For a Just and Equal Society: Promoting Integration and Inclusion

Isabelle Dielwart, Belinda Hibbel, & Susan Branje

Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Department Education and Pedagogy, Utrecht University, the Netherlands

Learning outcomes

After this unit, students will:

- have knowledge of theoretical concepts regarding polarization, discrimination and exclusion.
- understand the mechanisms underlying group formation and intergroup hostility and conflict.
- understand the practical implications of social exclusion on the individual and societal level.
- have knowledge of evidence-based school interventions and their underlying theories.

Case study

"Hi, my name is Hamza El Amrani and I am seventeen years old. I aspire to be a lawyer one day. I am in my first year of a bachelor's degree in Law, and I have to gain practical experience by doing an internship. I have put a lot of effort into writing a motivation letter and designing a nice resume. I have contacted six local companies already, but up to today, I have not heard back from any of them. In contrast to my classmates, who all found an internship after writing just one or two letters. I am convinced the reason I have not heard back, is the fact that I have a Moroccan name. My friends in the neighbourhood talk a lot about the internship-discrimination of youngsters who have a migration background, just like me. I feel I am being judged solely by my name, and not by my knowledge and skills. It must have something to do with the trend I have noticed in the media, where Moroccans are being portrayed as criminals and as socially inept. It enrages me! And on top of it all, politicians are also making us look bad; just recently I read a tweet from a popular Dutch politician, accusing 'four Moroccans' of 'attacking' two women on the train. In fact, it turns out, the individuals concerned were just railway conductors, checking their tickets…"

Problem Statement

Today's world is composed of complex and dynamic societies, with growing cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. In the Netherlands, the societal debate around diversity-issues such as multiculturalism, refugees, and migration seems to harden. Almost 75% of the Dutch population believes they live in a society characterized by polarization, referring to the sharpening of contrasts and growing tensions between different groups living in the same society (Beugelsdijk et al., 2019).

Polarization is characterized by social and economic inequality, and can lead to the marginalization, stigmatization, discrimination and social exclusion of certain groups, often minority groups. Membership of such marginalized groups has negative influences on developmental opportunities for children and youth; they perform worse at school, experience dissatisfaction or discomfort in their relationship with the dominant group, and, like Hamza, have to search for longer periods to find internships or employment. This makes it problematic for these children to connect with the dominant group, with the result that social inequality is passed on from generation to generation (Fergusson et al., 2008; Georg, 2004).

The phenomenon of polarization becomes increasingly visible due to the rise of social media. The 'democratization' of the media has led to the uncensored publication of tendentious, and sometimes false, reports (like mentioned by Hamza). Furthermore, the opportunity for citizens and politicians to freely voice their opinions – while sometimes presenting them

as facts – has made it more difficult to verify the accuracy of news published on online media channels (e.g., Swire et al., 2017). The polarized tendencies seen in society are extended and enlarged into the online domain, putting members of marginalized groups in an even more vulnerable position.

In this module, we explore how groups are formed, how conflicts arise between groups, and how these conflicts can be prevented or resolved, in order to create an inclusive society in which all children have equal opportunities.

Theoretical Background

From the Polder Model to Polarization: Demarcation Lines in the Dutch Society

In order to understand the experiences of young people like Hamza, we need to have insights into the social and political context they grow up in. We address this issue taking the Dutch society as an example. Since the turn of the century, Dutch politics has been increasingly characterised by polarization: the political debate emphasises the differences between groups of people and their interests (Entzinger, 2014). The decades before the 00's had been characterised by the 'polder model'; a method for dealing with conflicts of interest where parties seek a reasonable *compromise*, rather than emphasizing the differences. The term 'poldering' was originally used for the business community, where consensus was sought between employers, labour unions and the government on working conditions and wages. A characteristic of 'poldering' is the acknowledgement that although the interests of groups can differ, all parties need each other, so they strive to find a *'happy middle ground'* (de Vries, 2014).

However, the peaceable Dutch political climate characterized by 'poldering' changed drastically around the turn of the century; the public debate on integration and immigration became more and more heated (Aarts & Thomassen, 2008; Pellikaan et al., 2007). Opinion makers and politicians argued whether or not The Netherlands was 'full' and questioned whether the borders should be closed to prevent further

immigration. Tensions between majority and minority groups rose. Another topic of debate was whether foreigners posed a threat to the Dutch culture and identity, or rather enriched them (Entzinger, 2014; Van Meeteren et al., 2013).

This political debate was sparked by the publication of *'Het multiculturele drama'* (The Multicultural Drama) by Paul Scheffer (2000), the rise of populist politicians, the terrorist attacks on the 11th of September 2001, and the murder of columnist and director Theo van Gogh in 2004. These are considered to be *'focusing events'*: dramatic, sudden occurrences that inflamed the debate on the subject. These past several years have seen a succession of such focusing events. Together with the turbulent years of constant social and political discussions about integration and the instability of governing coalitions, this has led opinion leaders to speak of increasing polarization in politics and society at large (Tiemeijer, 2017).

Reflection moment

'In your own backyard'
Some focusing events have a global impact. Others are more national, regional, or local. Can you think of a national, a regional, and a local event that inflamed a public debate on issues concerning migration and integration in your country? Have these debates influenced your opinion on these subjects?

