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تنمية الهوية الوطنية والاجتماعية، معضلة «أنا والآخر»: الشمول أم الإقصاء بين
الأطفال من عمر 8 إلى 12 عاماً.

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ملخص:

الغرض: تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في جميع أنواع السلوكيات الجماعية؛ مثل التضامن داخل المجموعة والتمييز ضد المجموعات الخارجية كجزء من عمليات الهوية الاجتماعية، وإذا ما حدث تفاعل مع المجموعات الخارجية أيضاً. وتبحث في نموذج اللقاء الأول، إذا ما كانت هناك معرفة متزايدة عن الآخر بالتسامح؛ مما قد يؤدي إلى تقليل التحيز. **التصميم/المنهجية:** تستخدم الدراسة نظرية الهوية الاجتماعية في أنواع السلوك الثلاثة، وطبقت دراسة حالة لبرنامج سفرني في الجزيرة بمصر على مجموعة من الأطفال المصريين والمهاجرين، تراوح أعمارهم بين 8 و12 عاماً. **النتائج:** أظهرت النتائج أن التفاعل بين المجموعات (الخارجية) يقلل من المشاعر السلبية ويزيد من المشاعر الإيجابية، كما أظهرت نجاح برنامج سفرني في تحقيق الاندماج في المجتمع من خلال توفير المزيد من المعرفة عن الآخر؛ مما أدى إلى تقليل التحيز الذي يشير إلى أن نموذج اللقاء الأول سينجح في وجود التسامح وزيادة المعرفة. **صعوبات الدراسة:** تتمثل في قلة عدد المدربين وأماكن التدريس؛ مما دعا إلى تقسيم العدد الإجمالي للأطفال على مجموعتين. **التطبيقات العملية:** دمج المهاجرين في المجتمع المصري. **الأصالة / قيمة الموضوع:** حاولت أدبيات غاية في المحدودية التعامل مع الهوية الوطنية باستخدام التدخلات لحل مشكلات الاستبعاد، لا سيما في حالة مصر.

المصطلحات الأساسية: الهوية الوطنية، الآخر، المصريون، المهاجرون، نظرية الهوية الاجتماعية.

Development of National and Social Identity, The Dilemma of “I and the Other”: Inclusion or Exclusion among a Sample of Children Aged 8 to 12 years

*Eman Shady**

Abstract:

Objective: This paper aims at investigating all kinds of group behaviors such as solidarity within a group and discrimination against out-groups, as part of social identity processes. In addition, this paper studies whether interaction happens with the out groups or not, and it investigates the first encounter model and tests whether an increased knowledge about the other with tolerance would lead to a reduction of prejudice. **Methodology:** This paper Uses the Social Identity theory with its three behavior types. A case study of “Safarni Program in Giza, Egypt” was applied on a group of Egyptian and migrant children whose ages ranged from 8 to 12 years. **Results:** The results showed that the interaction between the groups (out groups) decreased the negative feelings and increased the positive ones, and they also indicate that Safarni Program succeeded in achieving inclusion in the society by providing more knowledge about the other. This resulted in less prejudice which indicates that the first encounter model would succeed in the existence of tolerance and increased knowledge of the other. **Research limitation:** shortage of trainers and study places hindered having the total number of children in one group. **Practical Applications:** inclusion of the migrants in the Egyptian society. **Conclusion:** few studies in the literature attempted to deal with national identity using interventions to solve exclusion problems especially in Egypt.

Keywords: National Identity, The Other, Egyptians, Migrants, Social Identity Theory.

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Introduction

Living in groups is a social behavior that people do intentionally. Each group forms together a society that has almost the same characteristics, values, language, religion, and customs, which shape their identity and differentiate between them and the other groups. There are many recent waves of migration in Egypt, especially after the political turmoil/conflict in the neighboring Arab and African countries. After the Egyptian pound floatation, many migrants had to transfer from high living standard places in Cairo to low living standard places in Giza. Some of these families were included in the sample of season one in 2018 of Safarni Program. A lot of tension raised in some places between Egyptians and migrants (including refugees), due to high cost of living (especially rents), and there was a lack of inter-nationality dialogue between migrants/refugees and Egyptians.

This paper uses the IOM's definition of Migrant, which includes the refugees; according to IOM, a migrant is "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons." (IOM, 2019: 61)

Methodology

The Social Identity theory indicates that there are three processes that explain the various forms of intergroup behavior (social conflict/change) (Tajfel, 1979): Social categorization, self-evaluation and social comparison adding to them prejudice (Tajfel, 1969).

Behavior types:

- 1- Social comparison:** Defines the individual's place in the society compared to other groups (superiority or inferiority). This was tested through asking the participants, "How close do you think you are on the first day when you meet another child from another nationality?"

