Intergroup Conflict Runs in the Family: Parental Social Attitudes and Political Ideology Predict the Ethos of Conflict in their Offspring[*]

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Ethos of Conflict (EOC) represents a set of societal beliefs regarding violent intergroup conflict. One of the important topic in intergroup conflict research is the political socialization of beliefs regarding conflict – the intergenerational transmission of the conflict-related beliefs from parents to children. However, the empirical data on this process is still very scarce. This is why the main goal of the present research was to examine the associations between EOC beliefs between the parents and their offspring; furthermore, we analyzed which of the parental social attitudes and political ideology beliefs predict EOS in their offspring. The research participants were family members of Serbian nationality (N_{total}=253; 102 families). We examined EOC in the context of the conflict between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo. The data revealed high correlation in EOC between parents and their children. Furthermore, parental traditional religiousness, materialistic ethnocentrism, high conservative, and low liberal political ideology predicted EOC in the offspring. The research findings showed that parental attitudes can indeed be a major source of EOC in their children. Results specified that religious, self-oriented and conservative parents have higher EOC themselves and tend to share beliefs about the conflict with their children to a higher extent. The results have a conceptual and practical implication for building reconciliation and peace.

Keywords: Ethos of Conflict, family, attitudes, political ideology, political socialization

Highlights:

- Inter-generational transmission of attitudes and Ethos of conflict (EOC) was analyzed.
- EOC highly correlated between parents and their children.
- Conservative attitudes in parents predicted EOC in children.
- Findings demonstrate the importance of political socialization in maintaining EOC.

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Note. Boban Petrović passed away during the preparation of this manuscript.

The Ethos of Conflict

Violent, long-lasting intergroup conflicts are complex phenomena with a steep cost in human lives, economic growth, and the quality of life in general. They have multiple etiologies, e.g., historical, geographical, cultural, and economic factors, but they are all in some way expressed in the psychology of the society members involved in it. One comprehensive way of describing the psychological aspects of societies in violent conflict is represented in the concept of the Ethos of conflict (EOC; Bar-Tal, 2007). This concept assumes that the psychological mind-set of society members involved in violent conflict consists of eight societal beliefs: beliefs of *justness of in-group goals*, concerns about *in-group security*, *positive collective self-image*, beliefs of in-group *victimization*, *delegitimization* of the opponent group, *patriotism*, importance of being *united* in the face of threat and the belief in *peace*. EOC emerges as a psychological adaptation in a context of violent conflict. It helps society members satisfy their needs, cope with stress and withstand the opponent (Bar-Tal, 2007). However, while EOC can protect the society members from the distress caused by conflict, it also protracts the conflict itself and hinders the possibility of reconciliation (Lavi et al., 2014). Hence, EOC represent one of the main detrimental forces for conflict resolution and peace building (Sharvit, 2014).

The concept of EOC was formulated in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a prototypical, intractable violent conflict in modern history. However, there is some data suggesting that the concept is applicable to other conflict situations, for example the ethnic conflicts in former Yugoslavia. The existing empirical findings showed that EOC (societal beliefs regarding the conflict between Serbs and Albanians on Kosovo) is positively related to the endorsement of conservative political parties (Međedović & Petrović, 2013), thinking pattern which is characteristic for militant and violent extremists (Međedović & Petrović, 2016), and the endorsement of conspiracy theories, while it showed negative associations with readiness to reconciliation (Petrović et al., 2019). These findings suggest that the socio-psychological aspects of violent conflict might be similar in various conflicts which originated in diverse cultures.

Ideological Basis of the EOC

Research showed that there are more basic and fundamental socio-psychological foundations of the EOC. These foundations are reflected in general social attitudes and ideology. It is assumed that EOC can emerge from conservative ideology (Bar-Tal et al., 2012) since several of its beliefs (patriotism, unity, security) are similar to general conservative attitudes. Indeed, empirical research confirmed this hypothesis. EOC is positively related to conservative and negatively to liberal ideology – these findings are obtained when ideology is measured by broad attitudinal measures (Međedović & Petrović, 2016; Petrović,

2020) and by evaluations of specific political parties that represent conservative or liberal ideology (Međedović & Petrović, 2013).