How Groups are Formed: Differentiation, Identification, and Representation

Differences between people and groups are seen in all societies (Bovens et al., 2014). It is important to understand when these differences are experienced as problematic, or as 'polarizing'. In order to grasp the concept of polarization, we can conceptualize 'differences' in terms of differentiation, identification, and representation.

First, we can look at objective differences between people or groups, or *differentiation*. Socio-cultural contrasts and differences are common across all societies. However, the acceptance of existing contradictions eventually depends not on the differences themselves, but on subjective issues. So, we should also look at the degree to which people *identify* with the group in question. In times of stress and (perceived) threats, people tend to identify more with their 'own' group and to set themselves apart from other groups of people (Tiemeijer, 2017).

And finally, in addition to differentiation and identification, the *representation* of groups and (perceived) differences between groups plays a role in opinions about divisions in society. One important question in the context of polarization is whether the representation of certain groups in the media corresponds with reality. Is their image portrayed accurately? Existing differences between groups may be unrecognisable or ignored by the media (concealment), or certain representations become so dominant that they drown out all other representations. In the latter case, people speak and think in terms of 'us versus them' (Tiemeijer, 2017).

How Children Become Members of a Group

In order to understand the origins of polarization, it is necessary to add a socialization perspective. Socialization is the process by which individuals are moulded into members of one or more social groups (Grusec & Hastings, 2015). Through the process of socialization, young people learn to adopt the roles and norms necessary to function within the structures of their society. As such, socialization inevitably plays a role in perpetuating social processes of exclusion and marginalisation.

One of the leading theories of socialization is the *social learning theory* (Bandura & Walters, 1977), which posits that observing other people's behaviour is fundamental to learning behavioural patterns and value orientations. Young people observe others, such as their parents, teachers or peers, as they participate in the social domain, and then adopt similar behaviours. Via this relatively implicit mechanism, socializing agents can play a major role in the maintenance of constructive or destructive group dynamics.

The primary socializing agents for children are their parents or guardians, their teachers, and their peers (Grusec & Hastings, 2015). Based on the social learning theory, it seems plausible that children can take on their ideas about other groups. Children can develop ideas about 'the other ones' as a result of intentional socialization, when socializing agents deliberately transfer their knowledge, values or convictions to them. But these socialization results can also occur unintentionally as a side effect of certain socialization practices or contexts at home or in school.

Reflection moment

About the apple and the tree

Can you recall your primary *socializing agents*? Who influenced you the most during childhood (until 12 years old) and adolescence (13 until 18 years old). Do you (still) share similar values with them? On what topics do your values or ideas differ? How do your primary socializing agents react when you take a different stance towards a topic which is important to them?

Inter-group Conflicts and How to Resolve Them

Now we know groups can create or reinforce values and ideas about other groups or people. But how do groups become hostile against each other? Explanations about the origins of inter-group hostility can first be found in the *realistic conflict theory*, which posits that conflict, negative biases, and stereotyping can occur when groups compete over scarce

resources (Sherif, 1988). Moreover, the *social identity theory* explains that individuals derive part of their identity and self-image from the groups to which they belong and, as a result, they tend to assess their own group (the in-group) more positively than the out-group (Tajfel et al., 1979). This could explain why people become biased or discriminate others (Tajfel & Turner, 2004). Finally, the theory of *parochial altruism* states that altruism exists mainly within one's own group, and not outside it. People tend to behave in a competitive, or even hostile manner against the other group (the possible 'intruders'), in order to secure the interest of their own group. Reasoning along these lines leads to the conclusion that internal solidarity seems to be coupled with an instinctive suspicion of others (De Dreu et al., 2014).

The socialization of young people may have several different ties to the development of fear or hostility towards others. And this, in turn, might lay at the roots of polarization, and therefore of the social exclusion of marginalised groups. But through interaction, socialization can also contribute to the reduction of prejudice, hostility and biases. As Allport (1954) states in the *contact hypothesis*, under certain conditions, the actual *contact* between opposing groups might lead to the reduction of mutual hostility and bias.

Empirical Research

Developing Attitudes towards Diversity: The Role of Parents, Teachers, and Peers

As described in the theoretical background, socializing agents such as parents, teachers, and peers play an important role in the way children view others and other groups. By observing others and by participating in groups, youngsters learn about the world. But how does this work, and how does this relate to developing prejudice or hostility towards others?

First, **parents** play an important role in the way children assess social structures; the way parents or guardians speak about others directly influences the way their children see the world, and whether or not they see distinctions between themselves and others based on their background (such as ethnicity, culture, or socio-economic status) as problematic. On the one hand, if parents are – consciously or unconsciously – open to others and emphasize the value of interpersonal differences, children are more likely to take on similar attitudes. When parents are prejudiced and hostile towards other groups, on the other hand, their children are more likely to adopt this hostility (Levy & Killen, 2008). This means that an inter-generational transfer of negative outgroup attitudes could serve as the foundation for group formation, social exclusion, stigmatization or discrimination (Chatard & Selimbegovic, 2008).