- 2- **Social categorization:** Knowledge of membership to a social group. This was tested through asking the following questions "What does the child know about people from other nationalities?", "Can you find your country on the map?", and "Can you find Africa on the map?"
- 3- **Self-esteem:** successful inter-group discrimination leads to increased self-esteem (in group favoritism), and low self-esteem motivates increased out-group discrimination (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). The diversity was investigated through asking the participants whether they prefer to be surrounded by people from their own nationality. Potential diversity has been investigated through asking the participants the following set of questions: "Can you learn things from people from a different nationality of yours?", "Do you want to know about other places?", "Do you want to learn different things about others?", and "Do you like to learn music and dances from other cultures?"

The out group consisted of three out groups (White, Asian and Black) and didn't use 'foreigners' as one bloc, like previous studies (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006), since this is not consistent with the context where prejudice and tolerance differed based on race. Therefore, this paper used a picture with many faces on it from different places, nationalities, and colors: White, Asian and Black, and asked the children how they felt about it.

- 4- **Prejudice and stereotyping** (Tajfel, 1969), was tested through questions such as: "If you saw a Somali child fighting an Egyptian child, whose fault would it be in your opinion?" and "Do you have friends from other nationalities?"

This paper uses those behavior types to explain cognitions and behavior with the help of group-processes. It assumes that we show all kinds of group behavior, such as solidarity, within our group, and discrimination against out-groups, as part of social identity processes, with the aim of achieving positive self-esteem and self-enhancement (Treppe, 2006, :256). The following hypotheses were tested:

Hypotheses

- 1- All kinds of group behavior, such as solidarity, within our group, and discrimination against out-groups, as part of social identity processes, happen when there is no interaction with the out groups
- 2- Increased knowledge about the other increases tolerance and decreases prejudice

National identity and the first encounter model

Two general models of national identity -one encompassing birth, religion, and residence, and the other relating to subjective feelings of membership and belief in core institutions- were proposed by Jones and Smith (2001). They reported that homogeneity exists in the way people around the world think about national identity, and that individuals usually give greater emphasis to aspects of the first model.

National identity is a shared understanding within a nation about its people and values, common languages, and the symbols and practices that represent them. On the other hand, (Deaux 2001, 1-9) views national identities as flexible and subjectively defined. (Smith & Jarkko 2001, 1) define 'national identity' as 'the cohesive force that both holds nation-states together and shapes their relationships with the family of nations'. In the same line, Factors that Phillips (1998) regards as important in defining national identity are a shared understanding within a nation about its people and values, common languages, and the symbols and practices that represent them. Just as membership of a social group, such as a club, can foster a sense of belonging and identity for individual's membership of a national group also can foster a sense of belonging and identity and influence certain aspects of an individual's behavior (Feather, 1994).

This paper reports the results of a four-month study of the Cairo-based education initiative called Safarni, which aims to increase intercultural awareness and acceptance. Some of the earliest forms of peace

education focused on intercultural understanding as the foundation of a peaceful society (Harris, 2004). Safarni places itself within that tradition, with its founder Raphaele Ayach's mission being to combat the intolerance and xenophobia at the root of identity-based conflict (Ayach, 2016). Established in 2012, Safarni creates eight-day, imaginary trips across the world where Egyptian children aged 8-12 interact in-person with people from different countries.

In its second hypothesis, this paper investigates the model of first encounter; if the child had knowledge with some tolerance, the prejudice would decrease. As previous research had found, when people feel more confident in their knowledge about an outgroup, they are more open to contact (Aydogan & Gonsalkorale, 2015). While increased knowledge is also a main mediator of contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008), hostility between groups is attributed to stereotypes based on inaccurate information (Fiske, 1998). This can be countered through programs that emphasize the similarities between cultures and the differences within cultures, challenge stereotypes with positive information about outgroups, and explain the differences between groups (Ben-Ari, 2004). At the same time, putting a focus on learning goals decreases identity threat (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008); as such, the new knowledge gained through 'first encounters' can make people more predisposed to engaging in contact, at the same time as it supports the ultimate goal of reducing prejudice.

Tolerance refers both to a person's acceptance of diversity and to their ability to interact with different people. People who recognize the benefits of difference and are confident that they can navigate contact with outgroups, are more likely to participate willingly in these interactions (Stephan & Stephan, 1984, 181). During contact itself, people who practice "effective and sensitive ways of addressing group memberships and being able to talk about them constructively" have more positive outcomes (Harwood, 2010, 167). Tolerance is therefore an essential element of 'first encounters'—encompassing the core elements of people's openness to intergroup encounters and their cross-group communication skills.

Decreased prejudice has traditionally been the ultimate goal for both intergroup contact and peace education programs (Bar-Tal, 2002). It is, therefore, the key outcome of the ‘first encounter’ model. Positive contact challenges preconceptions about outgroups and reduces the link between their category labels and stereotypic characteristics (Ben-Ari, 2004). The dissonance between individuals’ positive experiences and prejudiced attitudes can change attitudes (Harwood, 2010). After mixing with the outgroup, people realize they are more similar than they thought, and become more accepting of others’ differences (Hughes & Knox, 1997).

The study

Safarni provides platforms for children to meet and learn from non-Egyptians for the first time; it uses a direct approach to diversity education, with children taught explicitly about the Big ‘C’ (visible) Cultures of other countries (Bennett, 2009, S3), and its methodology focuses on knowledge sharing and promoting tolerance in order to reduce prejudice.