There were attempts to describe the adherence to EOC by general social attitudes. The lexical model of social attitudes was used for this purpose. This model is based on terms with the –ism suffix (e.g., communism, patriotism, colonialism, etc). Empirical research (Saucier, 2000) showed that these terms are grouped in four latent factors: αisms (traditional-oriented religiousness), βisms (materialistic self-interest accompanied by ethnocentrism), γisms (patriotism, support for state institutions) and δisms (adherence towards intuition and spirituality). When relations between EOC and isms factors are analyzed in a Serbian sample, the data showed that αisms, βisms, and γisms are all positively related to EOC (Petrović & Međedović, 2011; Petrović, 2020). Since all these attitudes are conservative in their nature (Stankov, 2007), these findings are in line with the previously described ones: EOC is basically associated with conservative ideology.

Family and EOC: Intergenerational Transmission of the Beliefs about Conflict

The process of learning attitudes, social norms, ideology and values regarding political life in general, is called political socialization (Greenberg, 2009). Parents, as one of the crucial factors of socialization in general, have a very important role in this respect. The empirical confirmation of this connection comes from the recent meta-analysis of family relations in inter-group attitudes: the study revealed medium-size correlations in attitudes between parents and children (Degner & Dalege, 2013).

Scholars hypothesize that the role of parents, among other factors of socialization, is even more important in the context of violent intergroup conflict (Nasie & Bar-Tal, 2020). Evidence shows that parents actively transfer the attitudes and beliefs regarding the intergroup conflict to their offspring (Nasie, Diamond, & Bar-Tal, 2016). Thus, in the conflict between Serbs and Croats in former Yugoslavia, parents intentionally talk to their children about the war and about their ethnic group (Reidy et al., 2015). In fact, research shows that there is a unidirectional pathway of transferring attitudes toward the out-group in the family, and it goes from parents to children (Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). It is important to mention that there are certain differences in parents, regarding their role in the political socialization. *Hawkish* parents are the ones who more actively propagate the narratives of conflict which are congruent with EOC; on the other hand, *dovish* parents tend to avoid political discussions with children and send more complex narratives which are contradictory to the EOC (Bar-Tal, Reshef, & Blacharovich, 2012). The consequence of these parental differences is that the correlation between the attitudes in parents and children is higher in families with hawkish than with dovish parents (Ben Shabat, 2010).

Repercussions of intergenerational transmission of EOC in families are of high importance. This process results in the formation of long-lasting attitudes in children which leads to the continuation of conflict and maintaining conflictive societal beliefs (Bar-Tal et al., 2017). Hence, the transfer of EOC from parents to children represents one of the main obstacles to reconciliation and peace building in conflict and post-conflict societies.

Goals of the Present Research

The youth in post-conflict societies has a high potential for changing in-group and inter-group relations towards more tolerant and peaceful living conditions. On the other hand, if they are influenced by negative attitudes stemming from their parents, youth could turn into a detrimental force regarding inter-group reconciliation and peace. However, despite the high theoretical and practical significance of this topic, our search of the literature yielded no research that has attempted to quantitatively estimate the similarity of EOC between parents and children. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is that most of the research was oriented towards young children in a process of political socialization (Bar-Tal et al., 2017; Nasie et al., 2016). In the present study we sampled participants in their early adulthood and their parents. This allowed us to directly estimate the intergenerational relations in EOC. We hypothesized that there is substantial correlation between parents and children in EOC and, furthermore, that the correlations in EOC between parent and their offspring will be higher in magnitude than the correlations in general social attitudes and ideology.

