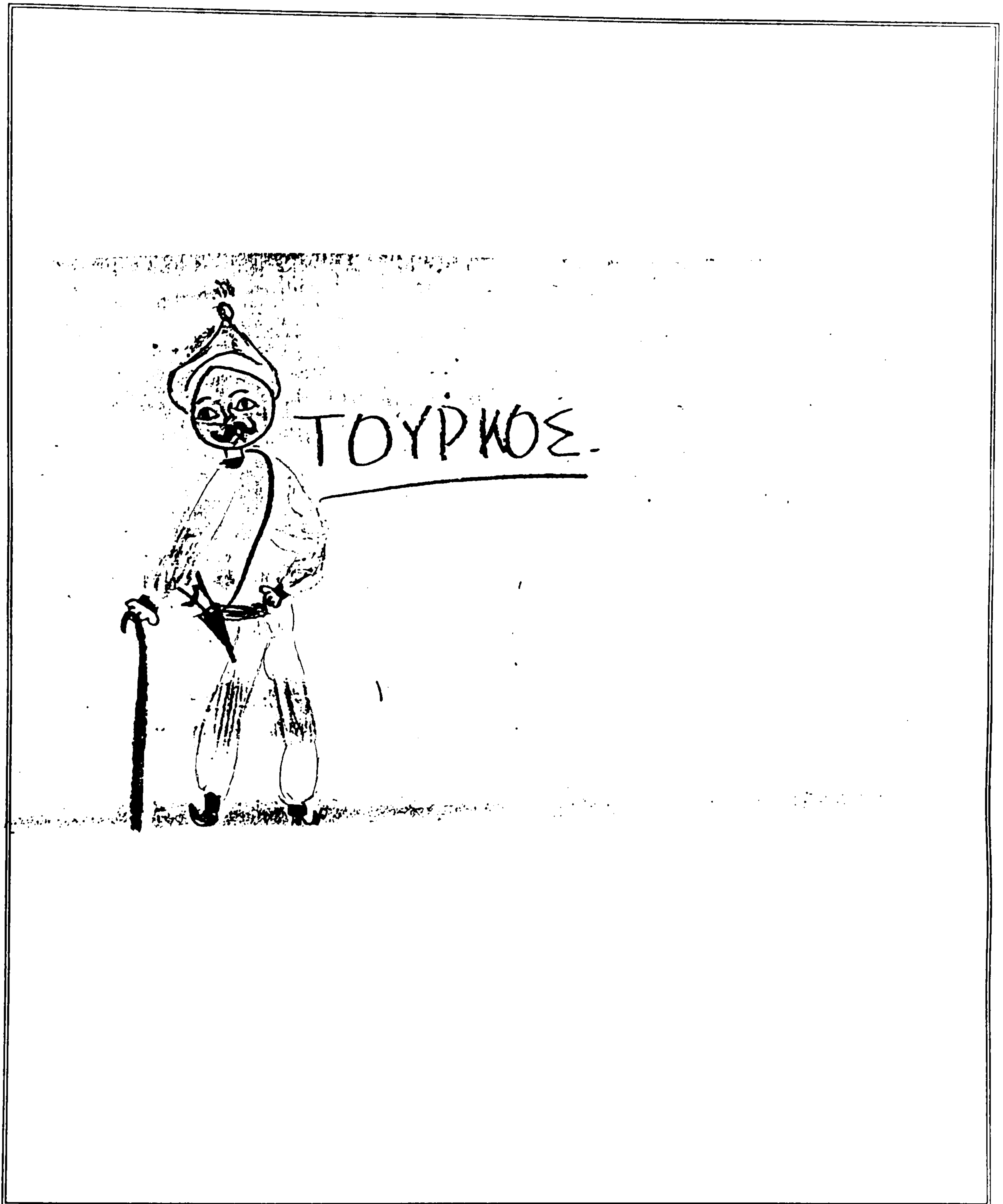
(Yiorgos, m,7,C)