Safarni Program

Safarni conducted seasons, the eight-day Safarni program that takes place over a period of either two weeks or one month, of travel adventure, Daylong, simulated travels where children discover five overseas cultures and one different culture from within Egypt through games, dance, songs, food, language, and interactions with locals.

The first day of the season, is Geography Day, when the children are introduced to basic geography (continents, oceans, maps) and learn about how humans moved throughout the world and how different cultures developed. They also receive and decorate their Safarni passport. On the other hand, the final day of the season is the Graduation Day, when children prepare a presentation of Egypt’s culture as well as the new dances and songs they learnt. They perform for their parents and community, receive participation certificates, and have a small party.

Safarni consciously creates a code of behavior and ethos of acceptance, which guide children as they encounter other cultures for the first time. On the first day of each Safarni program, children work together to create a 'Dostour' (a constitution); each dostour features the key concept of respect, and children are told that respect is based on their shared identity as humans. The dostour also discourages the children from using words like good, bad, right, wrong, or weird when encountering new customs; they are encouraged instead to say "that's new" or "different" or "unusual for me". "This does not mean they cannot dislike things, but it just means that they cannot label them as bad or good" (Ayach, 2016).

The dostour is revised at the beginning of each day, and it is used as a behavior management tool. The children's common humanity with people from across the world is also emphasized. On the first day of Safarni, children learn a Sudanese song Nahna Kolina Wahed (We are all one).

At the beginning of each day, the children are also asked to complete the sentence: "We are all human because we...", with words of their own, and here they generally propose words like 'eat', 'die', 'laugh', 'love', 'play'.

Educator and documentary filmmaker Raphaele Ayach established Safarni in 2012 in Cairo. She believed that conflict and prejudice were caused by a lack of opportunities to interact at a personal level with out-group members. Safarni aims to create emotional connections through travelling and experiencing different cultures. A study in the US has found that voluntarily participating in the cultural activities of an out-group can change attitudes (Brannon & Walton, 2013).

The organization is funded by donations and is run by Ayach, two part-time paid staff and a team of about 40 active volunteers. Its core activity is to provide eight-day workshops in the form of "imaginary travel adventures", where children have the chance to meet people from other cultures. From 2012 till 2017, more than 750 children had taken part in these workshops (which Safarni called seasons). Its mission sta-

tement emphasizes that it prioritizes “children least likely to have access to intercultural exposure”.

This happens with the help and support of NGOs, which engage Safarni in holding travel events with children they support, many of whom have never left their home town before. Safarni runs about nine workshops every year in Cairo and other Egyptian cities. Past participants had generally come from low-income families or institutional care facilities. Safarni relies on NGOs in sponsoring the workshops’ (transportation, volunteer snacks, stationery, meeting rooms’ rentals ... etc.), recruiting the participants, providing the premises and liaising with parents and the community. Safarni’s trained volunteers prepare and run the half-day events. Workshops are held on weekends during school term, or, less commonly, in intensive blocks during holidays. Children participate for free.

From February 2018 to February 2019, the workshop was held in two places: Giza and Alexandria (four seasons), and it was divided into two seasons for each place due to the number of the children. This paper is going to investigate the first season running from February to May 2018. The project was done in a place called Ardellwa (in Giza Governorate, Egypt). Regarding the late mass migration issues and the increasing number of refugees and migrants, Egypt has about 221675 registered asylum seekers from many countries; more than half of these registered asylum seekers are Syrians, and the rest come from Iraq, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, and other places. Giza governorate came in the second place after Cairo in hosting the migrants with a total of 70,584, of whom 36,305 are Syrians, comprising the highest population of Syrian refugees residing in the country. (Ahram, 26 Feb. 2018) This costs more than 44 million US dollars according to UNHCR (2018).

After the Egyptian pound floatation, many migrants had to transfer from high standard living places in Cairo to live in low standard living places in Giza. The sample of children participating in season one of Safarni in 2018, belonged to those families. A lot of tension raised in

some places between Egyptian citizens and migrants (including refugees), due to the high cost of living, especially rents, and lack of proper communication to clear misunderstanding between the two sides. One of these places that witnessed some of these clashes was Ardellwa, where the sessions/workshops had been held. The workshops were held in this place to reduce the tension and conflict among all nationalities living there through targeting 90 Egyptians and migrant families. Because of the huge number of the workshop's participants, the children were divided into two groups: one for the first season and the other for the second season (June to September 2018).

The children's age range

The children's ages ranged from 8 to 12 years, and in few cases the age was 14 years old. Children in this age group are in 'middle childhood', a developmental stage when they become aware that identity is not just physical but also social (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006). This realization provides a good opportunity to invest in getting these children involved in peace education and tolerance. In addition, this peace education will have a positive effect on the children's families since children are going to transfer the information learned like a snowball. Another factor making the children a great choice to the program of social cohesion and peace education is that their prejudice is qualitatively different from that of adults because children are cognitively less advanced than adults (Aboud, 1989). Including the children is of prime importance since scholars have criticized the fact that children have been traditionally absent or silent objects in research (Boyden & Ennew, 1997).