In addition to the intergenerational transfer of outgroup attitudes by parents or guardians, **teachers** can also be

influential when it comes to transferring attitudes about diversity to their students; they function as a role model and can facilitate a classroom dialogue on differences and similarities (Grusec & Hastings, 2015). But teachers can also implicitly transfer their perspectives via the 'hidden curriculum'; the norms, values and expectations expressed during the day-to-day classroom activities (Brint et al., 2001). Teachers' perspectives are not always positive towards diversity, or even neutral towards it. And although it is not happening on a wide scale, some teachers are accused of having lower expectations for students from migrant backgrounds (Driessen & Cuppen, 2012).

BOX 1.1. Research in the Netherlands: *"Neighbourhood and school effects on educational inequalities in the transition from primary to secondary education in Amsterdam"* **(Kuyvenhoven & Boterman, 2020)**

Background: This research departs from the statement that education *"plays a crucial role in shaping people's opportunities in life; thereby, it may also be an important factor in reproducing social inequalities"*. In the Netherlands, it is often assumed that children from families with a low social economic status (SES) and/or a migration background receive lower level school advice when transitioning from primary to secondary education, compared to their peers from high-SES and/or ethnic majority families. In the highly stratified Dutch educational system, where students are sorted into different educational levels at the age of 12, this school

---

advice largely determines children's further educational career. Kuyvenhoven and Boterman (2020) have studied whether educational inequalities in the Netherlands are due to individual characteristics such as ethnicity and class, and how educational inequalities relate to the broader context, such as the neighbourhood and school context.

Method: This multilevel quantitative study analyses data of the individual longitudinal register data on school careers of children in Amsterdam, the capital city of the Netherlands. It uses data from the longitudinal dataset of the Educational Careers Research and of the municipality of Amsterdam and focuses on 30,276 children that started secondary education between 2007 and 2010.

Results and discussion: This study shows children with lower-educated parents in general receive lower school advice than children with highly educated parents. And, although in Amsterdam SES and ethnicity are highly intertwined, children with a Dutch background receive higher school advice than their peers with a migration background, even when correcting for their socioeconomic background. In conclusion, this study provides quantitative data to support the statement that educational inequalities in the Netherlands are in part due to ethnic/racial bias. However, the authors suggest that not only individual characteristics, but also contextual factors such as neighbourhood and school composition intensify educational inequalities. Children from lower educated and/or non-Dutch parents are often overrepresented in disadvantaged

schools and neighbourhoods, whereas a concentration of children from high-SES, Dutch parents in more privileged schools might be adding to their advantage in the educational system.

Although parents and teachers play an important role in the transfer of ideas, this role seems to become less influential as the children age. In contrast, the influence of **peers** increases as children grow older (Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). The interactions with peers differ from the interactions with parents and educators, as they are more egalitarian, and the interactions between peers of the same age often take place in groups characterised by social acceptance or rejection. In groups, positive peer pressure can encourage prosocial behaviour and reduce problematic behaviour, while negative peer pressure can exacerbate antisocial behaviour and bullying - and therefore social exclusion as well (Costello & Hope, 2016). Teenagers especially have the tendency to conform to group norms, and occasionally even fail to follow their own judgement in the process (Asch & Guetskow, 1951).

This dynamic between peers also plays a role online; young people spend a large part of their social and emotional development in the digital domain, either in front of a computer or on their telephones (Hinduja & Patchin, 2007). The rise of social media has made it easier to see one's own perspective confirmed, whether that is justified or not (O'Keeffe & Clarke-Pearson, 2011). Online, prejudice can be affirmed and thus further instigate polarizing and discriminatory tendencies. Also, offline bullying and group formation involving social exclusion

are sometimes continued online (O'Keefe & Clarke-Pearson, 2011).

Inter-group Conflicts and How to Resolve Them

As we have seen, the socialization of young people may have several different ties to the development of negative attitudes towards or fear of 'the other'. Fear of the other ones may in turn lay at the roots of polarization, and therefore of the social exclusion of marginalized groups (Abrams & Killen, 2014). But we already learned that interaction and *actual contact* between people might contribute to the reduction of prejudice and hostility, as stated in Allport's contact hypothesis. Empirical research shows that contact between groups can lead to the reduction of mutual hostility and bias, when certain conditions are met. First, the contact must be experienced as positive by the participants, in order to be effective in reducing prejudice. Furthermore, people with authority should show they are supportive of interactions between the groups, and finally the contact should consist of cooperative activities in which participants have shared, common goals (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). The more these conditions are met, the more positive contact is effective in reducing fear of the other and prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Raabe & Beelmann, 2011). Therefore, facilitating contact between opposing groups might contribute to preventing or tackling polarization.

Another approach towards preventing polarizing tendencies between youngsters is through the means of citizenship education in school. Citizenship education is considered to be a solution to polarization and unequal opportunities, as it

contributes to getting acquainted with diversity, and therefore seeing its value (Schinkel, 2010). By discussing, for example, the challenges posed by globalization, global immigration and the rise of nationalist ideas, schools can make explicit implicit ideas about what they think makes a good citizen and clarify differences of opinion (Driouichi, 2007; Schinkel, 2010). However, it is questioned whether or not schools should impose certain ideas and values on children; the ideas that diversity has great value and polarization is an undesirable phenomenon are of course subjective assumptions (Van der Ploeg, 2015). This raises questions about how citizenship education should be organized, and what children should learn about citizenship at school (Sieckelink & De Ruyter, 2009; Van der Ploeg, 2015).