The second goal of the present study is to examine which attitudinal and ideological characteristics of parents are related to the EOC in their children. We examined not only the EOC scores in children as a criterion variable, but the *shared variance* between parents and children in EOC as well. This shared variance can tell us in which families children and parents are more similar in EOC and in which the resemblance is lower. Since the direction a influence is hypothesized to go from parents to children (Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009), this variable can serve as a direct measure of the intergenerational transfer of EOC. Based upon the previous research (Međedović & Petrović, 2013, 2016; Petrović & Međedović, 2011) we assumed that a conservative attitudinal profile in parents predicts the transfer of EOC to children.

The study was conducted in a post-conflict society of Serbia, where the relations between Serbs and Kosovo Albanians are very tense. This is a consequence of the violent ethnic conflict that resulted in the unilateral secession of Kosovo from Serbia. The EOC we examined measures the beliefs of Serbs towards the Kosovo conflict and Kosovo Albanians as the opponent group. Besides the previously described research goals, this fact allows us to examine, once again, the validity of EOC in exploring socio-psychological aspects of conflict, outside the Israeli-Palestinian context in which it originated.

Method

Sample

We asked undergraduate psychology students in Kosovska Mitrovica and Belgrade to fill out the questionnaires and to take the measures to their parents to fill them in. We obtained responses from 102 families (N_{total} = 253 participants): 102 students (54 from Kosovska Mitrovica and 48 from Belgrade), 69 fathers (38 from Kosovska Mitrovica and 31 from Belgrade) and 82 mothers (39 from Kosovska Mitrovica and 43 from Belgrade). The reason for the lower number of responses from parents is that some of the students did not live with both of their parents (due to divorce or death). There were 65% of female participants in the sample of students; the average age of the students participants was 23.14 years (SD = 1.57). The mean age of the parents was 50 years (SD = 4.62) and the mean educational level was 12 years of formal schooling (SD = 1.79). This result suggests that the average parent participant had finished high school according to the Serbian system of education. The sample was selected on a voluntary basis. The students were motivated to participate by additional points they acquired on a psychology course they attended.

Measures

Ethos of conflict was measured by the EOC scale (Bar-Tal et al., 2012). It is a self-report inventory consisting of 48 items, which measures eight societal beliefs: justness of the in-group goals, security, positive collective self-image, victimization, delegitimization, patriotism, unity, and peace. Every belief is represented by six items. Questionnaire statements have been translated and adapted for the context of the conflict between Serbs and Kosovo Albanians. Translation and adaptation were performed in collaboration with the authors of the original version of the scale. We used the total score on the EOC scale for most of the analyses in the present study.

Social attitudes were explored via Survey on Dictionary-based Isms scale (SDI 24; Saucier, 2008). It measures four social attitudes: αisms (4 items), βisms (7 items), γisms (8 items), and δisms (5 items). Both EOC and SDI 24 have 5-point Likert's scale for responding where 1 stands for *completely disagree* and 5 for *completely agree*. Both Ethos of conflict scale and the Survey on Dictionary-based Isms are previously used in research in Serbia; furthermore, they showed adequate reliabilities in previous studies (Međedović & Petrović, 2013; Petrović & Međedović, 2011).

Political ideology was measured by the evaluation of the work of major political parties which were represented in Serbian parliament. Participants had a list of eight parties and they were provided with the following question: "How do you assess the general work of the following political parties?" They submitted their responses on a five-point scale where 1 represented *very poor* and 5 *very good*. According to the results of the previous research (Međedović & Petrović, 2013; Stojiljković, 2011), we calculated the answers into socio-liberal parties and national-conservative parties (further on: liberal and conservative political ideology). We used the answers for four parties as indicators of conservative (SNS, SRS, DSS, and NS) and three (LDP, DS, and G17) parties as markers for liberal political ideology. The data described in the present report was collected in 2010. This is why the evaluation of these specific political parties was measured. Parties that participated in the work of Serbian parliament changed since the time of data gathering but even the different combinations of political parties showed similar latent structure which corresponds to socio-liberal and national-conservative parties (Petrović & Međedović, 2017).