Sample characteristics /participants

The sample included 45 children from the migrants comprising 24 Sudanese, 10 Eritreans, 4 Yemenis, 4 Somalis, and 1 Chadi, in addition to 47 Egyptians. All the children's ages ranged from 8 to 12 with only few aged 14 years old. Almost all of them go to school (only 2 Egyptians don't) and their levels range from first year of primary stage to the

first year of preparatory stage. It is worth mentioning that 47% of the Egyptian children in the study sample can read, and 58% of them are females, while 25% are males.

Procedure (questionnaire and body map)

Tools

1) Questionnaire

The focus of this is diversity of contact. Two items measured the participants' interest in participating in events that increase their knowledge about different cultures ("I want to learn more about other places that exist outside Egypt" and "I would like to learn dances and music from other cultures."). These were scored on a five-point Likert scale.

Relativistic appreciation: One item measured how the participants saw the potential for diversity to improve their own understanding of the world or themselves ("I could learn new things from people who are non-Egyptian."). This was scored on a five-point Likert scale.

Comfort with difference: Three items measured the participant's comfort with a diverse range of people. One question referred to different nationalities "I am only comfortable with people of my nationality". These were scored on a five-point Likert scale.

The consultant created a friendly child survey to be conducted among children aged 8 to 12 years, and there was a volunteer to administer the survey with each child. All volunteers were trained on child policy protection and safeguard and on how to deal with children and conduct the surveys. All children were gathered in a wide room to wait for their role to complete the questionnaire and body map. Children were provided with crayons and the body map drawing to color it under the guidance of 3 volunteers. Then after finishing the questionnaire, every child sat with another volunteer to ask her/him questions about the body map.

2) Body Mapping

It was used to give contextual information about the participants' knowledge, tolerance, and prejudice. Each child was given an A4 paper with the outline of a body printed onto it, and they were asked to decorate it in a way that resembled themselves. Data collectors sat one-on-one with participants and asked questions based on different parts of the body. This activity was designed to generate in-depth data about the children's existing attitudes, and how these changed over time. Pre-test answers were written on the left-hand side of the body map and post-test answers on the right-hand side of the body map. The sample questions used in the study were related to the children's perception and expression organs (i.e., ears, mouth, head, eyes and heart) as follows:

Ears: What sort of things have you heard about other countries? What have you heard about foreigners? Where did you hear these things?

Mouth: What do people say about other countries? What words would you use to describe foreigners? From whom did you hear this?

Head: What knowledge do you have about other countries? What do you know about foreigners?

Eyes: Where did you see foreigners? How do you see (perceive) foreigners?

Heart: How do you feel about foreign people? When someone talks about other countries, how do you feel?

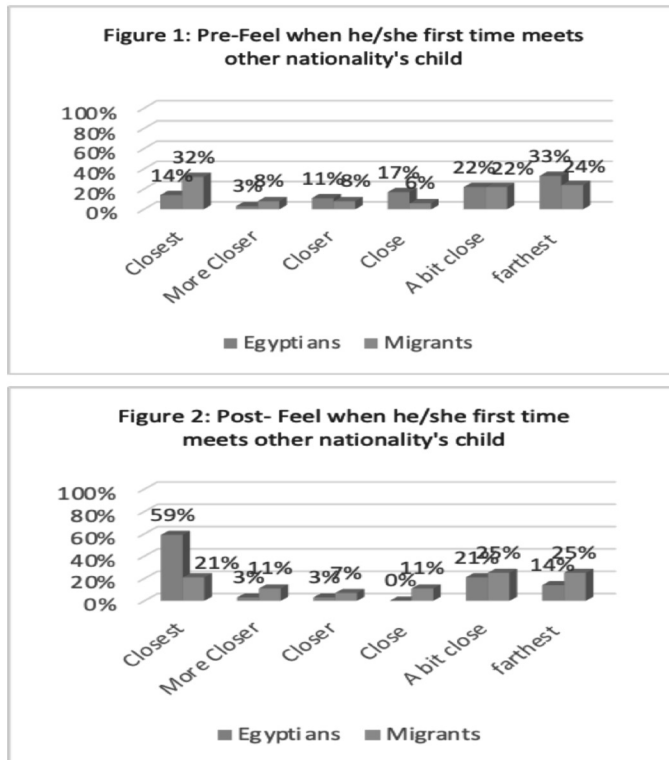
Results & Data analysis

Behavior types

- 1- **Social comparison:** defines the individual's place in the society compared to other groups (superiority or inferiority). This was tested through this question:

- 1.1 How does a child feel when he/she meets another child from a different nationality for the first time?

Figures 1 & 2 show the results of the learners' answers on a six-scale survey, with one referring to the farthest and six refers to the closest. The survey focused on the relation between the child and the other nationality child that s/he met today. By the end of the program, the children felt that they had closer relations than they had before.