BOX 1.2. Research in the Netherlands: *"Multicultural contacts in education: A case study of an exchange project between different ethnic groups"* (Schuitema & Veugelers, 2011)

Background: Schuitema and Veugelers (2011) have performed a case study on an exchange project, in order to get a better understanding of what students can learn from such an exchange project. Research on intergroup contact has shown that contact with other social groups can, under certain conditions, result in more positive attitudes towards other social groups (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006).

Method: This case study involves a two-day exchange project between students from a school in a suburb of Amsterdam

---

where most students have a Surinamese background, and a school in Twente, a rural area of the Netherlands, with only native Dutch students. Small groups of participating students and teachers were interviewed, activities were observed, and changes in students' attitudes towards different ethnic groups were assessed using pre- and post-test questionnaires.

Results and discussion: This research showed that, although the atmosphere between the two groups of students was good, most students tended to remain with their own group. Results of pre- and post-tests showed the exchange project did not result in substantial changes in attitudes towards other ethnic groups. This might indicate a more structural project is required to instigate such changes. Another important result was that students did learn about the living environment and cultural backgrounds of the other students; they became aware of the fact that they had preconceptions based on stereotypes, and the exchange project helped students to develop a more realistic perception of the other students.

Interventions

In the Netherlands, there are no examples of interventions specifically focused on combating polarization that have also been found effective though randomized controlled trials. We will therefore first examine an intervention that has been proven effective in a randomized controlled trial, but that was developed in a different setting. Thereafter, we will examine an intervention that has been developed in the Dutch context but has not yet been proven effective.

Extended Class Exchange Program in Israël – Palestina

The extremely polarized context of Israel-Palestine is characterized by bias, negative attitudes and stereotypes along ethnic and religious lines. The biases seem to develop at a young age (Bar-Tal, 2005; Slone et al., 2000), and can lead to open discrimination and hostility. Many interventions have been implemented to combat this hostility, such as the Extended Class Exchange Program [ECEP] (Berger et al., 2016). This program was developed based on results of research that support the positive impact of direct contact on combating biases, such as studies of Allport's contact theory and Bandura's social learning theory (Allport, 1954; Bandura & Walters, 1977). In this exchange program, students from an Israeli Jewish school and an Israeli Palestinian school came together to participate in 12 events with artistic, musical, social, and athletic activities. The event began with a focus on mindfulness by doing a meditation exercise, and then each activity was introduced with

a warm-up exercise and concluded with a group discussion. Each event had a theme such as 'sharing & participation', 'involvement in the community', 'acceptance of the other', 'promoting respect', and 'a safe school environment'. Every event started and ended with an assembly of all participating students and teachers, and parents were welcome to attend as well.

Studies evaluating the ECEP show promising results (Berger et al., 2016). A randomized controlled trial of 300 students in the ethnically mixed city of Jaffa (measurements immediately before and after the intervention and 15 months later) shows that direct contact and shared development of activities by the children resulted in fewer biases and less stereotyping and discrimination between the groups. In addition, positive emotions about social contact with the other group and willingness to engage in such contact increased significantly. Moreover, these effects appeared to extend to ethnic groups that did not participate in the intervention, and with whom the children therefore had no contact. The long term of the effects (15 months after participating in the intervention) showed that the effects were durable.

Although the intervention described seems promising in terms of encouraging positive intergroup attitudes and combating biases against others, the context in which this intervention was studied differs from that in the Netherlands in many areas. Although the Netherlands does seem to be characterized by polarization and ethnic tension, occurrences of violence are only incidental and there is no open warfare or armed conflict. It is therefore interesting to examine an

intervention that has been developed specifically for the Dutch context.

The Peaceable School

The intervention The Peaceable School (*"De Vreedzame School"*) seems promising and enjoys widespread support in the Netherlands, especially in the City of Utrecht (Pauw, 2014). It provides insight into a current and relevant approach to the problems in the Dutch context by teaching children to respect and celebrate diversity and to deal with conflict, and is therefore an interesting country-specific case study.

The Peaceable School is a school-wide program for primary schools that focuses on the development of pupils' democratic citizenship and social competencies (CED Groep, n.d.). The program considers the school and the class to be a scale model of society, and uses a variety of means to work on creating an inclusive community. By making the school 'Peaceable', the school becomes an environment in which children feel seen and heard, become acquainted with diversity, and learn to make decisions and resolve conflicts together. The program aims to encourage a positive social and moral climate at school, and therefore could have the potential to combat polarization, as some of the program's specific objectives are to teach pupils to treat one another in a positive an caring manner, to take responsibility for one another and for the community, to make decisions democratically, and to be open to differences between people - in other words, to promote social inclusion. When a school decides to become a Peaceable School, it begins a two-year introduction period during which the entire school staff

learns how to work in a Peaceable manner, a series of lessons is set up for the pupils, and student mediation is introduced.