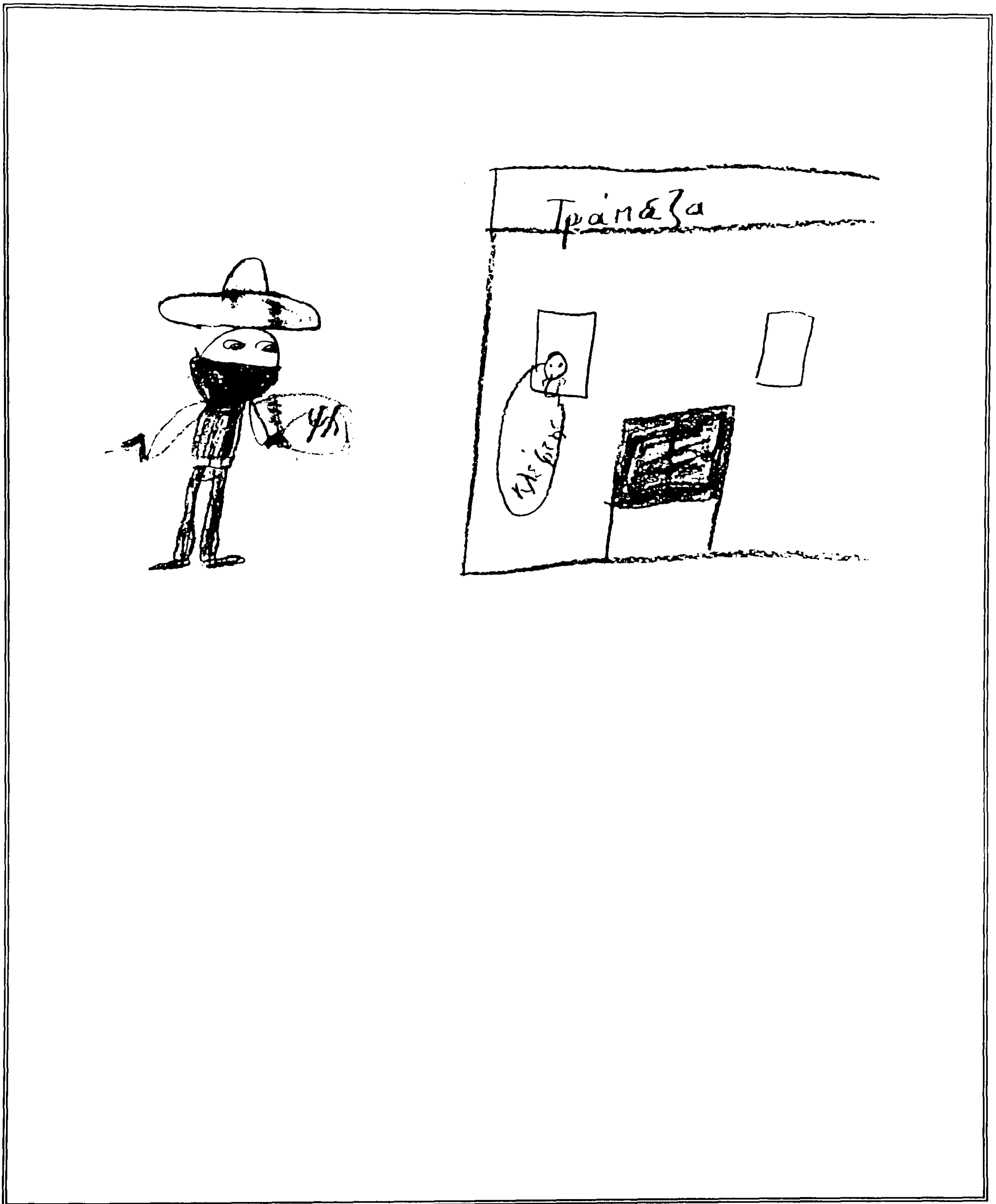
Drawing 14

Imaginary conflict between Greeks and Turks. The Turks attacked first but the Greeks won the battle.

(Manolis, m,7,C)



Drawing 15  
A Turk dressed in traditional clothes.  
(Martha, f,7,C)



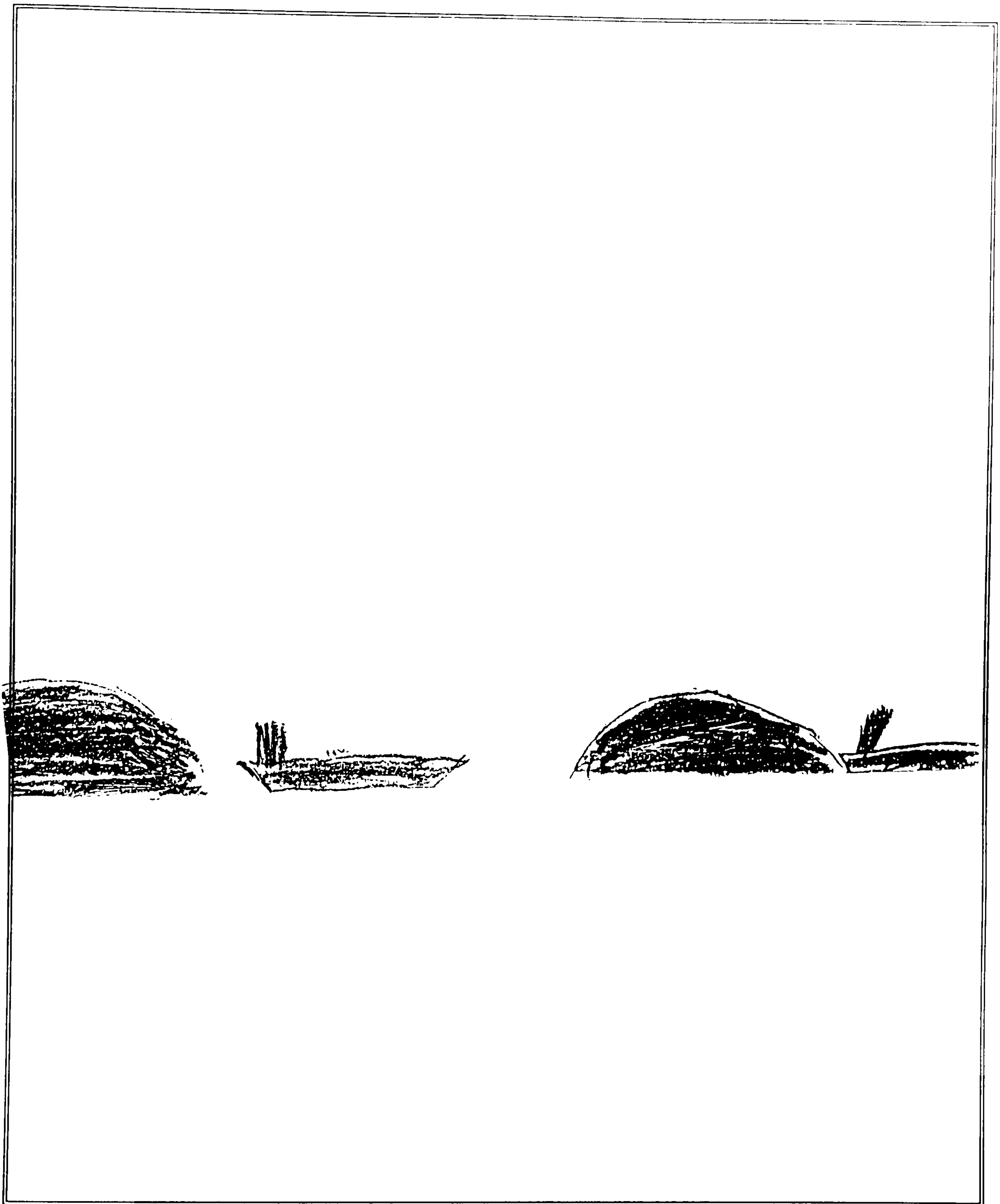
Drawing 16

Seven-year-olds often presented enemy-criminals with bag sacks where they would put all the stolen goods. The drawing illustrates a bank robbery.

