# Building Inter-ethnic Cohesion in Schools: An Intervention on Perspective Taking

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### Motivation

- Social cohesion is essential for economic development (Rodrik, 1999, Easterly et al., 2006)
- Humans are better of collectively and individually in cohesive environments with high social capital
- But, non-cohesive environments (violence, ethnic and religious segregation, intolerance) may arise in socio-politically turbulent times and damage social capital
- Public education is essential for building cohesion in culturally diverse environments (Gradstein and Justman, 2002)
- Rebuilding strategies through education policies (interventions) may become a policy imperative

### Background

- We are challenged by a serious humanitarian crisis
- Since the start of Syrian Civil War in 2011, high influx of Syrian refugees in Turkey.
- Among them over 1 million school-aged refugee children, particularly vulnerable
- Since 2016, active development policies to integrate children into Turkish Education System by the Ministry of Education
  - Temporary Education Centers
  - Direct school placement policy
  - Recently, cohesion programs

# Policy Issue: Cohesion

- Following some time in Temporary Education Centers, direct placement in classrooms based on
  - registered address
  - capacity of the school
- Increasing negative sentiments by locals:
  - teachers
  - students
  - community
- No obvious road map for teachers and school administrators

# A Cohesion Intervention: Perspective Taking

- Ability to understand thoughts and feelings of others
- Putting yourself in someone else's shoes
- Perspective taking can mitigate social exclusion
- Builds trust and empathy among individuals (Galinsky et al., 2005; Galinsky et al., 2008; Batson and Moran, 1999)

### A Cohesion Intervention: Perspective Taking

- An educational intervention aiming at increasing perspective taking among host and refugee children
- A structured curriculum
- Prescribes activities and games
- Delivered by children's own class teachers

### A Cohesion Intervention: Understanding Each Other

- Concept developed by the researchers
- Design of the curriculum by Bilkent University multidisciplinary team
- Covering a structured curriculum and activities throughout 2018-2019 academic year
- Numerous activities to improve students' ability to analyze social situations and to understand social cues.
- Involving both refugee and host children without making any reference to ethnicity

# Perspective Taking Curriculum



#### BIRBIRIMIZI ANLIYORUZ

Eğitim Projesi Műpredati

#### **HAFTA**

1

#### EMPATI NEDIR?

Amaç: Öğrencileri empati olgusu ile tanıştırmak

Kazanım: Öğrenciler empatinin nasıl bir karakter özelliği olduğunu öğrenir.

Haftanın Materyali: Etkinlik

#### **HAFTA**

2

#### DUYGU İŞARETLERİNİ TANIYALIM

Amaç: Ögrencilere sosyal işaretleri tanımayı öğretmek

Kazanım: Öğrenciler sosyal işaretlerden durum çıkarımı yapmayı öğrenir.

Haftanın Materyali: Etkinlik

#### **HAFTA**

3

#### İNSANLAR FARKLI AMA DUYGULARI AYNI

Amaç: Öğrencilere hissettiğimiz duygularda ortak olduğumuz mesajını iletmek

Kazanım: Öğrenciler bireylerin acı, mutluluk, utanç gibi duygulardaki ortaklığını öğrenir.

Haftanın Matervali: Video, Etkinlik

#### HAFTA

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#### ARKADAŞIMI ANLAMAK

Amaç: Öğrencilere karşı tarafın perspektifini alarak problem cözmeyi öğretmek

Kazanım: Öğrenciler tanıdık bir senaryo ile karşı tarafın perspektifini alarak bir problem çözme stratejisi öğrenir.

Haftanın Materyali: Okuma parçası

#### HAFTA

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#### CANLILARIN DUYGULARINI ANLAMAK

Amaç: Öğrencilere, hayvanların da insanlar gibi empatiye ihtiyacı olduğunu aşılamak

Kazanım: Öğrenciler sadece insanların değil, hayvanların da empatiye ihtiyacı olduğunu öğrenir.

Haftanın Materyali: Okuma parçası

#### ΗΔΕΤΔ

6

#### SÖYLENMEYEN DÜŞÜNCELERİ ANLAMAK

Amaç: Öğrencilere sosyal işaretlerden çıkarım yaparak ikili ilişkilerde anlayış ve çözüm üretme yetisini kazandırmak

Kazanım: Öğrenciler sosyal durumlarda karşısındaki bireyi anlamayı öğrenir.