The Plan of the Data Analysis

First, we will show the descriptive statistics and scale reliabilities for the administrated measures, in the sample of parents and in the sample of students separately. The differences between these groups will also be presented. Afterwards, the correlations between the parents and their offspring on examined measures will be presented. Finally, we will use parental attitudes and ideology to predict three measures of EOC: parental, the EOC of students and the shared variance in EOC between parents and students. Since we do not have separate hypotheses for fathers and mothers, we calculated scores for parents in general. If both parents provided responses on administrated measures, we summed and averaged them. However, if there were responses only from one parent, we use her/his scores as representative for the parental sample.

Results

Descriptive Statistics, Reliabilities and the Group Differences in Analyzed Measures

First, we show descriptive statistics and reliabilities for the analyzed scales. Statistics for the samples of parents and students are presented separately. In order to estimate the differences between the parents and their offspring, we conducted paired-sample *t*-test. The results of these analyses are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics, reliabilities, and the differences between parents and their children in administrated measures

	Mothers		Fathers		Parents (total)			Children				
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	α	*M*	*SD*	α	*t*(101)	*d*
αisms	3.43	0.92	3.15	0.84	3.30	0.78	.75	3.41	0.92	.76	-1.21	0.13
βisms	2.73	0.65	2.74	0.58	2.72	0.50	.74	2.61	0.67	.72	1.82	0.18
γisms	4.15	0.32	4.16	0.42	4.16	0.28	.68	4.03	0.35	.59	3.28**	0.41
δisms	3.23	0.62	3.20	0.71	3.19	0.59	.62	3.19	0.57	.63	0.08	0.00
Conservative ideology	2.71	0.61	2.58	0.72	2.64	0.55	.78	2.63	0.75	.81	0.14	0.02
Liberal ideology	2.23	0.85	2.16	0.90	2.23	0.76	.79	2.59	0.94	.71	-4.56**	0.42
EOC	3.36	0.40	3.28	0.44	3.32	0.29	.89	3.27	0.40	.83	1.62	0.14

*Note. **p < .01.*

As can be seen in Table 1, the scales of social attitudes have somewhat lower reliabilities. Lower reliabilities may be the consequence of a low number of items in the used scales. Paired-sample t-test showed that students have lower scores on γisms (communal rationalism, support for state institutions) and higher scores on liberal political ideology. Significant differences are moderate in effect sizes.

Correlations between the Examined Measures

In order to estimate the associations between analyzed measures we calculated Pearson's correlation coefficients. We estimated bivariate associations between the parents and students – these associations are shown in Table 2. Separate correlations between the mothers and their offspring and between the fathers and their offspring can be seen in the Appendix.

Table 2
Correlations of the examined measures between parents and their children

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. αisms	.36**	.18	.23*	.27**	.25*	-.09	.26**
2. βisms	.18	.47**	.00	-.05	.38**	-.01	.29**
3. γisms	.22*	-.16	.17	.08	.14	.06	.04
4. δisms	-.01	.00	-.09	.28**	.05	.13	.04
5. Conservative ideology	.23*	.19	-.06	.04	.35**	-.14	.43**
6. Liberal ideology	-.08	-.03	-.10	.20*	-.15	.58**	-.25*
7. EOC	.28**	.22*	-.03	-.03	.30**	-.30**	.56**

Note. $* p < .05$; $**p < .01$. Students' scores are set in rows and parents' scores are set in columns.