(Apostolos, m,7,T)



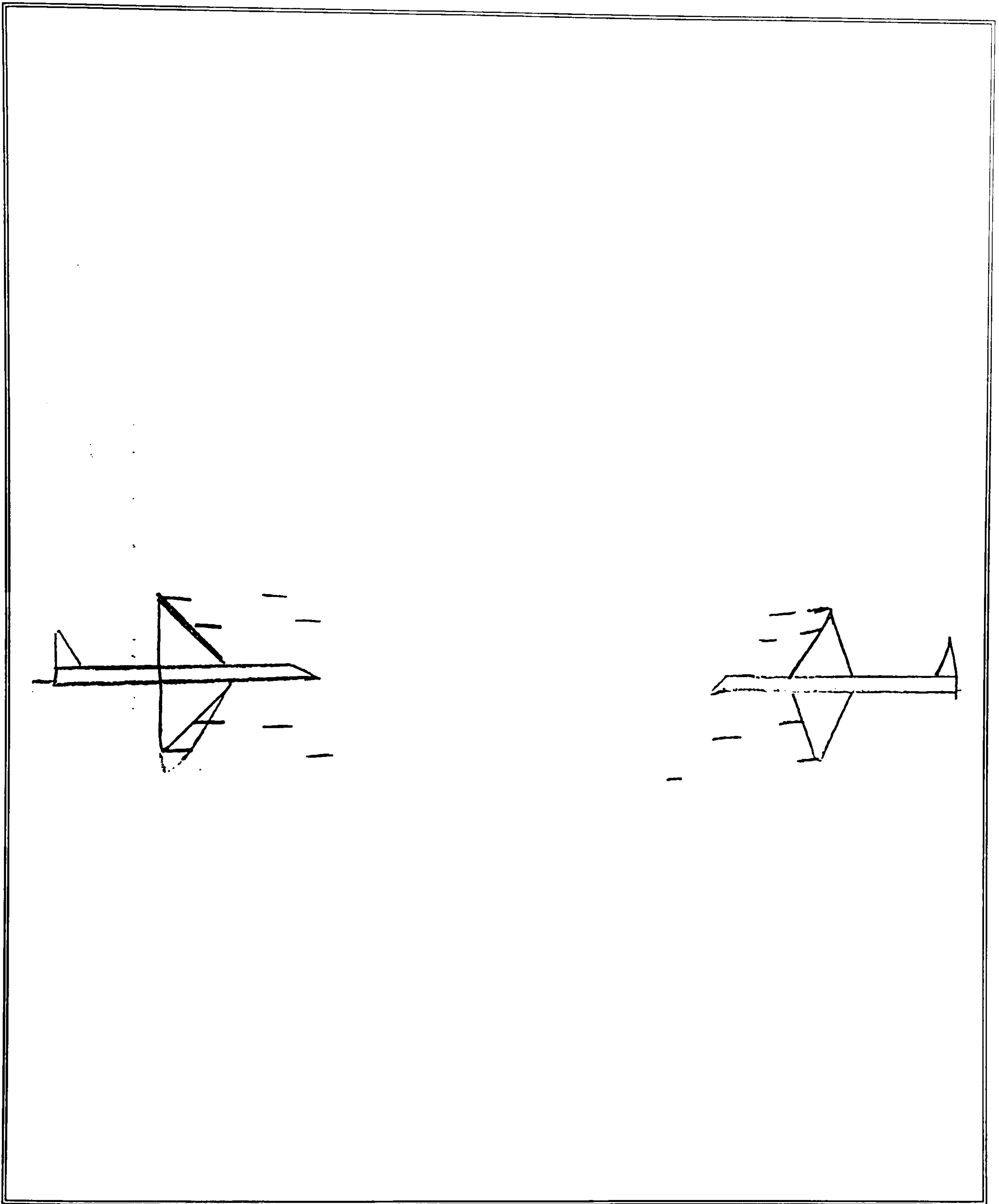
Drawing 17  
Enemy-criminal presented by a seven-year-old child.  
"I am the worst man on Earth"  
(Panayiota, f,7,T)



Drawing 18

When describing the warrior-image, boys tended to concentrate on battles, to talk about soldiers' armoury, their weapons and the aeroplanes and boats that were involved in the war.