The Peaceable School is based on six educational principles[1] (CED Groep, n.d.). First, children have a voice and student participation is central. This gives them an opportunity to practice responsible behavior and experience how a democracy works. Second, conflict management is a key theme; students learn how to resolve conflicts without violence, either independently or with the help of a student mediator. Positive peer pressure is also used; children from the older classes are trained as student mediators to mediate conflicts between other children, and therefore learn about social responsibility. An explicit social and moral norm is also utilized; children learn to display caring and prosocial behaviors through participation and constructively dealing with conflicts and differences of opinion. The Peaceable School also strives to build social cohesiveness and a sense of community by having children set rules and monitor compliance, and by ensuring that children receive the message that they belong and are needed. Finally, children are raised in a democratic manner; by using an authoritative parenting style characterized by clear limits, combined with an explanation of these limits; by seeing children as partners in dialogue; by consistently explaining the

_____

[1] In recognition of the perceived success of the program, it has also been applied at the neighborhood level; in the estimated 25 Peaceable Neighborhoods in the Netherlands, institutions that deal with young people, such as aid workers, police and athletics clubs, all use the same educational approach. Institutions tie into the citizenship competencies that children have learned at their Peaceable School, and the same expectations, rules and agreements apply throughout the entire neighborhood.

consequences that their actions have on others; and by helping them empathize with the other person's perspective.

Although no randomized controlled trial has yet been conducted, researchers and students at Utrecht University have conducted some research into The Peaceable School (incl. Day, 2014; Pauw, 2013a, 2013b; Stolk, 2013). Pauw (2013a) showed that teachers and school directors evaluate the program as effective, and a significant improvement in the social school climate was measured (see figure 1); children showed significantly more positive social behavior (indicator 1), participation in school (indicator 2), and were better at independently and satisfyingly resolving conflicts (indicator 3). After the implementation of The Peaceable School, children seemed to behave in a more responsible manner and treat one another with more respect, and there were far fewer conflict situations.

Figure 1

*Mean Scores of a Group of 13 Schools Starting the Peaceable School
Program*
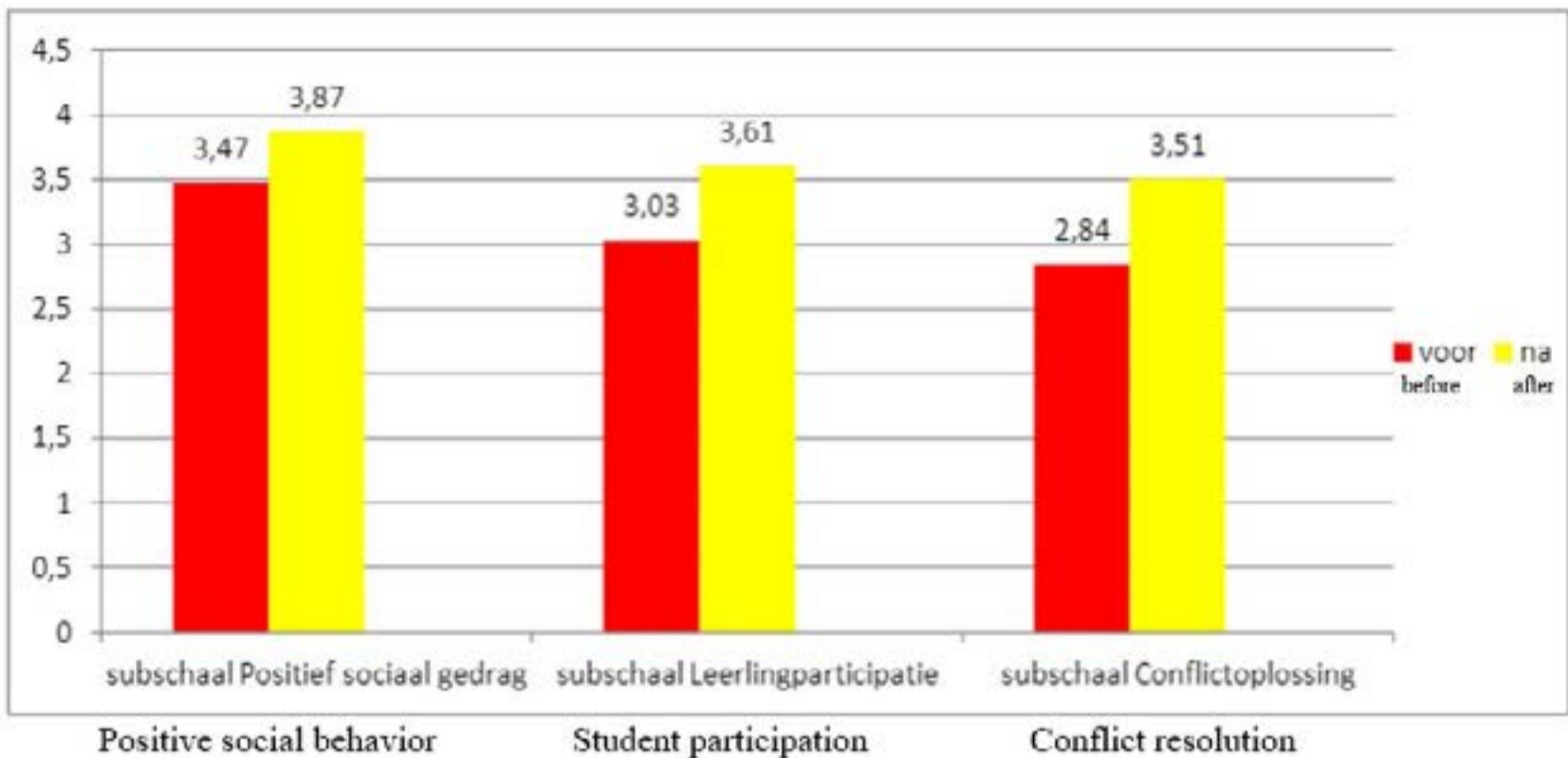
*Note. The red columns represent the mean score before implementation,
and the yellow columns represent the score after implementation on
the subscales; 1) Positive social behavior, 2) Student participation, 3)
Conflict resolution (Pauw, 2014).*