As can be seen in Table 2, there is a significant correlation between parental and offspring EOC. This correlation is higher than the one obtained in αisms[2] ($z = 1.80$; $p = .07$), γisms ($z = 3.24$; $p < .01$), δisms ($z = 2.43$; $p < .05$), conservative political ideology ($z = 1.88$; $p = .06$), but not βisms ($z = –0.21$; $p > .1$), and liberal ideology ($z = 0.86$; $p > .1$). It is also important to notice the parental attitudes which correlate with students' EOC: parental αisms, δisms, and conservative ideology have positive while parental scores on liberal ideology have negative correlation with EOC in their offspring.

Prediction of the EOC by Attitudes and Political Ideology

The correlation analysis already revealed bivariate associations between attitudes, political ideology and EOC. However, we wanted to confirm these relations when the covariance of the attitudes and ideology is controlled in the analysis. We took into account parental age and education as well. Finally, besides predicting parental and students' EOC, we added the third criteria measure: the *shared variance between parental and offspring's EOC*. This new variable represents a similarity in EOC between the parents and their children and thus it can be viewed as a measure of political socialization in EOC. This variable is obtained by linear regression: students' EOC was set as a criteria variable, while parental EOC was entered as a predictor; predicted values were saved as a separate variable. Then, we set three new regression models where parental attitudes, political ideology, age, and education were set as predictor

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2   Due to the smaller number of observations we interpreted marginal significances ($p < .1$) as well.

variables, while the EOC measures were entered as criteria. The results of the regression analyses are shown in Table 3; regression models for predicting the EOC in offspring by paternal and maternal attitudes separately are shown in the Appendix.

Table 3
Parental attitudes and ideology as predictors of EOC

	EOC – parents		EOC – students		EOC – shared variance	
	β	SE	β	SE	β	SE
age	.20*	.01	.02	.01	.21*	.00
education	-.17†	.02	.01	.02	-.16†	.01
αisms	.22*	.04	.29**	.05	.21*	.03
βisms	.13	.06	.19†	.08	.13	.05
γisms	-.11	.10	-.10	.14	-.11	.08
δisms	.02	.05	-.07	.07	.02	.03
Conservative ideology	.30**	.05	.13	.08	.31**	.04
Liberal ideology	-.17*	.03	-.24*	.05	-.17†	.03
$F(8, 94)$	5.72**		3.74**		5.73**	
R^2	.33		.24		.33	
R^2_{adj}	.27		.18		.27	

Note. †$p < .1$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$.

We can see in Table 3 that regression models basically confirmed the information obtained from the correlation analysis. The best predictor of all EOC measures is traditionally-oriented religiousness (αisms): it has an independent contribution to the prediction of all three criteria. Liberal political ideology is negatively associated with all EOC measures as well. Conservative ideology predicted EOC in parents and the shared variance between parents and children. Parental age had positive, and education negative relations with these two criteria. Finally, materialistic self-interest (βisms) was related to the EOC in children[3].

Discussion

Transferring the Ethos of conflict from parents to children has been identified as one of the major factors that contribute to the continuation of a violent conflict, and a detrimental force for reconciliation in the post-conflict

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3 The analysis conducted separately for mother and father (which are shown in the Appendix) should be taken with caution since the sample size for these analyses is even lower than the total one. However, some differences emerged: paternal but not maternal βisms predict offspring's EOC; furthermore, paternal attitudes clearly explain more variation in students' EOC than the maternal ones. While we would like to sustain from the interpretation of these findings, the differences in parents regarding political socialization in the post-conflict societies apparently could be an important topic for future research.

societies (Bar-Tal et al., 2017; Nasie et al., 2016). Despite that, search of the literature yielded no studies that empirically estimated the similarity in EOC between parents and children. One of the reasons for this state of affairs is that previous studies focused only on parents (e.g., Kosić & Livi, 2012) or children (e.g., Shamai, 2001), which prevented direct estimation of the resemblance in EOC between parents and children. In the present research we sampled students (i.e., young adults) and their parents. This allowed us to directly test the relations between parental EOC, attitudes, and political ideology and the EOC in their offspring. Research results confirmed our hypotheses: there is substantial correlation in EOC between parents and children; this correlation was higher than the ones regarding general social attitudes; EOC in parents, offspring, and their shared variance was predicted by parental traditional-religiousness, materialistic self-interest, high conservative and low liberal political ideology. Results showed strong political socialization of the Ethos of conflict in a post-conflict society of Serbia and revealed which parental characteristics facilitate the transfer of EOC from them to their offspring.