(Antonis, m,9,T)

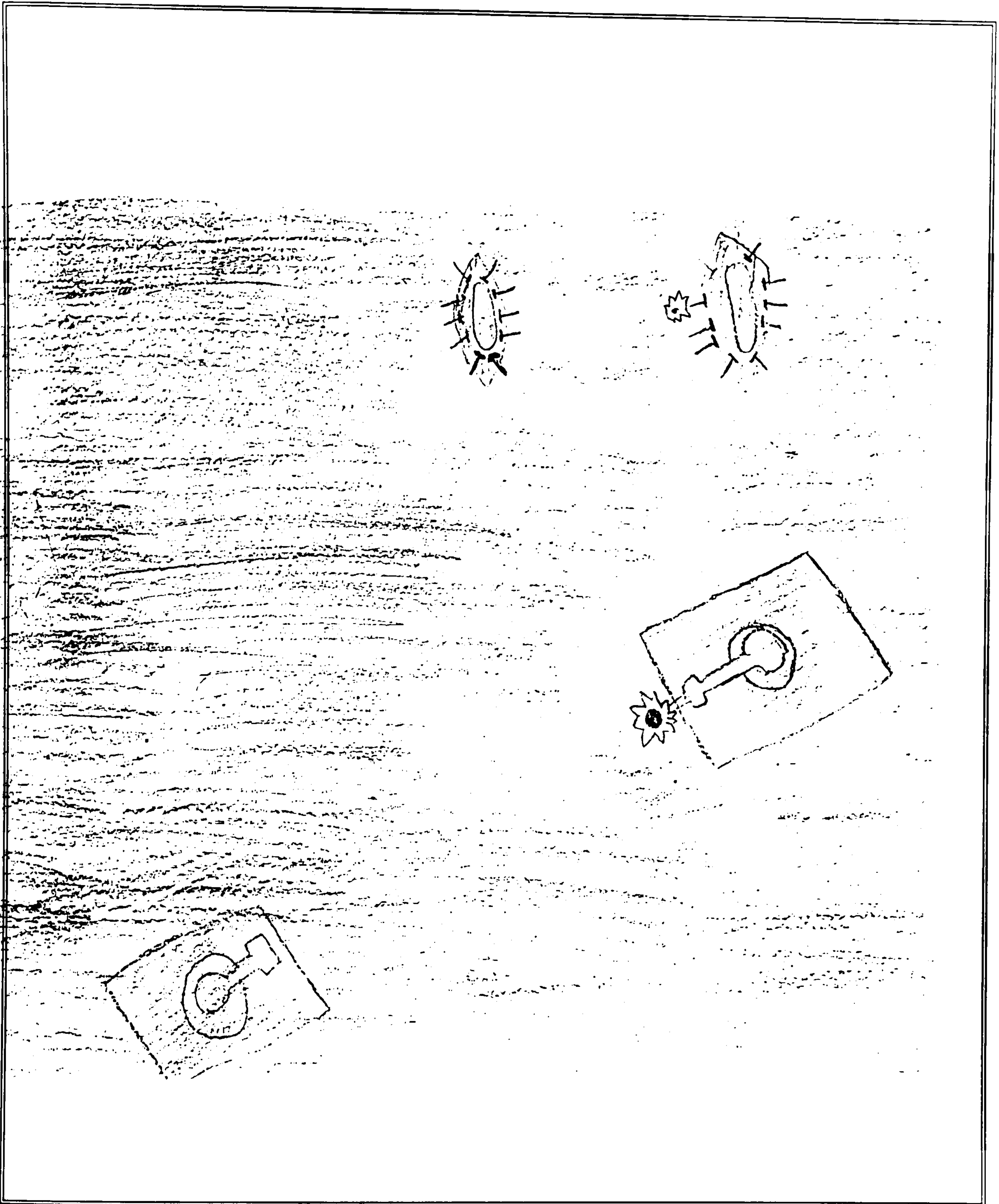


Drawing 19

When describing the warrior-image, boys tended to concentrate on battles, to talk about soldiers' armoury, their weapons and the aeroplanes and boats that were involved in the war.

(Kostas, m,9,T)