Furthermore, research into the program showed an increase
in democratic citizenship skills. Children seemed to behave
in a more responsible manner and treated one another with
more respect than before implementation. Also, they were
better able to express their opinions, were more willing to
participate in social activities and thought more about socially
relevant issues (Day, 2014). Moreover, children felt more
responsibility for their community and were more likely to be
open to differences between people after the introduction of
The Peaceable School (Stolk, 2013). Although the studies by Day
and Stolk have significant methodological limitations (including

no randomization), the results of the studies do indicate the potential effectiveness of the program (Pauw, 2014).

The Netherlands Youth Institute has rated The Peaceable School as 'Effective based on preliminary evidence' in its Databank of Effective Youth Interventions. According to the Encouraging Education-Related Development and Youth Welfare evaluation committee, the intervention is based on sound and thorough considerations. Although the program can be supported with more recent literature, these studies of the program give reason to assume that it has positive effects in the areas of conflict resolution, responsibility for the community, openness to differences, and collective decision-making. All this considered, The Peaceable School seems to be a potentially effective program that contributes to the creation of an inclusive environment where children learn to act socially, assume responsibility for others and their surroundings, and the position of diversity in society.

However, the question remains as to what extent the program's effects can be applied to other contexts, as The Peaceable School program does not extend beyond the context of the students' own school, which often has a homogeneous student population. There are other initiatives that have arisen from The Peaceable School, however, including the '*Stadsschool*' (City School) exchange project and '*Welkom in mijn Vreedzame Wijk*' (Welcome to my Peaceable Neighborhood), in which children from different peaceable primary schools come into contact with one another. The schools are located in the same city, but in neighborhoods that differ widely in their socio-economic and ethno-cultural aspects. By coming together to

attend weekly lessons from the standard curriculum, these schools hope to combat bias and segregation through 'bridging' (De Winter, 2017).

References

Aarts, K., & Thomassen, J. (2008). Dutch voters and the changing party space 1989-2006. *Acta Politica, 43*(2-3), 203-234. https://doi.org/10.1057/ap.2008.6

Abrams, D., & Killen, M. (2014). Social exclusion of children: Developmental origins of prejudice. *Journal of Social Issues, 70*(1), 1-11. https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12043

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading. Addison-Wesley.

Asch, S. E., & Guetzkow, H. (1951). Effects of group pressure upon the modification and distortion of judgments. *Organizational Influence Processes*, 295-303.

Bandura, A., & Walters, R. H. (1977). Social learning theory (Vol. 1). Prentice-hall.

Bar-Tal, D. (2005). Psychological obstacles to peace-making in the Middle East and proposals to overcome them. *Conflict & Communication Online, 4*, 1-15.

Berger, R., Benatov, J., Abu-Raiya, H., & Tadmor, C. T. (2016). Reducing prejudice and promoting positive intergroup attitudes among elementary-school children in the context of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. *Journal of School Psychology, 57*, 53-72. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2016.04.003

Beugelsdijk, S., de Hart, J., van Houwelingen, P., & Versantvoort, M. (2019). *Denkend aan Nederland* [*Thinking of the Netherlands*]. Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau.

Bovens, M., Dekker, P., & Tiemeijer, W. (2014). *Gescheiden werelden* [*Divided worlds*]. SCP en WRR: Den Haag.

Brint, S., Contreras, M. F., & Matthews, M. T. (2001). Socialization messages in primary schools: An organizational analysis. *Sociology of Education*, 157-180. https://doi.org/10.2307/2673273

CED Groep. (n.d.). *De vreedzame school* [*The peaceable school*]. https://www.devreedzame.school/

Chatard, A., & Selimbegovic, L. (2008). The intergenerational transmission of social dominance: A three-generation study. *European Journal of Personality*, 22(6), 541-551. https://doi.org/10.1002/per.684

Costello, B. J., & Hope, T. L. (2016). *Peer pressure, peer prevention: The role of friends in crime and conformity*. Routledge.

Day, M. (2014). *Impact van de Vreedzame aanpak op de burgerschapscompetenties van kinderen. Een voorloper van het effectiviteitsonderzoek naar De Vreedzame School en De Vreedzame Wijk* [*The impact of the Peaceable approach on citizenship competencies of children. A precursor of the effectivity-research to the Peaceable School and the Peaceable Neighbourhood.*]. [Master's thesis, Utrecht University].

De Dreu, C. K., Balliet, D., & Halevy, N. (2014). Parochial cooperation in humans: Forms and functions of self-sacrifice in intergroup conflict. In *Advances in motivation science* (Vol. 1, pp. 1-47). Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/bs.adms.2014.08.001

De Vries, J. (2014). The Netherlands and the Polder Model: Questioning the Polder Model Concept. *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review, 129*(1), 99-111.