Parents and Children: Differences and Similarities in Attitudes, Ideology, and EOC

Youth can represent a great potential for positive social change. This may be due to their lesser restriction by previous experience which allows them to develop greater plans for change and the capacity to influence the societal status quo (Galtung, 2006). Some of these potentials for social change emerged in the present data as well: compared to their parents, students had higher scores on liberal political ideology – these findings suggest that the youth in our sample are more liberal than their parents. This result is in line with previous findings of generational differences that showed that young people tend to be more liberal (Cornelis et al., 2009). The same pattern was found in families too: children are more liberal than their parents (Feather, 1978). However, it is important to emphasize that this general trend exists in post-conflict societies as well. This is a valuable fact because greater openness to egalitarianism and liberal attitudes could facilitate the interaction with out-group members which is necessary for reconciliation.

However, there were no differences on other social attitudes between parents and their offspring, and what is more important for the topic of the present research – there were no differences in EOC. Quite contrary, the present data shows significant levels of resemblance in attitudes and EOC between parents and children. Correlations in social attitudes are in accordance with the results of recent meta-analysis on this topic: the effect sizes are low to moderate (Degner & Dalege, 2013). However, compared to most of them, associations in EOC are higher: almost one third of the EOCs variance in children can be explained by their parents EOC. This is in line with the assumptions of various scholars that political socialization could be more expressed in the environments marked by violent conflict (Nasie et al., 2016; Shamai, 2001). Children can learn the

beliefs of the in-group, out-group and conflict itself by perceiving the conflict-relevant information from the agents of socialization (Bar-Tal et al., 2017). However, research often shows that parents actively and intentionally transfer beliefs regarding the conflict to their children (Reidy et al., 2015). Parents talk to their children about the war and the issues relevant to their ethnic group (Reidy et al., 2015). These interactions probably lead to a significant relation in the discrimination towards the out-group between parents and children (Ajdukovic & Corkalo Biruski, 2008). Children also tend to share emotions toward the out-group like hatred or desire for revenge with their parents (Shamai, 2001). All this data show that parents represent a powerful source of influence on children, which can have detrimental consequences in the context of violent inter-group conflict.

Parental Characteristics Related to the EOC in Children

It seems that the transfer of EOC from parents to children is a part of political socialization in post-conflict societies. However, it is plausible to assume that there are individual differences between parents regarding the transfer of EOC to their children. Previous research described *hawkish* and *dovish* parents with the former being the ones who are particularly active and motivated in passing the conflict-fueling beliefs to their offspring (Bar-Tal et al., 2012; Ben Shabat, 2010). Furthermore, the research showed that the hawkish parents are the ones who adopt right-wing ideology to a higher extent (Nasie et al., 2014). Previous findings also showed that higher in-group favoritism is a characteristic of hawkish parents: it correlates with a less positive evaluation of the out-group in children (Verkuyten, 2002). Our data is in line with the previous research. Present findings show that parents with more pronounced traditionally-oriented religiousness, self-interest, ethnocentrism, and political conservatism share the EOC beliefs with their children to a greater extent – consequently, their children have higher levels of EOC as well. Since all these attitudes are related to conservatism (Stankov, 2007), we can say that hawkish parents are the more conservative ones. In fact, these are the same attitudinal and ideological characteristics which are related to EOC in general (Međedović & Petrović, 2013; 2016; Petrović & Međedović, 2011). It is interesting to mention that even the percentage of explained EOC variance in children we obtained is similar to the data from the previous research: parental attitudes explained 36.6% of the children's political attitudes in Northern Ireland (Stringer et al., 2010). All these effect sizes are high in magnitude and they testify the importance of individual differences in parental attitudes and ideology regarding the beliefs about the conflict in their children.