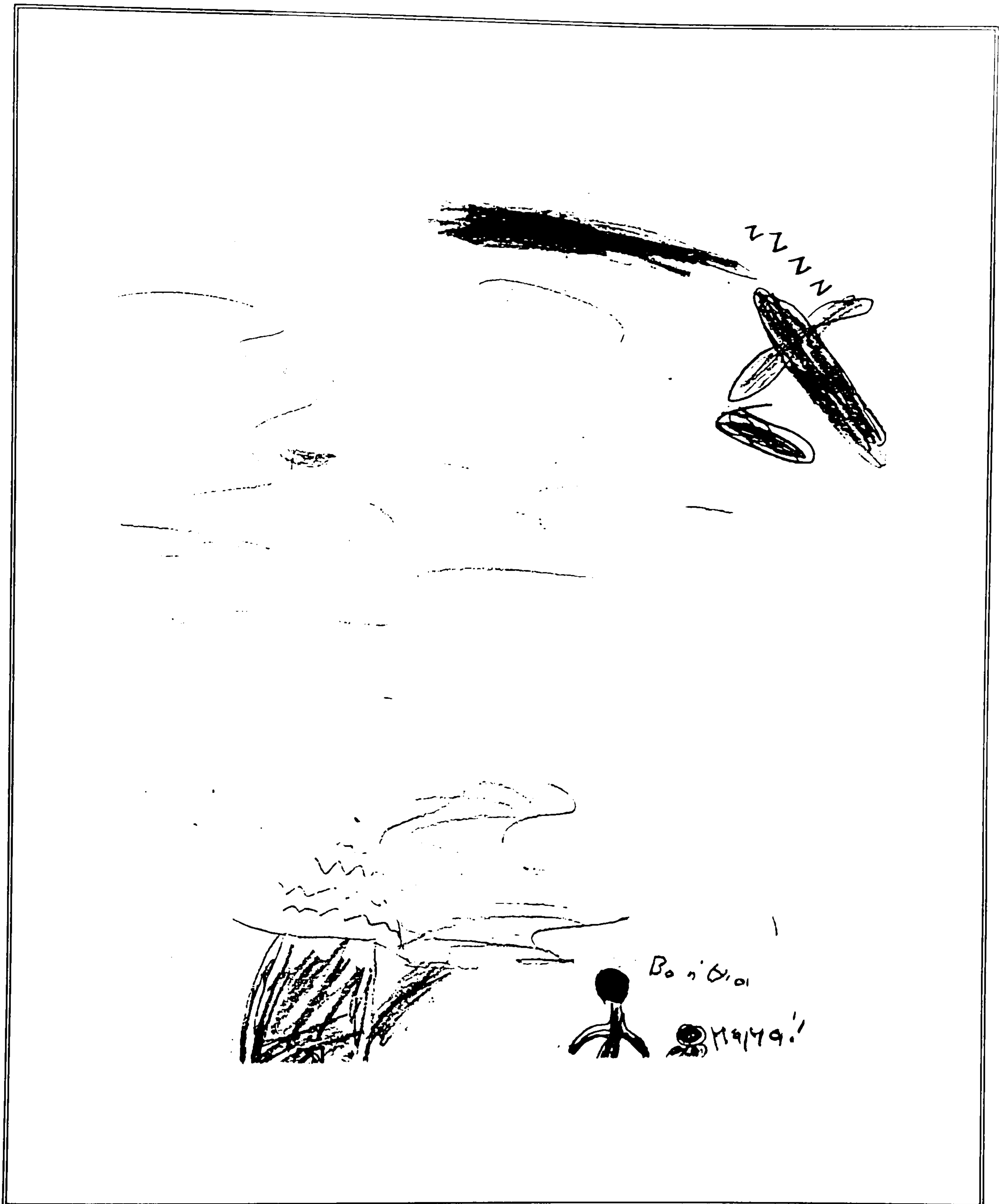




Drawing 20

When describing the warrior-image, boys tended to concentrate on battles, to talk about soldiers' armoury, their weapons and the aeroplanes and boats that were involved in the war.

(Laurence, m,9,Y)

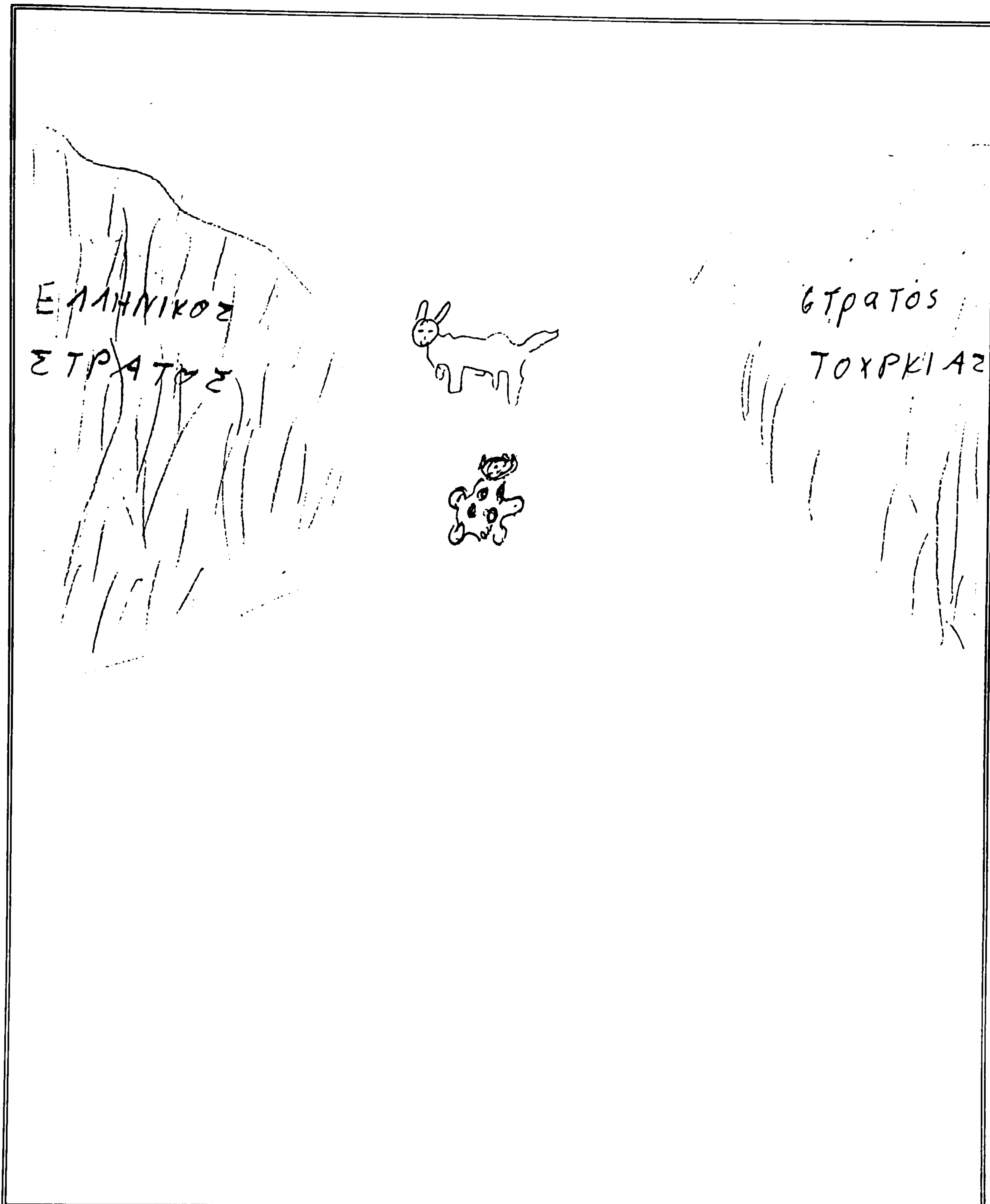


Drawing 21

When described the enemy-warrior image, many girls described the fate of civilians.