De Winter, M. (2017, February 6). De stadsschool: Een remedie tegen segregatie [The city school: A remedy to segregation]. *De Volkskrant*. https://www.volkskrant.nl

Driessen, G., & Cuppen, J. (2012). Ieder het juiste advies voortgezet onderwijs? [Is every advice for secondary education the right advice?]. *Tijdschrift voor Orthopedagogiek, 51*, 55-69.

Driouichi, F., (2007). *De casus inburgering en nationaliteitswetgeving: Iconen van nationale identiteit: Een juridische analyse* [T*he case of integration and national policy: Icons of national identity: a legal analysis*]. Amsterdam University Press.

Entzinger, H. (2014). The growing gap between facts and discourse on immigrant integration in the Netherlands. *Identities, 21*(6), 693-707. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2013.828616

Fergusson, D. M., Horwood, L. J., & Boden, J. M. (2008). The transmission of social inequality: Examination of the linkages between family socioeconomic status in childhood and educational achievement in young adulthood. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, 26*(3), 277-295. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2008.05.001

Georg, W. (2004). Cultural capital and social inequality in the life course. *European Sociological Review, 20*(4), 333-344. https://doi.org/10.1093/esr/jch028

Grusec, J. E., & Hastings, P. D. (2015). *Handbook of socialization: Theory and research.* The Guilford Press

Hinduja, S., & Patchin, J. W. (2007). Offline consequences of online victimization: School violence and

delinquency. *Journal of School Violence, 6*(3), 89-112. https://doi.org/10.1300/J202v06n03_06

Kuyvenhoven, J., & Boterman, W. R. (2020). Neighbourhood and school effects on educational inequalities in the transition from primary to secondary education in Amsterdam. *Urban Studies*. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098020959011

Levy, S. R., & Killen, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood*. Oxford University Press.

O'Keeffe, G. S., & Clarke-Pearson, K. (2011). The impact of social media on children, adolescents, and families. *Pediatrics, 127*(4), 800-804. https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2011-0054

Pauw, L. M. J. (2013a). *Onderwijs en burgerschap: Wat vermag de basisschool? Onderzoek naar De Vreedzame School* [*Education and citizenship: what is the role of the primary school? Research into the Peaceable School*]. Uitgeverij SWP.

Pauw, L. M. J. (2013b). *De Vreedzame School. Onderwijs en de maatschappelijke vorming van de leerling* [*The Peaceable School. Education and the social education of the student*]. Uitgeverij SWP.

Pauw, L. M. J. (2014). *Werkt de vreedzame school?* [*Does the peaceable school work?*]. Eduniek/CED groep.

Pellikaan, H., De Lange, S. L., & Van der Meer, T. (2007). Fortuyn's legacy: Party system change in the Netherlands. *Comparative European Politics, 5*(3), 282-302. https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.cep.6110097

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social*

Psychology, 90(5), 751-783. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751

Raabe, T., & Beelmann, A. (2011). Development of ethnic, racial, and national prejudice in childhood and adolescence: A multinational meta-analysis of age differences. *Child Development, 82*(6), 1715-1737. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2011.01668.x

Scheffer, P. (2000). Het multiculturele drama [The multicultural drama]. *nrc Handelsblad, 29*(1), 2000.

Schinkel, W. (2010). The virtualization of citizenship. *Critical Sociology, 36*(2), 265-283. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920509357506

Schuitema, J., & Veugelers, W. (2011). Multicultural contacts in education: A case study of an exchange project between different ethnic groups. *Educational Studies, 37*(1), 101-114. https://doi.org/10.1080/03055691003729252

Sherif, M. (1988). *The robbers cave experiment: Intergroup conflict and cooperation* [*Orig. pub. asIntergroup conflict and group relations*]. Wesleyan University Press.

Sieckelinck, S. M., & De Ruyter, D. J. (2009). Mad about ideals? Educating children to become reasonably passionate. *Educational Theory, 59*(2), 181-196. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-5446.2009.00313.x

Slone, M., Tarrasch, R., & Hallis, D. (2000). Ethnic stereotypic attitudes among Israeli children: Two intervention programs. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 46*, 370-389.

Stolk, E. (2013). *De vreedzame school. Burgerschapsvorming in Nederland* [*The peaceable school: Citizenship education in the Netherlands*]. Utrecht University.

Swire, B., Berinsky, A. J., Lewandowsky, S., & Ecker, U. K. (2017). Processing political misinformation: Comprehending the Trump phenomenon. *Royal Society Open Science, 4*(3), 160802. https://doi.org/10.1098/rsos.160802

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (2004). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In J. T. Jost & J. Sidanius (Eds.), *Key readings in social psychology. Political psychology: Key readings* (p. 276-293). Psychology Press. https://doi. org/10.4324/9780203505984-16

Tajfel, H., Turner, J. C., Austin, W. G., & Worchel, S. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. J. Hatch, & M. Schultz (Eds.), *Organizational Identity: A reader* (pp. 56-65). Oxford University Press.