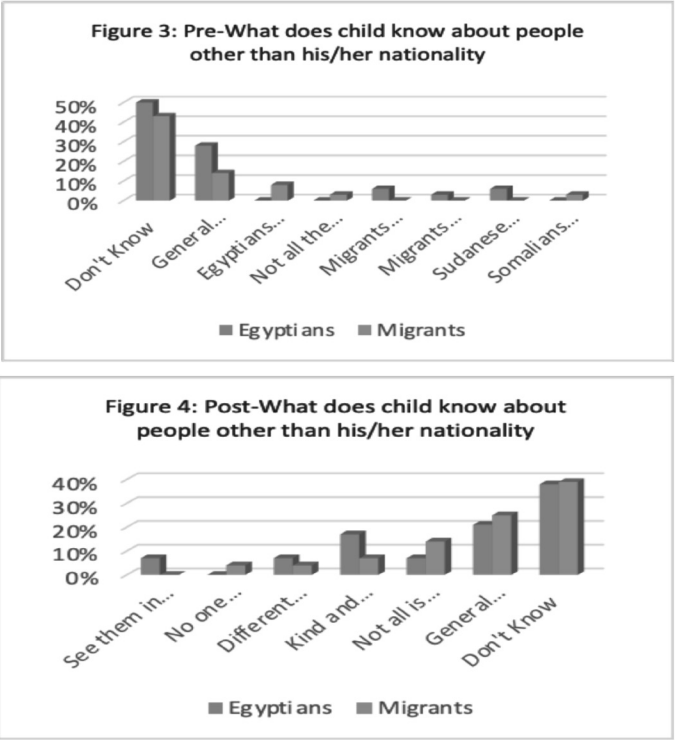


2- Social Categorization: Knowledge of membership to a social group; the children were asked what they know about people from other nationalities, and to find their country and Africa on the map.

2.1 What does a child know about people from other nationalities?

It is noticed that all the negative comments and impressions about

the other disappeared. Instead of these negative comments, the children felt that they liked the other and had good feelings towards them. In one of the comments, one of the children said: “They are kind and friendly”. After the program, the children also understood that ‘the other’ is a human but with a different language, religion, and food. (See figures 3 & 4).



2.2 Find the child's country on the map.

There was no big difference between the percentages of migrants and Egyptians who got it right before the program. Only about 5% of the migrants could find their countries on the map and about 8% of the Egyptians did, too.

Although the percentage of the children who got it right increased after the program (i.e., 18% among the Egyptians and 32% among migrants), the majority still didn't get it right.

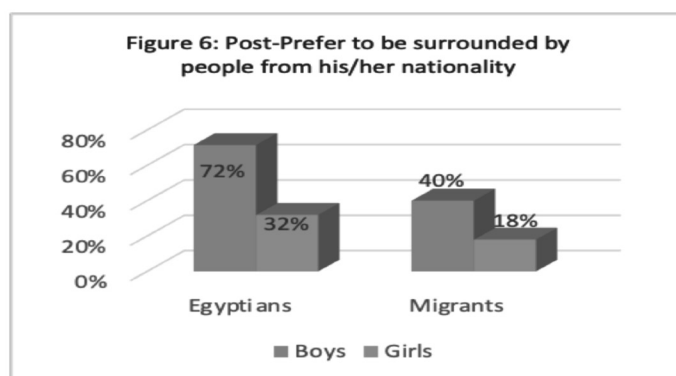
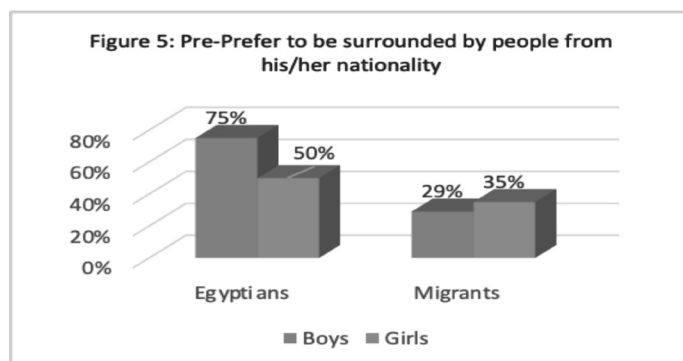
2.3 Find Africa on the map

Only 8% of the migrants got Africa right on the map, and only 11% of the Egyptians did, too. After the program, Egyptian children still were not able to find the right place of Africa (only 11%), although about half of the migrants got it right.

- 3- Self-esteem:** successful inter-group discrimination leads to increased self-esteem (in group favoritism), and low self-esteem motivates increased out-group discrimination (Billig & Tajfel, 1973). This dimension focuses on 1) diversity: the children were asked if they preferred to be surrounded by people from their own nationality, 2) potential diversity: the children were asked if they can learn things from nationalities other than theirs, whether they would like to learn things about other places, and if they would like to learn the music of other cultures.