“Help, mum”

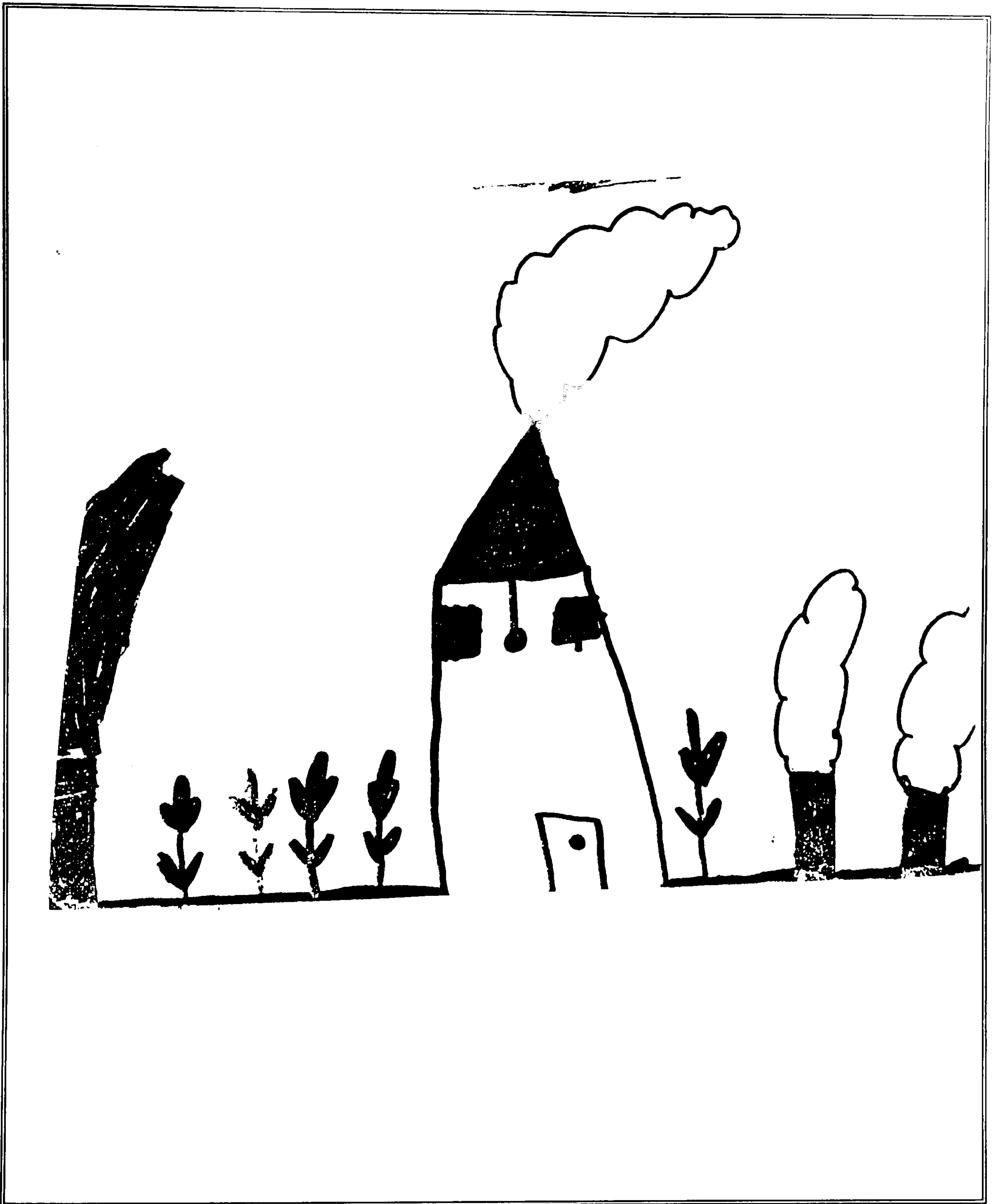
(Ioanna, f,9,C)



Drawing 22

“...The army of Turkey (on the right) and the Greek army (on the left) and I would like to make a few animals to stop this army... to stop the war... I hope they will sympathise with the animals and the war will stop”.

(Zanina, f,9,T)