Tiemeijer, W. (2017). Wat is er mis met maatschappelijke scheidslijnen [What is wrong with demarcation lines?]. *Verkenningen. Den Haag, Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, 35.*

Van der Ploeg, P. (2015). Burgerschapsvorming anders: Een pleidooi voor zakelijk onderwijs [Citizenship education: A plea for pragmatical education]. *Pedagogiek, 35*(3), 285-298. https://doi.org/10.5117/PED2015.3.PLOE

Van Meeteren, M., van de Pol, S., Dekker, R., Engbersen, G., & Snel, E. (2013). Destination Netherlands. History of immigration and immigration policy in the Netherlands. In Ho, J. (Eds.), *Immigrants* (pp. 113-170). Nova Science Publishers, Inc.

Summary

- Polarization is the sharpening of contrasts between groups in society and growing tensions, or even conflict, between these groups.
- Polarization is characterized by social and economic inequality, and can lead to discrimination, stigmatization and (social) exclusion of certain groups in society.
- For children and youth, growing up in a society characterized by polarization might lead to unequal opportunities based on background and / or group membership, and can therefore affect their development.
- A political climate characterized by opposition and an emphasis on differences between people and groups, instead of a focus on compromise, might contribute to tensions between groups and / or social exclusion.
- Views about other groups can be passed on to children by socializing agents such as parents, teachers, and peers through explicit or implicit action and words. Negative attitudes towards other groups can be affirmed online, especially in the 'bubble' of social media, thus further instigating polarization and social exclusion.
- Facilitating contact between opposing groups might contribute to preventing or tackling polarization. The contact hypothesis states that contact between different groups can lead to a reduction of mutual hostility and bias, when the contact 1) is experienced as positive, 2) is supported by

48

authorities and 3) consists of cooperative activities in which participants have common goals.

- Citizenship education can contribute to social inclusion or a reduction in negative attitudes towards others, as it gets students acquainted with diversity. However, it is questioned whether or not schools should impose certain ideas and values on children. The question on how citizenship education should be organized and what children should learn, still remains.

BOX 1.3. Take Home Message

After reading this module, we hope you are now more aware of your own assumptions and prejudices towards others, and have more insight into how these views might originate. Furthermore, it is important to be aware of the negative consequences of prejudice on the social cohesion in society and the development of individuals therein.

Resources

Films and series

Why We Hate

This documentary series, produced by Steven Spielberg, explores the human condition of hatred. Is every human capable of hate, and what is needed to stir up hostility? And can we prevent violent conflict, and overcome hate?

Entre les Murs (The Class)

A movie about experiences of a literature teacher in an inner city middle school in Paris.

Dear White People

A Netflix series about a predominantly white Ivy League college where a group of black students navigate various forms of racial and other types of discrimination.

The Great Debaters

Based on a true story, the plot revolves around the efforts of debate coach Melvin B. Tolson at Wiley College, a historically black college, to place his team on equal footing with whites in the American South during the 1930s, when Jim Crow laws were common and lynch mobs were a fear for blacks.

Videos

"Education Gap: The Root of Inequality"
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9lsDJnlJqoY)
In this video, Ronald Ferguson, director of The Achievement Gap Initiative at Harvard University, explains the importance of closing the education gap. He explores the progress that is being made to close this gap, and that a lot of hard work still lies ahead.

"Brown Eyes, Blue Eyes"
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jPZEJHJPwIw)
This documentary follows a group of American university students that participate in a unique social experiment, based on the famous 'Blue eyes – Brown eyes' exercise conducted by American school teacher and anti-racism activist Jane Elliot in 1968. Why does racism raise its head everywhere and all the time?

"The Urgency of Intersectionality" | TEDx Talk by Kimberlé Crenshaw (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o)
In this TEDx Talk, civil rights activist and Professor at Columbia Law School Kimberlé Crenshaw explores the phenomenon of 'intersectionality'. Many of the social justice problems like racism and sexism are often overlapping, creating multiple levels of social injustice: "If you're standing in the path of multiple forms of social exclusion, you're likely to get hit by both".

"The Muslim on the Airplane" | TEDx Talk by Amal Kassir
[(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIAm1g_Vgn0)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UIAm1g_Vgn0)
In this TEDx Talk, Syrian-American poet Amal Kassir talks about her experience with the ever-deepening ethnic divides in society. She explores how we can solve the issues when groups of people live in fear of the other.

"I am not Your Asian Stereotype" | TEDx Talk by Canwen Xu
[(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_pUtz75lNaw)](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_pUtz75lNaw)
In this TEDx Talk, eighteen-year-old Canwen Xu shares her story on growing up as an Asian-American. She explains how she grows up in a world where she can either conform to the Asian stereotype that was expected of her, or to the whiteness she was surrounded with. Canwen explores how her identity develops around 'being different', and about reaffirming and breaking these stereotypes.

Further Readings

Levy, S. R., & Killen, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Intergroup attitudes and relations in childhood through adulthood*. Oxford University Press. In this volume, scholars use cutting-edge theory and new research findings to clarify the multifaceted nature of intergroup attitudes and relations. It provides an understanding of the origins, stability and reduction of intergroup conflict. When do children acquire stereotypes about the other? What are the sources of influence, and how does change come about?

Titzmann, P.F., & Jugert, P. (Eds.).(2020). *Youth in superdiverse societies: Growing up with globalization, diversity, and acculturation*. Routledge. This book brings together theoretical, methodological and international approaches to the study of

globalization, diversity and acculturation in adolescence. It focuses on understanding the experiences and consequences of multicultural societies and offers insight in the field of intergroup relations and the complexity of growingly heterogeneous societies.