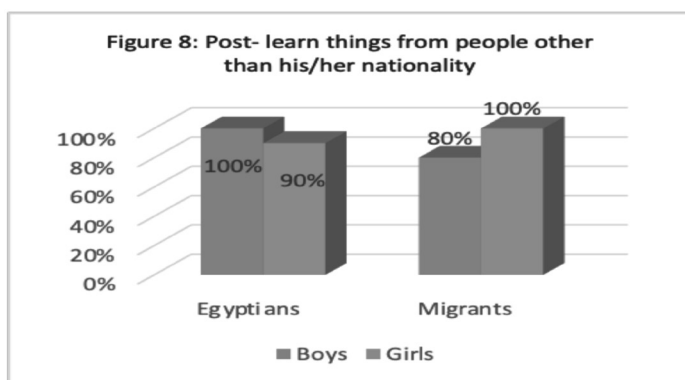
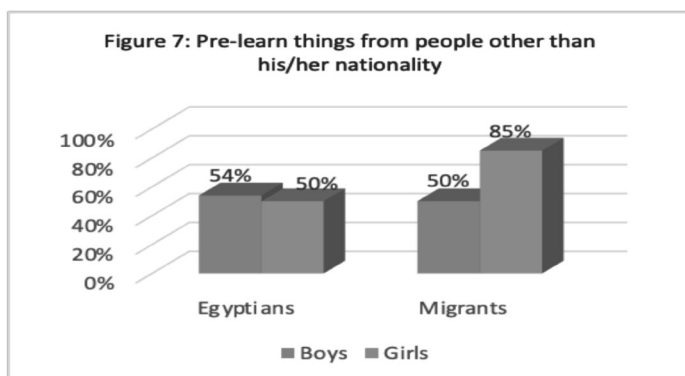
3.1 Diversity: Do children prefer to be surrounded by people from his/her own nationality?

It was noticed from figures 5 & 6 that the tendency of Egyptian children to be surrounded by people from their nationality decreased after program. There was no big difference in the answers of the boys, but there was about 18% decrease for the girls, which means that they became more open to other cultures because of the Safarni program. Regarding the case of migrants, the same happened with the girls, as their tendency decreased by 17% although it increased for the migrant boys by 11%. (Egyptians: pre-program: boys 75%, girls 50%; post-program: 72%, 32%), (Migrants: pre-program: boys 29%, girls: 35%; post-program: 40%, 18%)



3.2 Potential diversity: Can children learn things from people from other nationalities?

It is clear from figures 7 & 8, that the Safarni program affected the children (both Migrants and Egyptians), and they were convinced that they could learn things from people from other nationalities.



3.3 Potential diversity: Do children like to know about other places?

Almost all percentages increased after the Safarni program; children wanted to know about other places after the program more than before it (Migrants: pre-program: boys 86%, girls: 96%; post-program: boys 80%, girls 100%); (Egyptians: pre-program: boys 83%, girls 67%, post-program: boys 100%, girls: 90%).

3.4 Potential diversity: Do children like to learn the music and dance of other cultures?

All the percentages increased because of Safarni programs, as before the program (70%) of the migrants' girls liked to learn the music and dance of other cultures and only (43%) of the boys did, too. However, after the program, the percentage of the migrants' boys was twice as much (90%) while the percentage of the migrants' girls remained the

same. As for the Egyptian boys and girls the percentage was (58%) before the program, and it increased by (30%) after the program to become (87%).

(i.e., For Egyptians there was a 17% increase (from 69% to 86%) in wishing to learn music and dance. For Migrants, there was an increase of 26% (from 60% to 86%).

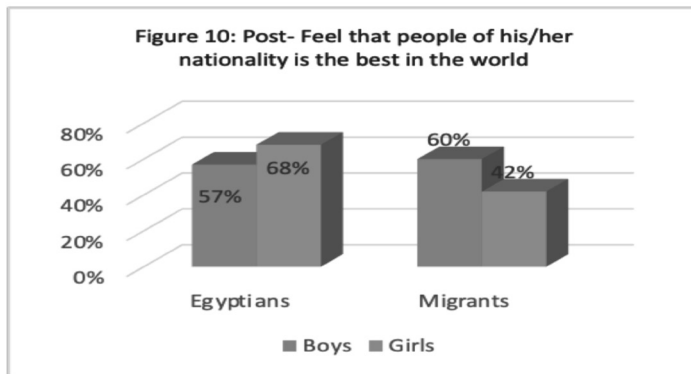
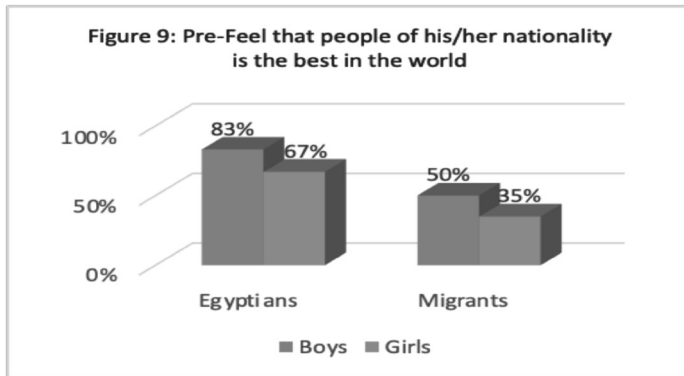
The out group consisted of three groups (White, Asian and Black) and didn't use 'foreigners' as one bloc, like others did (Cameron, Rutland, Brown, & Douch, 2006), as this is not consistent with the context where prejudice and tolerance differed on the basis of race. After the program, the negative words used to describe Asian and Black people decreased by about 5%, while the positive words used to describe them increased by 30%.