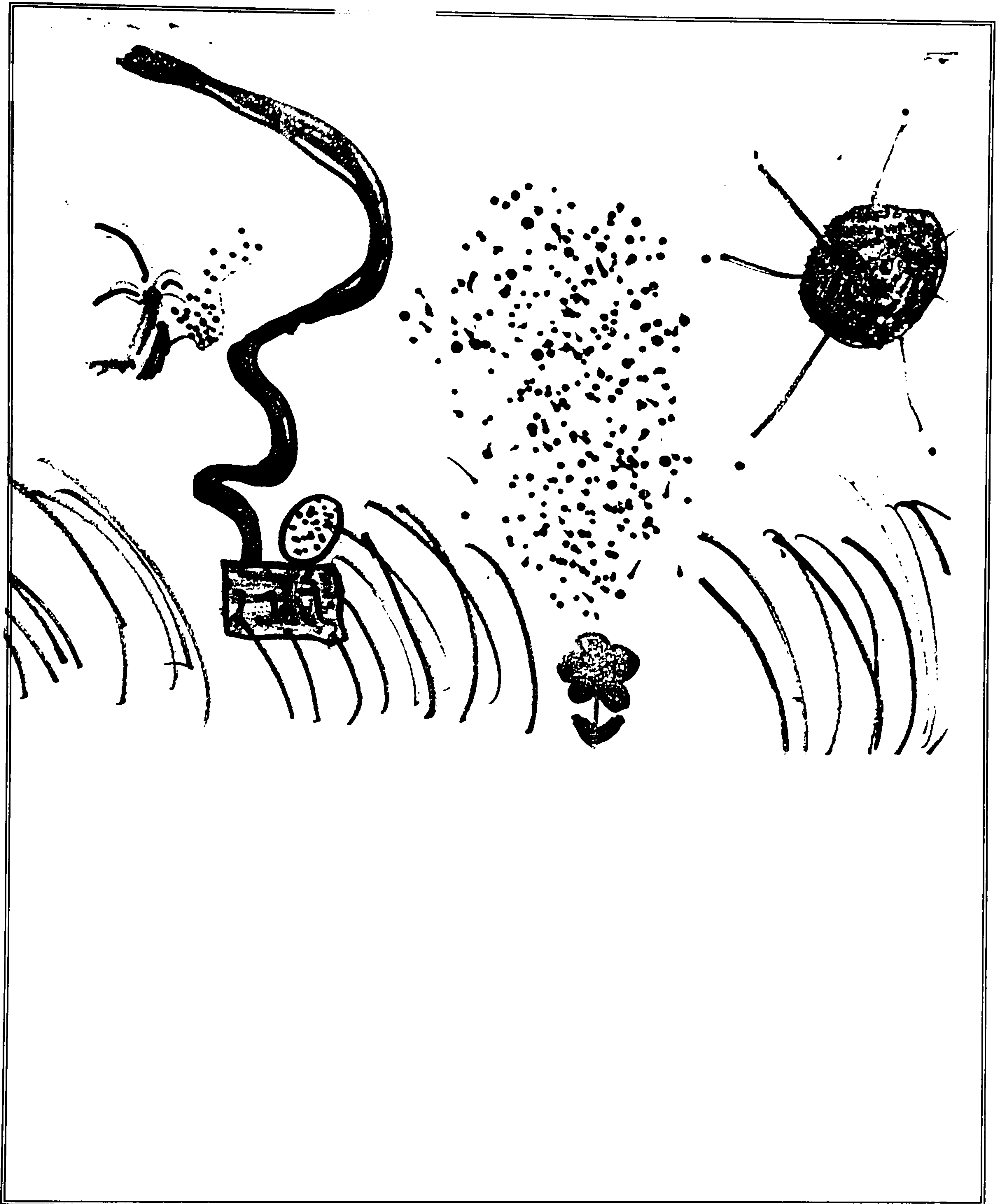


Drawing 23

Some of the girls' drawings presented a complete image of the surroundings.

"I've made a house, little flowers and trees. I did not make an enemy".

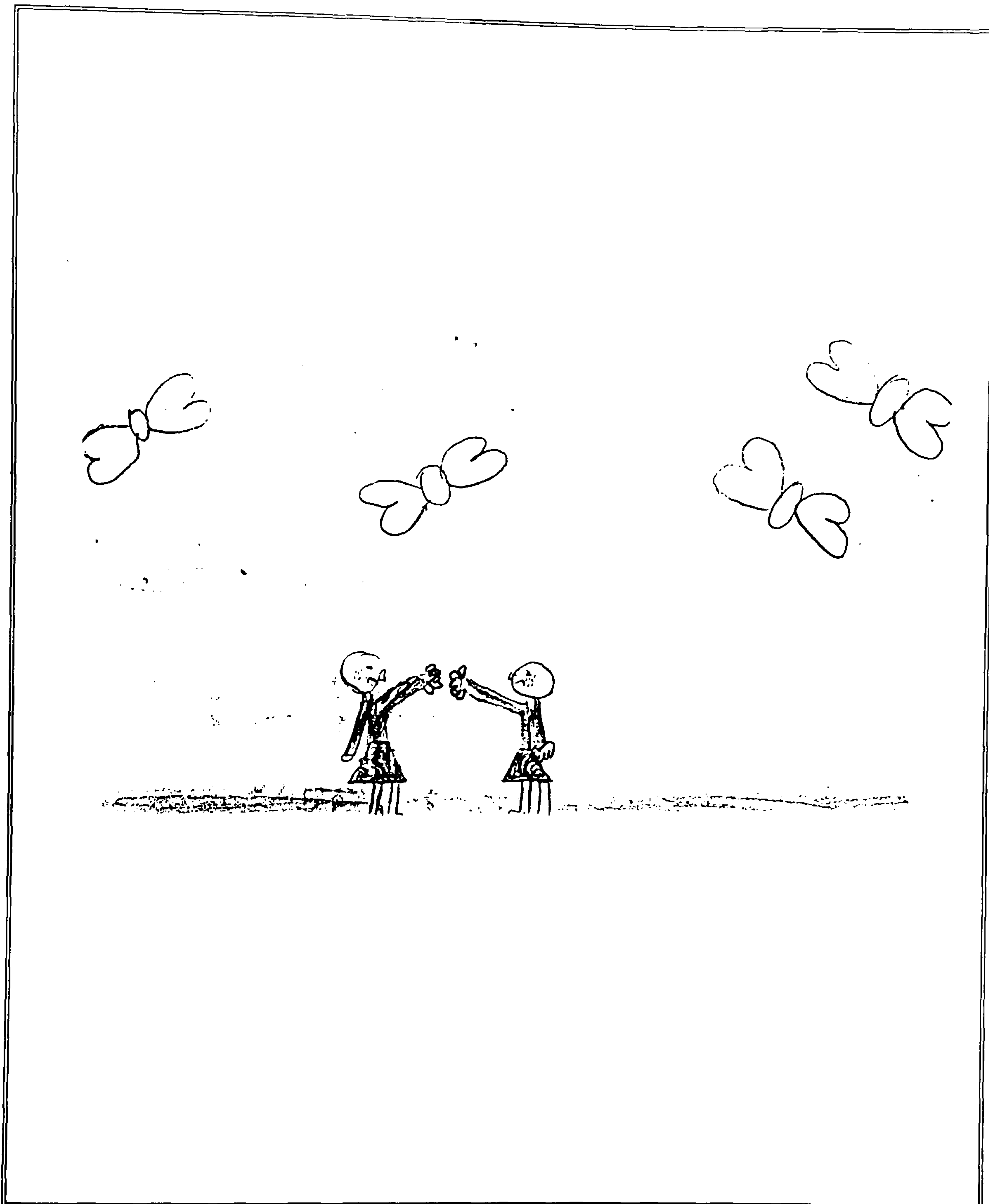
(Aggeliki, f,5,C)