At the same time, the present data suggest that dovish parents are the more liberal ones. It seems that this kind of attitudinal and ideological orientation can have positive outcomes on children's beliefs about inter-group conflict. This is in accordance with previous findings showing that the levels of parents and children's contact with the out-group members positively correlate (Ajdukovic

& Corkalo Biruski, 2008). The more out-group friends parents have, the more children will as well. It seems that the positive influence of the parents can be stronger than the effect of some negative environmental factors. Even children with a high sense of victimhood can have positive attitudes towards reconciliation if their parents have constructive attitudes (Kosić & Livi, 2012). Finally, previous results also showed that a sample of peace activists and radical opponents of the violent conflict predominantly originated from families with liberal, leftist, and egalitarian parents (Nasie et al., 2014).

Note that due to a cross-sectional nature of the present research we cannot drive conclusions about the causal relations between the attitudes and beliefs in parents and their offspring. The most parsimonious model of political socialization assumes unidirectional processes where attitudes are transferred from parents to children (Rodríguez-García & Wagner, 2009). However, there is longitudinal data which suggest that the patterns of influence may be more complex and that they go in both directions; for example it has been found that the congruence between parental and offspring in prejudice is a result of mutual influences between the parents and adolescents (Miklikowska, 2016). Furthermore, there may be third sources of influences which affect both parents and their children in the same way and thus generating the resemblance in attitudes between them. For example, the media coverage of the conflict-related topics may serve as the in-group biased source of information that enables the development of similar beliefs about the conflict in parents and their children (Bar-Tal et al., 2017).

Limitations and Future Directions

The most important limitation of the present research is reflected in its cross-sectional nature. This limitation prevents us from establishing the causal influences between the parents and their offspring; methodological benefits of longitudinal studies is apparent in this case. The small number of observations on the level of participants' families represents another limitation; with higher sample size more variables that could mediate or moderate the link in EOC between parents and their children could be analyzed. The sample structure represents a limitation as well – we sampled psychology students and their parents. This sample has specific characteristics (e.g., higher education) and this limits generalization of the findings. Future research should try to sample a larger number of families and more heterogeneous ones in order to obtain higher reliability of findings. Reliability of some scales administered in the present study was below optimal. This is probably due to the small number of items comprising these scales. Future studies should use different measures of attitudes and ideology in order to replicate and deepen the present findings. Furthermore, additional measures which directly assess the war-related narrative that parents use to communicate with their children should be analyzed as well. Various other contextual and individual-level factors which may facilitate the endorsement of EOC (e.g., socio-economic background, education, traumatization, levels of

radicalization, or personality characteristics) should be analyzed in the context of intergenerational transmission of conflict-related beliefs. Moderating conditions like the matching of parent-child gender or the proximity of violent conflict should be addressed in future research as well. Finally, the causal pathways of influence between parents and their children remained unaddressed in the present study because of its cross-sectional nature. Longitudinal research design would provide solutions for these limitations. Furthermore, it could help in estimating the duration of EOC in the adulthood and individual and environmental characteristics which influence on it.

Concluding Remarks

Exploring the factors which enable the perpetuation of violent conflict and hinder reconciliation and peace is of high scientific and practical importance. Scholars and practitioners from various professions have been puzzled by the longevity and persistence of violent inter-group conflict that can last for decades (Nasie et al., 2016). The present study sheds some new light on this important problem. Its results suggest that the intergenerational transmission of the Ethos of Conflict from parents to children is one of the factors which prolongs inter-group tension and prevents peace building. The findings from the current study implicate that whole families should be taken into consideration in the reconciliation process and not lone individuals. Perhaps some forms of applied systems family therapy could be beneficial in order to achieve reconciliation and more harmonizing inter-group relations (Shamai, 2001). In any case, we hope that these findings contribute to the empirical data which can help researchers and practitioners in changing the Ethos of Conflict into the Ethos of Peace.