Haftanın Materyali: Etkinlik

#### HAFTA

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#### HAKSIZLIK VE CÖZÜMÜ

maç: Öğrencilere etraflarında ınık oldukları doğru olmayan avranışlara karşı prensipli bir uruş sergilemelerini öğretmek

Kazanım: Öğrenciler kötü sosyal davranışlara karşı prensipte karşı çıkmanın önemini öğrenirler.

Haftanın Materyali: Okuma parçası



### Perspective Taking Activities

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AFTA 2

#### Sınıf Çalışması

Haydi düşünce ve konuşma balonlarını aşağıdaki uygun cümlelerle dolduralım.



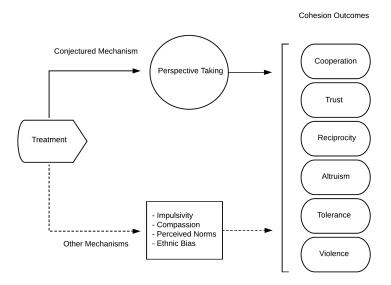
Canım çok yanıyor

Gel pisi pisi!

Elif'in eteğine bak, ne komik!

Benim hakkımda konuşuyorlar. Çok üzülüyorum.

### Theory of Change



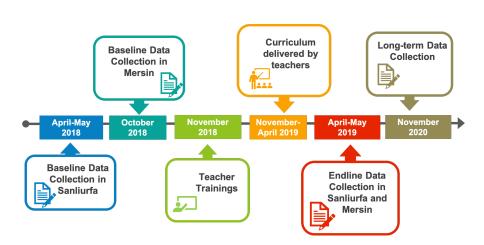
### **Evaluation Design**

- A cluster randomized controlled trial (AEA Registry no: AEARCTR-0003974)
- Randomization is at the school level and stratified by province and student absenteeism
- Sample: 222 teachers (classrooms) from 80 schools about 7000 3rd and 4th grade children
- About 19 percent refugee

# Study Sites



### Study Timeline



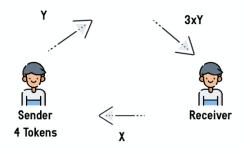
#### Outcomes

- School level: Peer violence (reports of serious discipline events in last 10 days)
- Classroom level: Ethnic segregation (friendship networks)
- Student level:
  - experience of verbal and physical violence (self report)
  - teacher reported bad behavior
  - trust, reciprocity, altruism (incentivized games)
  - perspective taking, ethnic bias, impulsivity, .. (survey responses)

▶ balancing checks ▶ implementation intensity

# Experimentally Elicited Cohesion Outcomes

- Trust Game: Recipient (Sender) is an unknown classmate
- Decisions made both as a sender and as a receiver



# Experimentally Elicited Cohesion Outcomes

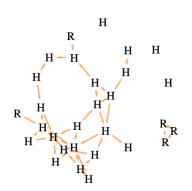
- Dictator Game
  - Subjects endowed with 4 tokens
  - Allocation decision between themselves and other children
  - Recipient's identity randomized at the classroom level:
    - No ethnic identity revealed "How many of your 4 tokens would you like to give to students who did not receive gifts from us (0 to 4)?"
    - Syrian "How many of your 4 tokens would you like to give to a Syrian student who did not receive gifts from us (0 to 4)?"

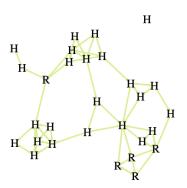
# ITT Results: Officially Reported Number of Serious Disciplinary Events (last 10 days)

	Perpetrated	Victimized	Total Events	Spillover
Treatment	-1.227***	-0.752**	-2.349	-1.121
	(0.44)	(0.36)	(1.92)	(1.78)
Strata FE	✓	✓	✓	$\checkmark$
Control Mean	1.88	1.5	7.83	5.95
Observations	80	80	80	80

Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% \*\*\*, 5% \*\*, and 10% \* levels. Perpetrator refers to the number of events perpetrated by someone from project classes. Victim refers to the number of events that victimized children in project classes. Total Events refers to the number of violent events in a school

# Ethnic Segregation in the Classroom





# Ethnic Segregation in the Classroom

	Friendship	Emotional Support	Academic Support
Treatment	-0.022**	-0.016	-0.025**
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Strata FE	√ ′	<b>`</b> ✓ <i>'</i>	<b>√</b>
Baseline Covariates	✓	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Control Mean	0.11	0.09	0.10
Observations	222	222	222

Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1%  $^{***}$ , 5%  $^{**}$ , and 10%  $^{*}$  levels. Standard errors are clustered at the school level.

### ITT Results: Cohesion Indicators

	Trust	Reciprocity
Treatment	0.286***	0.054***
	(0.05)	(0.01)
Strata FE	✓	<b>√</b>
Baseline Covariates	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Control Mean	1.38	0.39
Observations	6473	6409

Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% \*\*\*, 5% \*\*, and 10% \* levels. Standard errors are clustered at the school level.

### ITT Results: Cohesion Indicators

	Willingness to Donate	Fraction Donated
Treatment	0.074***	0.056***
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Ethnic Reference	-0.014	0.007
	(0.01)	(0.01)
Treatment*Ethnic Reference	0.033*	0.012
	(0.02)	(0.02)
Strata FE	$\checkmark$	<b>`</b> ✓
Baseline Covariates	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Control Mean	0.70	0.34
Observations	6574	6574

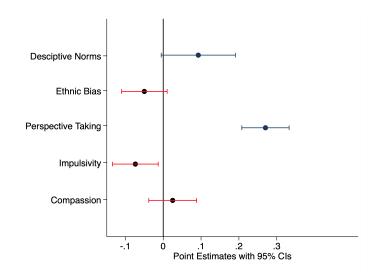
Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% \*\*\*, 5% \*\*, and 10% \* levels. Standard errors are clustered at the school level.

### Treatment Effect on Test Scores

	Turkish		Math	
	Host	Refugee	Host	Refugee
Treatment	0.003	0.141**	-0.000	0.010
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Strata FE	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	· ✓	· ✓ ′	· ✓ ′
Baseline Covariates	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
Observations	5502	1063	5508	1065

Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% \*\*\*, 5% \*\*, and 10% \* levels. Standard errors are clustered at the school level.

### ITT Results: Potential Mechanisms



### Conclusion

- We evaluate a novel social cohesion program
- Program encourages perspective taking, implemented in 2018-2019 academic year
- Integration without careful cohesion actions is difficult but lots can be done in childhood
- The program is highly successful in improving a host of cohesion indicators
- Scale-up work is ongoing (valuable lessons for countries trying to integrate refugee/immigrant children)

# Balancing Checks

	Control Mean	Difference
Male (=1)	0.51	-0.00
Age in Months	106.36	0.32
Refugee (=1)	0.20	-0.02
Working Mother	0.27	0.02
Working Father	0.86	-0.01
Proportion of Parents Reading a Book	0.44	0.01
Computer at Home	0.41	0.00
Internet at Home	0.53	-0.01
Spoken Language in Family (Turkish)	0.55	-0.01
Spoken Language in Family (Kurdish)	0.27	0.02
Spoken Language in Family (Arabic)	0.18	-0.02
Proportion of Verbally Bullied by Peers in Classroom	0.79	0.02
Proportion of Physically Bullied by Peers in Classroom	0.64	0.04**
Proportion of Verbally Bullied by Peers in School	0.75	0.02
Proportion of Physically Bullied by Peers in School	0.61	0.02
Standardized Donation	-0.00	-0.02
Proportion of Cooperation	0.54	0.03
Standardized Cognition	0.00	-0.07
Standardized Cognitive Empathy	-0.00	-0.02
Perspective Taking	0.00	-0.00
Standardized Ethnic Bias	0.00	-0.03
Empathic Concern	0.01	-0.02
Impulsivity	-0.02	0.04

Asterisks indicate that coefficient is statistically significant at the 1% \*\*\*, 5% \*\*, and 10% \* levels.

# Implementation Intensity and Noncompliance