4- Prejudice and stereotyping (Tajfel, 1969) Q1.6 Somali fighting, 1.5 have friends from other nationalities

4.1 Body map data (qualitative analysis) showed that prejudice differed depending on racial outgroup. At pre-test, there was a strong theme of deference towards aganib 'foreigners' — a term that is usually used to refer to white people — and their countries. During the body map pre-test, 30 prejudiced statements were recorded, which mostly referred to foreigners as having bad behavior "they are not good people", being enemies of Egypt "they hate us and we hate them", and acting immorally "they wear short dresses and have standing hair".

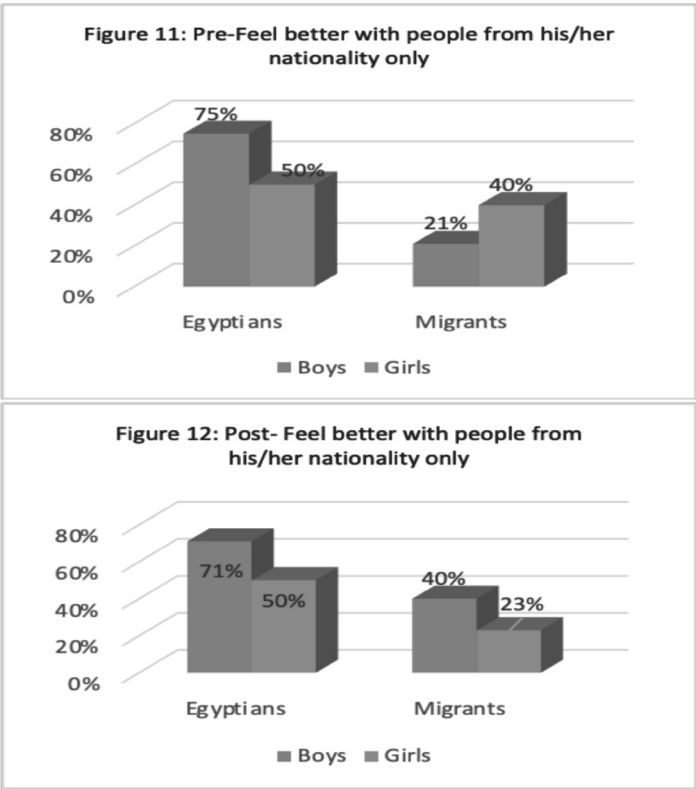
4.2 Feel that people of his/her nationality are the best in the world

Although the differences are not so big in figures 9 & 10, but Egyptian children became more tolerant after the program and less tending to be prejudiced.



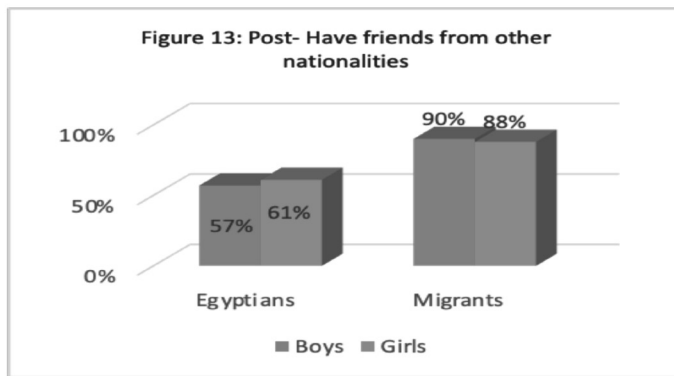
4.3 Feel better with people from his/her nationality only

The Safarni program effect is obvious here too, as the children didn't feel better with people of their nationality only, and only the migrant boys' tolerance became less (figures 11 & 12).



4.4 Have friends from other nationalities

Although the result that migrants were more sociable than Egyptians before the program is still the same, the Egyptians’ tendency to be more friendly and open to the out groups almost doubled after the program, and it also increased among the migrants. (See figure 13).



4.5 What do you think if you see one Egyptian child fighting with a Somali child?

After Safarni program, it was noticed that all the children became more understanding and tolerant to admit that the fault could be of their nationality or any of the parties could be wrong.

2. Body map analysis (qualitative analysis)

When the children were given the chance to think and imagine what they thought about other nationalities, the results showed feedback with a high tendency towards bad feelings from both sides (Egyptians and migrants) in the body map pre-test in addition to a low-level of existing knowledge among the participants. In response to the Body Map pre-test question: “what do you know about foreign people/countries?” one-third of the participants responded “**nothing**”. Other participants responded by saying either “*I don’t feel anything*” or “*I don’t know*”.

There was a dramatic change in this behavior after the program, as the **negative** impression decreased to almost nothing among the Egyptians and decreased about two thirds among the migrants. On the other hand, pre-test almost no **positive** feelings/behavior changed into about 50% positive feedback among the migrants and positive feedback for most of the Egyptians after the post body map test.