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Međugrupni konflikt izvire u porodici: Roditeljski socijalni stavovi i politička ideologija predviđaju Konfliktni etos kod njihovih potomaka

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Konfliktni etos predstavlja set socijetalnih uverenja o nasilnom međugrupnom konfliktu. U ovom istraživanju ispitali smo relacije u Konfliktnom etosu između roditelja i njihovih potomaka zajedno sa socijalnim stavovima i političkom ideologijom kao prediktorima Konfliktnog etosa kod potomaka. Ispitanici su bili članovi porodica srpske nacionalnosti (N_{total} = 253; 102 porodice) a ispitivan je Konfliktni etos vezan za sukob Srba i Albanaca

na Kosovu. Podaci su pokazali visoku korelaciju u Konfliktnom etosu između roditelja i njihovih potomaka. Takođe, tradicionalna religioznost, materijalistički etnocentrizam, visoka konzervativna i niska liberalna politička ideologija kod roditelja je značajno predviđala Konfliktni etos kod potomaka. Nalazi istraživanja su pokazali da su roditeljski stavovi važan izvor Konfliktnog etosa kod njihove dece. Rezultati su specifikovali da religiozni, samocentrirani i konzervativni roditelji i sami imaju više izražen Konfliktni etos i u većoj meri dele uverenja o konfliktu sa svojom decom. Rezultati imaju konceptualne i praktične implikacije za izgradnju pomirenja i mira.

Appendix
Correlations and Regression Models by Mother and Father separately

Table 1a

Correlations of the examined measures between mothers and their offspring

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. αisms	.36**	.00	-.05	.09	.08	-.08	.18
2. βisms	.22†	.45**	-.06	.13	.12	.16	.23*
3. γisms	.28*	-.19	.09	-.02	-.19	-.19	.07
4. δisms	.05	.08	-.07	.34**	.12	.05	-.03
5. Conservative ideology	.28*	.26*	-.15	.07	.31*	-.13	.37**
6. Liberal ideology	-.11	.06	-.02	.14	-.16	.52**	-.43**
7. EOC	.26*	.13	-.09	-.01	.16	-.29*	.56**

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01. Students' scores are set in rows and mothers' scores are set in columns.

Table 2a

Correlations of the examined measures between fathers and their offspring

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. αisms	.40**	.02	-.18	.03	.07	-.14	.25*
2. βisms	.12	.41**	-.05	-.13	.21	-.02	.36**
3. γisms	.11	-.16	.20	.00	.11	-.12	.24
4. δisms	.01	-.14	-.14	.35**	.11	.07	-.07
5. Conservative ideology	.24†	.10	-.04	.08	.41**	-.27*	.50**
6. Liberal ideology	.05	-.03	-.18	.20	-.16	.61**	-.33**
7. EOC	.29*	.27*	.01	-.05	.32**	-.34**	.68**

Note. *p < .05; **p < .01. Students' scores are set in rows and fathers' scores are set in columns.

Table 3a

Prediction of the EOC in offspring by paternal and maternal attitudes

	Maternal attitudes		Paternal attitudes	
	β	SE	β	SE
age	.00	.01	.11	.01
education	-.18	.02	.04	.03
αisms	.28*	.05	.36**	.06
βisms	.07	.08	.26*	.09
γisms	-.06	.16	-.12	.12
δisms	-.07	.08	-.23†	.08
Conservative ideology	.06	.08	.24†	.07
Liberal ideology	-.30*	.05	-.24*	.05
F	2.33*		3.85**	
R^2	.24		.36	
R^2_{adj}	.14		.27	

Note. †p < .1; *p < .05; **p < .01.