Drawings 24

Some of the girls' drawings were full of "happy images", like flowers, smiling suns and houses. They avoided to include enemies in their drawings.

(Marcella, f,5,C)

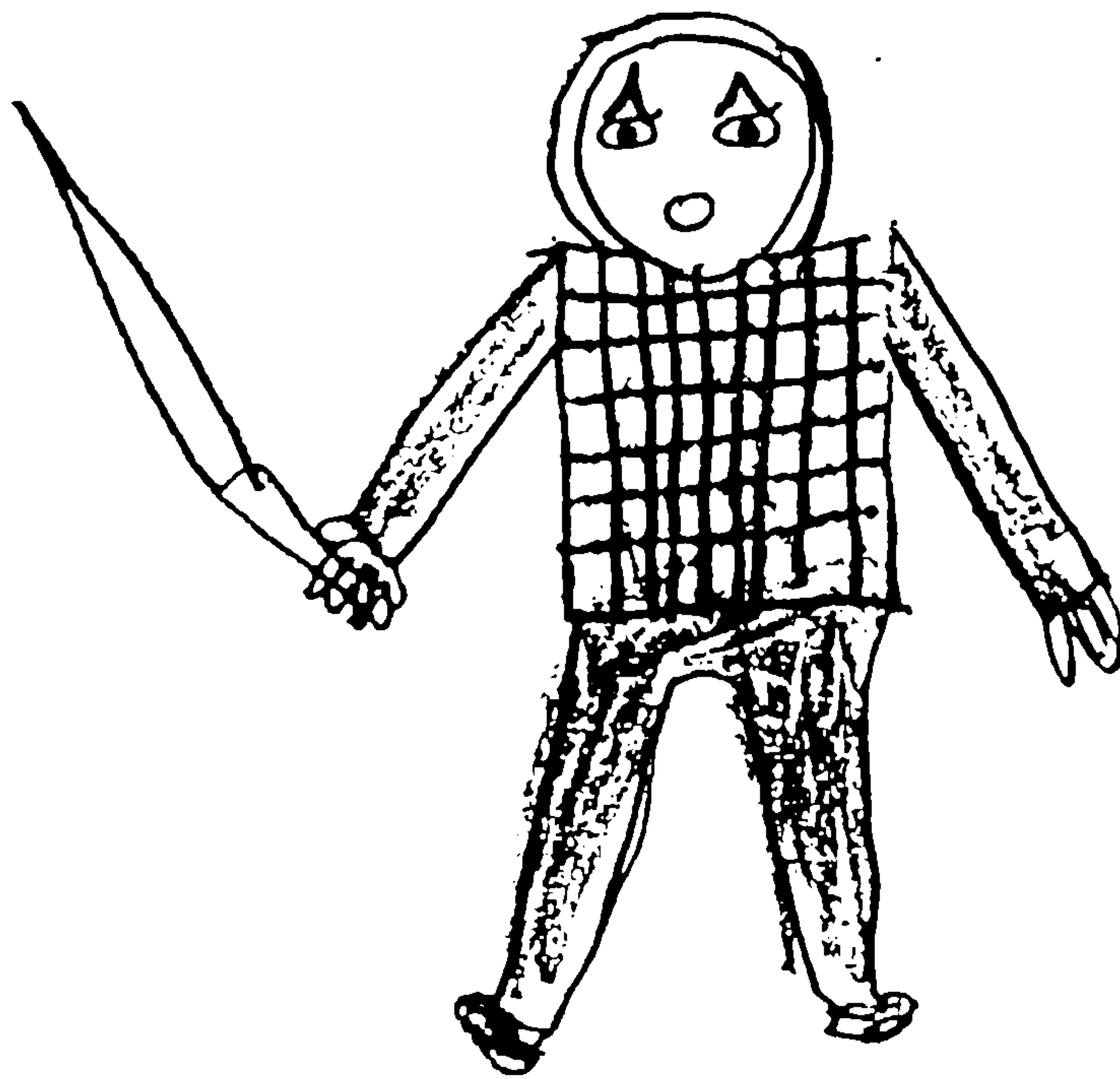


Drawing 25

“Two girls fighting”.

It can be noticed that the nine-year-old interviewee emphasised on the girls’ dresses and facial expression and also included other elements of the natural environment, like butterflies.

(Argiro, f,9,C)



Drawing 26

Most of the boys tended to be more economical and austere in their drawings, they presented only what was necessary.

(Ioannis, m,9,T)

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