One quote before the program was: *"Egyptians are 'baltagia' (thugs), Sudanese came here, and some of them destroy our reputation", which turned into: "I like Egyptians and Sudanese" after the program.* Another example is of a migrant child who said before the program: *"I fear Egyptians", became neutral after the program and said: "There are good and sharing people, and others are fighting".*

The children's Body Map responses after the test showed a **greater knowledge of similarities** between different cultures. After Safarni, nearly half of the children mentioned commonalities in dress, language and games that they had noticed during their travels.

Other quotes include the following:

"I feel he is a human just like me", an Egyptian child.

"Their dances are like ours", a migrant child.

"We eat each other's food", an Egyptian child.

"Their food, religion, and language are different", an Egyptian child.

In addition, the interaction with the out groups was positive after the program, as almost all the children had friends from other nationalities: *"I have friends from other nationalities and their treatment is great".*

Recommendations

Parents are usually invited to attend the Safarni Graduation Day, and NGOs staff members monitor these travel adventures. This engagement should be increased. Research has found that social norms often undermine the positive impact of contact initiatives. To respond to this, 'first encounters' programs should reach out beyond the participants to include other parts of society (Salomon, 2013). Besides, mothers' engagement should be increased too, and common activities for mothers of both migrants and Egyptians should be introduced.

Pre-contact activities should aim to increase comfort with out-

groups; these could involve children imagining themselves having interactions with different people, or watching movies or reading stories about friendships between ingroup and outgroup members (Mazziotta, Rohmann, Wright, De Tezanos-Pinto, & Lutterbach, 2015).

Discussion:

1) Support for Hypothesis 1:

All kinds of group behavior, such as solidarity, within our group and discrimination against out-groups as part of social identity processes, happens when there is no interaction with the out groups.

The analysis of pre-test for qualitative and quantitative data supported the first hypothesis. As for the social comparison, all nationalities felt superior in the pre-test, especially when responding to the question: "how close are you on the first day to meet a person of another nationality?". Before the program, all children reported high percentage of farthest feelings (33% of Egyptians and 24% of migrants), but after the program, about 60% of the Egyptians felt closest. Although the migrants' closest feelings were less, they started increasing gradually when the interaction between the group and out groups happened.

Also, the successful inter-group discrimination leads to increased self-esteem, while low self-esteem motivates increased out-group discrimination, which happened when the children expressed their interest in learning things from people of other nationalities (Egyptians 52% before the program became 95% after it), (Migrants 67.5% became 90% after it). Increased interest in and willingness to learn things about other places, music and dances from other cultures, had also increased for Egyptians by 17% (from 69% to 86%), and for migrants by 26% (from 60% to 86%). These percentages indicate higher tendency of potential diversity than before the program. The percentage of children who need to be surrounded with people from their nationality decreased for Egyptians and increased only for the migrant boys). Also, the interaction between the groups (out groups) decreased the negative feelings and increased the positive ones.

2) Support for Hypothesis 2:

knowledge about the other increases tolerance and decreases prejudice:

The analysis of pre-test for qualitative and quantitative data supports the second hypothesis, when the children had access to knowledge about 'the other', they understood that 'the other' is a human just like them with different language, religion and food. Furthermore, the knowledge of geography increased for both Egyptians and migrants, which gave them knowledge about other places.

Although there was a slight increase in the migrants' feelings that people of their nationality are the best in the world, the Egyptians' feelings decreased by about 13% (from 75% before the program to 62.5% after it). There was also a very slight decrease in feeling better with people from their nationality only, although this does not refute the hypothesis, as after the program all the children had friends from other nationalities.

Finally, the participants' responses to the question: "What do you think if you see one Egyptian child fighting with a Somali child?" show that after Safarni program, all the children became more understanding and tolerant. The children admitted that the child of their own nationality could be at fault, or any of the parties could be wrong. All these results indicate less prejudice which reflects that the first encounter model would succeed in the existence of tolerance and increased knowledge. This helps the process of inclusion in the Egyptian society.

Conclusion:

This study found that Safarni program had a significant impact on prejudice and knowledge. Sustained contact is necessary to shift attitudes, which can be facilitated by the addition of pre-contact and follow-up programs. The pre-test Body Map results showed a high level of anxiety about interacting with foreigners. However, the post-test Body Map showed a high level of **knowledge** of **similarities** between different cultures. After Safarni program, more children mentioned commonalities in dress,

language, and games that they had noticed during their travels.

Most of the results showed that the children's behavior after the program had become more positive.

Community engagement should be a key part of 'first encounters' programs. These programs are fragile, in that they often take place in contexts that are hostile to contact. Safarni participants reported being heavily influenced by information from their families and wider community. Taking this into account, Safarni should increase its outreach to parents, NGO staff and community leaders, which is to my knowledge is being worked on now, as the founder took this note into consideration and included more activities for mothers at the graduation day, but more still needs to be done.

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Inclusion or Exclusion among a Sample of Children Aged 8 to 12 years**

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